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IDENTITY- AND CONTACT-RELATED DETERMINANTS OF RECIPROCAL INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN ETHNO-CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates the reciprocity of ethnic relations in Finland and the role this reciprocity plays in the development of an inclusive integration context characterised by positive intergroup attitudes, endorsement of multiculturalism and support for the minority groups' collective action. The theoretical framework builds on the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the theory of acculturation (Berry, 1997) and Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, with a particular focus on the concepts of cultural discordance (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002), the secondary transfer effect (STE; Pettigrew, 2009) and collective action (e.g., Klandermans, 1997; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). In this cross-sectional study utilising real-life survey data, identity- and contact-related predictors of the inclusive integration context are examined among members of the Finnish majority and among Russian and Estonian immigrants living in Finland.

First, this study sheds more light on the predictors of majority-minority and interminority attitudes in the context of immigration. High national identification of Finns and Russian immigrants elicited stronger feelings of psychological ownership of Finland. However, while strong ownership made the attitudes of Finns towards Russian immigrants more negative, among the Russian immigrants ownership was linked to more positive attitudes towards Finns. Thus, while ownership of Finland had an exclusionary character among majority Finns, it was inclusive by the majority group among immigrants. In the case of interminority attitudes, more positive contact with Finns elicited more positive attitudes towards this group, which in turn were linked to more favourable mutual attitudes among Estonian and Russian immigrants. The same association, but with a negative valence, was true for negative contact with Finns. Moreover, positive contact with Finns was linked to higher, and negative contact to lower, public collective self-esteem among Russian immigrants; higher and lower public collective self-esteem was, in turn, respectively linked to more positive and more negative attitudes towards Estonian immigrants. Thus, it was shown that the perception of one's ingroup's status in society translates the experience of contact with the majority on attitudes towards minority outgroups. However, this result was found only among Russian but not Estonian immigrants, who have a higher status position in Finland compared to that of Russians. Second, ethnic identification among Russian immigrants fostered the endorsement of multiculturalism only when these immigrants did not perceive their ethnic group as superior to other groups in society. Third, among Finns the perception of Russian immigrants preserving more of their minority culture than Finns would prefer, elicited stronger anxiety and lowered trust, these factors both in turn being related to lower support for collective action among

Russian immigrants. When Russian immigrants perceived that they were not allowed to preserve as much of their culture as they wished, outgroup trust declined and strengthened support for the ingroup's collective struggle for social change. This shows how intergroup emotional processes translate the perception of cultural discordance into support for actions aimed at achieving more intergroup equality.

As shown, the inclusive integration context does not develop in a social vacuum but is formed by the reciprocal identity processes, intergroup encounters and perceptions of majority and minority group members. Thus, this study extends its theoretical framework by providing strong evidence on the reciprocity of multidimensional intergroup relations in ethno-culturally diverse society. The results can be utilised in interventions fostering the inclusiveness of the national context and therefore supporting integration of immigrants into mainstream plural societies.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä väitöskirjatutkimus tarkastelee etnisten ryhmäsuhteiden vastavuoroisuutta Suomessa ja sitä, mikä tämän vastavuoroisuuden roolia on inklusiivisemman integraatiokontekstin kehittymisessä. Inklusiivisen integraatiokontekstin nähdään tässä tutkimuksessa ilmenevän myönteisinä ryhmienvälisinä asenteina, monikulttuurisuusideologian kannattamisena sekä vähemmistöryhmien kollektiivisen toiminnan tukemisena. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys pohjautuu sosiaalisen identiteetin teoriaan (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), akkulturaatioteoriaan (Berry, 1997) sekä kontaktihypoteesiin (Allport, 1954). Erityisesti tutkimuksessa keskitytään kollektiivisen toiminnan (collective action; esim. Klandermans, 1997; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), vähemmistökulttuurin säilyttämistä koskevien ristiriitojen (cultural discordance; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002) sekä ryhmien välisen kontaktin toissijaisen siirtovaikutuksen (secondary transfer effect, STE; Pettigrew, 2009) käsitteisiin. Tässä kyselylomakeaineistoa hyödyntävässä poikkileikkaustutkimuksessa tarkastellaan identiteettiin ja kontaktiin liittyviä inklusiivisen integraatiokontekstin ennustajia suomalaisen enemmistöryhmän sekä Suomessa asuvien venäläisten ja virolaisten maahanmuuttajien keskuudessa.

Tutkimus tuo lisää tietoa niin enemmistön ja vähemmistön välisistä kuin myös eri vähemmistöryhmien välisistä asenteista maahanmuuton kontekstissa. Suomalaisten sekä Suomessa asuvien venäläisten voimakas kansallinen identifioituminen Suomeen sai aikaan voimakkaan kokemuksen psykologisesta omistajuudesta. Kun kokemus omistajuudesta – siitä, että Suomi on meidän – sai suomalaisten asenteet venäläisiä kohtaan kielteisemmiksi, venäläisillä maahanmuuttajilla Suomeen liittyvät omistajuuden tunteet oli sen sijaan yhteydessä myönteisempiin asenteisiin suomalaisia kohtaan. Suomalaisen enemmistöryhmän kohdalla omistajuus näyttäytyi näin ollen eksklusiivisena, ulossulkevana tekijänä, kun taas vähemmistöä edustavilla maahanmuuttajilla kokemus omistajuudesta oli luonteeltaan inklusiivista. Mitä tulee vähemmistöjen välisiin ryhmäsuhteisiin, myönteinen kontakti suomalaisten kanssa sai aikaan myönteisempiä asenteita suomalaisia kohtaan, mikä oli puolestaan yhteydessä myönteisempiin keskinäisiin asenteisiin venäläisten ja virolaisten maahanmuuttajien välillä. Vastaavasti myös kielteiset kokemukset kontaktista enemmistöryhmän kanssa heijastuivat kielteisinä asenteina enemmistöä ja toista tutkittua maahanmuuttajaryhmää kohtaan. Lisäksi myönteinen kontakti suomalaisten kanssa oli venäläisten maahanmuuttajien keskuudessa yhteydessä parempaan kollektiiviseen itsetuntoon ja kielteinen kontaktin puolestaan heikompaan kollektiiviseen itsetuntoon. Mitä parempi kollektiivinen itsetunto venäläisillä maahanmuuttajilla oli, sitä myönteisemmät asenteet heillä oli virolaisia maahanmuuttajia kohtaan. Yksilön kokemus oman sisäryhmänsä asemasta

yhteiskunnassa saa siis kontaktikokemukset enemmistön kanssa heijastumaan asenteisiin toisia vähemmistöasemassa olevia ulkoryhmiä kohtaan. Tämä tulos saatiin kuitenkin vain venäläisten, muttei virolaisten maahanmuuttajien keskuudessa, jotka ovat Suomessa venäläisiä paremmassa sosiaalisessa asemassa. Toiseksi tutkimus osoitti, että venäläisten maahanmuuttajien etninen identifikaatio oli yhteydessä monikulttuurisuusideologian kannatukseen ainoastaan silloin, kun maahanmuuttajat eivät kokeneet oman etnisen ryhmänsä olevan yhteiskunnassa muita ryhmiä ylempänä. Tämän lisäksi suomalaisten kokemus siitä, että venäläiset maahanmuuttajat säilyttävät omaa vähemmistökulttuuriaan enemmän kuin suomalaiset toivoisivat, sai aikaan voimakkaampia ryhmien välisen ahdistuksen kokemuksia ja vähensi luottamusta venäläisiin maahanmuuttajiin. Ahdistuksen kokemukset ja epäluottamus puolestaan vähensivät halukkuutta tukea venäläisten maahanmuuttajien kollektiivista toimintaa. Kun venäläiset maahanmuuttajat puolestaan kokivat, ettei heidän sallita säilyttää omaa kulttuuriaan siinä määrin kuin he haluaisivat, luottamus ulkoryhmää kohtaan väheni, ja tuki oman sisäryhmän aseman parantamiseen tähtäävälle kollektiiviselle toiminnalle voimistui. Tämä tulos ilmentää emotionaalisten prosessien roolia siinä, kuinka kokemukset kulttuurisista ristiriidoista kääntyvät tueksi tai vastustukseksi etnisten ryhmien tasa-arvoon pyrkivälle toiminnalle.

Väitöskirjatutkimuksen valossa voidaan todeta, että inklusiivinen integraatiokonteksti ei kehity sosiaalisessa tyhjiössä, vaan se muodostuu vastavuoroisista identiteettiprosesseista, ryhmienvälisistä kohtaamisista sekä enemmistö- ja vähemmistöryhmien jäsenten kokemuksista. Näin ollen tämä tutkimus kehittää edelleen alan teoreettista viitekehystä tarjoamalla vahvaa näyttöä moniulotteisten ryhmienvälisten suhteiden vastavuoroisuudesta etnisesti ja kulttuurisesti monimuotoisessa yhteiskunnassa. Tuloksia voidaan hyödyntää interventioissa, jotka pyrkivät edistämään kansallisen kontekstin inklusiivisuutta ja siten tukemaan maahanmuuttajien sopeutumista monikulttuurisiin yhteiskuntiin.

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Helsinki, March 2016

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

I   Brylka, A., Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2015). National identification and intergroup attitudes among members of the national majority and immigrants: Preliminary evidence for the mediational role of psychological ownership of a country. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *3*, 24–45.

II   Brylka, A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Mähönen, T. A. (2016). The majority influence on interminority attitudes: The secondary transfer effect of positive and negative contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *50*, 76–88.

III   Mähönen, T. A., Brylka, A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2014). Perceived ethnic superiority and immigrants' attitudes towards multiculturalism and the national majority. *International Journal of Psychology*, *49*, 318–322.

IV   Brylka, A., Mähönen, T. A., Schellhaas, F. M. H., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2015). From cultural discordance to support for collective action: The roles of intergroup anxiety, trust and group status. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *46*, 897–915.

The publications are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Integration of immigrants into receiving societies has been systematically studied since the early 1950s. The issue of integration first arose during the refugee crisis in World War II (WWII), reached its significance in the United States (US) after WWII, and as a result of globalisation and severe human crises on many continents in the last few decades, it eventually became a world-wide scientific endeavour. According to the research database EBSCO, more than 10,000 articles addressing the topic of immigrant integration from different perspectives in social sciences have been published between 1950 and 2015. In spite of this impressive volume of research, everyday life continues to call for a more research-based knowledge on the means to better understand and support immigrant integration in a way that meets the needs of individuals, groups and societies involved in the process. Exploring processes which promote integration cannot be more important and relevant than now, when Europe is witnessing a major refugee crisis and is facing the need to accommodate hundreds of thousands of newcomers, while also acknowledging the needs of its own nationals and those migrants who arrived earlier.

This rise in immigration and the following European Union (UE) policies imposing obligatory immigrant quotas on EU member states have recently elicited resistance from citizens. Throughout the EU, thousands of people have gathered in protests against the recent EU policies which aim at increasing ethno-cultural diversity in all the EU member states. Statements criticising multicultural policies and their possible negative social consequences in the future have also been made by different European politicians. Like other EU member states, Finland has not been unsceptical about multiculturalism, both among ordinary members of society and mostly right-wing politicians. However, besides opponents, the multicultural policy in Finland also has many supporters, as could be seen in a recent demonstration in defence of multiculturalism which was organised in Helsinki in August, 2015. It is noteworthy, however, that while this event was attended by a few thousand Finns and foreigners in the country's capital, only a few much smaller demonstrations were organised elsewhere in the country. This would indicate that the present climate of opinion in Finland seems to be quite polarised: While it is true to say that there are strong supporters of multiculturalism and increasing diversity, it is equally true to say that there are also strong opponents, and the two groups find it very difficult to engage in dialogue. In addition, it is important to remember that to make integration work mutual efforts should be made by both Finns and by immigrants. This mutual dependence or *reciprocity* built into the process of integration is the focus of the present study which investigates the relations between the Finnish majority and Russian and Estonian immigrants. By studying the mechanism

involved in the formation of positive intergroup relations, the study aims at providing tools to understand better the premises and means which will help support the integration of immigrants from the very beginning of their settlement.

Compared to many other European countries, an ethnically and culturally diverse national context is a relatively new social phenomenon in an ethnically rather homogenous Finland. This large but not very densely populated country in North-Eastern Europe, until recently a country of emigration (Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002), does not share the reality of diverse settler societies in the United States, Australia or Canada. Nor does it resemble other European countries in which ethno-cultural (including immigrant) minority groups have become a part of their mainstream societies due to these countries' colonial pasts (e.g., the Netherlands or France), the implementation of policies such as guest workers schemes (e.g., Germany), or explicit endorsement of multiculturalism (e.g., Sweden). In Finland, the increasing ethno-cultural diversity is a much newer social challenge, which makes intergroup relations between the majority and different immigrant groups become an increasingly relevant topic. The transition from the ethnically homogenous Finnish state to a culturally diverse society has until recently been a result of at least three processes: (1) the ongoing immigration of Russian speakers from the former Soviet Union and contemporary Russia; (2) the eastwards enlargements of the EU resulting in noticeable, labour-driven immigration from the neighbouring Estonia; and (3) the ongoing acceptance of asylum-seekers from the Horn of Africa region and the Middle East. However, due to the present crisis faced by the EU, which concerns the uncontrollable and rapidly increasing influx of asylum seekers from the aforementioned regions, Finland is now confronted with the necessity of accommodating a certain number of these newcomers. While ethno-cultural diversity in Finland is becoming more and more a fact, further scientific research is needed to strengthen and tailor the country's multicultural integration policy to the changing context and to prevent intergroup tensions now and in the future.

In this study it is proposed that integration of immigrants and the inclusiveness of society at large can best be approached by combining the two lines of research: acculturation research and particularly models developed to assess the socio-psychological adaptation of immigrants in the receiving state (e.g., Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009) and research focusing on factors which support the endorsement of multiculturalism in society, and the ramifications of such endorsements (e.g., Berry, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005, 2006). While both these approaches to integration implicitly acknowledge the occurrence of reciprocal influences in intergroup relations between different ethno-cultural groups in society, studies conducted within these two frameworks rarely *explicitly* address this reciprocity. As a result, intergroup and acculturation attitudes and intergroup solidarity are customarily studied as detached from a broader social context

and often from a perspective of one group only (but for an exception, see e.g., Barlow, Sibley, & Hornsey, 2012). This notably simplifies our understanding of the surrounding social reality and the various social and societal processes involved in the formation of intergroup perceptions and behaviours.

This study addresses the aforementioned gap in social psychological research and aims to offer more insight into the reciprocity of intergroup relations in diverse societies and the role this reciprocity plays in the integration of immigrants. Although it is customary that minority members are seen by the majority as responsible for the outcomes of their own integration, this process is in fact bilateral and builds heavily on the reciprocity of intergroup relations, as will be shown in this study. Notably, it is also important to remember that the national majority group due to its dominant position in society may have even more power in shaping the social context of integration than minority groups (see Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Navas et al., 2005). Thus, investigating in this study the role of reciprocal influences in majority-minority and interminority relations extends our theoretical knowledge on the complexity of the integration process. Moreover, the obtained results offer an empirically validated basis for interventions among members of the majority and minority groups. Such interventions can be aimed at fostering more desirable outcomes of integration and buffering potential problems occurring throughout this process.

Building on the frameworks of the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the theory of acculturation (Berry, 1997) and Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, with a particular focus on the concepts of cultural discordance (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002), the secondary transfer effect (STE; Pettigrew, 2009) and collective action (e.g., Klandermans, 1997; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), the present study takes part in the discussion on identity- and contact-related determinants of positive majority-minority and interminority attitudes, the endorsement of the multicultural ideology, and support for minority members' collective action among both majority and minority group members. The focus put on these particular pillars of integration allows more light to be shed not only on the integration process in diverse societies as such but also on how the reciprocity of intergroup relations is reflected in the national context. This deeper insight into the reciprocal character of immigrant integration may be achieved for at least two reasons: First, these three pillars are core elements of both socio-psychological adaptation of immigrants and the everyday performance of multiculturalism, and second, they are formed as a result of reciprocal intergroup relations. Furthermore, to facilitate this insight, reciprocity in my study is approached in a twofold manner: first, by taking into focus perceived majority-minority and interminority interactions and second, by utilising data from both majority and minority groups. The study also responds to the recently-made call of Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam and Vedder (2013), who suggested that investigating the reciprocity patterns in intergroup

attitudes, perceptions and expectations should be seen as crucial in contemporary social psychology.

The study consists of four sub-studies, each addressing one of the three cornerstones of immigrants' integration into mainstream society of the receiving state: majority-minority and interminority attitudes, the endorsement of the multicultural ideology, and support for collective action improving the social standing of a minority group. These cornerstones differ from each other in terms of the demands they pose on majority and minority group members to show and perform intergroup solidarity and multiculturalism in practice. In this thesis it is proposed that while positive intergroup attitudes reflect a rather "passive" solidarity with ethno-cultural outgroups by only evaluating them favourably, supporting the multicultural ideology can be regarded as a more "active" form of intergroup solidarity, as it requires the promotion of outgroups' cultural heritages and equal rights for all groups. The recognition of minority groups' rights culminates in support for collective action aimed at improving the position of minority groups in society, and thus social equality at large. Moreover, the study suggests three identity- and contact-related reciprocal social psychological processes as the building blocks of the studied outcomes: (1) identity claims in terms of psychological ownership of the country and ethnic superiority, (2) intergroup contact and public collective self-esteem, and (3) perceived cultural discordance accompanied by intergroup emotions of anxiety and trust.

The present summary presents the theoretical framework of the four sub-studies which comprise my dissertation. Chapter 2 elaborates on reciprocal influences in intergroup relations and the inclusiveness of the national integration context, addresses the existing gaps in social psychological research relevant when investigating the cornerstone indicators of integration, and also outlines the social context of the study. Chapter 3 presents current theoretical approaches to intergroup attitudes and discusses the role of ingroup identification and contact in their development. Chapter 4 introduces the concept of multiculturalism and elaborates on the role of ingroup identification and the perceived ethnic superiority of one's ingroup in the endorsement of the multicultural ideology. Chapter 5 presents the frameworks of cultural discordance and collective action, and elaborates on the role of intergroup emotions in the association between these two concepts. The aims of my study are summarised in Chapter 6 and the methods are elaborated in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 summarises the results of the four sub-studies comprising this dissertation. The results, as well as the practical implications of the study and its methodological limitations and future directions for intergroup research, are discussed in Chapter 9.

2 INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES

2.1 THE RECIPROCAL NATURE OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Although social psychologists have always been interested in the dynamics of intergroup relations, research in this area accelerated significantly only when Allport (1954) introduced his innovative contact-based approach to prejudice reduction. In his contact hypothesis, he proposed that—under certain conditions—positive face-to-face interactions between groups are a powerful mean to reduce outgroup prejudice. Since the presentation of this hypothesis, research corroborating the beneficial role of contact in intergroup relations in laboratory as well as in real-life settings has blossomed (for a review, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Another milestone contributing to the intensification of research on intergroup relations was the development of SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which changed the approach to examining outgroup attitudes. This theory proposed that negative outgroup attitudes are the product of identity processes, particularly ingroup identification, and not as was previously assumed, solely intergroup competition and conflict (Sherif, 1966). To date, a plethora of studies building on SIT has shown that ingroup identification is indeed a key predictor of outgroup attitudes in different intergroup and national contexts (e.g., Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001; Ullrich, Christ & Schluter, 2006).

During the last few decades studies on intergroup contact and attitudes have considerably extended the frameworks they were originally based on. This was done mainly by proposing and validating the new underlying processes (mediation) of the contact-attitudes and ingroup identification-attitudes relationships and specifying conditions (moderation) under which these associations worked. Moreover, the frameworks were extended by examining the validity of the aforementioned relationships in new intergroup settings. First of all, researchers have switched from testing the role of contact and ingroup identification in the formation of outgroup attitudes among small groups artificially created in laboratory settings to testing them in larger, naturally occurring groups. Second, the rise of immigration to West European countries after the WWII created novel natural majority-minority intergroup contexts, which allowed the contact- and the identification-attitudes association to be tested in different national contexts.

Regardless of all the theoretical advancements made in these two paradigms, both lines of research have predominantly focused on examining the role of contact or ingroup identification in the development of outgroup attitudes from the perspective of either (and predominantly) majority or minority groups. However, by focusing each time on the perspective of one

group only, previous research has largely neglected to address the role of an important characteristic of intergroup relations, namely its *reciprocity*. In the context of intergroup interactions, reciprocity means that the behaviour of one group reflects and determines the behaviour of the other group (see Doosje & Haslam, 2005). In one of the very few articles explicitly addressing reciprocity between social groups, Doosje and Haslam (2005) notice that while this phenomenon has often been studied at the individual level in different intergroup contexts, reciprocity between social groups has been largely under-researched and instead greater focus has been placed on outgroup discrimination and ingroup favouritism. According to the authors, this SIT-based preference for investigating competitiveness between groups has resulted in negligence in examining the reciprocal character of intergroup relations.

Although the view of Doosje and Haslam reflects quite well the degree of interest in the role of reciprocity in intergroup relations among social psychologist at the time it was expressed, it is important to notice that the issue of reciprocity has not been completely neglected in social psychological research. One of the frameworks which already existed at that time and which tapped reciprocal influences in intergroup relations was Stephan and Stephan's (2000) integrated threat theory (ITT) (see also Stephan, Renfro, & Davies, 2008). In this theory, the authors *inter alia* proposed that the perception of threats posed by the outgroup (e.g. immigrants) to the ingroup (e.g., the majority group) is linked to more negative attitudes towards this outgroup. In the last decade, the reciprocity of intergroup relations has also been addressed by other researchers interested in the development of intergroup attitudes. The notion that is especially important in these relatively recent attempts tackling reciprocal influences in intergroup relations are meta-stereotypes (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), that is beliefs of an individual about stereotypes held by outgroup members about her or his ingroup. And so, Shelton and colleagues (Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005) pointed out that the beliefs individuals have about how members of outgroups perceive them or about intergroup interaction as such are likely to have an effect on real intergroup interaction. For instance, the expectation of minority group members that majority outgroup members are prejudiced was experimentally found to result in more negative experience of minority members during majority-minority interaction (Shelton et al., 2005). Another relatively recent example of research which accounted for reciprocal influences in majority-minority relations are the studies conducted within the framework of cultural discordance proposed by Piontkowski and colleagues (2002; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). The authors proposed and empirically validated that the stronger the perceived disagreement on the degree of minority group members' cultural maintenance is, the more conflictual the majority-minority relations are. While perceived cultural discordance as such is not strictly a meta-stereotype, it builds on one's own attitude towards

minority cultural maintenance *and* one's perception of the other groups' attitude towards minority cultural maintenance. For majority members, the meta-stereotype about the minority outgroup therefore reflects the degree to which the minority outgroup wishes to preserve their minority culture in the eyes of majority members. For minority members, the meta-stereotype concerns minority members' perception of the degree to which majority members allow maintaining minority members' cultural heritage.

Tackling the issue of reciprocal influences when the aforementioned social psychological constructs are studied among naturally occurring majority and minority groups is almost unavoidable. This is due to the fact that intergroup attitudes and perceptions in diverse societies are not developed in a social vacuum but emerge as the consequences of the actual interactions between groups and their members. Moreover, such intergroup relations are in fact multidimensional, meaning that the interactions between the ingroup and the outgroup are interconnected with the interactions of each of these groups with other outgroups in society (see Tawa, Negrón, Suyemoto, & Carter, 2015; Tawa, Suyemoto, & Tauriac, 2013). This implies that the reciprocity of intergroup relations can possibly be multidimensional, too, and should be approached as such, therefore, through research which would account for the social complexity of contemporary diverse societies. Importantly, intergroup attitudes and perceptions are also immersed in the broader present social and societal context, as well as in historical circumstances; all these context-related factors further reinforce certain patterns of reciprocity of intergroup relations in the given social setting. Therefore, even if thus far the reciprocity of intergroup interactions has not been addressed explicitly in the majority of previously conducted social psychological studies on intergroup attitudes and perceptions, the influence of such reciprocity on these constructs cannot be questioned. However, without addressing this reciprocity in a straightforward manner, the picture of intergroup relations in plural societies will remain simplified and the complexity of intergroup interactions in ethnically and culturally heterogeneous settings will be left largely undiscovered. This, in turn, may result in inadequate actions towards improving intergroup relations, which will fail in their goals. Thus, the gap in social psychological research on intergroup relations requires to be filled in. This call opens the field to studies like the present one, which addresses identity- and contact-related reciprocity of intergroup relations in a more direct manner.

2.2 ADDRESSING THE RECIPROCITY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE MIGRATION CONTEXT

The reciprocity of intergroup relations is especially important when integration of immigrants is studied, as the process of integration always involves the presence and mutual interactions of majority *and* minority members, and it always happens in a particular national context. The call to

focus more deeply on the reciprocal character of intergroup interactions in diverse societies has recently been made by Horenczyk and colleagues (2013) when they discussed mutuality in the acculturation processes. Moreover, Horenczyk et al. proposed that what could be done to examine reciprocity of acculturation in more depth is to adopt models originating from social psychological studies of intergroup relations to the field of acculturation psychology. Specifically, models explaining the formation of intergroup attitudes, perceptions and expectations are seen as valuable in shedding more light on the reciprocity of intergroup relations in the context of acculturation. Therefore, strengthening the already existing trend towards examining reciprocity patterns in intergroup attitudes, perceptions and expectations has been called for by Horenczyk and colleagues.

This study attempts to respond to this call. It is proposed that the reciprocity of intergroup relations in plural societies can be studied among majority and minority group members in order to determine the three outcomes of the integration process: intergroup attitudes, the endorsement of multiculturalism and support for collective action to improve the social standing of the minority group. These three pillars of integration into the receiving society reflect the reciprocal influences between the cultural majority and ethnic minority groups, particularly due to being the outcomes of reciprocal social psychological processes of identification, intergroup contact and perceived cultural discordance. The study combines and further develops the two lines of research that do not only accommodate the reciprocity of intergroup relations in the three aforementioned cornerstones of integration, but within which the roles of identification and contact have also been investigated.

The first line of research focuses on acculturation and socio-psychological adaptation of immigrants into host societies. The acknowledgement of the reciprocity of acculturation attitudes is not new and thus most studies conducted within this line largely build on the acculturation models of Berry (1997) and Bourhis and colleagues (1997), which both elaborate on how acculturation processes can support or hinder the adaptation process of newcomers. To date, various studies examining acculturation patterns among majority and minority members in plural societies have shown that mutuality in acculturation is indeed present and observable (e.g., Kalin & Berry, 1996; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Rohmann et al., 2006). For example, a good fit between immigrants' and hosts' acculturation preferences was found to be associated with less stress and more positive relations between immigrants and hosts (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In contrast, cultural discordance, that is the majority-minority disagreement on the degree of minority members' cultural maintenance, was linked to more problematic intergroup relations (Piontkowki et al., 2002; Rohmann et al., 2006). Among models bridging social psychological and acculturation research, the most prominent one is the rejection-disidentification model (RDIM) of Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009; see also Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen,

& Ketokivi, 2012). The authors showed that among immigrants, experiencing discrimination leads to disidentification with the national majority group, which in turn results in more negative attitudes towards the hosts.

The second line of research focuses on the endorsement of multiculturalism in plural societies. To date, multiculturalism has been defined in various ways but what is always present in its definitions is the focus on intergroup attitudes, support for this minority ideology and support for minorities in attaining a higher social status in a plural society. For instance, Verkuyen & Martinovic (2006) see multiculturalism as reflected in policies supporting equal opportunities and recognising cultural diversity, which also allow for the preservation of minority cultures and achieving a higher social status by minority members. Van de Vijver, Breugelmans and Schalk-Soekar (2008) view multiculturalism as an attitude towards the acceptance of and support for cultural differences in a multi-ethnic society. According to Castles and Miller (2009), multiculturalism is reflected in the acceptance of the cultural differences between majority and minority social groups and the willingness to protect the equal rights of all groups. Kymlicka (2009) also acknowledges that multiculturalism is about the recognition of the policies supporting the maintenance of diverse ethnic groups and their respective unique identities, and acceptance of these groups' social, political, and civil rights.

In this study, it is further proposed that majority-minority and interminority attitudes, the endorsement of multiculturalism and support for collective action improving the social standing of a minority group could be utilised to assess not only the integration outcomes of both majority and minority group members but also more largely the inclusiveness of the social context in which the integration of immigrants takes place. Using these three reciprocal pillars of integration may prove useful for quantifying how supportive the national setting is for including immigrants into mainstream society.

As these pillars will be examined with real-life data from two nation-wide surveys, the results of this study can also provide a more genuine evaluation of the inclusiveness of the national context. This is due to the fact that assessing the inclusiveness of the national context at the level of official national policies does not always reflect the actual experiences of minority members regarding contact with the majority or perceived discrimination, or attitudes held towards minority members by nationals. This discrepancy is observable in, for instance, Finland. While the country has always scored high in the migrants integration policy index (MIPEX; 2015), which measures the integration policies officially claimed by the authorities, the report of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2012) shows that minorities in Finland are victimised more often than in many other EU countries.

Therefore, without theory-based markers, assessing the degree of objective or even relative inclusiveness of national contexts may be a challenging task. This is also due to the fact that, in addition to present intergroup relations,

these contexts are shaped by historical and social circumstances which qualitatively differ from one another and are not necessarily directly comparable between countries. Nevertheless, assessing whether the national setting facilitates positive majority-minority and minority-minority relations and promotes social cohesion in the country is crucial in order to achieve positive integration outcomes. Most of all, identifying these components of the social context which do not support adaptation to host society allows for an early intervention. Addressing possible obstacles to integration at its initial stage allows for a better management of the integration process as a whole and may well avoid the occurrence of the same problems undermining the process in the future. Thus, the results of this study can provide the means necessary to adjust the national context to the current task of integration which result from the recent influx of new asylum seekers.

2.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION

When taking into consideration even only the last two decades, studies on intergroup attitudes, the endorsement of multiculturalism and support for collective action as well as their identity- and contact-related determinants are not uncommon. The role of ethnic and/or national identification in the development of outgroup attitudes has recently been studied among majority and/or minority group members by, for example, Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2009), Pehrson and Green (2010) and Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, & Kuppens (2010). There is also a considerable number of studies on support for multiculturalism among majority and minority group members, including the studies of Verkuyten (2005), Verkuyten and Martinovic (2006) and Hindriks, Verkuyten and Coenders (2014). However, studies on the endorsement of multiculturalism and support for collective action often do not elaborate on reciprocal influences between majority and minority members which shape both outgroup attitudes and the endorsement of the multicultural ideology.

As the association between intergroup direct contact and outgroup attitudes is concerned, there has been a recent important change in the focus of contact research. One of the innovations is that the framework is being expanded from investigating the well-acknowledged beneficial effects of intergroup interactions on outgroup attitudes and the underlying mechanisms of this association (for a review, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) to examining also the role of negative contact in intergroup relations. The latest examples of studies focusing on the role of both positive and negative contact in the formation of outgroup attitudes among majority group members are the studies by Barlow, Sibley et al. (2012), Graf, Paolini, and Rubin (2014), Aberson (2015) and Techakesari et al. (2015). Another expansion of the contact paradigm is the growing line of research on the secondary transfer

effect (Pettigrew, 2009), that is on how the effects of positive direct contact with one group are transferred to another group which was not involved in the direct contact situation. This topic has been recently brought up by, for instance, Hindriks et al., (2014) and Schmid, Hewstone and Tausch (2014) among majority group members, as well as Bowman and Griffin (2012) and Shook, Hopkins and Koech (2015) among members of minority groups. However, how positive and negative contact with the majority group shapes interminority attitudes has so far only been studied by Mähönen and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2015) and more research on this important topic is thus needed.

The interest in the last pillar of integration, namely support for collective action, is at present on the rise among social psychologists. One important line of research on collective action focuses on the role of majority-minority contact in support for an egalitarian social change in society. To date, different studies have shown that among majorities intergroup contact is linked to *more* support for actions promoting social equality between different groups in society; among minorities, however, intergroup contact is linked to *less* support for actions aimed at improving the ingroup's position in society that are conducted collectively on behalf of the whole ingroup (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Another, the most prominent line of research on support for a collective struggle towards social equality concentrates around the role of social identification in this process. For example, some studies focus on the predicting role of politicised social identity, that is identification with political social movements towards egalitarian change (for a review, see Stürmer & Simon, 2004; see also Fleischman, Phalet, & Swyngedouw, 2013). Another trend in research on collective action involves studies on dual—national and ethnic—identification as a predicting factor of collective mobilisation among minority members. The importance of the presence of not only national but also ethnic identification for a willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of one's ethnic minority group was pointed out already in the review of Dovidio, Gaertner and Saguy (2007) and later further examined by, for example, Klandermans, Van der Toorn and Van Stekelenburg (2008), Simon and Grabow (2010) and Simon, Reichert and Grabow (2013). In addition, Martinovic and Verkuyten (2014) added to this framework another collective identification, namely religious identification and examined its mediating role on the association between dual identification and collective action. While research on the engagement in collective struggle of the ingroup among minority members is growing, studies on support for minority groups among majorities is scarce and often concerns support for affirmative rather than collective actions (see e.g., Dixon et al., 2007; Karaçanta & Fitness, 2006). Thus, addressing support for collective action to improve the status of disadvantaged minority groups among both majority and minority members within the same national context and the reciprocal influences in this process still seems relevant and needed.

This study will contribute to these lines of research by investigating three identity- and contact-related social psychological processes which illuminate the reciprocity of intergroup relations and are responsible for the outcomes studied: identity claims of psychological ownership over the country and ethnic superiority, intergroup contact accompanied by collective public self-esteem, and perceived cultural discordance over the degree of maintaining minority cultures followed by intergroup emotions of intergroup anxiety and trust.

2.4   SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

As mentioned above, compared to other West European states, Finland is a relatively ethnically homogenous country which has only recently faced challenges related to the integration of immigrants. Until the beginning of the 1990s, Finland was known as a country of emigration (Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002) and only recently has it become a destination country for newcomers from around the world. With the native population remaining relatively unchanged, the country's present population growth is mainly accounted for by foreign-born nationals whose number in Finland is steadily rising and it currently exceeds 289,000 individuals (i.e., around five per cent of the total population; Statistics Finland, 2014a). As regards the ethnic composition of the immigration in Finland, immigrants come from various European and non-European countries and the (national) groups are in most cases rather clearly distinguishable from one another. As a phenomenon characteristic of many Western plural societies, an ethnic hierarchy of different ethno-cultural (national) groups is also present in Finland. As shown by previous research and statistical data, various immigrant groups differ in social standing, which is reflected in their employment statuses (e.g., Statistic Finland, 2014b) and the majority of Finns' attitudes towards the groups (Jaakkola, 2005, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2006). Among the most discriminated groups are Somalis and to a lesser extent Russians; other Africans and Eastern Europeans are moderately discriminated against, with Estonians being the least discriminated Eastern Europeans; the least discriminated are Western Europeans and individuals originating from other Nordic States (Jaakkola, 2005, 2009).

In spite of the diverse national backgrounds of immigrants in Finland, two groups stand out numerically among others: Russians and Estonians. Russian, or more precisely, *Russian-speaking* immigrants from Russia and former Soviet republics are the largest foreign-born group in terms of both the country (slightly over 1 % of the total population; Statistics Finland, 2014a) and the capital area (Simoila, Väistö, Nyman, & Niemelä, 2011) and their immigration to Finland has remained relatively steady over the years. Russian language speakers also constitute one of the oldest ethnic minorities in Finland and their history of settlement in the country goes back to the beginning of the 19th

century when Finland was the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire. Although the country gained independence in 1917, mainly due to the country's close vicinity to the Soviet Union, Russians remained a vivid but not necessarily always a pleasant part of Finnish history. An important impact on the bilateral relations between the two countries involved armed conflicts during the World War II, which resulted in Finnish territorial losses to the Soviet Union in 1945. In the post-war era, the Soviet influence over Finland was more subtle but it impacted on two important features of a sovereign state (e.g., Allison, 1985): politics and trade. Thus, the history of Finnish-Russian (Soviet) relations in the 20th century is rather conflictual and it may be the main reason why Russian-speaking immigrants from Russia and the post-Soviet republics remain a target of prejudice over the years and their standing in the Finnish ethnic hierarchy has always been low (Jaakkola, 2005, 2009). The current political situation causing the recent tensions between the EU member states and Russia concerning the war in Ukraine can possibly further contribute to more reserved attitudes towards Russians in Finland, for example, towards those holding double citizenship (e.g., YLE, 2015).

Besides Russians, the second largest immigrant group in Finland which accounts for slightly less than 1 % of the total population are Estonians, whose immigration to Finland has risen significantly when Estonia joined the EU in 2004. Compared with Russian-speaking immigrants, Estonians in Finland enjoy a higher social status, reflected mostly in their position in the labour market (8 % unemployment rate among Estonians compared to 15 % among Russian immigrants; Statistics Finland, 2014b) and attitudes towards these groups among majority Finns. Among the twenty-four immigrant groups, Estonians are one of the most accepted and wanted newcomers, whereas Russians are one of the least welcome immigrants (Jaakkola, 2005, 2009). The observable differences between Estonians and Russians in the ethnic hierarchy can most likely be attributed to the fact that the two nations—Finns and Estonians—do not share a common conflictual past but they both share a history of intergroup conflict with Russia. Moreover, the degree of cultural distance between majority Finns and Estonians is lower than between Finns and Russians. Specifically, Estonians can be perceived by Finns as culturally closer to them than Russians are, due to Estonians' linguistic and religious (Estonian Protestantism versus Russian Orthodoxy) similarity. Both Estonians and Finns also seem to share similar cultural and political values, which is reflected in the membership of both Estonia and Finland in the EU.

While both Estonian and Russian immigrants in Finland have been studied within the last 20 years, the number of studies on Russians is slightly higher than the number of studies conducted on Estonian immigrants. Extensive research on Russians and Estonians was done by Jasinskaja-Lahti and her colleagues, with the foci put mainly on the experiences of prejudice and discrimination and wellbeing (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) and acculturation and socio-psychological adaptation and well-being (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006;

Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Socio-psychological adaptation and wellbeing of Russian adolescent has also been examined in doctoral dissertations by Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000), Mähönen (2011) and Rynkänen (2011). The integration outcomes and their predictors among both Russian and Estonian immigrants have been studied by Liebkind, Mannila, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jaakkola and Kyntäjä (2004) and the socio-economic wellbeing of members of the two groups was investigated by Statistics Finland (2002). Discrimination against Russians in the Finnish labour market was covered by Larja et al. (2012). Other studies conducted on these groups have examined the health and wellbeing of their members (e.g., Castaneda, Rask, Koponen, Mölsä, & Koskinen, 2012). Moreover, there are also qualitative studies which focus on identity construction among Ingrian Finnish repatriates from Russia (e.g., Varjonen, Arnold, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013). Therefore, as can be seen from this short review, the research interest in examining Russian and Estonian immigrants' adaptation in Finland is not new. However, previous studies neither accounted for the mutual relations between these two immigrant groups and their relations with majority Finns, nor did they examine how these reciprocal relations affect immigrants' and Finns' intergroup attitudes and stands towards a multicultural ideology and support for collective action. This gap is thus addressed by the present study.

3 INTERGROUP ATTITUDES

3.1 DEFINITION

Outgroup attitudes are among the most popular constructs in social psychology. In research on intergroup relations they are often utilised as indicators of individuals' positivity versus negativity towards outgroups and their members. However, regardless of the wide use of this concept in social psychological research and common knowledge about what attitudes mean, defining this construct accurately is crucial. This is especially because in the field of social psychology a clear and consensual definition of attitudes has never been established. What can be observed over time, however, is a shift from general and broad conceptualisations of attitudes to their more narrow definitions. The early ones, like for instance the classical tripartite theory, better known as the ABC model of attitudes (see Fabrigar, MacDonald, & Wegener, 2005) proposed that attitudes consist of three distinct components: affect, behaviour and cognition. In this model, affect embraced positive or negative feelings held towards an object, cognition referred to beliefs about the object, and behaviour included direct actions or other responses towards the object. Since such early conceptualisations, the understanding of attitudes has changed significantly (Krosnick, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2005).

At present, the main focus in definitions is put on the evaluative component of attitudes (e.g., Fabrigar et al., 2005), which considers evaluations of a particular object and determines the behavioural consequences of such evaluation (Krosnick et al., 2005). Among others, the definition by Eagly and Chaiken (2005, p. 745) reflects well the recent changes in the comprehension of attitudes; the authors conceptualised the construct as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour". As proposed by Fabrigar and colleagues (2005), such overall evaluation of an attitude object consists of evaluations of various attributes of that object and is constructed in a specific situation, which makes attitudes highly context-dependent. In the intergroup context, outgroup attitudes are one of the most frequently used indicators of the quality of intergroup relations. In this study, the terms "outgroup attitudes" and "intergroup attitudes" are used interchangeably.

3.2 INGROUP IDENTIFICATION AND INTERGROUP ATTITUDES

3.2.1 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social psychologists have always been interested in identifying predictors of positive and smooth intergroup relations. To achieve this goal, they turned to investigating outgroup attitudes held by different groups towards one another as universal indicators of the quality of relations between these groups. The predictors of outgroup attitudes have remained the main focus of social psychological research on intergroup relations for many years and are still widely examined in different social and societal contexts. The first well-established theory on intergroup attitudes and its determinants was the realistic conflict theory (RCT) introduced by Sherif and Sherif (1953), in which outgroup prejudice was seen as the result of realistic and instrumental competition between different social groups. This theoretical framework had dominated the research on intergroup relations until the late 1970s, when Tajfel and Turner (1979) introduced SIT, revolutionising the approach to intergroup attitudes and prejudice.

In contrast to the RCT, SIT did not recognise intergroup conflict and competition over scarce resources as the main sources of intergroup prejudice, although it either did not completely discount their roles in the development of more negative outgroup attitudes. Instead, the SIT framework proposed that intergroup bias and outgroup prejudice are the consequence of identification with one's ingroup and the motivation to maintain distinct and positive social identity in situations when intergroup comparison comes into play. Importantly, ingroup identification is understood in SIT as not only self-categorisation as a member of the ingroup but also in terms of this self-categorisation being acknowledged and accepted by other actors in the given social context. Such defined ingroup identification is regarded as a source of ingroup favouritism as well as of outgroup derogation, which both result in negative attitudes and discrimination towards members of social outgroups (see e.g., Brewer, 1999). Compared to RCT, which focused only on salient intergroup disagreement and competition, SIT broadened our understanding of intergroup dynamics and the development of intergroup prejudice, and offered a new—more identity-focused—perspective to study the aforementioned phenomena in diverse societies.

3.2.2 NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND ATTITUDES IN THE MAJORITY-MINORITY CONTEXT

In the context of majority-minority interactions in receiving societies, one of the most influential ingroup identifications is national identification, an important part of one's self-concept (Salazar, 1998). In majority of social psychological research national identification is approached as a compilation

of its affective and cognitive aspects. However, some theorisations point out that national identification may be, in fact, multidimensional with some of its aspects being detrimental for intergroup relations (see e.g., Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008). Moreover, while positive evaluation of one's ingroup can be reflected in constructive patriotism, that is feelings of attachment to one's country (Blank & Schmidt, 1993; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), it can also manifest itself in nationalism, that is a conviction that one's own country is superior and entitled to dominate over other countries (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989)[1].

National identification is likely to be an outcome of two cognitive processes of self-stereotyping and self-anchoring which work together in the development of all types of group identifications (see van Veelen, Otten, Cadinu, & Hansen, 2016). As van Veelen and her colleagues (2016) argue based on SIT, self-stereotyping is one of the pillars of group identification because individuals perceive that they belong to the group only as far as they consider themselves to fulfil the group prototype and agree to be evaluated according to it, and when they adhere to ingroup norms and values; the other pillar, self-anchoring, refers to using personal characteristics and standards in defining one's ingroup and distinguishing it from other outgroups, which results in more positive evaluation of the ingroup when compared to outgroups. Therefore, in the light of the integrative model of social identification of van Veelen et al. (2016), it is reasonable to conclude that identification with the particular national group is as much "chosen" by an individual (self-stereotyping), as constructed based on personal characteristics which, however, have been formed during one's upbringing in a particular national setting (self-anchoring). National identification is thus based on membership in a larger (national) community (Brewer, 2005) and the awareness of others sharing the same identification (see David & Bar-Tal, 2009). It also gives individuals a point of reference for comprehending themselves and others in their social environment (Bar-Tal, 1998). Like any other collective identification, national identification also manifests itself in at least ways: cognitively, as the ability of identifying and naming the national group of one's membership and emotionally, as the attachment to the national ingroup reflected in both the desire to belong to and the importance attributed to this ingroup (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; see also Phinney, 1990). Among the outcomes of national identification argued by David and Bar-Tal (2009) are concerns about the collective welfare of the national ingroup and coordinated activities to the advantage of the ingroup, including mobilisation and readiness for sacrifice for the group's sake.

In the European immigration context in which the receiving (nation) states are rather ethnically homogeneous when compared to typical settler societies like Canada or Australia, national identification as such and its understanding are likely to differ among national majority and minority group members.

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[1] The multidimensionality of ingroup identification, nationalism and patriotism are further discussed on pages 45–46 with reference to ethnic identification.

Among members of national majority groups, national identification usually refers to identification with the dominant group in society, which often overlaps with ethnic belonging to this group, a shared culture, societal beliefs, historical memories and language (see David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Smith, 2001). As shown by Varjonen and colleagues (2013) and Mähönen, Varjonen, Prindiville, Arnold and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2015), such ethnically-based, essentialist understanding of national identification is prevalent in Finland; in addition, this essentialist national identification of majority Finns is rather strong (Finell, 2012). Significantly, national identification defined in such an ethnically-based manner excludes minority group members as equal members of the national group. In line with the assumptions of SIT, the stronger national identification of majority group members should be associated with more negative attitudes and stronger prejudice towards national outgroups, including minority groups and immigrants. Support for this prediction has indeed been found in previous research. Mummendey and colleagues (2001), for instance, corroborated that the relationship between the national identification of majority members and derogation of national outgroups was positive. Ullrich at al. (2006) also showed that majority members who identified more strongly with their national group, presented more negative attitudes towards national outgroups than those individuals whose national identification was lower. Moreover, especially detrimental for attitudes towards minority members was national identification based on essentialist characteristics of the majority group, such as a common ethnic ancestry, language and culture. In their study utilising thirty-one national majority samples, Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) found that prejudice towards immigrants was stronger in those countries where national identification is defined within ethno-linguistic lines (for example, in Finland) than in countries which promote a more civic understanding of national belonging. Similarly, Pehrson, Brown and Zagefka (2009) corroborated that national identification was associated with stronger prejudice towards asylum seekers only among those majority members who endorse the essentialist definition of national identification. However, in contrast to the aforementioned results, the cross-sectional and longitudinal findings of Meeus et al., (2010) point to the possibility that stronger national identification as such predicts stronger endorsement of its essentialist understanding, which in turn results in stronger prejudice of national majority members towards ethnic outgroups.

When compared to national majority group members, national identification of minority group members refers rather to identification with mainstream society than identification with the national majority group as such. This is due to the fact that minority groups and immigrants cannot identify with the receiving society on the basis of shared ethnic ancestry or culture. Thus, national identification of minority group members can only build upon civic participation and citizenship (see Smith, 2001; Sindic, 2011), and such identification is fostered by positive acculturation attitudes towards the standards and values of the host country as well as the degree of acceptance

by the national majority group (Nesdale & Mak, 2000). How such civically-understood national identification of minority group members relates to attitudes towards the national majority group can be explained by the common ingroup identity model (CIIM) of Gaertner and Dovidio (2000). The authors proposed that changing the perception of boundaries between different groups and focusing on more inclusive group memberships within the given social context, leads to identification with a superordinate ingroup that also embraces members of former outgroups. Inclusive superordinate identification, in turn, leads to more positive attitudes towards members of other subgroups within the superordinate ingroup (see e.g., Levin, Sinclair, Sidanius, & Van Laar, 2009; Stone & Crisp, 2007). Therefore, civically-understood national identification of minority group members should be superordinate and inclusive of the national majority group, which should further result in more positive attitudes towards the national majority. Supporting this assumption, Jasinskaja-Lahti at al. (2008) showed that national (Finnish) identification of Russian and Estonians immigrants and Ingrian-Finnish repatriates in Finland was positively associated with attitudes towards the national majority group. Also Verkuyten and Khan (2012) obtained similar results in their study on members of Malay, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups in Malaysia. Specifically, the endorsement of an inclusive national representation was associated with more positive feelings towards the majority Malay group among members of Chinese and Indian minority groups. In line with these two cross-sectional studies, Stoessel, Titzmann and Silbereisen (2012) corroborated longitudinally among young diaspora immigrants in Israel and Germany that identification with the host culture predicted over time more positive attitudes towards the national majority, a higher share of majority members in the peer network and higher social participation.

3.2.3 THE MEDIATING ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP

As demonstrated above, with SIT remaining one of the most prominent approaches in research on intergroup relations until today, ingroup identification remains an often-studied predictor of outgroup attitudes. Throughout the years, however, social psychologists have become increasingly more interested in *why* high ingroup identification leads to negative attitudes towards minorities among majority group members. This has switched the focus of studies conducted in the SIT framework from investigating the *direct* relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup attitudes to examining different social psychological mechanisms underlying this association. Thus far, there is an abundance of studies showing that the identification-attitudes relationship is indeed mediated by different social psychological processes. For instance, research has shown that the association between high national identification and negative attitudes of majority group members towards immigrants is partly due to the endorsement of ethnic

representations of national identification (e.g., Meeus et al., 2010), stronger perception of realistic and symbolic threats and higher intergroup anxiety (for a review see Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).

One of the most recent attempts to explain the negative association between majority members' national identification and attitudes towards immigrants was made by Martinovic and Verkuyten (2013). These authors have introduced to the field of social psychology the anthropological concept of autochthony (Gressier, 2008), that is a belief in the indigeneity and nativeness of one's group, and argued that it can be applicable in the context of immigration. Put more specifically, autochthony refers to feelings and beliefs of ownership of a certain territory derived from its primary occupancy; these feelings are followed by different rights and entitlements, for instance the entitlement to decide about one's own country, including the exclusion of newcomers (Gressier, 2008). As Martinovic and Verkuyten (2013) propose, autochthony is relevant for national majority groups *dominating over* but not necessarily indigenous to a certain territory, and it can be used by majority members as a justification for limiting social participation of immigrants or even more severe forms of exclusion. However, in the immigration context of contemporary receiving societies, the concept of autochthony seems to be quite limited as it can only be applied to majority groups, while it cannot be used to explain the association between identification with mainstream society and attitudes towards the national majority group among immigrants. Thus, to follow this recent idea of Martinovic and Verkuyten (2013) and extend it also over minority group members, ***in this thesis it is proposed that the association between national identification and mutual attitudes of majority members and immigrants is mediated by psychological ownership of a country***.

In contrast to autochthony, psychological ownership of a country, that is possessive feelings towards one's country of birth (hosts) or residence (immigrants), does not build on the perception of primary occupancy of a certain land and as it will be shown in the following review, it can be formed by anyone, including immigrants. To date, the concept of psychological ownership (Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2001, 2003) has predominantly been utilised with reference to the work environment (e.g., Chi & Han, 2008; Mayhew, Ashkanasy, Bramble, & Gardener, 2007; Pierce, O'Driscoll, & Coghlan, 2004; Van Dyne & Pierce, 2004) in organisational psychology. In the field of social psychology of intergroup relations it has been studied only once before, particularly when the entitlement claims to the territory were investigated among children (Verkuyten, Sierksma, & Martinovic, 2015). The concept is also well known in some fields of social and behavioural sciences which have utilised it for more than a century (see Pierce et al., 2003).

As proposed by Pierce and colleagues (2001), psychological ownership builds on the individual's sense of possession (Furby, 1978) and satisfies three basic human needs. The first one, efficacy and effectance, is the need for a feeling of control over the environment, the ability to change it, and the

satisfaction felt from the outcomes of one's actions towards the environment. Self-identity, the second of the three needs, is the need to define oneself and others in a given social context. The third need, having one's own place, concerns possessing a certain space into which individuals can invest their energy and resources. The concept of psychological ownership has a rather universal applicability, as it is argued that it can be felt and demonstrated in different social environments towards both tangible objects and intangible entities, if only the context enables at least one of the three universal human needs to be fulfilled (Pierce et al., 2001, 2003).

Although the recent research on psychological ownership has been conducted in small-scale social contexts of companies, psychological ownership should also be relevant in complex social settings. As a national context of a country potentially enables individuals to fulfil the needs underlying the psychological sense of possession, the concept of psychological ownership is also applicable in this setting (see Pierce et al., 2001, 2003). In the case of political and geographical unities, such as countries, psychological ownership can be defined as a sense of possession of one's country of origin or residence. Importantly, both natives and immigrants can feel effective in their country and experience a sense of control over their actions and their outcomes in the given national setting in different life domains. They can also define themselves with reference to the national context and its different social actors, both institutional and non-institutional. Lastly, in the national context, individuals can experience psychological possession of a certain physical space: owned or rented estates which are invested in and altered according to their will, their own businesses requiring versatile input, as well as places of recreational or voluntary activities. Thus, the concept of psychological ownership can also be applied at the national level to all individuals residing in a certain country, regardless of whether they are natives, historical minorities, or immigrants. Introducing the concept of psychological ownership from the organisational context to the field of ethnic intergroup relations is one of the key contributions of this study.

According to the group engagement model of Tyler and Blader (2003) identification is an antecedent of the willingness to engage in and cooperate with a group, which further translates into attitudes towards this group. In the national context, this engagement and cooperation constitutes a deeper sense of belonging to the nation reflected in psychological ownership of a country. Thus, following the aforementioned model, psychological ownership should mediate the relationship between national identification and intergroup attitudes. As psychological ownership of a country is grounded in national identification, these two concepts are positively associated with each other among both majority members and immigrants (cf. Johnson, Morgeson, Ilgen, Meyer, & Lloyd, 2006). The strength of its association, however, differs between the two groups and should be stronger for the national majority group (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997; see also Devos, Gavin, & Quintana,

2010), as in their case national identity and ethnicity overlaps with each other, whereas there is no such interconnection among immigrants.

The consequences of psychological ownership of a country are also expected to differ between majority and minority group members. Among the national majority group, psychological ownership of a country should shape the attitudes towards immigrants just as autochthony does, due to both concepts being exclusive towards national outgroups; therefore, the relationship between psychological ownership and attitudes towards immigrants should be negative (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013). For immigrants, however, stronger psychological ownership of a host country should predict more positive attitudes towards members of the national majority group (see Beggan, 1992). For immigrants, psychological ownership of their new homeland, based on everyday civic participation in mainstream society, should elicit the perception of the hosts being members of the superordinate national *ingroup* (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Thus, psychological ownership of a country should be associated with more positive attitudes towards the hosts among immigrants.

3.3 INTERGROUP CONTACT AND OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

3.3.1 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE CONTACT

Contact with outgroup members and its role in the development of outgroup attitudes has always attracted researchers' attention. The idea of utilising contact in the process of improving intergroup relations was first embodied by Allport (1954) in his so-called contact hypothesis, which proposed that direct interactions with outgroup members may have beneficial effects on attitudes towards the outgroups, providing that the groups in contact have equal status, they are engaged in cooperative behaviour aimed at achieving common goals, and the intergroup contact has institutional support. This early hypothesis was further developed by Pettigrew (1998), who in his intergroup contact theory once again acknowledged face-to-face contact with members of an outgroup to be a powerful means of improving intergroup attitudes. As Dixon, Levine, Reicher and Durrheim (2012) point out in their review, to date the contact hypothesis is still the most important research tradition on the reduction of outgroup prejudice.

Previous research in the framework of the contact theory has traditionally operationalised contact as either the quantity or the quality of face-to-face interactions with outgroup members. The quantity usually refers to the number of outgroup friends and the quality is typically understood as the magnitude of contact positivity. As shown in the review of Pettigrew and Tropp (2008), both the quantity and the positivity of contact have been found—cross-sectionally and experimentally—to result in a range of more positive

intergroup perceptions, including more favourable outgroup attitudes among majority and minority group members. The positive effect of contact on outgroup attitudes is, however, usually stronger among majority than minority members, possibly due to the fact that minority members are more accustomed to meet majority members and in their case intergroup contact is not as beneficial for outgroup perceptions as for the majority group (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2006). Regardless of this majority-minority difference in the strength of prejudice reduction, contact—not only direct but also indirect such as extended and vicarious contact (for a review, see Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini, & Wölfer, 2014)—remains among the most often utilised tools in interventions aimed at improving intergroup attitudes (see e.g., Dixon et al., 2012).

Compared to positive contact, the interest of social psychologists in *negative* intergroup interactions and their effects on intergroup perceptions, including outgroup attitudes, has been less frequent. Only recently can it be observed that researchers are switching from examining the role of only positive intergroup encounters to investigating the simultaneous role of both positive *and* negative contact on intergroup relations. However, this qualitative change in the scope of contact research seems to be very much needed and justified. The few studies which have so far examined the effects of negative contact between different social groups have shown that over and above the effects of positive contact, negative contact also has important implications for intergroup relations.

In his recent study on majority group members, Aberson (2015) found that negative intergroup contact predicts affective and cognitive prejudice towards the outgroup more strongly than positive contact reduces these two types of outgroup negativity. This finding is in line with the earlier results obtained by Barlow, Paolini and colleagues (2012), who found that among majority group members negative contact with different ethnic groups is more strongly linked to negative attitudes towards these outgroups than positive contact is to more favourable attitudes. In a similar vein, Graf and colleagues (2014) found positive contact with different national outgroups, although more frequent than negative contact, to be only weakly associated with more positive attitudes towards these outgroups. Instead, less frequent but negative contact predicted negative outgroup attitudes more consistently, especially when contact negativity was linked to the contact person, rather than the circumstances of the contact situation. Although the aforementioned studies were conducted among Westerners, this same detrimental effect of negative contact on outgroup attitudes has also been found among non-Western participants. In their recent study, Techakesari et al. (2015) showed that negative contact predicted prejudice and negative meta-perceptions about the outgroup more consistently than positive contact not only among White Americans but also among Hong Kong Chinese and Buddhist Thai participants in their national intergroup contexts. A possible explanation of the aforementioned findings could be that negative contact increases the salience

of the outgroup and accentuates the differences and boundaries between the ingroup and the outgroup (see Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). Such clear ingroup-outgroup distinction, according to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), fosters more negative attitudes towards the outgroup.

Although the results of the presented studies advocate a more prominent role of negative than positive contact, other studies point out the key role of positive contact in shaping intergroup relations in diverse societies. For example, Mähönen and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2015) showed that among Ingrian Finnish repatriates negative contact longitudinally predicted more negative attitudes towards the majority group, and this occurred through stronger perceptions of intergroup threats. However, positive contact predicted more positive attitudes towards the majority *and* outgroup immigrants, and this effect occurred through the perception of more intergroup gains. Thus, what seems to be especially important in contact research is to study negative and positive contact simultaneously. ***Accordingly, this study focuses on both positive and negative contact experienced by minority group members during interactions with members of the national majority group and acknowledges the simultaneous presence of these two types of contact and their effects on intergroup attitudes. Moreover, as presented below, the study takes one step further and shows that the role of contact does not limit itself to predicting attitudes towards only the primary outgroup but it also extends its effects to secondary outgroups.***

3.3.2   THE SECONDARY TRANSFER EFFECT

As reviewed above, the beneficial effects of direct contact with outgroup members on attitudes towards the outgroups are nowadays well known and used in interventions aimed at improving intergroup relations (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). However, less interest has so far been dedicated to investigating the role of contact with one outgroup in reducing prejudice towards *other* outgroups not directly participating in the contact situation. Knowing that contact with one outgroup may help to improve attitudes towards other outgroups can also be a very useful and convenient strategy of prejudice reduction, especially in social contexts in which different groups do not necessarily have or seek much contact with one another (cf. Christ et al., 2010; Eller, Abrams, & Gómez, 2012 on extended contact).

Encouraged by his preliminary findings, Pettigrew (2009) proposed that the effects of contact with one primary outgroup can be generalised to other outgroups which were not involved in intergroup contact directly and result in more positive attitudes towards these secondary outgroups. This phenomenon, which was later found to emerge over and above the effects of actual contact with secondary outgroups (see Tausch et al., 2010), has become known as *the secondary transfer effect* (STE). To date, no research on STE, however, explored whether *negative* intergroup contact produces the STE

which would correspond to that elicited by positive contact. Investigating the role of negative contact in the development of the STE is, therefore, one of the aims of this thesis. Positive STEs have so far been observed among both majority and minority members across different national contexts and towards different minority outgroups (e.g., Pettigrew, 2009; Hindriks et al., 2014; Schmid et al., 2014). Among members of minority groups, studies have usually focused on the beneficial effects of contact with one minority group on the improvement of attitudes towards other minority groups (e.g., Hindriks et al., 2014; Pettigrew, 2009). The effects of contact with the national majority group on attitudes towards other ethno-cultural minorities were, however, investigated only by Bowman and Griffin (2012) and Tausch et al. (2010).

3.3.3 MEDIATORS OF THE SECONDARY TRANSFER EFFECT

Previous studies conducted in the STE framework predominantly focused on identifying different *mediating* processes underlying the translation of contact with the primary outgroup into attitudes towards secondary outgroups. In their review, Lolliot et al. (2013) names attitudes towards the primary outgroups and deprovincialisation—the reappraisal of the ingroup's norms and values due to outgroup contact (see Pettigrew, 1998)—to be the most often tested mediators of the STE. However, deprovincialisation has so far failed to contribute to a much better understanding of the STE as—depending on its operationalisation (for review, see Lolliot et al., 2013)—it produced mixed outcomes. In contrast, *attitudes towards the primary outgroup* have proved to be an important mediating mechanism in the development of the STE (e.g., Bowman & Griffin, 2012; Pettigrew, 2009) due to their generalisation from one object (primary outgroup) to another, similar object (secondary outgroup) (see Fazio, Eiser, Shook, 2004; Shook, Fazio, & Easier, 2007). Preliminary evidence of this process, known as the attitude generalisation hypothesis (see Lolliot et al., 2013), was found by Pettigrew (2009) in a cross-sectional sample of majority Germans, among whom positive contact with immigrants was associated with less anti-immigrant prejudice and this, in turn, was linked to less prejudice towards homeless and gay people. However, the first authors to corroborate the importance of attitudes towards the primary outgroup as a mediator of the STE *over* and *above* (controlling for) the effects of prior contact with secondary outgroups were Tausch et al. (2010) and Bowman and Griffin (2012). In both studies, contact with the primary outgroup had a beneficial effect on attitudes towards this outgroup, and these more favourable attitudes further resulted in more positive attitudes towards various secondary outgroups.

In addition to attitudes towards the primary outgroup, in this study it is proposed that the effects of the STE are also mediated by the public collective self-esteem of the ingroup. Collective self-esteem originates in the collective self (see Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994) and can be referred to as feelings of worth and respect an

individual has towards his or her ingroup (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Public collective self-esteem is a specific component of collective self-esteem which reflects one's perception of how other people evaluate his or her ethnic group (ibid.). As overall collective self-esteem and its specific dimensions are based on one's social identity, individuals tend to maintain it positive as they wish to maintain positive social identity (Crocker et al., 1994). This can, however, be challenging in an intergroup setting due to, for instance, the perception of discrimination experienced by the ingroup which was found to lower public collective self-esteem (Barry & Grilo, 2003). Depending on social validation, collective self-esteem is largely defensive, and especially under threatening circumstances individuals tend to maintain or restore its high levels (for a review, see Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004). This can be done, *inter alia*, by becoming more negatively oriented towards outgroups (Long & Spears, 1997; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998), meaning that high overall collective self-esteem (and therefore also its high specific dimensions) should result in more outgroup derogation. However, as regards public collective self-esteem, thus far research on its association with outgroup attitudes has produced results which contradict this assumption. Specifically, Ruttenberg, Zea and Sigelman (1996) found that it was lower public collective self-esteem among Arabs which was associated with stronger derogation of the salient ethnic outgroup (Jews). Similarly, Bikmen (2011) showed that high public collective self-esteem predicted more positive outgroup attitudes among Black Americans towards Asian Americans. Furthermore, the relationship between contact and attitudes towards Asians was positive only when Blacks had high public collective self-esteem, while contact and attitudes were not associated with each other when public collective self-esteem was low. Therefore, among minority group members public collective self-esteem seems to be a likely mediator between contact experiences with the majority group and attitudes towards minority outgroups.

3.3.4   GROUP STATUS IN THE SECONDARY TRANSFER EFFECT

Besides identifying different mediational processes underlying the STE, previous research also suggests that the group's status *moderates* the effects of the STE. Evidence of the moderating role of the group's status can be found in studies which examine the role of contact with the national majority group in attitudes towards other ethno-cultural minorities by Bowman and Griffin (2012) and Tausch et al. (2010). Although the patterns of the STEs results obtained in both aforementioned studies were unclear, the findings point to the outgroups' status in society as a significant moderator of the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes. Specifically, Bowman and Griffin (2012) found that STEs resulting from positive contact with the national majority depended on the outgroup's similarity to the majority group in social status. Specifically, the STEs were stronger when the secondary minority group had similar social status to the national majority group –that

is, a high position in the country's ethnic hierarchy. In contrast, Tausch et al. (2010) found that the strongest STEs occurred when secondary outgroups were small and irrelevant for the ingroup, whereas in cases where the primary and the secondary outgroup were similar to each other, the STEs were the weakest. Therefore, group status in terms of size and power should be taken into account when the effects of contact with the majority group on attitudes towards other minority groups are examined.

In this study it is proposed that the moderating role of group status is investigated jointly with the mediating role of public collective self-esteem. This will be done through the lens of the asymmetric horizontal hostility hypothesis by White and Langer (1999; see also White, Schmitt, & Langer, 2006), according to which minority groups tend to have negative attitudes towards other minorities which are culturally similar to them, but enjoy a higher status in society. This outgroup derogation was proposed by White and colleagues to be named horizontal hostility, with its source being the minority ingroup's need to secure a positive identity. In this sense, asymmetric horizontal hostility is related to public collective self-esteem concerns, as these concerns also result from the need to have positive minority ingroup identification.

In this study, the framework of the asymmetric horizontal hostility hypothesis is developed further to include the notion of "diagonal hostility", that is negative attitudes towards higher-status minority outgroups among members of a low-status minority. These negative attitudes are proposed to derive from negative contact experience with the majority group, subsequently reflected in the decline of the public collective self-esteem of the low-status minority ingroup. Diagonal hostility accounts for the fact that intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies reflect at least the two social dimensions, namely cultural similarity and status position, and the impact of these two dimensions on outgroup attitudes is examined in this study jointly. Although the degree of cultural similarity to the national majority group has been acknowledged to largely determine the social position of each minority group in society's ethnic hierarchy (see, e.g., Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004), cultural similarity is not the only predictor of status differences in diverse national settings. As recently shown by Tawa and colleagues (2013, 2015) in their studies in the US context conducted among Black, Asian and White Americans, the approach to interminority relations in plural societies should account for the multidimensionality of social space. This multidimensionality is responsible for different minority groups experiencing power and privilege relative to one another, and both relative to the dominant majority. Therefore, when trying to explain interminority relations, it needs to be acknowledged that intergroup attitudes are based on both horizontal closeness to the majority (cultural similarities) and vertical closeness to the majority (status).

4 SUPPORT FOR MULTICULTURALISM AMONG MINORITY MEMBERS

4.1 DEFINITION

While intergroup attitudes still remain widely investigated in research on intergroup relations, the growing cultural diversity in Western receiving societies has at some point entailed new ways to approach the dynamics of relations between different ethno-cultural groups. Researchers' attentions have switched to studying more tangible forms of orientation towards minority groups and their rights. One of such approaches is investigating the actual support for different diversity ideologies and policies, including *multiculturalism*. Multiculturalism is an ideology which is inextricably linked to cultural diversity and its accommodation within society, and it can be dated back to the 1970s when it was developed in the receiving Western countries as an opposition to assimilation and segregation policies which were common at that time (see Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004). This diversity ideology shifts the focus from the majority group to minority groups and emphasises the importance of acknowledging and—even more—positively valuing individuals' group memberships in the process of achieving and promoting equality in diverse societies (for a review, see Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). As emphasised by Rattan and Ambady (2013), multiculturalism, which promotes group identities and its acceptance among outgroup members, views group membership in a positive light as the source of prised and constructive differences rather than the cause of intergroup conflict. Such conceptualisation of intergroup differences by the multicultural ideology is in opposition to how these differences are viewed in, for instance, SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which emphasises their fundamental role in the development of intergroup bias.

According to the acculturation model of John Berry (1997), assimilation and segregation policies are reflected by assimilation and segregation orientations, respectively. The multicultural policy is equated to the individual-level integration orientation (Berry, 2001, see also Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005), which builds on maintaining one's cultural heritage and having positive relations with other groups in society. Importantly, integration can be looked at from two perspectives: the perspective of the majority group and that of minority groups. Thus, looking through the lens of the acculturation model, support for multiculturalism has a slightly different meaning for majority and minority group members. Specifically, majority group members support multiculturalism when they allow members of different minority groups to preserve their culture of origin and support their equal participation in society. Minority group members, on the other hand, support multiculturalism in two ways: first, when they are

willing to maintain their own ethnic cultural heritage and at the same time fully contribute to host society; and second, when they acknowledge the right of other minority groups to preserve their cultures of origin and to fully belong to the host society. As Berry and Kalin (1995) have noticed, support for multiculturalism is not unconditional and it is strongly linked to the perception that support for this ideology brings benefits to the individual themselves or their ethnic ingroup. Support for this diversity ideology can also be decreased by the perception of external threats to the ingroup (see Rattan & Ambady, 2013).

4.2 ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

In diverse societies, individuals' identification can be complex and can embrace different group memberships at the same time. This is especially relevant for minority group members who may not only identify with mainstream society in terms of national identification but also preserve ties with their ethnic group and their culture of origin in the form of ethnic identification. The co-existence of these two forms of collective identification among minority group members was signalised already by Hutnik (1991) in her bi-dimensional model of ethnic and national identification. The author acknowledged that simultaneous identification with both the heritage and the host culture reflects smooth integration of minority members into mainstream society. The importance of maintaining one's culture of origin and at the same time adopting the mainstream culture of the host society was also emphasised by Bourhis et al. (1997), who viewed these two separate identity processes as essential for successful adaptation of minority group members. Ethnic identification builds on the cognitive and affective ties with one's ethnic minority group (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Phinney, 1990) and, as with national identification, it is a vivid part of one's self-concept. Previous research focusing on its significance among minority group members found that ethnic identification is especially beneficial for personal well-being (for a meta-analysis, see Smith & Silva, 2011) and it fosters successful socio-cultural adaptation to the host society (for a review, see e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

In social psychology of intergroup relations, ethnic identification has often been examined with reference to minority members' attitudes towards the majority (e.g., Duckitt, Callaghan, & Wagner, 2005; Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007) or other minority groups (see e.g., Bikmen, 2011). As favourable outgroup attitudes are indicators of socio-cultural adaptation into mainstream society, this line of research ethnic identification can be viewed as a predictor of successful integration of minority members. The results obtained so far, however, do not clarify the relationship between these two aforementioned constructs: While in some national contexts the relationship between ethnic identification and outgroup attitudes was negative, in other contexts it was

either non-existent (for a review, see Duckitt et al., 2005) or positive (e.g., Phinney et al., 2007). This lack of consistent results regarding the role of ethnic identification in the formation of outgroup attitudes prompted researchers to switch their attention to other possible indicators of successful integration of minority members into the mainstream.

In societies consisting of many ethno-cultural groups, such an indicator could be support for multiculturalism, as it reflects support for other ethnic groups and their rights. Support for multiculturalism can also be viewed as a marker of integration which requires more active engagement in society than just having positive outgroup attitudes, as it implies not only a positive orientation towards outgroups but also active acknowledgement and promotion of ethnic differences.

Minority group members favour multiculturalism over other diversity ideologies, for instance assimilation (see Rattan & Ambady, 2013). This is not surprising, as multiculturalism can be viewed by minority group members as one of the ways to not only preserve their own cultural heritage in a diverse environment but also to be granted the same rights to participate in society as the majority and other ethnic minority groups. In either words, for minority group members multiculturalism not only supports their minority heritage and minority identity it also allows for upward social mobility (see Verkuyten, 2006). Therefore, stronger identification with one's ethnic minority group should enhance support for multiculturalism as it directly benefits the ingroup and its members (see Berry & Kalin, 1995). Previous research has indeed supported this prediction, showing that ethnic identification is positively associated with the endorsement of the multicultural ideology (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006).

4.3 ETHNIC SUPERIORITY

While there is little doubt that ethnic identification can be beneficial for minority group members in many respects, the question remains whether this is *always* the case. Like every collective identification (see David & Bar-Tal, 2009), ethnic identification is complex and conceptualising it accurately is as crucial as it is difficult due to a plethora of often conflicting views about what group identifications mean and what dimensions they embrace (see Jackson, 2002; Leach et al., 2008; Roccas et al., 2008). It is thus possible that while some aspects of ethnic identification promote positive intergroup relations and smooth integration of minority members into the host society, its other aspects may be less important or even detrimental to those processes. The framework which offers more insight into the complexity of ethnic identification is the model of group identification by Roccas et al. (2008), which integrates previous largely independent conceptualisations of identification with groups. According to this model, ethnic identification consists of four distinctive modes. The first mode is importance, which reflects

cognitive and affective aspects of ethnic identification related to viewing the ethnic ingroup as part of one's self-concept; the second mode is commitment, reflecting positive affect towards one's ethnic ingroup and a subsequent willingness to benefit from the group; the third mode is deference—the reflexless compliance to group's rules, norms and regulations, accompanied by the rejection of any criticism of the ethnic ingroup; the fourth mode is superiority, which has a strong comparative character and refers to the perception of one's ethnic ingroup being superior to and more worthy than other ethnic groups in society. As Roccas and her colleagues emphasise, individuals may identify highly with some modes but weakly with others, and what should be particularly focused on is the *combinations* of modes, as different combinations are likely to lead to different intergroup outcomes.

Among the four modes, Roccas et al. (2008) point at superiority as this aspect of group identification that is particularly strongly related to a negative orientation towards outgroups. This is because superiority resembles other social psychological concepts of nationalism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), blind patriotism (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; see also Staub, 1997) and collective narcissism (see Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009; see also Bizumic & Duckitt, 2008), which have all been found to predict outgroup negativity. Research on nationalism, that is the evaluation of one's nation as superior to and entitled to domination over other nations (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), and blind patriotism, namely an inflexible attachment to one's country reflected in an unquestioning positive evaluation, devoted loyalty, and intolerance of criticism (Schatz et al., 1999), show that both these constructs are detrimental to intergroup relations. Nationalism strengthens the positive associations between ingroup identification and evaluation and outgroup derogation (Mummendey et al., 2001), as well as being linked to stronger intolerance towards outgroups (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Green, Sarrasin, Fasel & Staerklé, 2011). In addition, it prevents constructive patriotism from reducing outgroup prejudice (Wagner, Becker, Christ, Pettigrew, & Schmidt, 2012). Blind patriotism has been found to be positively associated with support for military aggression towards national outgroups (McCleary, Nalls, & Williams, 2009), perceiving one's own nation through confrontation with other nations and more negative outgroup attitudes (Finell & Zogmeister, 2015).

Like nationalism and blind patriotism, collective narcissism, that is an emotional investment in a belief in the exaggerated greatness of the ingroup (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009), has similar negative repercussions on intergroup relations. The concept of collective narcissism has recently been proposed by Golec de Zavala and her colleagues (2009) to be a group-level extension of individual narcissism and a reflection of unrealistically inflated and unstable collective self-esteem. The authors argue that the expectation that other outgroups will recognise the greatness of the ingroup may serve as either the acknowledgement of the ingroup's reputation or a tool to protect a threatened collective ego. However, regardless of its aim, the non-fulfilment

of this expectation by outgroup members is seen as a threat to the ingroup and leads to outgroup derogation. The research conducted so far is indeed in line with these assumptions and shows that collective self-esteem predicts outgroup enmity over and above the effects of other destructive forms of ingroup positivity, for instance, blind patriotism. Specifically, it has been shown that collective narcissism is positively associated with support for military aggression, the inability to forgive the wrongdoings of outgroups, and outgroup prejudice and negativity. Moreover, a perceived threat to the ingroup's image mediates the positive relationship between collective narcissism and outgroup hostility (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, & Bilewicz, 2012).

Notably, studies on superiority and related constructs have been conducted almost exclusively among national majority groups and even less is known about the relationship between superiority and multiculturalism. However, the results of the few studies conducted demonstrate that ingroup superiority can be perceived not only by dominant majority groups but also by minority group members. In their study, Minescu and Poppe (2011) showed that perceived ethno-national superiority was one of the predictors of perceived intergroup conflict with Russians among minority groups in autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. For Black minority group members in the US, Golec de Zavala and her colleagues (2009) found positive associations between collective narcissism and belief in the ingroup's deprivation, and anti-White sentiment. As regards the relationship between superiority-related constructs and multiculturalism, Spry and Hornsey (2007) found that among majority Australians blind patriotism was negatively associated with support for multiculturalism and immigration, as well as with support for providing cultural services to immigrants.

The aforementioned results advocate more research which would clarify the role of the perceived ingroup's superiority in intergroup relations from the perspective of minority group members, including how this perceived superiority affects support for multiculturalism in societies comprised of different ethno-cultural groups. As it has been discussed earlier, support for multiculturalism is strengthened by minority members' ethnic identifications (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), most likely because multiculturalism allows at the same time for the preservation of minority cultural heritage and participation in mainstream society (see Verkuyten, 2006). However, emphasising differences between one's ethnic ingroup and ethnic outgroups, and valuing these differences positively and the ingroup as superior should decrease minority members' support for multiculturalism (cf. Spry & Hornsey, 2007). Thus**, *in this study the moderating role of ethnic superiority in the association between ethnic identification and support for multiculturalism is examined.***

5 SUPPORT FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION

5.1 DEFINITION

Positive intergroup attitudes and the extent to which individuals support multiculturalism are the indicators of the quality of intergroup relations in diverse societies. While positive attitudes reflect a rather passive solidarity with ethno-cultural outgroups by only evaluating them favourably, supporting the multicultural ideology can be regarded as a more active form of intergroup solidarity, as it requires promotion of outgroups' cultural heritages and equal rights for all groups. However, both intergroup attitudes and support for multiculturalism focus almost entirely on outgroups, with the latter only suggesting support for the *ingroup's* rights. Thus, to investigate intergroup solidarity in diverse societies more deeply, a concept which overarches support for the rights of both the ingroup and the outgroups is needed.

The concept which complies with this requirement is *collective action*, defined by Becker (2012, p. 19; see also Klandermans, 1997) as "any action that promotes the interests of one's ingroup or is conducted in political solidarity" (Becker, 2012, p. 19; see also Klandermans, 1997) with the outgroup. Collective action can be understood in versatile ways (Simon et al., 1998; Simon, 2004), including explicitly politicised collective behaviours such as protests and strikes, but also more everyday behaviours, for instance signing a petition or attending a group meeting (Simon et al., 1998). It serves the interest of the ingroup and is directed at advocating the ingroup's rights when behaviour of individuals is geared by their group membership and they act in concert with other group members (Haslam, 2004). When collective action is conducted in support of outgroups, it builds on solidarity with a particular outgroup and its members (Becker, 2012). Support for collective action reflects a relatively active aspect of intergroup solidarity, as in contrast to intergroup attitudes and support for multiculturalism, it requires the readiness to engage in the actual and tangible activities promoting the ingroup's and/or the outgroups' rights in diverse societies.

In social psychology, support for collective action has traditionally been studied from three perspectives which see collective action as behaviour anchored in and deriving from social identity, the perception of injustice done to the ingroup, and the belief in the ingroup's efficacy in empowering itself in the given intergroup context (see van Zomeren et al., 2008). The more recent review by van Zomeren (2013) proposes slightly different core motivations among members of disadvantaged minority groups for undertaking collective action: identity, emotion, morality and efficacy. In this classification, identity means group identification, emotion refers to feelings of group-based anger reflecting perceived unfairness, morality refers to the sense of violated moral standards, and efficacy concerns group efficacy beliefs. Of all the prerequisites

of collective action, social identification, the perception of injustice, and emotions will be discussed in the following in more depth.

5.2 SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION AND THE PERCEPTION OF INJUSTICE

The crucial role of social identification in support, and the willingness to engage in collective action to improve the conditions of the ingroup, have already been emphasised by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In plural societies, ethno-cultural groups differ in social status in relation to one another and in relation to the majority group (see Tawa et al., 2013; 2015). These status differences are reflected in the existing social hierarchy (Hagendoorn, 1993, 1995), which the majority group is usually interested in maintaining (see Dovidio et al., 2007; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008). SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that as minority members at least to some extent identify with their ethno-cultural group, being a member of a low-status group is inevitably linked to negative social identification and, therefore, is not socially rewarding. Thus, in order to increase the positive value of their social identification, individuals will be motivated to seek measures which would enhance their status. SIT divides such status-enhancement strategies into individual and collective ones and notice that group members' preference for either of them depends on external factors, such as the degree of permeability of social boundaries and the legitimacy and stability of intergroup relations in society. Individual mobility, that is abandoning the low-status social group which offer socially stigmatised identification for a higher status group offering more positively evaluated social membership and identification, can be successful only when the boundaries between groups are permeable (for a review, see Ellemers, Wilke, & Van Knippenberg, 1993).

However, individuals are often blocked from leaving their low-status group and achieving upward social mobility when joining a higher status group is not possible. This is especially relevant for members of ethno-cultural minorities for whom switching memberships for another but higher in status ethno-cultural minority group or for the majority group is highly problematic. Therefore, members of low-status minority groups have to seek other ways of improving their devalued social identification than individual mobility. In the case of impermeable social boundaries, SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes an alternative strategy of enhancing social status, namely collective mobilisation of ingroup members and their engagement in actions aimed at improving the position of the ingroup as a whole. Collective actions diminishing status differences between social groups in society are particularly useful for enhancing the ingroup's status when status differences between groups are unstable. They also enable upward mobility for the whole ingroup (see Ellemers et al., 1993).

Social identification of ingroup members and its motivating role in collective mobilisation towards achieving more social equality has initiated different lines of research on collective action in various intergroup settings. Amongst the first to corroborate the importance of ingroup identification for engagement in collective action were Drury and Reicher (1999; 2000; 2005). Another prominent line of research on collective action building on the SIT paradigm are the studies by Simon, Stürmer and colleagues (for a review, see Stürmer & Simon, 2004), who extended the understanding of social identification as identification with the disadvantaged ingroup to identification with social movement organisations, that is a so-called politicised identity. Such identification is more agentic and "political" in its nature than ingroup identification, and therefore it is engaged in the ingroup's empowerment through different forms of political struggle performed in the public domain, such as protests (for a review, see van Zomeren et al., 2008). A more recent perspective focuses on the complexity of minority group members' identification, particularly dual minority-majority identification (e.g., Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon et al., 2013; Klandermans et al., 2008) or the interplay between majority (national) identification and different forms of minority (ethnic, religious) identification (e.g., Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014).

While recent theorisations (see van Zomeren et al., 2008: van Zomeren, 2013) acknowledge the crucial role of social identification, they also point out that social identity processes are not operating alone in the development of collective action but are closely connected to the subjective feeling of injustice. As van Zomeren and his colleagues (2008) have noticed, this is because intergroup comparisons in a culturally diverse environment not only inform minority members how their ethno-cultural ingroup is treated when compared to other groups in society. These comparisons also give foundations for ingroup members to form their own beliefs whether the treatment being received by the ingroup on a daily basis is just or unjust. The perception of this treatment being unjust is closely linked to the perception of the ingroup experiencing a sense of subjective disadvantage and feelings of group-based deprivation, which were both found by Smith and Ortiz (2002) in their meta-analytic review to be strong predictors of collective action. As with minority members, intergroup comparisons can be informative for majority members about how minority outgroups are treated in relation to one another and the majority ingroup. The perception of unjust intergroup power relations can motivate majority group members to act in solidarity with disadvantaged minorities in order to challenge social inequalities and achieve social change (for a review, see e.g., Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). Thus, the perception of social injustice in intergroup relations is necessary for the development of collective action tendencies among both minority and majority group members. However, this willingness of the majority group to help disadvantaged minorities attain higher social status in society has not been studied as extensively as the willingness to improve the status of one's own

minority ingroup (for an exception, see Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008).

5.3 CULTURAL DISCORDANCE

In receiving societies, immigrant and other minority groups are on a daily basis exposed to and expected by the majority group to adapt to the host culture. Moreover, minority members interact—at least on a superficial level—with members of the majority group every day. Members of the national majority group, in turn, often have fewer opportunities for interactions with minority group members, especially in the receiving societies in which the share of immigrants and other minorities in the total population is low. However, regardless of the less frequent possibilities for intergroup contact, members of the majority group can still observe how minority members integrate into society and form their opinions about minority culture as such, as well as noting the compatibility of its values with the values emphasised in the host culture. If some features of the minority culture are assessed positively, majority members can decide to adapt these features to the host culture. This reciprocal process of cultural exchange which takes place between the majority and the minority group is known as *acculturation* and it should result in the change of cultural patterns of either or both cultural groups which interact with each other (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovitz, 1936). In reality, however, the majority as the dominant group often only imposes its cultural preferences over subordinated minorities (see Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Navas et al., 2005) without adapting (important) parts of minority culture to its own majority culture.

From the perspective of the acculturation models of Berry (1997) and Bourhis et al. (1997), intergroup relations in diverse societies benefit most when the acculturation preferences regarding intergroup contact and minority members' cultural maintenance align among minority and majority members, and when minority members are allowed to fully participate in mainstream society. Often, however, acculturation attitudes of majority and minority groups do not ally, and there is especially discordance on the dimension of minority members' cultural maintenance. When minority group members perceive that their cultural maintenance is less supported than they wish, this can lead to conflicts with the national majority group (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). This type of cultural discordance when the majority group is perceived by minority members as not allowing minority cultural maintenance most likely reflects the majority group's assimilationist acculturation orientation (see Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997). Such a vivid disagreement between majority and minority group members on the preferred degree of minority groups' cultural maintenance is called *cultural discordance* and is seen as an identity threat among members of both majority and minority groups (Piontkowski, et al., 2002).

The important role of cultural discordance for intergroup relations in plural societies was elaborated in more detail by Piontkowski and her colleagues (2002) in the concordance model of acculturation (CMA), which largely builds on the Berry's (1997) acculturation model. Specifically, Piontkowski et al. proposed that what facilitates more negative perceptions of majority-minority relations in plural societies is discordance in terms of the acculturation dimension of cultural maintenance and not the contact or cultural adoption dimension. This claim was later supported by the findings of Sindic and Reicher (2009) and Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (2010), who showed that majority group members' opposition to cultural maintenance of the minority group was reflected in the negative association between ethnic and national identification among members of minority groups.

Besides triggering different identity and attitudinal reactions (e.g. Mähönen et al., 2010; Rohmann et al., 2006), perceived cultural discordance can also be expected to result in different behavioural actions among majority and minority group members, for instance, in support of or resistance to minority members' collective action. As shown by previous theorisations and research (van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012; van Zomeren, 2013), a prerequisite to trigger collective action is the recognition of intergroup injustice resulting from identity-related perceptions and concerns. Cultural discordance as an identity threat (Piontkowski et al., 2002) can be expected to elicit the perception of being treated unjustly by outgroup members both among minority and majority members. Specifically, when minority members are confronted with cultural discordance, the perception of social injustice occurs due to the knowledge that preserving minority culture is not accepted by the majority group. This perception of injustice built on the perceived lack of acceptance of minority culture by members of the national majority group is threatening to one's minority identity. Perceiving this sort of injustice, in turn, should strengthen minority members' support for their ingroup's collective action (see van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012) as a means for acquiring more social equality and the right to maintain the culture of origin. Among majority members, on the other hand, identity-threatening cultural discordance signals injustice because the majority group prefers minorities to adhere to majority group's cultural values instead of preserving their own culture (Piontkowski et al., 2002). Similarly as for minority members, also among majority members the perception of injustice derives from the perception of majority culture being threaten, specifically by immigrants' lack of potential compliance to the norms and values of the majority group. The perception of cultural discordance can, therefore, subsequently inhibit the majority's support for the minority group's collective action (cf. Zebel, Doosje, & Spears, 2009) as with more social equality minority groups may demand more strongly recognition of their cultural heritage. ***This study examines the extent to which perceived cultural discordance accounts for the support for collective action of the minority group among members of both the majority and the minority group.***

5.4 THE UNDERLYING ROLE OF EMOTIONAL PROCESSES

5.4.1 RECENT MODELS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

As discussed above, even in the early theorisations on collective action there was little doubt that the perception of group-based injustice in intergroup relations is crucial for collective mobilisation in the quest for social equality. However, although the predictive role of perceived injustice had not been questioned, little was known about the exact mechanism through which perceived injustice contributes to the emergence of actions undertaken by groups as a whole. Van Zomeren and his colleagues (2008) report that different lines of research within the relative deprivation theory (RDT) linked feelings of the relative deprivation of the ingroup with the perception of injustice in intergroup relations and proposed that both were a joint predictor of collective action. As the authors further notice, the empirical corroboration that the perception and feelings of deprivation predict collective mobilisation (Smith & Ortiz, 2002) has brought research on collective action close to studies on intergroup and group-based emotions and the specific action tendencies which they evoke. Nonetheless, at that time there was no framework which would synthesise this partial and fragmented knowledge on collective action. Thus, the need for an integrative approach and empirical testing of the theoretical hypotheses emerged and prompted researchers to seek for a deeper understanding of collective action processes aiming at more social equality in diverse societies.

The first response to this need to integrate previous knowledge on collective action tendencies was made by van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer and Leach (2004). The authors proposed a model in which they investigated the association between the perception of procedural unfairness and collective action. They particularly focused on the affective and cognitive processes underlying the proposed association and showed that this relationship is indirect and independently mediated by group-based anger and group efficacy. These two indirect mechanisms through which collective action tendencies emerge have become known as *emotion*-focused and *problem*-focused coping with group disadvantage. In the next step towards an integrative approach to the collective struggle against a group-based disadvantage and the attempt to achieve social change, van Zomeren and his colleagues (2008) tested another model in which they explicitly named social identification as the main predictor of collective action. This model proposing the association between social identification and collective action to be simultaneously mediated by the perception of group-based injustice and collective efficacy has become known as the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) and its relevance was corroborated empirically (see also Thomas, Mavor & McGarty, 2011).

Based on the established theoretical knowledge in the area of collective mobilisation and their aforementioned results, van Zomeren and colleagues

(2012) have recently developed a complex and integrative framework of collective action called the dynamic dual pathway model of coping with collective disadvantage. The starting point of the model is the appraisal of collective disadvantage which is based on identification with the disadvantaged ingroup and, therefore, is relevant for one's self-concept. The relevance of collective disadvantage to one's self enables individuals to initiate coping processes necessary for collective action to occur. These approach coping processes are either emotional, involving particularly group-based anger, or cognitive, evolving around the sense of the ingroup's efficacy. Specifically, the recognition of the ingroup's relative disadvantage and its relevance to the individual evokes anger on the unjust situation of the ingroup. This recognition also involves the perception that the ingroup is efficient and is able to withstand the disadvantages it experiences. Both anger and efficacy, in turn, stimulate collective mobilisation against recognised social inequalities. Thus, van Zomeren et al.'s model largely builds on the acknowledgement of the importance of the predictive role of ingroup identification and the underlying roles of emotion- and problem-focused coping in the development of collective action tendencies among members of socially disadvantaged groups.

5.4.2   INTERGROUP EMOTIONS OF ANXIETY AND TRUST

While the contribution of group-based anger to collective mobilisation for social change is now well acknowledged (van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2012), little is known whether other emotional processes, especially those specific to an intergroup context, can similarly underlie collective action tendencies. This is, however, very likely as according to the socio-functional approach (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), different identity threats evoke specific emotional responses, which in turn are associated with goals relevant to the ingroup. Such emotional responses elicited in an intergroup setting are referred to as *intergroup emotions*. Intergroup emotions are felt by ingroup members on behalf of the ingroup and occur as reactions to the ingroup's concerns resulting from a group-based appraisal of the social environment (for a review on group-based emotions, see Kuppens & Yzerbyt, 2014). According to the intergroup emotions theory (see Mackie & Smith, 2002), these shared affective states occur because group membership as an important aspect of one's self-concept makes group-based appraisal a powerful generator of collective emotional responses. Intergroup emotions emerging with explicit reference to a particular intergroup context or characteristics of the outgroup (Kuppens & Yzerbyt, 2014) are followed by various behavioural actions towards the outgroup (Mackie & Smith, 2002).

Therefore, as cultural discordance constitutes an identity threat, the association between cultural discordance and support for collective action is likely to occur through specific emotions which emerge in the intergroup context. In light of the aforementioned theorisations on intergroup emotions

and their role in intergroup relations, support for collective action can be regarded as an emotion-driven response to an everyday intergroup disagreement relevant to the ingroup identity of both the majority and the minority groups, and this concerns the acculturation dimension of minority members' cultural maintenance. In the majority-minority context, intergroup emotions which are expected to play an important role in the relationship between perceived cultural discordance and support for collective action are emotions which are typically experienced during interactions between majority and minority members, namely intergroup anxiety and outgroup trust. This is because when majority and minority groups meet, the perception of high cultural discordance is likely to not only strengthen unpleasant emotional reactions, but also downplay pleasant ones. ***Thus, this study suggests that both intergroup anxiety and outgroup trust are likely to mediate the relationship between perceived cultural discordance and support for collective action of the minority group.***

Intergroup anxiety is defined as a feeling of being personally threatened due to a possibility of experiencing embarrassment or rejection during social interactions with outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Its importance for the development of intergroup attitudes among majority and minority members has been acknowledged by previous social psychological research (see e.g., Riek et al., 2006). To date, research has shown that intergroup anxiety is linked to both cultural discordance (Rohmann et al., 2006) and collective action (Barlow, Sibley et al., 2012), but the three constructs have never been integrated into one model. Moreover, the aforementioned association was only found among majority group members. Perceived cultural discordance and intergroup anxiety are positively associated among majority group members (Rohmann et al., 2006), most likely because the cultural maintenance of minority members enhances the perception of cultural dissimilarities between majority and minority groups (see Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenbourgh, 2008). As majority group members perceive that it is impossible to simultaneously maintain the heritage culture and adopt the host culture, immigrants who are seen as preserving their cultural heritage are regarded as less familiar with, and less competent in, the host culture (Van Acker & Vanbeseleare, 2011). Thus, with the perception of high cultural discordance, immigrants are suspected to have low competence in the majority culture, which subsequently makes majority members expect intergroup interactions to be less predictable. This, in turn, can elicit higher intergroup anxiety (see also Rohmann et al., 2008) and decrease support for minority groups' collective action among majority group members (Barlow, Sibley et al., 2012), so that minority groups do not acquire the social power needed to successfully advocate the maintenance of their cultural heritage. Unlike majority groups, no association between intergroup anxiety and either perceived cultural discordance or collective action has been found among minority members (Barlow, Sibley et al., 2012; Rohmann et al.,

2006). This is possibly because not only are minority members familiar with the host culture but interactions with members of the national majority are customary for them; thus, even high cultural discordance does not elicit substantial intergroup anxiety (see Binder et al., 2009).

In addition to intergroup anxiety, a pleasant intergroup emotional response of *outgroup trust* is also expected to mediate the relationship between perceived cultural discordance and support for collective action. Trust is defined as a positive psychological bias felt toward others (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994) which allows the expectation of favourable intentions and actions of other individuals towards oneself to emerge (e.g., Molm, Takahashi, & Peterson, 2000). As pointed out by Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy and Cairns (2009), such defined trust may be viewed as an emotion (see Brewer & Alexander, 2002), which can be easily generalised to ingroup members, but can also be generalised to outgroup members (see Brewer, 1997). In the intergroup context, outgroup trust is an expectation that groups other than one's own have good intentions toward the ingroup and will advance the ingroup's needs and interests (Kelman, 2005; Tropp, 2008; Tyler, 2001). Similar to the emergence of intergroup anxiety, the development of outgroup trust is an important process underlying the formation of outgroup attitudes in various intergroup contexts (for a review, see e.g., Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). Previous studies have, however, never focused on the association between perceived cultural discordance, outgroup trust and collective action (see e.g., Wright, 2009), and to date it has only been found that trust mediates the relationship between the perception of injustice and collective action (Aryee, Budhwar, & Chen, 2002; see also Hagendoorn, Buunk, & Van de Vliert, 2002). However, the relationship between perceived cultural discordance and support for collective action can be expected to be mediated by outgroup trust. Specifically, perceived cultural discordance increases the salience of ingroup-outgroup disagreement on the acculturation dimension of minority culture maintenance and highlights the cultural dissimilarities between the majority and the minority group. Thus, the distinction between the majority and the minority group becomes even more pronounced and such salient intergroup differences have been shown to hinder the development of trust towards outgroup members (e.g., Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002). The identity-threatening character of perceived cultural discordance (e.g., Mähönen et al., 2010; Rohmann et al., 2008) can further contribute to the decrease of outgroup trust as identity threats have typically been shown to decrease trust towards outgroup members (Schmid, Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2014; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007). As outgroup trust increases the acceptance of vulnerability of one's ingroup, its association with support for minority members' collective action should depend on the ingroup's status. Specifically, among advantaged *majority members* who make themselves vulnerable by tolerating the minority group's collective struggle for more equality, trust in the minority group's good intentions should *strengthen* support for minority group members' collective

action. Among disadvantaged *minorities* who become vulnerable by abandoning the ingroup's actions for social change, trust in the majority group's benevolence should *weaken* their support for collective action (e.g., Corcoran, Pettinicchio, & Young, 2011). Thus, outgroup trust should mediate the relationship between perceived cultural discordance and support for minority members' collective action (e.g., Aryee et al., 2002) among members of both the majority and the minority group.

6 AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study aims to contribute to existing knowledge on intergroup relations in plural societies by acknowledging the reciprocal character of majority-minority and interminority interactions, which further reflect important dimensions of an inclusive integration context. The inclusive integration context is understood as a context characterised by positive intergroup attitudes, support for multiculturalism and intergroup solidarity in the struggle for social equality of all groups in society. Although to date there is a plethora of studies on the predictors of the aforementioned social psychological constructs among majority and minority members, previous research has rarely examined those predictors from the perspective of members of both these groups. The present study aims to address the aforementioned gaps by focusing not only on intergroup attitudes, the endorsement of multiculturalism and support for collective action of the minority group as such but, even more importantly, on identifying social psychological mechanisms involved in their development.

The first research question of this study focused on possessive feelings towards one's homeland (majority members) and the country of residence (immigrants; minority members), and their role in the development of intergroup attitudes. This question was covered by Article I and it asked **whether possessive feelings towards the country, that is psychological ownership of the country, mediate the association between national identification and attitudes towards the other group among majority members and immigrants**. Based on SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it is expected that group status (majority versus minority group) will moderate the relationship between national identification and intergroup attitudes, so that it will be negative for majority members but positive for minority members (*Hypothesis 1*). It is also expected that this association will be mediated by psychological ownership of the country among members of both groups, with psychological ownership being a negative mediator among majority members but a positive mediator among minority members (*Hypothesis 2*). Put more precisely, national identification should be positively associated with psychological ownership among both majority and minority members; psychological ownership, in turn, should be negatively related to attitudes towards minority members among members of the national majority group but positively associated with attitudes towards the national majority among minority members. Finally, it is hypothesised that the positive relationship between national identification and psychological ownership of the country is stronger for majority rather than minority members (*Hypothesis 3*).

The second research question concerned the impact of majority-minority contact on interminority attitudes and was addressed in Article II. It is asked

whether the positive and negative STEs resulting from contact with the national majority are independently mediated by attitudes towards the majority group (attitude generalisation) and public collective self-esteem, and whether the minority ingroup's status (low versus high) in society moderates the STE mediated by public collective self-esteem. Based on the framework of and previous studies on the STE (see e.g., Lolliot et al., 2013) it is first predicted that the process of attitude generalisation underlies the STEs among both the high-status Estonian and the low-status Russian minority groups. Specifically, more positive attitudes towards majority members should mediate the positive association between positive contact with the majority group and attitudes towards the other minority group (*Hypothesis 4*). Accordingly, it is expected that the negative association between negative contact with majority members and attitudes towards the other minority group will be mediated by less positive attitudes towards the majority group (*Hypothesis 5*). Second, it is anticipated that the positive and negative STEs will occur through public collective self-esteem, but only for the low-status minority group (see e.g., Bikmen, 2011; see also Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). Particularly, both positive and negative contact with majority members will produce the STE via public collective self-esteem among a lower status Russian minority group toward a higher status Estonian minority group. Thus, positive contact with the majority group will be associated with higher public collective self-esteem among lower-status Russians which, in turn, will be associated with their more favourable attitudes towards higher-status Estonians (*Hypothesis 6*). Accordingly, more negative contact with the majority group will be associated with lower public collective self-esteem of lower-status Russians which, in turn, will be associated with less positive attitudes towards higher-status Estonians (*Hypothesis 7*).

The third research interest concerned the endorsement of multiculturalism among minority group members, who are the main target of this ideology but whose own stance towards it is less than clear. Moreover, the ethnic superiority dimension of ethnic identification was explored as a means to understand the contradictory findings of previous studies concerning the varying degrees of support for multiculturalism in minority populations. Thus, the third research question asked **whether perceived ethnic superiority of the ingroup moderates the association between ethnic identification and support for multiculturalism among minority group members**, and it is covered by Article III. As multiculturalism promotes the maintenance of minority cultures (Verkuyten, 2006) and, therefore, promotes the interest of the ingroup, minority members who identify with their ethnic group can be expected to support this ideology. However, when a perception of the ingroup being superior to other groups in society comes into play, identification with the minority ingroup is unlikely to be associated with support for the ideology which equally benefits all, even allegedly inferior groups. Therefore, it is hypothesised that the positive

relationship between ethnic identification and support for multiculturalism will be weaker when perceived ethnic superiority is strong (*Hypothesis 8*).

The last aim of the study was to investigate support for an egalitarian change in diverse society from the perspective of both the majority and the minority group, and this issue was addressed in Article IV. The fourth research question asked **whether perceived cultural discordance is associated with support for the minority group's collective action among both minority and majority members, and whether intergroup emotions of anxiety and trust mediate this association**. Based on the frameworks of cultural discordance (Piontkowski et al., 2002; Rohmann et al., 2006) and collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2012) it is expected that cultural discordance will be directly associated with support for collective action among both majority and minority members but negatively among majority members and positively among minority members (*Hypothesis 9*). In addition, as previous studies have shown that intergroup anxiety is associated with cultural discordance and collective action only among majority members (Barlow, Sibley et al., 2012; Rohmann et al., 2006), it was hypothesised that intergroup anxiety will mediate the negative effect of perceived cultural discordance on collective action of the minority outgroup among majority members only (*Hypothesis 10*). Further, greater perceived cultural discordance should be linked to reduced levels of outgroup trust for both majority and minority group members (cf. Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Schmid et al., 2014; Tausch et al., 2007). In turn, lowered levels of trust should undermine support for collective action among the majority but strengthen support for such action among the minority (cf. Corcoran, et al., 2011). It is therefore expected that outgroup trust will mediate the effect of perceived cultural discordance on support for collective action both among majority members (i.e., a negative indirect effect) and minority members (i.e., a positive indirect effect) (*Hypothesis 11*).

7 METHODS

7.1 PARTICIPANTS

The data for this study were collected within two large projects led by Professor Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti in the Department of Social Research at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki. The first data set was collected for the project "Determinants of an inclusive Integration Context (MIRIPS-FI)" which was carried out in the years 2012-2015 as part of the international project Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS), coordinated by John Berry (see Berry, 2012). The project addressed the core issues related to the population change in Finland which results from the increasing ethno-cultural diversity in the country and aimed at investigating factors contributing to positive intergroup relations and social cohesion in Finnish society. As the project's focus was on majority-minority relations, participants were recruited among both majority (native Finnish-speaking Finns) and minority (Russian-speaking immigrants) group members. The representative sampling was conducted by the Finnish National Population Register Centre. The inclusion criteria for the majority group members were Finnish as the mother tongue, being born in Finland and residing in the country at the time of the survey. The criteria for the Russian immigrants were Russian as the mother tongue, being born in the former Soviet Union or the Russian Federation and having moved to Finland no later than January 1, 2008. The data were collected between June and November 2012 with the use of a postal survey which included a variety of social psychological measures related to immigration and acculturation (e.g., national and ethnic identification, support for multiculturalism, and acculturation attitudes). Participation in the study was voluntary and confidential. The response rate to the survey was 33.5 % (n = 334; 57 % female, M_{age} = 46) for the majority and 39.0 % (n = 313; 77 % female, M_{age} = 45) for the minority sample. The final majority and minority sub-samples used in the present study remained regionally representative, but are not representative regarding gender and age of the respondents.

The second data set was collected for the project "Searching for Inclusive National Identity (SINI)", scheduled for the years 2013-2017. The project aims at developing a social psychological model of inclusive national identity among immigrants, characterised by the permeability of group boundaries and a sense of belonging to Finnish society. As the scope of this ongoing project is on *interminority* relations, the participants were recruited among the two largest immigrant groups in Finland: Russians and Estonians. As with MIRIPS-FI, the representative sampling was conducted by the Finnish National Population Register Centre. The data were collected between May and October 2014 with a postal survey which included social psychological measures related to immigration and other minority groups in Finland (e.g.,

national and ethnic identification, and interminority contact and attitudes). The selection criteria for the immigrants were their mother tongue (Estonian or Russian), country of residence before moving to Finland (Estonia or the Russian Federation) and relocation to Finland no later than by the end of 2010. Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous. The response rate to the survey was 26.9 % ($n = 212$; 68 % female, $M_{age} = 46$) for the Estonian and 30.8 % ($n = 246$; 65 % female, $M_{age} = 43$) for the Russian sample. Due to complete anonymisation of the data collection procedure, it is not possible to determine whether the final sub-samples used in this study are still representative for the immigrant populations studied. Data for Study IV come from the final samples of Estonian ($n = 171$; 64 % female, $M_{age} = 46$) and Russian ($n = 180$; 69 % female, $M_{age} = 43$) immigrants who reported having actual contact with members of the other immigrant group.

7.2 MEASURES OF THE VARIABLES USED IN THE STUDY

During the data collection within both MIRIPS-FI and SINI projects, participants were provided with questionnaires in their mother tongues, Finnish, Estonian, or Russian. The Russian-language questionnaire was translated by two independent Russian native speakers and the Estonian-language questionnaire was translated by one Estonian native speaker.

7.2.1 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

National identification (Study I). National (Finnish) identification among native Finns and identification with Finnish society among Russian immigrants were both measured with two items addressing their affective aspects. The items were "I am happy that I am a Finn" and "I am proud that I am a Finn" for native Finns, and "I am happy that I am a part of Finnish society" and "I am proud that I am a part of Finnish society" for the Russian immigrants. As in Study I, the answering scale for this measure ranged from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*). For members of both groups the items formed a reliable scale with a Spearman-Brown reliability statistic for two-item scales (see Eisinga, Te Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013) of $\rho = .86$ for Finns and $\rho = .86$ for Russian immigrants. The items were aggregated into a single scale, with higher scores denoting stronger national identification among both native Finns and Russian immigrants.

Positive and negative contact with majority members (Study II). The amount and frequency of positive interactions with native Finns among Estonian and Russian immigrants were measured with two items: "How many ethnic Finns do you know well"? and "How often do you experience encounters with ethnic Finns you know well as pleasant"? Participants marked their responses on a scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*many*) for the first item, and

1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*) for the second item. The items were added to comprise a reliable scale of positive contact (Spearman-Brown statistic ρ = .60 for Estonian and ρ = .44 for Russian immigrants). The higher scores indicated having more frequent positive contact with members of the national majority groups. For negative contact, the frequency of everyday interactions with native Finns considered to be unpleasant was assessed with a single item "How often do you experience brief interactions (for example at work, on the bus, in the street, in shops, in the neighbourhood and so on) with ethnic Finns as unpleasant"? The response scale for the item ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). Higher scores indicated more frequent negative contact with native Finns during everyday casual interactions.

Ethnic identification (Study III). The four-item measure of Russian immigrants' identification with their ethnic group was adapted from Mlicki and Ellemers (1996) and Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997). The items tapped the cognitive ("It is important for me that I am Russian" and "I am proud that I am Russian") and the affective ("I feel that I am Russian" and "I am glad that I am Russian") aspects of ethnic identification. The items comprised a reliable scale (α = .90) where higher scores indicated stronger ethnic identification of the participants.

Cultural discordance (Study IV). A disagreement between majority and minority group members on the preferred degree of minority groups' cultural maintenance was operationalised as the discrepancy between (a) one's own attitudes toward the preservation of minority culture and (b) the outgroup's perceived attitudes toward minority cultural maintenance. Attitudes towards the cultural maintenance of Russian immigrants were assessed with a three-item scale—once from the participant's own perspective, and again from the perspective of an average outgroup member (i.e., a Russian immigrant for native Finnish participants, and vice versa). The items were: "It is important that immigrants from Russia maintain their own culture in Finland", "It is important that immigrants from Russia maintain their religion, language and traditions in Finland", and "It is important that immigrants from Russia maintain their way of life in Finland" (adapted from Rohmann et al., 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). All items used a scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*). The items formed reliable scales for personal attitudes toward cultural maintenance (α = .86 for Finns, α = .61 for immigrants), as well as for perceived outgroup attitudes toward cultural maintenance (α = .84 for Finns, α = .70 for immigrants). A single index of cultural discordance was computed by subtracting the individual scores representing perceived *outgroup* attitudes from the individual scores representing *personal* attitudes. Moreover, to facilitate interpretation, the resulting discordance index was reversed for majority group participants (see Rohmann et al., 2006). Participants with negative and zero scores on the perceived cultural discordance index (*N* = 145) were removed from the

analysis[2]. As such, positive scores on the cultural discordance index always denote that immigrants are, or are seen to be, more strongly in favour of minority culture maintenance relative to native Finns. The magnitude of the index score represents the perceived degree of discordance, in that greater scores indicate greater levels of perceived discordance between one's own and outgroup support for minority culture maintenance.

7.2.2 MEDIATORS AND MODERATOR

Psychological ownership of a country (Study I). Possessive feelings towards Finland among native Finns and Russian immigrants, both at the individual and group level, were measured with two items adapted from the Psychological Ownership Scale of Van Dyne and Pierce (2004) originally used in the organisational context. The first item was identical for participants from both groups ("I feel that Finland is my country"), whereas the other item for Finns was "I feel that Finland is our country" and for Russian immigrants "I feel that Finland is also our country (a country of Russian immigrants)". The answering scale was from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*). For members of both groups the items formed a reliable scale with a Spearman-Brown reliability statistic of ρ = .69 for Finns and ρ = .44[3] for Russian immigrants. The higher scores the participants obtained, the more they perceived Finland to be a country which belonged to them and their respective ethnic ingroup.

Attitudes towards majority members (Study II). Attitudes towards native Finns were measured with a single item, a commonly used "feeling thermometer" (see e.g., Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006; Tausch et al., 2010). Participants from both minority immigrant groups were asked about their general feelings towards majority Finns. The answering scale ranged from 1 (*extremely negative*) to 7 (*extremely positive*). Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes towards the majority group.

Public collective self-esteem (Study II). Participants' perception of feelings of worth and respect towards the ingroup were measured with four items adapted from Crocker and Luhtanen (1992). The items were "Overall, Russian immigrants are considered good by others", "Most people consider Russian immigrants, in general, to be more incompetent than other immigrant groups"

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[2] The focus of Study IV was on individuals who perceived cultural discordance as threatening to their ingroup identity. Thus, the analysis was conducted only on those majority participants who perceived that immigrants wished to preserve more of their cultural heritage than it is acceptable for majority members and on those immigrant participants who perceived that the majority group did not allow them to preserve as much of their culture of origin as they wished. Those majority participants who let immigrants to preserve their cultural heritage to a higher extent than wished for by immigrants and those immigrant participants who perceived majority members as letting them to preserve more of their cultural heritage than they wished for were excluded from the analysis. As shown by a preliminary analysis revealed that among the excluded participants the association between cultural discordance and support for collective action of the immigrant (in)group was not present.
[3] In the original article, the inaccurate value was mistakenly reported as the reliability statistic for the psychological ownership measure for Russian immigrants. The accurate value is reported in the present study.

(reverse-coded), "In general, others respect Russian immigrants", and "In general, others think that Russian immigrants are unworthy" (reverse-coded). Participants marked their answers on a scale ranging from 1 (*no, not at all*) to 5 (*yes, very much*). The items comprised a reliable scale ($\alpha = .77$ for Estonian and $\alpha = .75$ for Russian immigrants), with higher scores indicating stronger collective self-esteem.

Perceived ethnic superiority (Study III). The perception of Russian-speaking immigrants that their national ingroup is worth more than other national groups was measured with a four-item scale adapted from Roccas et al. (2008). The items were: "Representatives of other nationalities can learn a lot from Russians", "Compared to other nationalities, Russians are particularly good", "Compared to other nationalities, Russians are a very moral group", and "Russians are better than other groups in all respects". The items comprised a reliable scale ($\alpha = .81$) where higher scores indicated stronger perception of the superiority of the national ingroup.

Intergroup anxiety (Study IV). A feeling of being personally threatened due to the possibility of experiencing embarrassment or rejection during social interactions with outgroup members was measured among native Finns and Russian speaking immigrants with a six-item scale adapted from Stephan and Stephan (1985). Participants indicated on a scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*) how they would feel during an interpersonal interaction with outgroup members (i.e., Russian immigrants for native Finnish participants, and vice versa). The six adjectives used were: nervous, anxious, good (reverse-coded), awkward, safe (reverse-coded), and relaxed (reverse-coded). The items were aggregated into a reliable scale ($\alpha = .89$ for Finns and $\alpha = .80$ for immigrants), with higher scores representing greater levels of intergroup anxiety.

Outgroup trust (Study IV). The expectation that the outgroup has good intentions toward the ingroup and will genuinely act in the ingroup's best interest was measured among native Finns and Russian immigrants with three items adapted from Paolini, Hewstone and Cairns (2007). The participants marked their answers to the following items on a scale from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*): "I think that most <OUTGROUP> would treat me fairly even if they had a chance to take advantage of me", "In my opinion most <OUTGROUP> are trustworthy", and "I believe that <OUTGROUP> will not take advantage of me if I trust them". Combining the items resulted in a reliable scale of outgroup trust ($\alpha = .86$ for Finns and $\alpha = .74$ for immigrants), with higher scores denoting greater levels of trust towards the outgroup.

7.2.3 DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Outgroup attitudes (Study I, II, and IV). The attitudes towards native Finns among Russian immigrants and the attitudes of native Finns towards Russian immigrants in Study I were measured with an eight-item scale previously used

in the present intergroup context by Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2009). The items used in the scale were: "I have a positive attitude towards <OUTGROUP> people", "In my opinion <OUTGROUP> people are annoying" (reverse-coded), "I would accept with pleasure a <OUTGROUP> as a friend", "In my opinion <OUTGROUP> can be as nice as <INGOUP>", " My attitude toward <OUTGROUP> is the same as toward <INGROUP>", "I cannot imagine (if I was single) that I would date a <OUTGROUP>" (reverse-coded), "I am wary of <OUTGROUP>" (reverse-coded), and "During my free time I would like to spend time with <OUTGROUP> as much as with <INGROUP>". The participants marked their answers on a scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*). Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes towards Russian-speaking immigrants among majority Finns (α = .92) and towards Finns among Russian-speaking immigrants (α = .71). In contrast, in Study II, attitudes towards the minority outgroup among Estonian and Russian immigrants were measured with a single item, a commonly used feeling thermometer (see e.g., Hewstone et al., 2006; Tausch et al., 2010). Russian participants were asked about their general feelings towards Estonian immigrants living in Finland and Estonian participants were asked about their general feelings towards Russian immigrants living in Finland. The answering scale ranged from 1 (*extremely negative*) to 7 (*extremely positive*). Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes towards the respective outgroups.

Support for multiculturalism (Study III). Support for the multicultural ideology among Russian immigrants was measured with a ten-item scale adapted from the Multicultural Ideology Scale by Berry and Kalin (1995). The items on the scale were: "Native Finns should admit that Finnish society consists of different ethnic groups", "Ethnic minorities should be helped in preserving their cultural heritage in Finland", "From the point of view of society, it is best if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible" (reverse-coded), "A society that has a variety of different ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur", " The national unity of Finland will weaken if people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds stick to their traditions" (reverse-coded), "If ethnic minorities want to keep their culture, they should not make a display of it" (reverse-coded), "A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups" (reverse-coded), "Native Finns should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country", "Members of ethnic groups should encourage their children in retaining the culture and traditions of their homeland", and "People who come to Finland should change their behaviour in accordance with native Finns' behaviour" (reverse-coded). All items used a scale ranging from 1 (*no*) to 5 (*yes*). The items were summed to form a reliable scale (α = .70), where higher scores denoted stronger support for multiculturalism among Russian-speaking immigrants.

Support for collective action (Study IV). Intentions to support the ingroup's struggle for egalitarian change among Russian immigrants and intentions to support the immigrant outgroup's actions towards more social equality among native Finns were measured with three items developed to suit the social context of this study. The items were adapted from Simon et al. (1998) and tapped individual intentions to promote the maintenance of immigrant culture in the country and actively stand against the discrimination of immigrants. Among both native Finns and Russian-speaking immigrants the items were as follows: "I could vote for a Russian immigrant candidate who would fit my political views", "I could defend the rights of Russian immigrants in public debate/discussion", and "I could intervene verbally in situations in which I notice discrimination against Russian immigrants". The response scale ranged from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*). The items were aggregated into a reliable scale ($\alpha = .82$ for Finns and $\alpha = .71$ for immigrants) with higher scores representing greater support for collective action for Russian immigrants.

7.3 DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical analyses for all studies were conducted with SPSS software. In Studies I-III missing data was dealt with using a hot deck imputation method (Myers, 2011), which replaces a missing item value of the recipient with a value of the matching donor within the same dataset. The hot deck imputation method allows for retention of the complete sample of individuals and prevents declines in statistical power due to the loss of incomplete cases. Consequently, this method is more effective than other techniques for handling missing data, and it is commonly used in large-scale surveys (for a review, see Myers, 2011). In Study IV, participants who did not report having actual contact with the studied outgroups were listwise deleted from the analysis.

All hypotheses were tested with conditional process analysis (Hayes, 2013), using the PROCESS tool for SPSS. As Hayes suggests, in the case of smaller data sets when observed variables are used to estimate the model, this ordinary least squares regression-based path analysis provides more accurate estimations of *p*-values for the regression coefficients than structural equation models with latent variables. In Study I and IV, the hypotheses were tested with the moderated mediation model with the group's status (Majority versus Minority) being the moderator; in Study II a simple mediator model was used; in Study III, the hypothesis was tested with the moderation analysis. In all these Studies, the strength and significance of indirect effects were assessed with a non-parametric bootstrapping method using 10,000 resamples, allowing unbiased estimation of these non-normally distributed effects (see Hayes, 2013; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). In Study I and IV, the moderation of the indirect effects by group status was assessed with the test of

equality of the conditional indirect effects between the groups called the index of moderated mediation (see Hayes, 2015). All analyses were also conducted without control variables. All regression coefficients and the indirect effects in Studies I-IV are reported in an unstandardised form (*B*). The results of the simple slope analysis in Study III are reported as standardised (β).

8   MAIN RESULTS

8.1   STUDY I: PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP OF A COUNTRY AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND MUTUAL ATTITUDES OF MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS

Study I focused on examining the mediational role of psychological ownership of a country, that is possessive feelings held by individuals towards their country of birth (majority members) or residence (minority members), in the association between national identification and mutual attitudes among majority Finns and Russian immigrants in Finland. The analysis controlled for the effects of gender, age and years of education.

The descriptive statistics of Study I are presented in Table 1. Contrary to what was expected in H1, the direct association between national identification and intergroup attitudes was non-significant for both majority Finns (B = -0.01, p = .886) and Russian immigrants (B = 0.08, p = .121). Supporting H2, the indirect effect of national identification on intergroup attitudes via psychological ownership of Finland was statistically different from zero among members of both groups and equalled B = -0.20, 95% CI (-0.323, -0.094) for majority members and B = 0.05, 95% CI (0.016, 0.087) for immigrants. As indicated by the test of equality of the conditional indirect effects (*index of moderated mediation*; see Hayes, 2015), the indirect effect for the majority group differed significantly from the indirect effect for the immigrants: B = 0.25, 95% CI (0.138, 379). H3 was also supported: The simple slope analysis revealed that the positive association between national identification and ownership of Finland was indeed stronger for majority Finns (B = 0.73, p < .001) than for immigrants (B = 0.43, p < .001) (see Figure 1).

The obtained results show that stronger national identification is linked to stronger ownership of Finland among both majority Finns and Russian immigrants. Moreover, this positive association is more pronounced among majority Finns. Stronger psychological ownership, in turn, is linked to more negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among majority Finns, but to more positive attitudes towards Finns among Russian immigrants.

Table 1 *Descriptive statistics of, and Pearson's correlation coefficients between the variables used in Study I.*

	M	SD	Pearson's r							
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Majority										
1. Gender (0 = male)	---	---	1	-.01	-.03	.00	-.07	.09	-.02	.03
2. Age	45.87	13.75		1	-.11*	-.13*	-.15**	-.03	.21***	-.09
3. Years of education	14.28	4.78			1	.04	.07	-.09	-.05	.20***
4. Contact (0 = no or little)	---	---				1	.16**	-.03	-.08	.14*
5. Friendship (0 = no or few friends)	---	---					1	-.07	-.14**	.19***
6. National identification	4.63	0.72						1	.63***	-.17**
7. Psychological ownership	4.40	0.82							1	-.25***
8. Intergroup attitudes	3.38	0.98								1
Minority										
1. Gender (0 = male)	---	---	1	.01	.16**	.04	.15**	.07	.04	.04
2. Age	44.94	12.22		1	-.09	-.09	.06	-.07	.02	.04
3. Years of education	15.38	3.20			1	.14*	-.02	.11	.12*	.12*
4. Contact (0 = no or little)	---	---				1	.18**	.14*	.09	.10
5. Friendship (0 = no or few friends)	---	---					1	.26***	.19**	.12*
6. National identification	3.71	0.95						1	.46***	.30***
7. Psychological ownership	3.62	0.88							1	.32***
8. Intergroup attitudes	4.37	0.52								1

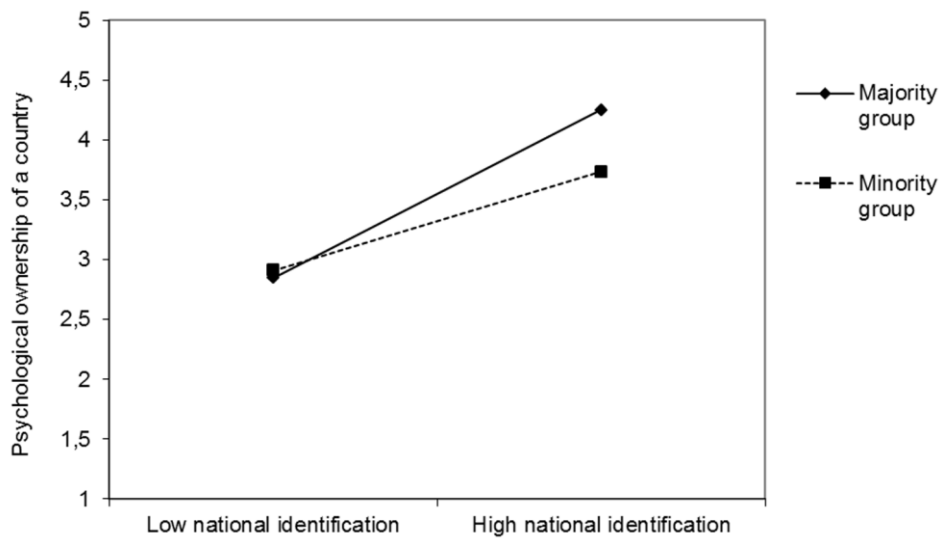*Note.* *p ≤ .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Figure 1 The moderating effect of group status (majority versus minority) on the relationship between national identification and psychological ownership of a country.

8.2 STUDY II: SECONDARY TRANSFER EFFECT (STE) OF CONTACT WITH THE MAJORITY GROUP ON INTERMINORITY ATTITUDES

The main focus of Study II was on examining the role of *positive* and *negative* contact with the majority group—native Finns—on mutual attitudes of Estonian and Russian immigrants in Finland. Two mediators of the positive and the negative STE were tested: attitudes toward the majority (attitude generalisation) and public collective self-esteem (diagonal hostility); the social status of the minority ingroup was proposed to moderate the indirect associations occurring through public collective self-esteem. The effects of gender, age, years of education, and prior positive and negative contact with the majority group and the minority outgroup were controlled for.

The descriptive statistics of Study II are presented in Table 2. The obtained results indicate that, in line with H4, positive close contact with members of the national majority group was associated with more positive attitudes towards the other immigrant group among both Estonians (B = 0.11, 95% CI (0.030, 0.218)) and Russians (B = 0.10, 95% CI (0.024, 0.227)), and this occurred through more positive attitudes towards Finns. Supporting H5, among both Estonian (B = -0.15, 95% CI (-0.261, -0.071)) and Russian (B = -0.05, 95% CI (-0.128, -0.010)) immigrants negative everyday contact with members of the national majority was associated with less positive attitudes towards the other immigrant group and this occurred through less positive attitudes toward Finns. Further, H6, stating that among Russian immigrants the effect of positive close contact with majority Finns on attitudes towards Estonian immigrants will be positive and indirect through elevated public collective self-esteem, was supported. The indirect effect of positive close contact with Finns on attitudes towards Estonians via public collective self-esteem equalled B = 0.04, 95% CI (0.005, 0.114). As expected, the corresponding effect among Estonian immigrants was statistically non-significant with B = 0.01, 95% CI (-0.009, 0.059). Also H7, stating that among Russian immigrants the effect of negative everyday contact with members of the majority group on attitudes towards Estonian immigrants will be negative and indirect through lowered public collective self-esteem, received support. The indirect effect of negative everyday contact with Finns on attitudes towards Estonians via public collective self-esteem was marginally significant with B = -0.03, 95% CI (-0.082, 0.000). In line with the predictions, the corresponding effect among Estonian immigrants did not reach statistical significance: B = -0.01, 95% CI (-0.057, 0.018).

To sum up, among Russian and Estonian immigrants both positive and negative contact with majority Finns was related to more positive and more negative attitudes towards Finns, respectively. More positive attitudes towards Finns were, in turn, associated with more positive attitudes towards the other immigrant group among both Russian and Estonian immigrants. Accordingly, more negative attitudes towards Finns were associated with less favourable

attitudes towards the other immigrant group among both Russian and Estonian immigrants. Furthermore, positive and negative contact with majority Finns was respectively associated with higher and lower public collective self-esteem only among low-status Russian immigrants. Higher public collective self-esteem was, in turn, linked to more positive attitudes towards high-status Estonian immigrants, whereas lower public collective self-esteem was linked to more negative attitudes towards this high-status immigrant outgroup. Among high-status Estonians, public collective self-esteem did not mediate the relationship between contact with the majority group and attitudes towards low-status Russian immigrants.

Table 2   *Means, standard deviations of, and Pearson's correlation coefficients between the variables used in Study II.*

	M	SD	Pearson's r									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Estonians												
1. Gender	---	---	1	.04	.18*	-.12	-.12	-.10	-.06	.02	-.03	-.08
2. Age	46.84	11.15		1	-.07	.06	.11	-.02	-.05	.10	.03	-.03
3. Years of education	13.98	3.33			1	.09	-.07	.09	.09	.00	.00	.03
4. Contact: Russians (close +)	3.28	1.17				1	-.13	.35***	-.01	.11	.26**	.45***
5. Contact: Russians (everyday -)	2.06	0.99					1	-.05	.03	-.16*	.03	-.35***
6. Contact: Finns (close +)	4.35	0.69						1	-.24**	.17	.36***	.18*
7. Contact: Finns (everyday -)	2.09	0.71							1	-.20*	-.38***	-.01
8. Public collective self-esteem	3.53	0.69								1	.41***	.24**
9. Attitudes: Finns	5.34	0.77									1	.37**
10. Attitudes: Russians	4.29	0.98										1
Russians												
1. Gender	---	---	1	-.19*	.11	.08	.03	.07	.14	-.01	.11	.11
2. Age	43.76	11.94		1	-.05	.00	-.04	-.03	-.13	.04	-.04	-.06
3. Years of education	16.10	5.16			1	.13	-.10	.20**	-.12	.00	.15*	.27***
4. Contact: Estonians (close +)	3.21	0.92				1	.07	.30***	-.07	.18*	.14	.23**
5. Contact: Estonians (everyday -)	2.26	0.90					1	-.10	.26***	-.20*	-.10	-.30***
6. Contact Finns (close +)	4.05	0.66						1	-.15*	.28***	.34***	.17*
7. Contact Finns (everyday -)	2.34	0.79							1	-.26**	-.22**	-.05
8. Public collective self-esteem	3.35	0.68								1	.23**	.24**
9. Attitudes: Finns	5.71	0.74									1	.31***
10. Attitudes: Estonians	4.76	0.94										1

Note. $^{*}p < .05.$ $^{**}p < .01.$ $^{***}p < .001.$

8.3 STUDY III: THE IMPACT OF ETHNIC SUPERIORITY ON OUTGROUP ATTITUDES AND SUPPORT FOR MULTICULTURALISM AMONG MINORITY MEMBERS

The aim of Study III conducted among Russian immigrants was to investigate the role of perceived ethnic superiority of the ingroup in the association between ethnic identification of these immigrants and their support for multiculturalism.

The descriptive statistics of the study are presented in Table 3. The obtained results were fully in line with H8: Perceived ethnic superiority of the ingroup moderated the relationship between ethnic identification and support for multiculturalism among Russian immigrants (see Figure 2). Specifically, the positive association between immigrants' ethnic identification and their support for multiculturalism was present only for those whose perception of ethnic superiority of the ingroup was low (β = .46, p < .001) or average (β = .28, p < .001), but not when it was high (β =.11, p = .240).

Table 3   *Descriptive statistics of, and Pearson's correlations between the variables used in Study III.*

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	*M*	*SD*
1. Sex (0 = Men)	1	.03	.16**	-.09	.05	.05	.17**	---	---
2. Age		1	-.09	-.05	-.07	.13*	-.01	44.82	12.17
3. Years of education			1	.04	-.06	.16**	.02	15.37	3.20
4. Ethnicity (0 = Russian)				1	.08	-.38***	-.03	---	---
5. Ethnic identification					1	.34***	.30***	3.83	1.05
6. Perceived superiority						1	.12*	2.64	0.85
7. Support for multiculturalism							1	3.34	0.56

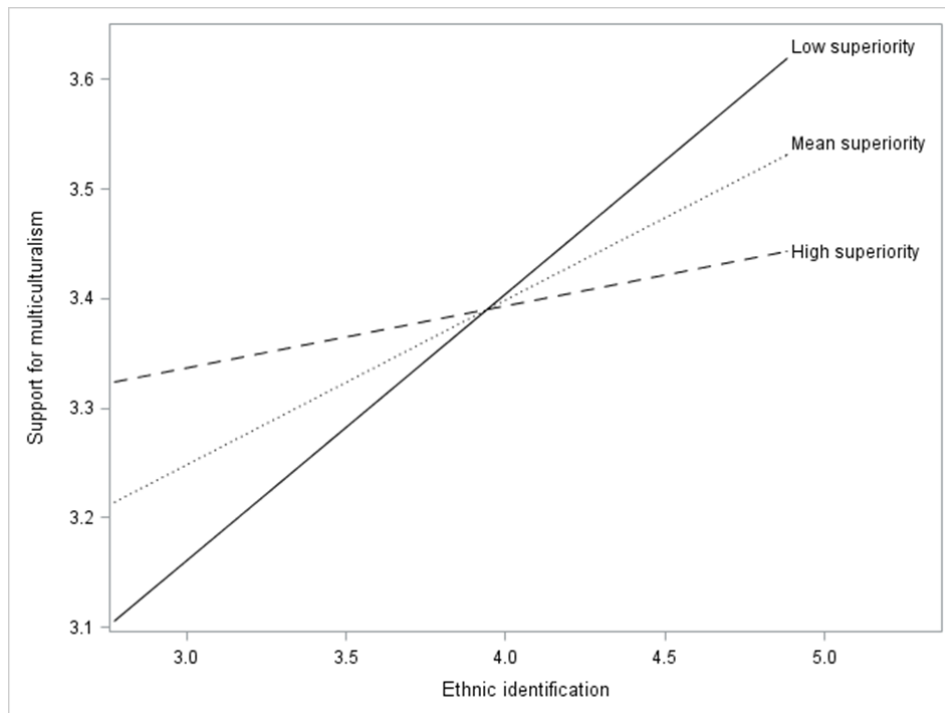*Note*: *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < .001.

Figure 2 The moderating effect of perceived superiority (-1 *SD*, *M*, +1 *SD*) on the relationship between ethnic identification and support for multiculturalism.

8.4 STUDY IV: PERCEIVED CULTURAL DISCORDANCE AND SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRANTS' COLLECTIVE ACTION

Study IV aimed at bringing together the frameworks of cultural discordance and collective action, and investigated the previously unexplored relationship between these two social psychological concepts and the role of two affective mediators—intergroup anxiety and outgroup trust—in this association. The effects of gender, age, and years of education were controlled for.

Correlations among the variables, their means and standard deviations, are shown in Table 4. The results shown that, as expected, the association between perceived cultural discordance and support for collective action was moderated by group status. As predicted by H1, cultural discordance yielded a negative and significant effect on collective action among majority Finns ($B =$ -0.33, $p <$ .001). However, among Russian immigrants, the predicted direct positive effect of cultural discordance on collective action did not reach statistical significance ($B =$ 0.05, $p =$ .533). The bootstrapped results of the conditional process analysis for the indirect effects were consistent with both

H2 and H3 (see Table 5). In support of H2, which stated that perceived cultural discordance will be negatively associated with collective action through intergroup anxiety among majority Finns but not among Russian immigrants, there was a significant negative indirect effect of perceived cultural discordance on support for collective action. This occurred through strengthened intergroup anxiety among majority Finns, whereas no such indirect effect was found for the minority group, as indicated by the statistically significant index of moderated mediation: $B = 0.16$, 95% CI (0.082, 0.247). In support of H3, which stated that outgroup trust will mediate the effect of perceived cultural discordance on support for collective action both among majority Finns and immigrants, there was a significant indirect effect of perceived cultural discordance on support for collective action occurring through weakened outgroup trust among members of both groups. However, as indicated by the statistically significant index of moderated mediation of $B = 0.17$, 95% CI (0.094, 0.260), this indirect effect differed between the two groups. Specifically, the indirect negative effect for the Finnish majority suggests that the perception of higher cultural discordance was associated with *lower* support for collective action by virtue of eroding trust towards immigrants. In contrast, those Russian immigrants who wanted to preserve their cultural heritage more than they thought majority Finns would allow, tended to show *stronger* support for collective action by virtue of lower trust towards native Finns.

To summarise, while stronger perception of cultural discordance was directly linked to less support for collective action improving the social standing of Russian immigrants among majority Finns, no direct association between these two constructs occurred for Russian immigrants. In addition to the direct negative association, the perception that Russian immigrants wish to maintain more of their culture of origin than is preferred by the majority group was linked to stronger intergroup anxiety and lower outgroup trust among majority Finns; these two intergroup emotions were, in turn, linked to less support for collective action of the immigrant group. Among Russian immigrants, perceived cultural discordance was positively associated with support for the ingroup's collective action only indirectly, and this occurred through outgroup trust. Specifically, the perception of Russian immigrants that they were not allowed to maintain as much of their heritage culture as they wished was associated with lower outgroup trust towards Finns; low outgroup trust, in turn, was linked to more support for collective action towards the higher social standing of the ingroup.

Table 4   *Descriptive statistics of, and Pearson's correlation coefficients between the variables used in the Study IV.*

| | M | SD | Pearson's r | | | | | | | | |
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Majority											
1. Gender	---	---	1	.08	-.02	-.03	-.04	-.16*	-.07	.04	.10
2. Age	45.45	13.67		1	-.19**	-.17**	-.07	-.02	.08	-.04	-.03
3. Years of education	14.03	3.50			1	.04	.07	-.20**	-.24***	-.14**	.25***
4. Contact	---	---				1	.10	.08	-.24***	.09	.11
5. Friendship	---	---					1	-.10	-.20**	.07	.17**
6. Cultural	1.63	1.01						1	.50***	-.44***	-.57***
7. Intergroup anxiety	2.73	0.90							1	-.51***	-.58***
8. Outgroup trust	3.26	1.01								1	.54**
9. Collective action	2.91	1.11									1
Minority											
1. Gender	---	---	1	.07	.14*	.09	.08	-.12	.08	-.05	.12
2. Age	44.39	12.31		1	-.07	-.17**	.01	-.06	-.07	.05	.01
3. Years of education	15.41	3.15			1	.07	.00	-.06	-.08	.00	-.03
4. Contact	---	---				1	.00	.05	-.02	-.11	.05
5. Friendship	---	---					1	-.11	-.20**	.19**	-.11
6. Cultural	1.13	0.70						1	.09	-.18**	.07
7. Intergroup anxiety	1.96	0.75							1	-.31***	.24***
8. Outgroup trust	3.90	0.76								1	-.22**
9. Collective action	3.56	0.92									1

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

Table 5   *Bootstrapped indirect effects of cultural discordance on collective action via intergroup anxiety and outgroup trust in Study IV.*

| | Intergroup anxiety | | | | Outgroup trust | | | |
Group membership	B	SE	LL CI	UL CI	B	SE	LL CI	UP CI
Finns	-0.14*	0.04	-0.219	-0.075	-0.13**	0.03	-0.202	-0.073
Immigrants	0.02	0.02	-0.011	0.069	0.04'	0.03	0.001	0.112

Note. *At least *p* < .05. LL CI and UP CI = lower and upper level of the bias corrected confidence intervals for α = .05.

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9 DISCUSSION

9.1 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

9.1.1 THE MAIN CONTRIBUTION

Acknowledging the power of social identification and other identity-related constructs in shaping intergroup perceptions and behaviours has a long tradition in social psychology. Elaboration on the crucial role of contact in improving intergroup relations is not a novelty either. The present study, however, goes beyond the previous developments in research on relations between different groups in plural societies by approaching these relations simultaneously from the perspective of the national majority group and the minorities. Moreover, the focus of this study is put not only on investigating the direct impact of different identity-related constructs and contact on intergroup attitudes, support for multiculturalism and intergroup solidarity, but rather on shedding more light on the processes which underlie these relationships. Therefore, in addition to extending the existing knowledge on the reciprocal influences in intergroup relations, the results of this study deepen our understanding of the social psychological processes involved in the development of more inclusive and positive relations in ethno-culturally diverse societies.

In this study, majority-minority and interminority relations between Finns and immigrants have been approached through the lens of SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Allport's contact hypothesis (1954) and the theory of acculturation (Berry, 1997). The three determinants of positive intergroup relations—intergroup attitudes, endorsement of the multicultural ideology and support for collective action towards egalitarian change in society—vary with the degree of engagement dedicated by an individual to promoting good quality relations with other groups. Specifically, while intergroup attitudes reflect relatively passive orientation towards outgroups, supporting multiculturalism requires more pro-active orientation towards advocating in favour of ethno-cultural diversity in the country. Even greater engagement in the surrounding social context and dedication to equality of intergroup relations is needed to support collective action of the minority outgroup or one's own minority ingroup. Thus, the perspective taken in this study enables a deeper insight into processes underlying the different levels of majority and minority members' engagement in promoting positive intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies.

At the primary level of engagement reflected in intergroup attitudes, this study makes two important contributions. The first contribution is that a new social psychological mechanism explaining how national identification is reflected in intergroup attitudes among both majority and minority members,

namely psychological ownership of a country, has been identified. Psychological ownership of Finland, which can be regarded as a manifestation of national identification, proved to shape attitudes towards other group in accordance with the way in which national identification would be expected to manifest itself. Among members of the national majority group, psychological ownership of Finland excluded members of the minority group: Reinforced by national identification, psychological ownership in turn elicited more negative attitudes towards minority members. This negative indirect association between national identification and attitudes towards immigrants occurring via psychological ownership of Finland is possibly linked to rather essentialist representations of Finnishness (Varjonen et al., 2013). These representations exclude immigrants from the national ingroup and interfere with the development of a superordinate national ingroup and superordinate national identification among majority members. In contrast, among minority members, psychological ownership of Finland reinforced by identification with Finnish society was inclusive of majority members. This suggests that both national identification and psychological ownership of Finland among immigrants operate at the superordinate level of identification, in line with CIIM (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

The second contribution at the primary level of engagement is that the study sheds more light on the role of attitudinal and collective self-esteem processes in the development of the STE, that is how contact with members of the national majority group is translated into interminority attitudes among members of low- and high-status immigrant groups. Moreover, in this study not only positive but also negative contact with the majority group was considered. For the first time it is shown that, in addition to attitude generalisation, also the public collective self-esteem of the ingroup links *both* positive *and* negative contact with the majority with attitudes towards the other immigrant group, but only among low-status immigrants. Specifically, positive contact with the majority group boosts low-status immigrants' public collective self-esteem, which results in more positive attitudes towards the higher-status immigrant outgroup. In the case of negative contact, members of the low-status immigrant group compensate for the decline in the ingroup's esteem by derogating the higher-status immigrant group. This negative orientation of low-status minority group members towards the higher-status minority group is aimed at restoring the public collective self-esteem of the ingroup damaged by negative contact with the majority group. In this study it is for the first time proposed that this phenomenon should be referred to as *diagonal hostility*. Diagonal hostility builds on and extends the idea of horizontal hostility introduced by White and Langer (1999; see also White et al., 2006) and accounts for the multidimensionality of social context and intergroup relations (see Tawa et al., 2013; Tawa et al., 2015) which are neither only vertical (see e.g., Hagendoorn, 1993, 1995) nor only horizontal (White & Langer, 1999; White et al., 2006). Horizontal hostility refers to minority groups holding negative attitudes towards minority outgroups which are

culturally similar to them, but enjoy a higher status in society. The pattern of hostility emerging in this study has, however, been shown to have a diagonal character, accounting for both the horizontal closeness (cultural similarities) and the vertical closeness (status) of the two studied minority groups to the national majority.

As regards individuals' engagement in a more active promotion of cultural diversity in the country than just holding favourable intergroup attitudes, namely endorsing multiculturalism, this study specifies the conditions under which minority members support this ideology. Specifically, for the first time the role of ethnic superiority, an identity dimension similar to blind patriotism (Schatz et al., 1999; Staub, 1997) and collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Bizumic & Duckitt, 2008), is studied in the association between ethnic identification and support for the multicultural ideology. It is shown that among immigrants even high ethnic identification in terms of emotional and cognitive attachment to the ethnic ingroup is not detrimental to intergroup relations and it, in fact, supports the endorsement of multiculturalism. However, when immigrants perceive their ethnic ingroup as superior to other groups in society, this positive association disappears. This points to the importance of acknowledging the multidimensionality of social identification in general and ethnic identification in particular when intergroup attitudes in diverse societies are considered. It seems that in line with previous theorisations (e.g. Roccas et al., 2008), some aspects of ethnic identification are constructive and contribute to more positive relations with outgroups, whereas other aspects of ethnic identification seem to be more destructive and have a detrimental effect on supporting an ethno-culturally diverse society.

This study also broadens our understanding of support for the collective action of the minority group among members of the majority and the minority group, and the processes underlying this most active form of support for ethno-cultural diversity. For the first time it is shown that among members of the national group, the perception that immigrants wish to maintain more of their heritage culture than the majority group approves of enhances intergroup anxiety and lowers trust towards immigrants, and these two intergroup emotions are in turn independently linked to lower support for collective action of these immigrants aimed at achieving more social equality and equal participation. In the case of immigrants, the perception of a stronger disagreement about the degree of cultural maintenance of the ingroup lowered trust towards the majority group, which contributed to stronger support for the ingroup's collective struggle for social change. Besides this indirect association occurring via outgroup trust, it was shown that the perception of cultural discordance as such directly triggers support for the ingroup's collective action. Therefore, these findings re-acknowledge the importance of emotional processes in the formation of collective action tendencies, as shown by previous studies (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2012). They also extend the current framework of collective action by showing that *intergroup*

emotions should also be taken into account when collective action tendencies are investigated in an intergroup context of unequal power relations and with connection to social identity-related conflicts and threats.

9.1.2   RECIPROCITY AND INCLUSIVENESS OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

The findings of the present study strongly advocate the need to acknowledge the role of reciprocal influences in majority-minority and interminority relations in shaping intergroup attitudes and behaviours in ethnically and culturally heterogeneous societies. This reciprocity and its complexity is very strongly seen in the case of intergroup contact and attitudes, where contact with the majority group not only affects attitudes towards the majority but also translates into attitudes towards other minority groups. This process is twofold, as it operates through the generalisation of attitudes towards the majority group onto the other immigrant group and through public collective self-esteem of the low-status group. Moreover, these two mediating processes work for both positive *and* negative contact, which further extends Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis and the framework of the STE (Pettigrew, 2009) by acknowledging the important role of not only positive but also negative intergroup interactions in shaping intergroup relations. The generalisation of attitudes from one group onto another is a well-acknowledged mechanism linking contact with one group with the development of attitudes towards the other group (see e.g., Lolliot et al., 2013) and highlighting the multidimensionality of intergroup interactions (see Tawa et al., 2013, 2015). As the present study shows, public collective self-esteem among low-status minority group members also works similarly, that is it is reactive to positive and negative contact with the majority and it further affects attitudes towards the other, higher-status immigrant group. Thus, public collective self-esteem works as a lens focusing not only on the mutuality of majority-minority interactions but also on the mutuality of interminority interactions, exposing the crucial role of reciprocity in the whole intergroup context in the country.

As the reciprocity of the acculturation process in receiving societies is widely acknowledged (Horenczyk et al., 2013), it is not surprising that mutual influences of intergroup relations are also reflected in psychological ownership of a country and its further impact on intergroup attitudes, as well as in ethnic superiority and its role in the endorsement of multiculturalism among minority members. Psychological ownership of a country among minority group members builds on their identification with the mainstream society of the receiving state, developed through the acculturation processes taking place after arrival in the host country, the perceived acceptance by the majority group (see e.g., Nesdale & Mak, 2000), and civic participation and citizenship (see Smith, 2001; Sindic, 2011). Thus, just as this national identification is formed by the reciprocal influences of intergroup relations, so too psychological ownership of the host country has a reciprocal character. Deriving from positive acculturation attitudes and the perception of being

welcomed by the majority (Nesdale & Mak, 2000), both national identification and psychological ownership of minority members which can be seen as an identity claim are inclusive of the majority group in terms of what is proposed by CIIM (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This in turn results in the enhancement of positive attitudes toward the national majority group. Importantly, the reciprocity of intergroup interactions is less visible in psychological ownership of a country among majority group members. This psychological ownership of Finland, the excluding character of which was shown in the present study, derives most likely from essentialist views on Finnish national identification (cf. Varjonen et al., 2013) rather than from interactions with immigrants as such. Ethnic superiority, a belief in the exaggerated worthiness of the ingroup, can also be viewed as an identity claim, developed as a consequence of perceived discrimination against one's ethnic ingroup among members of the national majority group. Such ethnic superiority, accounting for the reciprocity of intergroup relations as such, lowers support for a multiculturalism which promotes the rights of other groups in society and disables ethnic identification from boosting support for this diversity ideology. Moreover, while both the identity claims of psychological ownership of a country and ethnic superiority protect the ingroup from devaluation, they also broadcast the message of ingroup members about "owning" the country and belonging to a superior group. Thus, these two identity claims are oriented towards outgroup members and can result in further potential ramifications in the outgroup's attitudes and behaviours towards the ingroup. This also shows that psychological ownership of a country and ethnic superiority are heavily influenced by the reciprocity present in intergroup relations.

The present study clearly indicates that support for the collective action of the minority group among its own members and among members of the national majority also reflects the reciprocity of majority-minority relations and the acculturation processes going on between these two groups. This is mainly because support for collective action, as shown, is largely reactive to the perceived majority-minority disagreement about the minority members' cultural maintenance. The perception of an intergroup disagreement on the dimension of minority members' cultural maintenance (see Berry, 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2002) has itself a reciprocal character, as it builds on one's perception of how outgroup individuals are oriented towards the cultural maintenance of minority group members. Specifically, among majority group members it is the perception of the willingness of minority members to maintain their culture of origin and among minority group members it is the perception of whether majority members allow minority groups to preserve their cultural heritage. As further shown, the perception of cultural discordance was translated into support for the collective action of the minority group through the intergroup emotions of anxiety and trust. Both stronger intergroup anxiety and lowered outgroup trust among majority members diminished the willingness to support the collective action of the minority group. Among minority members, low trust towards the national

majority group enhanced their support for the ingroup's collective struggle towards greater social equality. Thus, these findings also corroborate the important role of the reciprocal influences between majority and minority groups in a plural society, which are reflected in support for the collective action of the minority group. Namely, support for collective action not only originates from the perception of intergroup conflict regarding the extent of minority members' cultural maintenance, but also from intergroup emotions of anxiety and trust elicited by this perception.

The reciprocity present in intergroup relations, depicted by the findings of this study, is not without an impact on the degree of inclusiveness of the social context in which the integration of immigrants takes place. When majority-minority and interminority interactions are positive, they foster more favourable intergroup attitudes, and promote stronger endorsement of multiculturalism and intergroup solidarity. Therefore, this study shows that the reciprocal perceptions and behaviours of members of different groups shape the social context into which immigrants try to integrate. In this respect, the inclusive social context of integration is created by members of all groups comprising society. This means that minority group members, including immigrants, are not the only ones who are responsible for their own socio-cultural adaptation to and integration into the host society. Rather, these two processes and their successful or negative outcomes are closely linked to the perceptions the national majority group has about minority members and the behaviour of the majority group towards members of the non-dominant groups. The role of the majority group in the successful integration of immigrants seems to be especially important, as the national majority group as the dominant one in society has somewhat more power in shaping the social context of integration than minority groups have (see Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Navas et al., 2005).

Although in the light of theorisations (e.g., Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Horenczyk et al., 2013) which point out the mutuality of acculturation this may sound like a truism, emphasising the joint responsibility of both majority and minority groups for the integration outcomes of minority members is crucial. Due to raising the awareness about the reciprocity of intergroup relations, both majority and minority members could become more conscious of their joint contribution to the degree of inclusiveness of the integration context and their interlinked roles in the process of minority members' integration. As such, this could promote a more responsible approach to the integration of minority members, where members of all groups in diverse societies would perceive themselves equally liable for the outcomes of this process. Seeing oneself as accountable for the aftermaths of integration should contribute to a stronger perception of being included in the process and being able to positively influence the process for the benefit of all groups and society as a whole. Eliciting stronger feelings of engagement in the integration process and being responsible for its outcomes could be supported, for example, by interventions based on the findings of the present study.

9.2 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The results of this study have many practical implications for improving intergroup relations in ethno-culturally diverse societies. Particularly, they can offer guidelines for developing social practices aimed at a better accommodation of immigrants and asylum seekers into society already upon their arrival. First of all, an attempt should be made to improve attitudes of majority group members towards newcomers and to orient newcomers positively towards the hosts. One way to achieve this goal is to promote among members of the national majority group a more inclusive understanding of national identification which would be based not solely on ethnic belonging but rather on citizenship and equal participation in society (see Study I). It should be thus emphasised that minority members by using the same services, obeying the same law and having the same privileges but also duties as majority members are equal members of receiving society. By achieving a more civil understanding of national identification, majority members should become more positive towards minority members and accept them as their new countrymen. A clear message would also be sent to minority group members: as regardless of ethnic background everyone can become an equal member of the host society, it is worth making an effort towards integrating oneself into the mainstream. Thus, being an active agent in one's integration process, for instance establishing positive relations with members of the local community and developing positive attitudes towards the host country and its society, would be encouraged among minority members. Achieving more positive intergroup attitudes and attitudes towards the host country can also be fostered by promoting positive intergroup contact between the hosts and minority members. This could be done, for example, by encouraging majority members to do voluntary work with immigrants in reception or community centres. Positive intergroup interactions should result in lower intergroup anxiety and alleviated outgroup trust, both of which being important for intergroup solidarity (see Study IV). Such positive interactions should also show minority members that host nationals are oriented positively towards them. This perception of friendly majority members would likely encourage more positive attitudes towards the national majority group (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) which could, hopefully, generalise further also to the host country.

Second, supporting positive intergroup relations between members of different minority groups is equally as important as supporting positive majority-minority interactions. New immigrants and asylum seekers entering the host society should not only be on good terms with the majority group but they should also be accepted by and positively oriented towards other minority groups which are already established in the receiving society. In order to achieve positive interminority relations, an effort should be made by authorities towards encouraging contact between different minority groups

and offering such circumstances in these interminority interactions that would not emphasise status differences between these groups (see Allport, 1954). This condition is especially important, as the awareness of status differences between minority groups paired with negative contact with the majority group can contribute to more negative attitudes towards high-status minorities among members of low-status minority groups (Study II). In practice, this means that emphasising the status differences between the minority groups could result in (low-status) newcomers having derogatory attitudes towards (high-status) minority groups which are well established in the host country. This, most likely, would not promote interminority solidarity, which new immigrants and asylum seekers could benefit from. Furthermore, it could contribute to the perception among both the majority and the well-established minorities of newcomers having an entitlement attitude and posing challenges to the integration process from the start.

Third, if immigrants and asylum seekers wish to maintain their cultural heritage in the host country, positive ethnic identification should be promoted among them and the possible perception of one's minority ingroup being superior to other groups in society should be discouraged (Study III). The acceptance of and support given by the host society for the preservation of constructive dimensions of ethnic identification while diminishing the destructive perception of ethnic superiority of the ingroup, should foster stronger support for multiculturalism. This should, in turn, contribute to stronger intergroup solidarity, as this diversity ideology promotes the right of all groups in society. Regardless of the support for those dimensions of ethnic identification which are constructive for intergroup relations, majority and minority members should in general be encouraged to be positively oriented towards the multicultural ideology. This could be done by, for instance, spreading the awareness that multiculturalism promotes the rights of and respect towards all groups comprising society, and therefore it benefits everyone who endorses this ideology.

Fourth, all groups in society should be encouraged to work continuously towards social equality in the country. Although in ethno-culturally diverse societies there is a tendency among majority group members to establish ethnic hierarchies among minority groups (see Hegendoorn, 1993, 1995; Hagendoorn et al., 2002), this should be fought against and more equal social relationships between all groups should be encouraged. This can be done, for example, by supporting the collective struggle of minority group members towards equal rights and participation. Supporting the collective action of minority group members and their need for emancipation seems to be an important means to maintain peaceful intergroup relations in the country. When civil attempts of especially low-status minority groups to be treated equally with other minorities of a higher status and the majority group are not supported, the possibility arises that these civil forms of collective struggle may be replaced by less socially acceptable and more radical and violent forms of collective action in the future.

9.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND ETHICAL CONCERNS

Notwithstanding its theoretical advancements and valuable practical implications, the limitations of the present study should be acknowledged. First, as the data used in this study were cross-sectional, it is impossible to make unequivocal conclusions about casual interference in the tested models. Importantly, however, the models were strongly anchored in previous theorisations and research. Moreover, when theory pointed to the possibility of reciprocal influences between constructs (e.g., between the predictor and the mediating variable), the validity of the proposed models was corroborated by testing them against alternative reverse models (Study I and IV). Second, the use of single items measures (Study II), measures with a relatively low although still acceptable reliability (Study I and II) and measures for which further validation in other national contexts would be recommended (Study I), can all be considered limitations. In future studies, attention should be dedicated especially to the measure of psychological ownership of a country, as this concept is new to research on intergroup relations and in the present study its measure demonstrated low reliability among immigrant participants. This could indicate that the two-item measure used in present research did not fully tap the notion of psychological ownership of a country among minority members and developing a more sophisticated measure that would more adequately reflect the complexity of this construct is recommended. However, as discussed in the respective articles, all measures in question used in the present study were adapted from previous recognised studies in the field of social and organisational psychology.

The third limitation concerns the characteristics of the samples. Although the initial samples of majority and minority participants drawn up by the Finnish National Population Register Centre were representative, the low response rates contributed to the small sizes of the final samples and their lack of representativeness on some socio-demographic dimensions such as age and gender. The minority sample of Russian immigrants used in the four sub-studies consisted mainly of middle-aged, well-educated, first-generation immigrant women with an average knowledge of Finnish. Therefore, the question emerges to what extent the results obtained by such a sample are generalisable to the general populations the samples were drawn from (see Birman, 2006). Moreover, the generalisation of the findings, especially those obtained in the immigrants' minority sample, to other national and intergroup contexts, should be done with even greater care. This is due to the fact that in other intergroup contexts some minority groups, particularly the visible ones, may be much more discriminated against than Russians in Finland, and this discrimination can be institutionalised and continue through generations (e.g., discrimination against African Americans in the United States). Thus, identity processes among members of these minority groups may be more complex than those proposed and validated in the present study. However,

even when considering possible generalisability problems, the obtained results are still informative about the nature of intergroup relations in at least two instances. First, the findings demonstrate the perspective of the majority group in a country with a relatively short history of immigration and they can be generalised in other similar national contexts. Second, they reflect the process of negotiations over identity-related issues among recent immigrants looking for their place in a new society, and therefore they can be generalised to other recent immigrant groups undergoing the same identity processes and negotiations.

Regarding ethical considerations, great attention should be paid to how the results of this study are interpreted and used by different authorities and various actors in the political scene. Concerns about the social responsibility of the researcher are always relevant to studies involving ethno-cultural minority groups. However, these concerns have become even more important now when Europe is facing an influx of asylum seekers from the Middle East and Africa, and at the same time right-wing populist parties in different European countries keep gaining more political power. This is happening at present in Finland, where the Finns Party, known for its anti-immigrant rhetoric, has recently become the third most powerful party in the Finnish Parliament.

One of the potentially ethically sensitive issue may be that this study investigated not only the attitudes of majority members towards minorities but also attitudes held by minority members towards the majority group. The same concerns the examination of collective action among minority members and its predictor – cultural discordance. This is because disagreement about the degree of minority members' cultural maintenance can be potentially understood by majority members as a reflection of the alleged unwillingness of minority members to conform to the majority culture, and therefore as an indicator of problems in socio-cultural adaptation to mainstream society. Also collective action as such can be viewed less as a means through which minority members wish to achieve more social equality but more as an action against the majority group and the socio-economic status quo in society.

The aforementioned issues may potentially be used to the disadvantage of the Russian minority and other minority groups in Finland, namely as a way to show immigrants' alleged disloyalty and difficulties in integration. As the Russian minority group has traditionally been among the most discriminated groups of foreign origin in Finland (Jaakkola, 2005, 2009; see also European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012), this could very likely contribute to further stigmatisation of this group. Therefore, great care is needed when making the results of this study available to audiences from outside the scientific community and discussing them in events open to members of the general public. This could be done, for instance, by presenting the findings in a manner that focuses on ways to foster immigrants' socio-cultural adaptation to and integration into the host society, instead of presenting the results from

the perspective of factors undermining these adaptation and integration processes.

The results of the present study, however, allow one to make the following general conclusions regarding the current state of intergroup relations in Finland that could be presented to different non-scientific communities. In all ethno-cultural groups studied, individuals varied with their outgroup attitudes, so that the whole spectrum of attitudes from rather negative to positive was observable in the data. Regardless of this fact, no evidence of extremely negative attitudes towards any outgroup or a persistent intergroup conflict was found. Thus, the obtained results could be used mainly for promoting positive intergroup relations and preventing future potential conflicts. Moreover, it is important to remember that intergroup attitudes are largely reactive to the perceived position of one's ingroup (status) and the treatment one has received from members of different outgroups. Thus, intergroup attitudes are not detached from the social setting in which they are formed but reflect the reciprocity of intergroup relations present in the national context. Accordingly, *all* social groups comprising society are accountable for the degree of negativity and positivity of intergroup attitudes among outgroup members. However, due to the power of the majority as the dominant group, the majority group's responsibility for maintaining positive relations in an ethno-culturally diverse society is somewhat stronger than the responsibility held by minority groups.

9.4 FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The results of the present study open avenues for research on contact, SIT and acculturation in diverse societies. As far as the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) is concerned, future studies could extend our knowledge on the joint role of positive and negative intergroup interactions. Although some recent research has investigated the impact of negative contact on intergroup attitudes among majority members (e.g., Aberson, 2015; Graf et al., 2014; Techakesari et al., 2015), still little is known about the mechanisms behind the tested association. In addition, the role of negative contact with the majority group among minority members has not been widely investigated. To date, only four studies have focused on the ways in which negative contact with majority members translates into interminority attitudes (Bowman & Griffin, 2012; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Shook et al., 2015; Tausch et al., 2010). As the results of these studies largely do not support one another and as a whole they fail to show a clear pattern of how negative contact with the majority affects interminority attitudes, there is still a need for further research on this topic. Thus, more research on negative majority-minority and interminority contact among minority group members could broaden our understanding of when and why negative contact affects intergroup relations even more than positive contact does.

Although the interest in investigating support for collective action has recently been growing (e.g., Simon et al., 2013; Klandermans et al., 2008; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014), most of the studies conducted thus far have focused on support for collective action by the ingroup. In contrast, studies which would test the predictors of support for collective action by the minority outgroup among majority members are almost non-existent (for an exception, see Mallett et al., 2008). Even less is known about support given to collective struggles for social change among minority and immigrant groups by national majority groups. Therefore, prospective research could examine the conditions under which national majority groups support minority members' collective actions towards more social equality in diverse societies and the mechanisms which underlie such majority support.

Future studies could also pay attention to the role of different identity modes in shaping intergroup relations. As shown by the present study, the joint role of various aspects of one's identification can have different outcomes concerning support for multiculturalism than these modes examined separately. Thus, to shed more light on the formation of the typical indicators of the quality of intergroup relations, such as outgroup attitudes, the endorsement of multiculturalism and support for other groups' rights, modes of identification and their impact on the aforementioned constructs should be examined in relation to one another.

Another promising avenue for prospective research could be to validate the results of the present study in other national contexts and/or with different minority groups. Because the history of cultural diversity and immigration to Finland is relatively short when compared to many other EU member states, the findings of this study may not fully fit other national contexts with a longer history of ethno-cultural heterogeneity. Also, as the composition of our majority and especially the minority sample may be a source of a possible confound of the results, it is advised that future studies utilise samples which more accurately reflect the socio-demographic composition of the populations they were drawn from. Therefore, it is important to investigate whether the models proposed and tested in the present study hold elsewhere, and to extend them with additional social psychological variables if necessary.

Last but not least, the findings presented in this study could be used to design interventions applicable at the community level, which could be validated by future research. While the results of the present study offer many ways to achieve smoother intergroup relations in diverse societies, none of these possible solutions has so far been applied to majority and minority members and their practical validity remains theoretical. Therefore, it seems important to corroborate empirically that these proposed avenues to more positive relations between all groups in society are indeed useful and valid. If so, the implementations of these interventions and their outcomes would contribute to the promotion of a more inclusive integration context.

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