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Ethnic Group Identification and Group Evaluation Among Minority and Majority Groups: Testing the Multiculturalism Hypothesis

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Following social identity theory, the author hypothesized that members of minority groups are more likely than majority group members to endorse multiculturalism more strongly and assimilationist thinking less strongly. In addition, the multiculturalism hypothesis proposes that the more minority groups endorse the ideology of multiculturalism (or assimilationism), the more (or less) likely they will be to identify with their ethnic in-group and to show positive in-group evaluation. In contrast, the more majority group members endorse multiculturalism (or assimilationism), the less (or more) likely they are to identify with their ethnic group and to show negative out-group evaluation. Results from 4 studies (correlational and experimental) provide support for this hypothesis among Dutch and Turkish participants living in the Netherlands.

Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence making them open to and accepting of diverse cultures.

—Department of Canadian Heritage

FORUM, the Institute of Multicultural Development, applies numerous initiatives to stimulate the interest of people in one another. The aim is to encourage group identities and mutual acceptance. If people are not prejudiced . . . they become a multicultural society.

—Dutch National Institute of Multicultural Development

These quotes provide good examples of what is referred to as the multiculturalism hypothesis (e.g., Lambert & Taylor, 1990). This hypothesis proposes that affirmation toward one's ethnic group leads to a positive ethnic identity and higher levels of acceptance toward ethnic out-groups. Multiculturalism is expected to lead to more positive and secure ethnic identities and to an openness to and acceptance of others. However, there is little empirical evidence for the predicted effects, and it seems unlikely that the effects are similar for ethnic majority and minority groups (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). In addition, multicultural ideology is politically, socially, and academically contested. Some social scientists, for example, have argued in favor of color-blindness (e.g., Barry, 2001), and others have claimed that it is necessary to rethink and rehabilitate assimilation theory as an alternative to multiculturalism (e.g., Alba & Nee, 1997; Gans, 1999). The limited number of empirical studies coupled with the ongoing debates in the area make an empirical test all the more warranted.

The empirical research described in this article examines the impact of multicultural ideology on group identification and ethnic group evaluations among ethnic minority and majority group members. The focus is on social identity processes, and it is argued that the extent to which individuals endorse interethnic ideologies

that consider or ignore ethnic group differences affects the likelihood that they will identify with their ethnic group. Interethnic ideologies are also expected to affect one's tendency to evaluate ethnic groups more favorably. Four studies were conducted among Dutch and Turkish participants in the Netherlands. The first two studies focused on the endorsement of multiculturalism ideology. In the third and fourth studies, the focus was on influences of two conflicting ideological perspectives: multiculturalism and assimilationism. I hypothesized that the endorsement of these ideologies would predict in contrasting ways the extent to which members of the Dutch and Turkish groups were likely to identify with their ethnic group and to show general evaluative in-group bias.

Multiculturalism and Assimilation

As a "social-intellectual movement that promotes the value of diversity as a core principle and insists that all cultural groups be treated with respect and as equals" (Fowers & Richardson, 1996, p. 609), multiculturalism is influential in many Western countries. Multiculturalism is defined differently and takes different forms in, for example, schools, organizations, and countries. However, common arguments underlie these differences. In general, multiculturalism tries to foster understanding and appreciation of ethnic diversity by acknowledging and respecting minority group identities and cultures. Berry (1984, 2001) has argued that multicultural ideology is society's counterpart to individual-level acculturation strategies of integration. As an ideology, multiculturalism offers a positive view of cultural maintenance by ethnic minority groups and, as such, a concomitant need to accommodate diversity in an equitable way. In contrast, although the professed goal of assimilation is equality, assimilationist thinking provides intellectual and moral justification for the superiority and unchanging character of the dominant identity and culture (Fredrickson, 1999). The individual-level counterpart to assimilationist ideology at the level of society is the assimilation of minority group members.

Multiculturalism is expected to have positive effects on ethnic group identification and intergroup relations. However, although multiculturalism has been increasingly recommended as an effective intervention at societal and local levels, little is known about

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the effects (but see, e.g., Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). In addition, concerns have been expressed about multiculturalism, and it has been suggested that the impact of multiculturalism may differ for ethnic minority and majority groups.

Multiculturalism has been criticized on several grounds. Brewer (1997), for example, has suggested that multiculturalism can lead to reified group distinctions that become “fault lines for conflict and separatism” (p. 208). Similarly, others have argued that multiculturalism endangers social unity and cohesion, and it also contradicts individualism and the ideal of meritocracy (e.g., Barry, 2001; Bissoondath, 1994; Schlesinger, 1992). Thus, multiculturalism is offered by some as the solution to managing cultural diversity, whereas for others, it is in itself an exacerbating cause of conflict. Hence, in contrast to multicultural notions that promote the value of diversity as a core principle, there are socially shared beliefs that are used to argue for color-blindness and assimilation.

The debate about these conflicting ideological positions is an ongoing one and also differs somewhat between countries (Vermeulen & Slijper, 2003). In the United States, a color-blind perspective is proposed in which emphasis is placed on disregarding ethnic and racial categories and on treating each person as a unique individual (see Jones, 1998). European countries have a long history of established majority groups, and issues of immigration and cultural diversity are relatively novel. In these countries, the emphasis tends to be more on assimilation, whereby ethnic minority group members are expected to abandon their cultural identity and adopt the dominant group’s way of life. For example, in the Netherlands there is a lively public debate on the merits of multiculturalism and the need for assimilation. Both ideological positions are widely endorsed by many people in European societies and are used to legitimize or question ethnic identities and group relations. Although these ideologies are adhered to by individuals, they may be thought of as discourses in society or as collective representations (Moscovici, 1984). That is, they are socially shared beliefs about key aspects of society that affect people’s perceptions and evaluations. Immigration and the presence of ethnic minority groups can be conceived of as valuable additions to society leading to multicultural notions, but they can also be conceived of as threats posed to the majority group and hampering upward social mobility of minorities, leading to assimilationist thinking (Pratto & Lemieux, 2001). Consequently, whether multiculturalism or assimilationism is used as a framework for group identification and intergroup relations may depend on situational features that will make one or the other more salient and relevant.

Ideologies and Social Psychology

For decades, social psychologists have been investigating group identification and intergroup relations, primarily as cognitive and affective processes. Recently, more attention has been given to processes of legitimization in social relations, such as the role of ideologies (see Jost & Major, 2001). The idea that people use ideological beliefs to question or support group identities and group relations has been examined from different theoretical perspectives, such as system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) and social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Both theories draw on social identity principles that were first developed in social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). From the start, adherents of this theory emphasized the issue of

ideologies also in relation to ethnic minority groups (Tajfel, 1978, 1981). Writing about the social psychology of minorities and anticipating current debates, Tajfel (1981) argued the following:

The new claims of the minorities are based on their right to decide to be different (preserve their separateness) as defined *in their own terms* and not in terms implicitly adopted or explicitly dictated by the majorities. . . the wish to preserve their right to take their own decisions and keep their own ‘identity.’ (p. 317)

However, the issue of ideologies has been rather neglected in social identity research. Moreover, existing research tends to limit it to questions of status and power, and it ignores what Tajfel (1981) calls the “world-wide push towards differentiation originating from minorities” (p. 316).

For SIT, group categorization, social comparison, and the need for positive differentiation are the key psychological mechanisms used for understanding intergroup relations. Group members are assumed to react toward other groups out of a need to differentiate their own group positively. Because group members derive their social identity from membership in social groups, it can be assumed that people prefer their in-group to be socially recognized, accepted, and valued. This confers a meaningful and positive social identity on them that they try to maintain and protect. In contrast, a lack of distinctiveness and a devalued social identity represent identity threats that are likely to lead to the deployment of a wide range of identity-management strategies, including the differential evaluation of the in-group and out-groups (e.g., Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Van Knippenberg, 1989).

In their experimental work, Wolsko et al. (2000) examined the impact of multicultural and color-blind ideologies on intergroup judgments by White American undergraduates. They found a trend for participants in the multicultural condition to reveal less pro-White evaluative bias than participants in the color-blind condition. In another experimental study among White American students, Richeson and Nussbaum (2004) compared the influence of multicultural and color-blind ideological approaches on automatic and explicit forms of racial prejudice. They found that the multicultural perspective generated less racial attitude bias on both unobtrusive and explicit measures. Both these studies, however, focused on racial attitudes of Whites, and it is unclear how these interethnic ideologies affect ethnic minorities’ attitudes.

Judd et al. (1995) examined stereotypes and ethnocentrism among African American and White American youths. In four studies, they found that African Americans demonstrated in-group bias, unlike White Americans. This difference was not due to social-desirability concerns on the part of White participants. Judd et al. interpreted their results as reflecting the groups’ different ideological positions. African Americans adopt a multicultural perspective, causing them to take pride in their ethnicity and value ethnic differences positively. In contrast, White Americans have a color-blind perspective that results in ethnic differences being de-emphasized and group distinctions avoided. Although this interpretation is plausible, Judd et al. did not examine these ideological orientations as such.

The present research examined multiculturalism in relation to in-group identification and group evaluations among ethnic majority and minority participants. In the Netherlands, as in most European countries, multiculturalism is typically seen as identity threatening for the majority group and identity supporting for minority groups (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Berry

and Kalin (1995) have argued that groups are more in favor of multiculturalism when they see gains for themselves. Hence, it is likely that multiculturalism appeals more to ethnic minority groups than to majority group members, who may in turn endorse assimilation more strongly. There is some empirical evidence supporting this assumption (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Berry & Kalin, 1985; Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999). Furthermore, whereas assimilationist thinking provides intellectual and moral justification for the dominant identity of the majority group, multiculturalism challenges this dominant position. Multiculturalism provides majority group members with less-justifiable grounds for strong in-group identification and in-group bias. In contrast, multiculturalism supports the identity and improvement of the position of ethnic minority groups, justifying minority group members' identification with their in-group and the display of in-group bias. A multicultural perspective provides the ideological justification for affirming one's ethnic minority identity and valuing ethnic differentiation positively.

In studying in-group bias, one can make a distinction between in-group and out-group aspects (Brewer, 1999; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2001). Most studies measure the in-group and out-group aspects of group differentiation separately but use these measures to compute difference scores that are subsequently used in the analyses. Difference scores correspond to the theoretical idea of positive group differentiation, and they have the advantage that the effects of some response biases are taken into account, such as the tendency to give positive responses. However, various authors have pointed out that there are different processes determining the in-group and out-group aspects of group differentiation (e.g., Brewer, 1999; Fishbein, 1996). As a result, in-group preference cannot be equated with out-group evaluation. Hence, the present study examines in- and out-group evaluation. Multicultural ideology emphasizes a positive view of cultural maintenance by ethnic minority groups and acknowledges the distinctive identity of these groups. Hence, it can be expected that multiculturalism will affect majority group members' out-group evaluation and minority group members' in-group evaluation particularly.

I used four studies to examine the effects of multiculturalism among Dutch and Turkish participants. The Turks are the numerically largest minority group living in the Netherlands. The great majority of them are Muslim, and they want to maintain their religious and cultural practices (Phalet, Van Lotringen, & Entzinger, 2000). Additionally, in the Netherlands, Turkish, together with Moroccan, people occupy the most unfavorable positions within the ethnic hierarchy. They possess the lowest social status and face the highest levels of discrimination and social rejection (see Hagendoorn, 1995). The first two studies presented here focused on ethnic group differences in the endorsement of multiculturalism, whereas the third and fourth studies used an experimental design to examine the causal effects of multicultural and assimilation ideologies.

In all studies, I expected Turkish participants to endorse multiculturalism more strongly than Dutch participants. In addition, because multiculturalism stresses and legitimizes the cultural distinctiveness and value of minority group identities, I expected that the more Turkish participants endorsed the ideology of multiculturalism, the more likely they would be to identify with their ethnic in-group and to evaluate the own group positively. In contrast, I expected that the more Dutch participants endorsed the ideology of multiculturalism, the less likely they would be to identify with

their in-group and the more positively they would evaluate the out-group. Hence, I predicted positive associations between multiculturalism and in-group identification and in-group evaluation for the Turkish participants, whereas for the Dutch participants, I expected multiculturalism to be related negatively to group identification and positively to out-group evaluation.

Ethnic group identification was also examined as a potential predictor for group evaluations. Although according to SIT there is not necessarily a relationship between in-group identification and in-group bias (J. C. Turner, 1999), in-group identification is a central predictor of positive group differentiation. Many studies have found a positive association between identification and group-level responses, such as positive in-group differentiation (see Brown, 2000; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). I also expected that such an association would be found in the present study. That is, those who identify highly with their ethnic majority or minority group were expected to show more positive in-group evaluation relative to participants who identified to a lesser degree. In addition, the inclusion of ethnic group identification allows one to explore whether multiculturalism has an independent and direct effect on group evaluations or whether this effect is moderated or mediated by group identification. The multicultural hypothesis suggests a relationship of mediation in that multiculturalism is assumed to lead to a more positive and strong identity, which in turn would result in a more accepting attitude toward other groups. In contrast, SIT proponents argue that interethnic ideologies affect group identification differently for minority and majority groups. In turn, group identification would lead to in-group protective behaviors, such as in-group bias.

Study 1

Method

Participants. In total, 458 adolescents between 13 and 18 years of age participated in Study 1. There were 129 (29%) participants who described themselves as Turkish and had two Turkish parents, and 329 participants who described themselves as Dutch and had parents of Dutch origin. Sixty-one percent of the participants were male, and 39% were female. There was no significant difference between the Turkish and Dutch participants for gender, $\chi^2(1, N = 458) = 0.05, p > .10$. Thirty-one percent of the participants fell between the ages of 13 and 14, 32% fell between the ages of 15 and 16, and 37% fell between the ages of 17 and 18. The Turkish participants were somewhat older than the Dutch, $\chi^2(2, N = 458) = 15.31, p < .001$. All participants attended lower levels of education, either preparatory vocational training or lower general secondary education.

The study was carried out in five secondary schools in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The participants completed a short questionnaire under the supervision of their teacher. In all schools, there was a high percentage of pupils from various ethnic minority groups (around 55%).

Measures. Five items assessed the endorsement of multiculturalism ideology. These items were taken from prior Dutch research (Verkuyten & Masson, 1996) and are "You can learn a lot from other cultural groups," "It is better that every ethnic group stays in its own country" (reverse coded), "It is never easy to understand people from another culture" (reverse coded), "The more cultural groups there are, the better it is for a society," and "Ethnic groups should mix as much as possible." Items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). The five-item scale was internally consistent with Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$, with a higher score indicating a stronger endorsement of multiculturalism.

Ethnic group identification was assessed by asking the participants to respond to eight items immediately after indicating their ethnic group membership on the questionnaire. The questions were taken from previous

studies in the Netherlands (see Verkuyten, 1999). The items measure the importance one attaches to his or her ethnic background and are similar to the items on the Identity and Membership subscales of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). Cronbach's alpha for the eight-item scale was .73. A higher score indicates stronger ethnic group identification.

To assess group evaluations, I had participants complete three statements taken from previous research among youngsters in the Netherlands (see Hagendoorn, 1995). The statements refer to the evaluation of social contacts. The questions were repeated for the Turkish and the Dutch groups. The statements were "To work with Turkish (Dutch) people seems to me. . . .", "To have many Turkish (Dutch) friends seems to me. . . .", and "To be married to a Turkish (Dutch) person seems to me. . . ." The participants scored the items on a scale ranging from -3 (*very unpleasant*) to +3 (*very pleasant*) with 0 as a neutral position. The three-item scale for the evaluation of Turkish as well as Dutch people was internally consistent ($\alpha = .88$ and $.81$, respectively).

Results

Multiculturalism and group evaluations. I first examined whether multiculturalism, in-group evaluation, and out-group evaluation could be distinguished empirically. I conducted a principal-components analysis with varimax rotation to determine the underlying dimensions. A three-factor structure emerged. The first factor explained 42% of the variance, the second factor explained 17%, and the third factor explained 11%. The five items intended to measure the endorsement of multiculturalism had a high load on the first factor ($> .65$). The highest load of these items on the other two factors was $.30$. On the second factor, the three in-group items had a high load ($> .80$), with a load of less than $.24$ on the other two factors. The items for out-group evaluation loaded only on the third factor ($> .72$ and $< .29$ on the other factors). Thus, the principal-components analysis confirmed that a distinction can be made between the endorsement of multiculturalism, in-group evaluation, and out-group evaluation.

The endorsement of multiculturalism. Preliminary analyses did not indicate any significant differences for age or systematic gender differences. Therefore, data were collapsed across ages and gender.

Mean ethnic-group differences in the endorsement of multiculturalism were examined first. The Turkish and Dutch participants differed in their score for multiculturalism, $t(458) = 7.33, p < .001$. As expected, Turkish participants ($M = 3.80, SD = 0.73$) endorsed this ideology significantly more than did Dutch participants ($M = 3.19, SD = 0.93$). In addition, Levene's test for equality of variance showed significantly more variation among the Dutch participants, $F = 7.67, p < .001$. Hence, there was a higher degree of dissimilarity among Dutch participants in the endorsement of multiculturalism than among Turkish participants.

Ethnic identification. Following Aiken and West (1991), I used a two-step hierarchical regression analysis to test the multiculturalism hypothesis. In Step 1, for predicting ethnic identification, ethnic group was included as a dichotomous variable (0 = Dutch, 1 = Turks), and multiculturalism was included as a continuous predictor. Multiculturalism was centered at its mean, and the criterion measure was left uncentered. Step 1 revealed that the combined effect of the two predictors accounted for 15% of the variance, $\Delta F = 40.82, p < .001$. There was a significant effect for ethnic group ($\beta = .38, p < .001$): Turkish participants ($M = 3.98, SD = 0.55$) had a higher score on ethnic identification than the

Dutch participants ($M = 3.49, SD = 0.51$). The effect for multiculturalism was nonsignificant ($\beta = .01, p > .10$). In Step 2, the two-way interaction term was added. The entry of this term accounted for an additional 3% of the variance in ethnic identification, $\Delta F = 19.95, p < .001$. The results for this interaction were examined by simple slope analysis and are shown in Figure 1. As expected, among Turkish participants, stronger endorsement of multiculturalism was associated with increased ethnic identification ($B = 0.25, t = 3.89, p < .001$). In contrast, among Dutch participants, it was significantly associated with decreased ethnic identification, but only marginally so ($B = -.08, t = 1.81, p < .08$).

In-group and out-group evaluation. I performed a two-way analysis of variance (general linear model) with ethnic group as a between-subjects factor and the endorsement of multiculturalism and ethnic identification as continuous factors. In-group and out-group evaluation served as multiple dependent variables. The multivariate effect (Pillai's) of ethnic group, $F(2, 458) = 14.07, p < .001$, was significant. Univariate analysis showed that compared with the Turkish, the Dutch participants had a more negative evaluation of the out-group, $F(1, 458) = 26.56, p < .001$. For in-group evaluation, no significant difference was found, $F(1, 458) = 0.89, p > .10$.

The multivariate effect of ethnic identification was also significant, $F(2, 458) = 6.47, p < .01$. Group identification was positively associated with in-group evaluation, $F(1, 458) = 11.48, p < .001$, and there was no association with out-group evaluation, $F(1, 458) = 1.73, p > .10$. There was no significant multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and group identification, $F(2, 458) = 0.26, p > .10$. Hence, the effect of identification on group evaluations was similar for the Turkish and Dutch participants.

The multivariate effect for multiculturalism was significant, $F(2, 458) = 15.25, p < .001$. Univariate analysis showed that multiculturalism was positively associated with out-group evaluation, $F(1, 458) = 30.62, p < .001$, but not with in-group evaluation, $F(1, 458) = 0.62, p > .10$. However, there was a significant multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and multiculturalism, $F(2, 458) = 15.70, p < .001$. This interaction effect was significant for in-group evaluation, $F(1, 458) = 4.87, p < .05$, and for out-group evaluation, $F(1, 458) = 4.87, p < .001$. The results are shown in Figure 2. As expected, for the Turkish

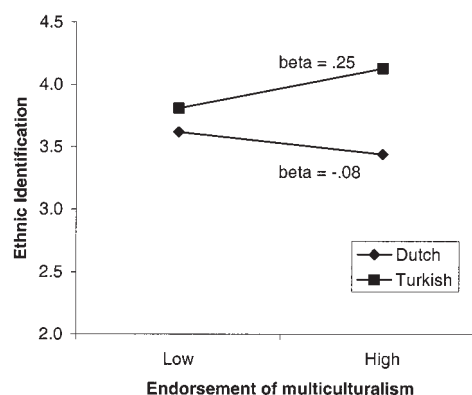


Figure 1. Ethnic identification by multiculturalism for the Dutch and Turkish participants, Study 1.

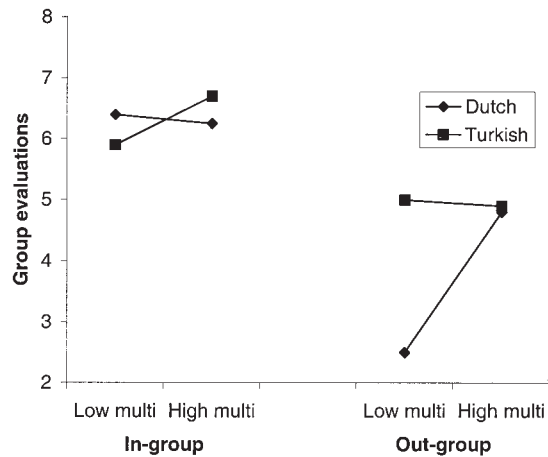


Figure 2. In-group and out-group evaluations by low and high multiculturalism (multi) for the Dutch and Turkish participants, Study 1.

participants, simple slope analysis indicated a positive effect of multiculturalism on in-group evaluation ($B = 0.28, t = 4.32, p < .001$) and no effect on out-group evaluation ($B = -.07, t = 0.46, p > .10$). In contrast, for the Dutch participants, multiculturalism had a positive effect on out-group evaluation ($B = 0.95, t = 14.07, p < .001$) and not on in-group evaluation ($B = -0.11, t = 0.90, p > .10$).

Ethnic identification as a mediator. In-group evaluation, but not out-group evaluation, turned out to be related to ethnic identification. Furthermore, multiculturalism was related to in-group evaluation only for Turkish participants. Hence, for this group, ethnic identification can potentially mediate the relationship between multiculturalism and in-group evaluation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). However, Sobel's (1982) test for mediation indicated that the mediated path from multiculturalism to ethnic identification and then to in-group evaluation was not reliably greater than zero ($z = 1.71, p > .05$).¹

Discussion

The results of this first study indicate that, in general, members of an ethnic minority group (Turkish) are more likely to endorse multiculturalism than are members of an ethnic majority group (Dutch). Furthermore, members of the majority group reported less-positive out-group evaluations than the minority group members did, and they also indicated less in-group identification.

Consistent with SIT, the effects for ethnic group identification and group evaluation were moderated by individual differences in the endorsement of multiculturalism as an interethnic ideology. In general, and certainly in the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), multiculturalism provides a justification for identity affirmation and cultural maintenance for ethnic minority groups but not for majority groups. It was found that the more strongly the Turkish participants endorsed the ideology of multiculturalism, the more likely they were to identify with their ethnic in-group. They also showed a significantly more positive evaluation of the in-group. In contrast, the more the Dutch participants endorsed multiculturalism, the less likely they tended to be to identify with their ethnic group and the more likely to evaluate the out-group positively. Hence, for both

groups of participants, multiculturalism was related to the evaluation of the ethnic minority group and not the majority group. This agrees with the idea that in the Netherlands multiculturalism is typically discussed in terms of ethnic minority groups and is seen as supporting the identity and improvement of the position of these groups (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998).

Further, in both ethnic groups, in-group identification was related to in-group evaluation and not to out-group evaluation. The effects of multiculturalism on group evaluations turned out not to be moderated by in-group identification. Multiculturalism had a main effect on out-group evaluation, and its interaction effect with identification was not significant. There was also no evidence for identification mediating the relationship between multiculturalism and group evaluations.

A second study was conducted to examine whether these findings were reliable and could be generalized to another sample and to other measures of multiculturalism and group evaluation. In this study, an older and more highly educated sample of students participated. The second study focused on college and university students.

From the perspective of ethnic identity development models, it may be argued that the lower level secondary education sample in Study 1 is rather young for examining the multicultural hypothesis. Various models have been created with respect to racial and ethnic identity development and formation (e.g., Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1989). Although these models are somewhat different, they suggest a common process by which individuals progress from an unexamined view of their ethnicity to an exploration phase and, ultimately, to a positive and secure sense of their ethnicity. In these models, individuals ideally gain a positive sense of being a member of their ethnic group, together with a positive attitude toward other groups. Hence, developmental models are similar to multicultural theory in holding that a positive and secure ethnic identity is associated with greater acceptance of out-groups. This development would be typical for late adolescence and young adulthood rather than for middle adolescence. There is some empirical support for this developmental view, but the evidence is limited (e.g., Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997).

Another difference between Study 2 and Study 1 is that two additional measures were used in Study 2. First, in Study 1, multiculturalism was assessed using only five items, and it could be argued that the items are not so much indicators of multiculturalism as of ethnocentrism or "new racism" that has emerged in Europe (Barker, 1981; Castles, 1984; Verkuyten & Masson, 1995). In this new racism, different cultures are assumed to be incompatible and inherently problematic. Hence, although the factor analysis indicated different underlying dimensions, the multiculturalism measure used may be very close to in-group and out-group evaluations. Therefore, in the second study, 12 items of a Dutch version of Berry and Kalin's (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale were used. However, similar to those in Study 1, the items focused on the acceptance and understanding of cultural differences.

¹ In all four studies, Sobel's (1982) test for mediation indicated that the mediated path from multiculturalism to ethnic identification and then to in-group or out-group evaluation was not reliably greater than zero. Hence, no further results for the mediation analyses are presented.

Second, for assessing group evaluations, the social distance questions were replaced by general evaluation measures. Inter-group relations may depend on the type of social judgment, such as general and specific evaluations, and trait assignments (e.g., L. A. Jackson, Sullivan, & Hodge, 1993). This could mean that multiculturalism may have an effect on one kind of measure only, such as social distance. A similar finding for different measures would indicate a more general role for multiculturalism ideology.

I made similar predictions for the second study as for the first one. Following SIT, Turkish participants were expected to endorse multiculturalism more strongly than the Dutch participants. In addition, the more Turkish participants endorsed the ideology of multiculturalism, the more likely they would be to identify with their ethnic in-group and evaluate their in-group positively, whereas, the more Dutch participants endorsed the ideology of multiculturalism, the less likely they would be to identify with their group and the more positive their out-group evaluation. Hence, I predicted positive associations between multiculturalism and in-group identification and in-group evaluation for the Turkish participants, whereas for the Dutch participants, I predicted a negative association with identification and a positive association with out-group evaluation.

Study 2

Method

Participants. The study was conducted among 98 college and university students living in Amsterdam. The students participated on a voluntary basis and received 5 euros (approx. US\$6.10) for their cooperation. The sample consisted of 48 ethnically Turkish and 50 ethnically Dutch participants. There were 44 women and 54 men; there was a similar gender distribution between both ethnic groups. The median age was 21.34 years old, and ages ranged between 18 and 29 years old.

Measures. Twelve items assessed the endorsement of multiculturalism ideology. These items were taken from Berry and Kalin's (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale. Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) developed a Dutch version of this scale in their representative study of the Dutch population. This version was used; 4 sample items are "Migrants should be supported in their attempts to preserve their own cultural heritage in the Netherlands," "If migrants desire to preserve their own culture, they should do so within their own circles" (reverse coded), "The Dutch should make more of an effort to familiarize themselves with the habits and cultural backgrounds of immigrants," and "People who come and live in the Netherlands should adapt their behavior to that of the Dutch" (reverse coded). Items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*). The 12-item scale was internally consistent, with Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$, and with a higher score indicating a stronger endorsement of multiculturalism.

I assessed ethnic group identification by asking the participants to respond to eight items that were similar to those used in Study 1. The items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*). Cronbach's alpha for the eight-item scale was .89. A higher score indicates stronger ethnic group identification.

To measure group evaluations, I gave the participants a "feeling thermometer." This thermometer has been used in different studies of both majority and minority group participants, including in studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Dijker, 1987; Verkuyten & De Wolf, 2002). It is intended as a global measure of in-group and out-group attitudes. The scale has a good (test-retest) reliability and correlates highly with measures using several items (Haddock, Zanna, & Eess, 1994; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991). The exact wording of the instructions was "Use the 'feeling-thermometer' to indicate whether you have positive or negative feelings about the following groups. You may mark any degree between 0 and 100. Marking

100 degrees indicates very positive or warm feelings, with zero degrees indicating very cold or negative feelings." Following this, six groups were listed, among them the Turkish and Dutch groups that are the two target groups of this study (see Judd et al., 1995).

Results

The endorsement of multiculturalism. A significant difference between Turkish and Dutch participants was found for the endorsement of multiculturalism, $t(96) = 8.46$, $p < .001$. As expected, and similar to the findings of the first study, the Turkish participants ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 0.84$) endorsed this ideology significantly more than did the Dutch participants ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 0.89$).

Ethnic identification. I used a two-step hierarchical regression analysis to test the multiculturalism hypothesis. The same procedure as in the first study was followed. Step 1 revealed that the combined effect of the two predictors was significant, explaining 26% of the variance, $\Delta F = 16.57$, $p < .001$. There was a significant effect for ethnic group ($\beta = .57$, $p < .001$): Turkish participants ($M = 6.01$, $SD = 0.95$) scored higher on ethnic identification than did Dutch participants ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.17$). The effect for multiculturalism was not significant ($\beta = -.10$, $p > .10$). In Step 2, the two-way interaction term was added. The entry of this term accounted for an additional 11% of the variance in ethnic identification, $\Delta F = 16.78$, $p < .001$. The results for the simple slope analysis used to examine this interaction are shown in Figure 3. Similar to Study 1 results, among Turkish participants, a stronger endorsement of multiculturalism was associated with an increased level of ethnic identification ($B = 0.36$, $t = 2.61$, $p < .01$). In contrast, for the Dutch, it was significantly associated with a decreased level of ethnic identification ($B = -0.42$, $t = 3.21$, $p < .01$).

In-group and out-group evaluation. In-group and out-group evaluation served as multiple dependent variables in a two-way analysis of variance with ethnic group as a between-subjects factor and the endorsement of multiculturalism and ethnic identification as continuous factors. The multivariate effect of ethnic group was not significant, $F(2, 96) = 1.20$, $p > .10$.

The multivariate effect of ethnic identification was significant, $F(2, 96) = 3.22$, $p < .05$. Similar to Study 1 results, group identification was positively associated with in-group evaluation,

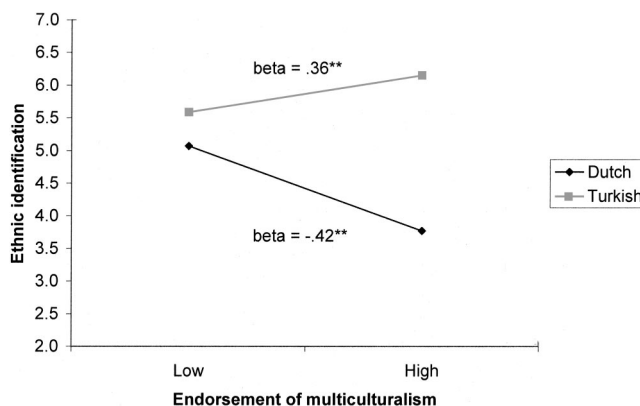


Figure 3. Ethnic identification by multiculturalism for the Dutch and Turkish participants, Study 2. $**p < .1$.

$F(1, 96) = 5.38, p < .05$, and there was no association with out-group evaluation, $F(1, 96) = 0.73, p > .10$. There was no significant multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and group identification, $F(2, 96) = 0.28, p > .10$. Hence, the effect of identification on group evaluations was similar for the Turkish and Dutch participants.

The multivariate effect for multiculturalism was significant, $F(2, 96) = 3.89, p < .05$. Similar to Study 1, the results of a univariate analysis showed that multiculturalism was positively associated with out-group evaluation, $F(1, 96) = 5.67, p < .05$, but not with in-group evaluation, $F(1, 96) = 0.98, p > .10$. This main effect was, however, qualified by a significant multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and multiculturalism, $F(2, 96) = 3.17, p < .05$. The interaction effect was significant for out-group evaluation only, $F(1, 96) = 5.08, p < .05$. As expected, for the Dutch, multiculturalism had a positive effect on out-group evaluation ($B = 0.55, t = 4.59, p < .001$). For the Turkish participants, there was no effect of multiculturalism on out-group evaluation ($B = -0.04, t = 0.18, p > .10$). These results are very similar to Study 1 and are shown in Figure 4. The results for in-group evaluation also show the same tendencies as in Study 1 (see Figure 2).

Discussion

The results of this second study are quite similar to those of the first. Using an older and more highly educated sample, as well as more extensive and reliable measure of multiculturalism and a general evaluative indicator of group evaluations, I found that the pattern of results tends to support SIT. In general, members of an ethnic minority group (Turkish) were more likely to endorse multiculturalism than members of the majority group (Dutch). Furthermore, ethnic identification was positively related to in-group evaluation. In addition, the Turkish participants indicated a stronger degree of in-group identification, which was also found in Study 1.

The effects for both ethnic group identification and out-group evaluation were moderated by individual differences in the endorsement of the ideology of multiculturalism. Similar to Study 1

results, I found that the more strongly the Turkish participants endorsed multiculturalism, the more likely they were to identify with their ethnic in-group and to tend to evaluate their in-group positively. In contrast, the more the Dutch participants endorsed multiculturalism, the less likely they were to identify with their ethnic group and to evaluate the out-group negatively. Thus, Dutch participants who endorsed multiculturalism more strongly had a more favorable attitude toward Turkish people. Furthermore, and similar to Study 1 results, ethnic identification was related to in-group evaluation and not to out-group evaluation. This relationship was found for both ethnic groups.

This pattern of results is more in agreement with SIT than with ethnic identity development models (e.g., Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1989). Similar to the multicultural hypothesis, proponents of these models argue that the development of a positive and secure ethnic identity is associated with a greater acceptance of out-groups. This development would occur in late adolescence and young adulthood. However, the results of Study 2 are quite similar to those of Study 1, which used a younger sample of middle adolescents. Hence, a comparison of both studies provides little support for developmental models and more for SIT, which has also been found in other studies (e.g., Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003). However, a longitudinal design is of course needed to examine the developmental models more fully.

Although the results of both studies are generally supportive of the predictions of SIT, the focus was on multiculturalism only, and the methodology of these studies leaves room for alternative explanations. In contrast to multicultural ideology that legitimizes cultural maintenance and identity affirmation of ethnic minority groups, assimilation ideas provide justification for the dominant culture and identity of the majority group. Accordingly, a third study was conducted, in which the endorsement of both multiculturalism and assimilationism was assessed. Furthermore, the third study had an experimental character to investigate the causal effects of these ideologies. The first two studies examined correlations, and the participants may have, for example, endorsed multiculturalism because they identified with their ethnic group rather than vice versa. Hence, the results of these studies do not show that the ideology of multiculturalism actually affects in-group identification and group evaluations.

Study 3

For the third study, I used an experimental questionnaire design. Ethnic diversity raises all kinds of questions as well as much ambiguity for many people. Pratto and Lemieux (2001) have shown that the meaning of immigration and the presence of ethnic minority groups can be manipulated through political discourse. Additionally, Wolsko et al. (2000) have successfully exposed participants experimentally to either a multicultural or a color-blind ideological prompt condition (see also Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). In the present study, multicultural and assimilation ideology were made salient in separate conditions. In addition, there was a third control condition. I examined whether these conditions have different effects on in-group identification and group evaluations for ethnic minority members (Turks) as well as for majority group members (Dutch). I also examined endorsement of the ideology.

The minority group participants were expected to show higher in-group identification and more positive in-group evaluation in

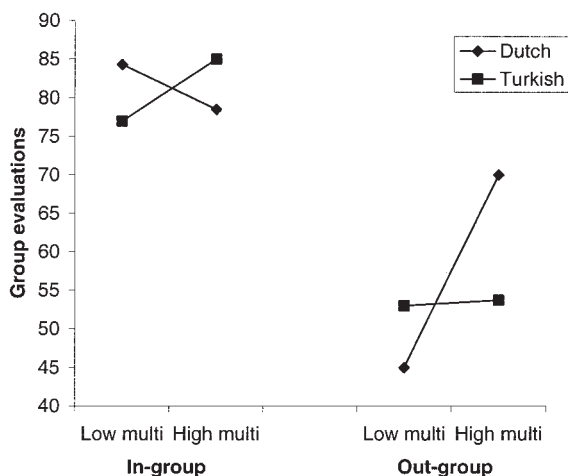


Figure 4. In-group and out-group evaluations by low and high multiculturalism (multi) for the Dutch and Turkish participants, Study 2.

the multicultural experimental condition than in the assimilation condition. In contrast, the majority group participants were expected to show higher identification and less positive out-group evaluation in the assimilation condition than in the multicultural condition. Further, I expected that the minority group members would endorse multiculturalism more strongly, whereas I thought the majority group members would endorse assimilationist thinking more strongly. In addition, and similar to the expectations in the first two studies, I expected that the endorsement of multiculturalism would be positively related to in-group identification and in-group evaluation for the minority group participants, whereas for the majority group, multiculturalism would be negatively related to in-group identification and positively to out-group evaluation. In contrast, I expected assimilation ideology to be negatively related to in-group identification and in-group evaluation for the minority group and to be positively related to these measures for the majority group.

Method

Participants. The study was conducted with 210 students at Utrecht University and at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The students participated on a voluntary basis and received 6 euros (approx. US\$7.40) for their cooperation. The sample consisted of 110 ethnic Turkish and 110 ethnic Dutch participants. There were 125 women, 84 men, and 1 gender unspecified; the gender distribution was similar for both ethnic groups. The median age was 21 years old, and ages ranged between 18 and 27 years old.

Design and measures. An experimental between-subjects questionnaire study was carried out in which multiculturalism and assimilationalism were used as ideological frames. The students' participation was requested for social scientific research on contemporary social issues. The questionnaire took approximately 20 min to complete.

Three different versions of a questionnaire were divided randomly among the participants. One version focused on multiculturalism, the second on assimilationism, and the third and neutral condition focused participants' attention on leisure time and environmental issues. The experimental manipulations were induced in the questionnaire by its title, which was printed on the first page of the questionnaire and repeated in italics and in bold at the top of every page of the booklet, and by a short introduction and 10 attitude statements.

The multicultural condition questionnaire was entitled "The Multicultural Society," and the participants were informed:

The aim of this study is to find out about people's opinions on cultural differences and the multicultural society. We would like to know what people in the Netherlands think about multiculturalism. The questions deal with various aspects but are all about the multicultural society. Their essence is multiculturalism.

Five statements on multiculturalism followed from this introduction. Using a 7-point scale, the participants were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with each statement. After this the measure of ethnic group identification was presented (see below). Next, the participants were asked to respond to another five statements on multiculturalism. After that, the measure of group evaluations was presented. As part of the multiculturalism priming manipulation, all statements on multiculturalism were positively worded. The statements were adapted from Berry and Kalin's (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale. Sample items are "Minorities should be able to maintain their own culture as much as possible" and "Every ethnic group is entitled to a culture of its own." The 10-item scale was internally consistent, with $\alpha = .83$.

Assimilation as an ideology was introduced in a second version of the questionnaire. The title of this questionnaire was "Social Cohesion and Assimilation in Society," and the participants were informed:

The aim of this study is to find out about people's opinions on the importance of social cohesion and assimilation by ethnic minorities. We would like to know what people in the Netherlands think about cohesion and assimilation. The questions deal with various aspects, but are all about assimilation and social cohesion in society. Their essence is assimilation by minorities and cohesion.

The questionnaire was designed in the same way as the multicultural one. However, statements on the importance of assimilation (7-point scales) were used instead of statements on multiculturalism. The statements were adapted from Berry and Kalin's (1995) 10-item scale. As part of the assimilation priming manipulation, all statements were worded in such a way that they stressed the importance of assimilation. Sample items are "People who have chosen to come to the Netherlands should adapt to Dutch society" "and "Cultural habits and traditions are private matters and should be kept out of public life;" $\alpha = .67$.

The third version of the questionnaire was a control condition questionnaire. The title was "Social Developments in Society," and the participants were informed:

The aim of this study is to find out about people's opinions on various subjects, such as leisure time and the environment. We would like to know what people in the Netherlands think about the above, as well as about other aspects of life. The questions are diverse, but in essence are all about social developments in Dutch society.

Five statements (using 7-point scales) followed the introduction about the importance of leisure time (e.g., "Nowadays most people have too little time to do the things they'd like to do"). This was followed by the ethnic group identification measure. Five statements on environmental issues (e.g., "Sustaining the environment should be higher on the political agenda" and "People should take an active interest in the environment") were followed by the questions on group evaluations.

In all three versions of the questionnaire, ethnic group identification was measured using eight items. The questions were similar to those used in the first two studies and focused on the importance that the participants attached to their ethnic identity. The items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*); $\alpha = .83$.

The group evaluations were measured using the same feeling thermometer as was used in Study 2. Again, the Turkish and Dutch groups, the two target groups of this study, were listed along with four other groups.

Results

Ideology endorsement. As expected, the Turkish participants endorsed multiculturalism more strongly than the Dutch in the multicultural condition, $t(68) = 4.04, p < .001$ ($M = 3.96, SD = 0.45$, and $M = 3.48, SD = 0.54$, respectively). In contrast, Dutch participants ($M = 3.67, SD = 0.57$) had a significantly higher score on assimilation attitude than did Turkish participants in the assimilation condition ($M = 3.27, SD = 0.56$), $t(1,67) = 2.94, p > .01$. In the control condition, both groups of respondents had a similar mean score on the attitude toward leisure time and environmental issues ($M = 3.48, SD = 0.45$, and $M = 3.45, SD = 0.48$, respectively).

Ethnic identification. I examined ethnic identification as a dependent variable using analysis of variance. The experimental condition (multicultural, control, and assimilation) and ethnic group (Turkish and Dutch) were entered as between-subjects factors. A main effect was found for ethnic group, $F(1, 203) = 48.78, p < .001$. As was found in the first two studies, Turkish partici-

pants had a higher score on ethnic identification ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 0.59$) than did Dutch participants ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.52$).

The effect for the experimental condition was not significant, $F(2, 203) = 0.80$, $p > .10$, but there was a marginally significant interaction effect between condition and ethnic group, $F(2, 203) = 2.55$, $p < .08$. Table 1 shows the results. For the Dutch group, ethnic identification tended to be higher in the assimilation condition than in the multicultural one, and the score in the neutral condition was in between, $F = 3.82$, $p < .05$. For the Turkish group, condition did not have a significant effect. However, in an additional analysis comparing the multicultural condition with the other two, I found a significant difference, $F = 3.78$, $p < .05$. The Turkish participants scored higher on identification in the multicultural condition than in the assimilation and neutral conditions.

To examine the role of both ideologies further, I analyzed the extent to which participants agreed with the items of the two ideology scales. In the multicultural experimental condition, the endorsement of multiculturalism was not related to ethnic identification. In this condition, there was, however, a significant interaction effect between multiculturalism and ethnic group, $F(1, 69) = 6.20$, $p < .05$. Similar to the first two studies' analyses, simple slope analysis showed a positive association between the endorsement of multiculturalism and ethnic identification for the Turkish participants ($B = 0.47$, $t = 2.44$, $p < .05$), whereas for the Dutch participants, a negative, but nonsignificant, association was found ($B = -0.15$, $t = 0.95$, $p > .10$).

In the assimilation condition, there was no main effect for the endorsement of assimilation, but there was a significant interaction effect between assimilation and ethnic group, $F(1, 69) = 13.67$, $p < .001$. For Turkish participants, there was a negative association between the endorsement of assimilation and ethnic identification ($B = -0.33$, $t = 2.31$, $p < .05$). In contrast, there was a positive association between the endorsement of assimilation and ethnic identification for the Dutch participants ($B = 0.56$, $t = 3.33$, $p < .001$).

In-group and out-group evaluation. In-group and out-group evaluations served as multiple dependent variables in a two-way analysis of variance with ethnic group and experimental condition as between-subjects factors and ethnic identification as a continuous variable. The multivariate effect of ethnic identification was significant, $F(2, 202) = 14.01$, $p < .001$. Similar to the first two studies findings, group identification was positively associated with in-group evaluation, $F(1, 202) = 23.79$, $p < .001$, and not

significantly with out-group evaluation. There was no significant multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and group identification, $F(2, 202) = 1.74$, $p > .10$. Hence, the effect of identification on group evaluations was similar for the Turkish and Dutch participants. There was also no significant multivariate effect between experimental condition and identification, $F(4, 202) = 0.79$, $p > .10$.

The multivariate main effects of ethnic group and experimental condition were not significant, $F(2, 202) = 1.57$, $p > .10$, and $F(4, 202) = 0.74$, $p > .10$. However, the multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and experimental condition was significant, $F(4, 202) = 3.41$, $p < .01$. Univariate analysis showed that this interaction was significant for out-group evaluation, $F(2, 202) = 3.10$, $p < .05$, and close to significance for in-group evaluation, $F(2, 202) = 2.94$, $p < .06$. For out-group evaluation, the experimental manipulation tended to make a difference for the Dutch, $F(2, 202) = 3.33$, $p < .08$. As shown in Table 1, the Dutch tended to have a more positive out-group evaluation in the multicultural condition than in the assimilation condition. For the Turkish participants, no significant effect for out-group evaluation was found.

The experimental condition made, however, a difference for the in-group evaluation by the Turkish participants, $F(2, 202) = 5.09$, $p < .01$. In-group evaluation was highest in the multicultural condition, followed by the assimilation condition, and the neutral condition. For the Dutch participants, the effect of experimental condition on in-group evaluation was not significant.

In further analyses, the extent to which participants agreed with the items of the two ideology scales was considered. In-group and out-group evaluation served as multiple dependent variables in a two-way analysis of variance with ethnic group as a between-subjects factor and ideology endorsement as a continuous variable. In the multicultural experimental condition, the multivariate effect for the endorsement of multiculturalism was not significant, $F(2, 70) = 0.16$, $p > .10$. In this condition, there was, however, a significant multivariate interaction effect between multiculturalism and ethnic group, $F(2, 70) = 3.27$, $p < .05$. Univariate analyses showed that there tended to be a positive association between the endorsement of multiculturalism and out-group evaluation for the Dutch participants ($B = 0.21$, $t = 1.87$, $p < .07$). No other associations were significant.

In the assimilation condition, there was no multivariate effect for the endorsement of assimilation, and there was also no significant interaction effect with ethnic group.

Table 1
Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Identification and Evaluations by Experimental Condition, Study 3

Variable	Experimental condition		
	Multiculturalism	Neutral	Assimilationism
Ethnic identification			
Turkish	3.52 (0.54)	3.23 (0.56)	3.36 (0.66)
Dutch	2.73 (0.51)	2.84 (0.49)	2.92 (0.54)
In-group evaluation			
Turkish	88.3 (11.2)	76.2 (12.0)	82.3 (12.9)
Dutch	74.9 (15.6)	77.1 (13.2)	79.7 (14.0)
Out-group evaluation			
Turkish	58.9 (22.1)	55.6 (16.0)	61.1 (13.5)
Dutch	60.1 (19.7)	59.4 (18.3)	51.5 (19.1)

Discussion

This study provides further support for the role of interethnic ideologies for in-group identification and group evaluations. In particular, I found that the effect of ethnic group on group identification and the evaluation of Turkish people as the minority group were moderated by multicultural and assimilation ideologies. As expected, ethnic majority group members endorsed assimilationist thinking more strongly, whereas ethnic minority group members endorsed multiculturalism more strongly. In addition, Dutch participants tended to identify most highly with their in-group in the assimilation experimental condition, whereas Turkish participants did so in the multicultural condition. The comparison with the neutral condition suggests that multiculturalism reduces in-group identification for Dutch people and increases

identification for Turkish people. Furthermore, the results for the level of ideology endorsement were in agreement with expectations. For the Dutch participants, ethnic identification was associated positively with the endorsement of assimilation and negatively, although not significantly, with the endorsement of multiculturalism. In contrast, for the Turkish participants, ethnic identification was related negatively to the endorsement of assimilation and positively to multiculturalism.

The results for group evaluations were similar. The experimental manipulation affected Dutch out-group evaluation and Turkish in-group evaluation. In the multicultural condition, Dutch participants had a more positive out-group evaluation than in the assimilation condition. Turkish participants had a more positive in-group evaluation in the former condition. In addition, for the Dutch, a stronger endorsement of multiculturalism was associated with a more positive out-group evaluation.

The results of the experimental manipulation and endorsement of ideology were independent of ethnic identification. For both ethnic groups, ethnic identification was found to have a positive effect on in-group evaluation; identification was not related to out-group evaluation. Ethnic identification did not moderate or mediate the effects for multiculturalism and assimilationism on group evaluations.

A fourth experimental questionnaire study was conducted to ensure that these findings were reliable. In addition, in this study, I considered stability and permeability as important sociostructural characteristics of intergroup relations, and I used an additional measure of group differentiation.

Study 4

Multiculturalism approaches emphasize the importance of recognizing cultural diversity within the same political framework as well as equal chances and opportunities (Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Kymlicka, 1995; Parekh, 2000). For minority groups, multiculturalism offers the possibility of maintaining their own identity and obtaining higher social status in society. Majority group members, on the other hand, may see ethnic minorities and their desire to maintain their own culture as a threat to their group identity and status position (e.g., Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999). Hence, multiculturalism is about the acknowledgment and acceptance of ethnic differences and also about equality and the social structure in society.

SIT argues that beliefs about the specific characteristics of the intergroup situation influence people's responses and strategies for group differentiation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In addition to ideologies that endorse or question group distinctions and positions, there is perceived stability and permeability of the intergroup situation. *Stability* refers to the extent to which group positions are considered to be changeable, and *permeability* refers to the extent to which individual group members can leave one group and join another. Perceived stability and permeability have been found to moderate the effects of group status on group identification and in-group bias (see Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001; Ellemers, 1993; Van Knippenberg, 1989, for reviews). For example, when group boundaries are seen as permeable, members of minority groups tend to increasingly use the individual mobility strategy for achieving positive identity. That is to say, they will dissociate more from their in-group and show little in-group bias. In contrast, permeable group boundaries are threatening for the

majority group, leading to increased group identification and in-group bias. Further, unstable group relations can lead to higher group identification and more in-group bias among both majority and minority group members.

Perceived permeability and stability can be closely related to interethnic ideologies. From a liberal perspective, for example, multiculturalism as a group approach is seen as conflicting with the primacy of personal responsibility and meritocracy (Barry, 2001). Approaches such as color-blindness and assimilationism are implicitly based on the idea that individual improvement is possible and that, therefore, group boundaries are permeable. In contrast, those defending multiculturalism tend to take a group perspective in which relatively stable group distinctions are assumed and a person's identity is seen as primarily defined by membership in a cultural community (Parekh, 2000; Taylor, 1994). The possibility of a close relationship between interethnic ideologies and perceived stability and permeability implies that the effects for multiculturalism found in the previous three studies may (in part) be due to these sociostructural characteristics. Hence, in the fourth study, the effects of multiculturalism were examined while I took perceived stability and permeability into account.

In the first three studies, I used evaluative measures of group relations. In Study 1, the evaluation of social contacts was assessed, and in Studies 2 and 3, a measure of general group evaluation was used. To make the fourth study comparable with these studies, I used a measure of general group evaluation for it as well. In addition, however, group stereotypes were assessed. It can be argued that global, relatively ambiguous, evaluative measures make it relatively easy to give biased responses and that these measures are particularly sensitive to ideological frames, such as multiculturalism and assimilation. In contrast, specific comparison dimensions can be publicly and consensually associated with particular groups, making positive group distinctions more difficult and less dependent on ideological notions. Ellemers, Van Rijswijk, Roefs, and Simons (1997), for example, have shown that group ratings are constrained by consensual definitions of social reality. Group members were found to display in-group bias but without violating the social definitions about which traits are characteristic for each group. People appear to take socially defined reality into account while giving group ratings (Spears, Jetten, & Doosje, 2001; Spears & Manstead, 1989). The lower status of minority groups, for example, constrains or prevents them from showing in-group bias on status-related dimensions.

The present study focused on descriptive differences between Turkish and Dutch people. The participants were asked to indicate the percentage of in-group and out-group members that are characterized by particular traits. Two stereotype dimensions were examined that in the Netherlands are familiar and commonly used by both Turkish and Dutch people to describe these two groups (Phalet et al., 2000; Verkuyten, 1999). One dimension is considered to be more typical for the ethnic identity of the Turkish group and refers to the importance of tradition and family. The other dimension is more descriptive of the Dutch group and refers to the importance of efficiency and achievement. Hence, for both groups, stereotypic and counterstereotypic attributes were used.

I expected that because of social reality constraints, the ideological notions of multiculturalism and assimilation would not affect the stereotype ratings. In addition, I expected the Turkish group to show positive in-group distinctiveness on the dimension that is consensually seen as typical for them, whereas I expected

the Dutch group to show negative in-group distinctiveness on this dimension. In contrast, I expected the Dutch group to show positive distinctiveness on the dimension considered more typical of their group, whereas I expected the Turkish group to show negative distinctiveness on this dimension.

Method

Participants. The study was conducted with 93 students in Rotterdam. The students participated on a voluntary basis and received 5 euros (\$6.12) for their cooperation. The sample consisted of 47 ethnic Turkish and 46 ethnic Dutch participants. There were 49 women and 44 men; there was a similar gender distribution within both ethnic groups. The median age was 21 years old, and ages ranged between 17 and 27 years old.

Design and measures. Similar to Study 3, I used an experimental between-subjects questionnaire study in which multiculturalism and assimilationism were used as ideological frames. Because of the limited number of participants, no neutral condition was used. The students' participation was requested for social scientific research on contemporary social issues. The questionnaire took approximately 20 min to complete.

There were two different versions of the questionnaire that were divided randomly among the participants. One version focused on multiculturalism and the other on assimilation. The experimental manipulations were induced in exactly the same way as in Study 3. In the multicultural condition, the 10-item scale for multiculturalism was internally consistent with $\alpha = .92$. In the assimilation condition, the assimilation questions $\alpha = .85$.

Ethnic group identification was measured with 10 items. The questions were similar to those used in the first three studies. In addition, two other items on identity security ("I feel sure about my ethnic identity," and "I know very well what my ethnic identity means to me") were included. The items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*); $\alpha = .88$.

Group evaluations were measured using the same feeling thermometer that was used in Studies 2 and 3. Again, the Turkish and the Dutch, the two target groups of this study, were listed along with four other groups.

In addition, trait ratings were used to measure group stereotypes. The participants were asked to indicate on a scale from 0% to 100% how many Turkish people and how many Dutch people have certain characteristics. Jonas and Hewstone (1986) showed that this is a reliable and sensitive method for assessing group stereotypes. On the basis of the literature, I chose four traits that are consensually seen as being more characteristic of Turkish people as well as four seen as more characteristic of Dutch people (e.g., Phalet et al., 2000; Verkuyten, 1999). The Turkish attributes were *hospitable*, *tradition minded*, *family oriented*, and *respectful toward the elderly*, whereas the Dutch attributes were *efficient*, *achievement oriented*, *disciplined*, and *persevering*. Principal-components analysis yielded two factors that explained 42% and 22% of the variance, respectively. The first four items had a high loading ($> .77$) on the first factor and a lower loading on the second factor ($< .23$). The last four items loaded high on the second factor ($> .67$) and lower on the first factor ($< .29$). For each target group, composite measures were computed for the first four items and also for the last four items. For the present purposes, and in agreement with Phalet and Poppe's (1997) cross-national study, the former scale was labeled the Morality Dimension of Group Stereotypes and the second as the Competence Dimension. For the Turkish target group, the morality scale Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$, and for the competence scale, $\alpha = .89$. For the Dutch target group, $\alpha = .86$ and $.80$ for the morality and competence scales, respectively.

Perceived stability of ethnic group relations and perceived permeability were measured by six items adapted from Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, and Blanz (1999) (e.g., "The relationship between autochtones [ethnically Dutch] and allochtones [non-Dutch] will remain stable for the next years"). The items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). Principal-components analysis with varimax rotation on these six items yielded a two-factor structure. The first

factor explained 35% of the variance, and the second factor explained 29%. The three items intended to measure perceived stability had a high load on the first factor ($> .76$) and a low load on the second one ($< .16$). On the second factor, the three permeability items had a high load ($> .67$), with a load of less than $.12$ on the other factor. Hence, the items were summed to form two scales. For the Perceived Stability Scale, Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$. For the Permeability Scale, Cronbach's $\alpha = .69$, with a higher score meaning higher perceived permeability.

Results

Preliminary analysis. In agreement with the first three studies, Turkish participants endorsed multiculturalism more strongly than did the Dutch participants in the multicultural condition, $t(46) = 6.76, p < .001$ ($M = 4.19, SD = 0.51$, and $M = 3.11, SD = 0.59$, respectively). In contrast, the Dutch participants ($M = 3.84, SD = 0.56$) had a significantly higher score on assimilation attitude than the Turkish participants ($M = 3.01, SD = 0.67$) in the assimilation condition, $t(43) = 4.47, p < .001$.

Perceived stability and permeability of ethnic group relations were not significantly related ($r = .09, p > .10$). The Dutch participants ($M = 3.19, SD = 0.77$) had a significantly higher score than the Turkish participants ($M = 2.29, SD = 0.86$) for permeability, $t(91) = 5.29, p < .001$. The Dutch participants also had a higher score for stability, but the difference between the two groups was only marginally significant, $t(91) = 1.73, p < .10$ ($M = 3.16, SD = 0.82$, and $M = 2.83, SD = 0.73$, respectively).

The scores for stability and permeability did not differ significantly between the two experimental conditions. However, perceived permeability was negatively associated with the endorsement of multiculturalism ($r = -.62, p < .001$) in the multicultural condition and positively to the endorsement of assimilation ($r = .31, p < .05$) in the assimilation condition. Hence, when group boundaries were seen as more permeable, there was weaker support for multiculturalism and stronger support for assimilation. Perceived stability was not significantly related to the endorsement of multiculturalism ($r = -.12, p > .10$) and had a marginally significant positive association with the endorsement of assimilation ($r = .29, p < .06$). These associations were similar for the Dutch and the Turkish participants.

Ethnic identification. Ethnic identification was examined as a dependent variable with the experimental condition (multicultural, assimilation) and ethnic group (Turkish and Dutch) as between-subjects factors and perceived stability and permeability as continuous factors. All two-way interactions between the continuous variables and ethnic group, and between these variables and the experimental condition, were also included in the analysis. As in the first three studies, a main effect was found for ethnic group, $F(1, 92) = 20.16, p < .001$. Turkish participants had a higher score on ethnic identification ($M = 4.23, SD = 0.57$) than Dutch participants ($M = 3.53, SD = 0.62$).

The effect for experimental condition was not significant, $F(1, 92) = .03, p > .10$. However, there was a significant interaction effect between condition and ethnic group, $F(1, 91) = 9.78, p < .01$. Separate analysis indicated that for the Turkish group, ethnic identification was significantly higher in the multicultural condition than in the assimilation one, $t(45) = 2.32, p < .05$. In contrast, for the Dutch group, ethnic identification was significantly higher in the assimilation condition compared with the multicultural one,

$t(44) = 2.36, p < .05$.² The results for this interaction are shown in Table 2.

I examined the extent to which the Dutch and Turkish participants agreed with the two ideology scales in further two-way analyses of variance using ideology endorsement and permeability and stability as continuous variables. In the multicultural experimental condition, there was a significant interaction effect between multiculturalism and ethnic group, $F(1, 47) = 5.55, p < .05$. Similar to the other three studies, the endorsement of multiculturalism tended to be related positively to ethnic identification for the Turkish participants ($B = 0.38, t = 1.83, p < .10$) and negatively, but nonsignificantly, for the Dutch participants ($B = -0.26, t = 1.41, p > .10$). The effects for permeability and stability were not significant.

In the assimilation condition, there also was a significant interaction effect between ideology endorsement and ethnic group, $F(1, 44) = 9.07, p < .01$. For the Dutch participants, there was a positive association between the endorsement of assimilation and ethnic identification ($B = 0.72, t = 3.69, p < .001$). In contrast, for the Turkish participants, there was a negative, though not significant, association ($B = -0.14, t = 1.01, p > .10$). The main effect for perceived stability was also significant, $F(1, 44) = 6.09, p < .05$. Stability was positively associated with ethnic identification.

In-group and out-group evaluation. In-group and out-group evaluation served as multiple dependent measures in a two-way analysis of variance in which ethnic group and experimental condition were between-subjects factors and ethnic identification, perceived permeability, and perceived stability were continuous variables. The multivariate effect of ethnic identification was significant, $F(2, 91) = 11.14, p < .001$. Similar to the findings of the first three studies, identification was positively associated with in-group evaluation, $F(1, 91) = 20.89, p < .001$, and not with out-group evaluation, $F(2, 91) = .66, p > .08$. There were no significant multivariate effects for the interactions between identification and ethnic group and between identification and experimental condition. Hence, the effect of identification on group evaluations was similar for the Turkish and Dutch participants and for the multicultural and assimilation condition.

Similar to Study 3 effects, the multivariate main effects of ethnic group and experimental condition were not significant, $F(2, 91) = 1.53, p > .10$, and $F(2, 91) = 1.21, p > .10$. However, once again the multivariate effect for the interaction between ethnic group and experimental condition was significant, $F(2, 91) = 5.61, p < .05$.

Table 2
Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Identification and Evaluations by Experimental Condition, Study 4

Variable	Experimental condition	
	Multiculturalism	Assimilationism
Ethnic identification		
Turkish	4.40 (0.51)	4.03 (0.58)
Dutch	3.33 (0.57)	3.74 (0.59)
In-group evaluation		
Turkish	88.4 (14.3)	84.5 (19.2)
Dutch	80.0 (14.1)	87.4 (12.8)
Out-group evaluation		
Turkish	50.0 (24.6)	59.5 (22.6)
Dutch	62.6 (13.9)	36.9 (22.0)

The results presented in Table 2 show contrasting effects for the Turkish and Dutch participants: Compared with the assimilation condition, in the multicultural condition, Turkish participants tended to have more positive in-group evaluation and less positive out-group evaluation, whereas the Dutch participants tended to have less positive in-group evaluation and more positive out-group evaluation. Univariate analysis showed that the interaction effect was significant for out-group evaluation, $F(1, 91) = 10.48, p < .01$. No significant differences were found for the Turkish participants. However, the Dutch had a more positive out-group evaluation in the multicultural condition compared with the assimilation condition, $t(44) = 4.72, p < .001$.³

The extent to which the Dutch and Turkish participants agreed with the two ideology scales was examined in further two-way analyses of variance. Ethnic group was a between-subjects factor, and ideology endorsement, permeability, and stability were the continuous variables. In the multicultural experimental condition, there was a marginally significant multivariate effect for the interaction between multiculturalism and ethnic group, $F(2, 48) = 3.03, p < .06$. Univariate analysis indicated a significant interaction effect for in-group evaluation only, $F(1, 48) = 4.68, p < .05$. The endorsement of multiculturalism tended to be related negatively to in-group evaluation for the Dutch participants ($B = -0.16, t = 1.74, p < .08$), and positively, but not significantly, for the Turkish participants ($B = 0.12, t = 1.16, p > .10$). The multivariate effects for stability were not significant, but for permeability, significant effects were found.⁴

In the assimilation condition there was a significant multivariate effect for the interaction between ideology endorsement and ethnic

² The analysis of variance also showed a significant and positive main effect for perceived stability, $F(1, 91) = 9.96, p < .01$. However, this effect was qualified by a significant interaction effect between ethnic group and perceived stability, $F(1, 91) = 5.49, p < .05$. It transpired that for the Dutch, there was a positive association between perceived stability and group identification ($B = 0.40, t = 4.03, p < .001$). For Turkish participants, the association was also positive but not significant ($B = 0.10, t = 0.92, p > .10$). The interaction effect between ethnic group and perceived permeability was also significant, $F(1, 91) = 5.54, p < .05$. Simple slope analysis showed a negative association between permeability and ethnic identification for the Turkish group ($B = -0.21, t = 2.10, p < .05$). Hence, higher perceived permeability was associated with lower identification. For the Dutch participants, a positive but nonsignificant association was found ($B = 0.12, t = 1.10, p > .05$). There were no other significant effects. Thus the effects of perceived stability and permeability did not differ between the two experimental conditions.

³ The multivariate main effect for perceived stability was significant, $F(2, 91) = 3.91, p < .05$. Univariate analysis showed that this effect was significant for in-group evaluation only, $F(1, 91) = 7.91, p < .01$. Higher perceived stability was related to less positive in-group evaluation. There was no significant multivariate interaction effect between stability and ethnic group. The multivariate main effect of perceived permeability was not significant, but there was a significant multivariate interaction effect between permeability and ethnic group, $F(2, 91) = 3.14, p < .05$. Univariate analysis showed that this interaction was only significant for out-group evaluation, $F(2, 91) = 5.93, p < .05$. For the Turkish participants, there was a positive association between group permeability and out-group evaluation ($B = 0.31, t = 3.10, p < .01$), whereas for the Dutch participants, no association was found.

⁴ The multivariate main effect for permeability was $F(2, 48) = 5.19, p < .01$. Univariate results showed that only the effect for out-group evaluation

group, $F(2, 45) = 5.55, p < .01$. The univariate results showed significant interaction effects for in-group evaluation, $F(1, 45) = 4.51, p < .05$, and for out-group evaluation, $F(1, 45) = 4.14, p < .05$. For the Dutch participants, the endorsement of assimilation was positively related to in-group evaluation ($B = 0.21, t = 2.12, p < .05$), and negatively to out-group evaluation ($B = -0.29, t = 2.87, p < .01$). For the Turkish participants, there were no significant associations. The multivariate effects for permeability and stability were also not significant.

Trait ratings: Morality dimension. I examined the morality dimensions of in-group and out-group stereotypes as multiple dependent variables in a two-way analysis of variance. Ethnic group and experimental condition were between-subjects factors, and group identification, perceived stability, and perceived permeability were continuous variables.

The multivariate main effect for ethnic group was significant, $F(2, 93) = 6.31, p < .01$. Univariate analysis showed significant effects for in-group morality, $F(1, 93) = 5.41, p < .05$, and for out-group morality, $F(1, 93) = 6.71, p < .01$. As expected, the Turkish participants had a higher score than the Dutch participants for in-group morality ($M = 8.70, SD = 0.92$, and $M = 6.13, SD = 1.32$, respectively) and a lower score for out-group morality ($M = 4.06, SD = 1.77$, and $M = 7.84, SD = 1.04$, respectively). Pairwise tests showed significant in-group typicality for the Turkish participants, $t(46) = 15.71, p < .001$, and out-group typicality for the Dutch participants, $t(45) = 7.01, p < .001$.

The multivariate effect for experimental condition was not significant, $F(2, 93) = 0.53, p > .10$. In addition, the multivariate effect for the interaction between experimental condition and ethnic group was also not significant, $F(2, 93) = 0.01, p > .10$. Hence, and as expected, the experimental condition did not affect the morality dimension of group stereotypes. Furthermore, additional analyses showed that in-group and out-group morality were not significantly related to the endorsement of multiculturalism in the multicultural condition or the endorsement of assimilation in the assimilation condition.

The multivariate effect for ethnic identification was significant, $F(2, 93) = 4.38, p < .05$. Univariate analyses showed a positive association between identification and in-group morality, $F(1, 93) = 8.90, p < .01$, but not with out-group morality. There were no significant multivariate effects for interactions with identification. Finally, the multivariate effects for perceived permeability and stability were not significant.⁵

Trait ratings: Competence dimension. Similar to the previous analysis, the competence dimensions of in-group and out-group stereotypes were examined as multiple dependent variables in a two-way analysis of variance. The multivariate main effect for ethnic group was significant, $F(2, 93) = 5.12, p < .05$. Univariate analysis showed significant effects for in-group competence, $F(1, 93) = 7.32, p < .01$, and for out-group competence, $F(1, 93) = 8.44, p < .01$. As expected, the Dutch participants had a higher score than the Turkish participants for in-group competence ($M = 7.63, SD = 0.96$, and $M = 6.45, SD = 1.53$, respectively) and a lower score for out-group competence ($M = 5.67, SD = 1.52$, and

$M = 7.55, SD = 1.02$, respectively). Pairwise tests showed significant in-group typicality for the Dutch participants, $t(45) = 7.10, p < .001$, and out-group typicality for the Turkish participants, $t(46) = 5.70, p < .001$.

The multivariate effect for the experimental condition was not significant, $F(2, 93) = .04, p > .10$, as was the case for the interaction between condition and ethnic group, $F(2, 93) = .29, p > .10$. Thus, the experimental condition also did not affect the competence dimension of group stereotypes. In addition, further analyses showed that in-group and out-group competence were not significantly related to ideology endorsement in the two experimental conditions. Finally, the multivariate effects for ethnic identification, permeability, and stability were not significant.⁶

Discussion

The results of this fourth study are similar to the other three. Multiculturalism was endorsed more strongly by the Turkish participants, whereas the Dutch participants were more in favor of assimilation. Furthermore, for the Turkish participants, ethnic identification was positively related to the endorsement of multiculturalism and negatively, although nonsignificantly, to the endorsement of assimilation. In contrast, for the Dutch participants, ethnic identification was positively related to the endorsement of assimilation and negatively, but nonsignificantly, to the endorsement of multiculturalism. More important, the Turkish participants showed higher in-group identification in the multicultural experimental condition, whereas the Dutch participants showed highest identification in the assimilation condition.

The results for the general group evaluations showed that compared with the assimilation condition, in the multicultural condition, the Dutch participants had a more positive out-group evaluation. Furthermore, similar to the other three studies, for both ethnic groups, ethnic identification had a positive effect on in-group evaluation; ethnic identification was not related to out-group evaluation. In addition, ethnic identification did not moderate or mediate the effects for multiculturalism on group evaluation.

The experimental results go beyond Study 3 in two ways. First, the effects for the two interethnic ideologies were found while taking two sociostructural characteristics, suggested by SIT—perceived stability and permeability—into account. Hence, these ideologies have a particular role for ethnic group identification and intergroup evaluations. Multiculturalism and assimilation affected identification and group evaluations independently from perceived stability and permeability.

Second, Study 4 goes beyond the previous studies by using trait ratings in addition to general group evaluations. In this study, I

⁵ There was only a multivariate effect for the interaction between permeability and ethnic group, $F(2, 93) = 4.90, p < .01$. The effect was significant for out-group morality, $F(1, 93) = 7.44, p < .01$. For the Turkish participants, there was a positive association between group permeability and out-group morality ($B = 0.23, t = 2.31, p < .05$), whereas for the Dutch participants, the association tended to be negative ($B = -0.17, t = 1.70, p < .10$).

⁶ There was, however, a significant multivariate effect for the interaction between permeability and ethnic group, $F(2, 93) = 3.86, p < .05$. Univariate results showed that the effect was significant for out-group competence, $F(1, 93) = 5.72, p < .05$. For the Dutch participants, there was a negative association between permeability and out-group competence ($B = -0.32, t = 3.01, p < .01$). For the Turkish participants, the association was not significant.

was significant, $F(2, 48) = 9.07, p < .01$. This effect was qualified by a significant interaction effect between ethnic group and permeability, $F(1, 48) = 9.71, p < .01$. For the Turkish participants, permeability was positively related to out-group evaluation ($B = 0.43, t = 4.31, p < .001$). There was no significant association for the Dutch.

focused on two stereotype dimensions: a morality dimension, which is commonly seen as more descriptive of Turkish people, and a competence dimension, which is seen as more descriptive of Dutch people. Group ratings have been found to be constrained by consensual definitions of reality (Ellemers et al., 1997; Spears & Manstead, 1989). People tend to display positive in-group distinctiveness, but without violating the social definitions about which traits are characteristic for each group. Therefore, it was expected that group ratings on consensually defined traits would not be affected by the experimental manipulation of multiculturalism or assimilation.

The results, first, show that both groups tended to agree on the relative typicality of the two stereotype dimensions for the Turkish and the Dutch people. On the morality dimension, the Turkish participants indicated stronger in-group typicality, whereas the Dutch participants showed stronger out-group typicality. In contrast, on the competence dimension, the Turkish participants showed out-group typicality and the Dutch participants in-group typicality. This agrees with other studies (e.g., Phalet et al., 2000) and suggests that the participants took social reality into account when giving group ratings.

Second, the results showed that these consensually defined trait dimensions were indeed not affected by the experimental manipulation of multiculturalism and assimilation. In addition, the level of endorsement of the ideologies within the two conditions was not related to the trait ratings.

General Discussion

The question of how a society should deal with issues and problems arising from cultural diversity is complex and multifaceted. One major issue is whether societies should encourage ethnic minority groups to preserve their heritage and cultural identity or support assimilation to the majority culture. Proponents of the multicultural hypothesis argue that ideological affirmation of group identities leads to more positive ethnic identities and higher levels of acceptance toward ethnic out-groups (Lambert & Taylor, 1990). This hypothesis holds the promise of the development of secure ethnic identities and a reduction of intergroup tensions. Social psychological theories, such as SIT, have emphasized, however, the negative outcomes of social categorization and category salience (but see Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2000; Hewstone, 1996). SIT proponents argue that ideological notions that endorse or question identities and group distinctions affect group differentiation differently for minority and majority groups and that group identification tends to lead to in-group protective behaviors. The present research among Dutch and Turkish participants primarily supported SIT. Although some differences were marginally significant, the pattern of results for the four studies is quite consistent. The interaction between ethnic group and ideology was reliable across the four studies, which were based on different methodologies (survey and experimental), different age and educational groups, and different group measures. In general, the results show the power that interethnic ideologies can have in shaping, at least temporarily, self-perceptions and group evaluations.

The Turkish participants endorsed multiculturalism more strongly than the Dutch participants, whereas the Dutch participants endorsed assimilationist thinking more strongly than the Turkish participants. Further, for the Turkish participants, endorse-

ment of multiculturalism was related to stronger in-group identification and more positive in-group evaluation, whereas for Dutch participants, it was related to weaker group identification and more positive out-group evaluation. In Studies 3 and 4, these ideological discourses were shown to have causal effects on in-group identification and in-group bias. For the Dutch participants, multiculturalism tended to lead to lower group identification and a more positive out-group evaluation, whereas assimilationism led to higher identification and more negative out-group evaluation. In contrast, for Turkish participants, multiculturalism led to higher ethnic identification and a more positive in-group evaluation, whereas assimilation ideology tended to lead to lower identification. Thus, ethnic group identification and ethnic group evaluations appeared to depend on the minority or majority position of the group together with the specific nature of the interethnic ideologies involved. Furthermore, in Study 4, I found that the effects of these ideologies existed while taking into account two sociostructural characteristics proposed by SIT: the perceived stability of group relations and the perceived permeability.

Ethnic Identification

For ethnic identification, the results indicate that multiculturalism leads to stronger in-group identification among the minority group and weaker identification among the majority group. In contrast, assimilation leads to stronger identification among the majority group and weaker identification among the minority group. These results can be evaluated differently depending on the stance taken. Ethnic group identification of minority groups may be viewed as part of the development of group cohesion and collective action necessary to transform social reality. However, it may also be viewed as part of a process of closure and group boundary reification leading to separatism and conflicts. In all four studies, the Turkish participants had a higher score on ethnic identification than the Dutch participants. This was found independently of the interethnic ideologies. In general, being a minority group member is thought to be a threat to a positive social identity. Accentuating positively valued differences as well as stronger in-group identification are common responses to this threat (e.g., Ellemers et al., 1999). Ethnic minority groups may emphasize the value and self-defining importance of their ethnic background in response to negative characterizations by society. This is especially likely in situations in which group boundaries are perceived to be relatively impermeable and stable, which was also found in Study 4 (see Footnote 4). Under these conditions, minority group members tend to stress their ethnic identity to counteract a negative social identity. Vermeulen (1984) has shown that perceived rejection and discrimination are factors in ethnic identification among ethnic minority members in the Netherlands. He uses the term *reactive ethnic identity*, because this identity is emphasized in reaction to perceived exclusion (Ogbu, 1993). The rejection-identification model, as developed by Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999), makes a similar argument, and there is increasing empirical support for this model (see Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002).

However, the result for higher group identification by the Turkish participants may also be related to other characteristics, such as their numerical minority position in Dutch society (Simon, 1998). Further, in intergroup theories the ethnic and cultural aspects of ethnic minority groups are often neglected (see Hutnik, 1991;

Verkuyten, 2004). Ethnic identification is not only affected by discrimination and prejudice but also related to the cultural and group characteristics of the ethnic groups themselves. For example, Turkish people living in the Netherlands have a more collectivistic cultural orientation than the Dutch (e.g., Phalet et al., 2000; Verkuyten, 1999). This orientation, together with an enduring focus on the country of origin and the stronger patriotic sentiments in Turkey compared with the Netherlands, may in part explain the higher group identification among Turkish participants. Thus, for ethnic minority groups, multiculturalism may further enhance an already strong in-group orientation, which can have consequences for social cohesion in society. However, in all four studies and for both ethnic groups, I found a positive association between in-group identification and in-group evaluation. Identification was not related to out-group evaluation. Hence, the significance of group identification seems primarily to be in the engagement and felt attachment between the self and the in-group. To be sure, this can lead to group closure and segregation, but it does not have to involve out-group antagonism and intergroup conflicts (Brewer, 2001).

To get a better understanding of these possible consequences, researchers should examine other aspects of group identity. Ethnic identity is a multifaceted construct that can be examined in various ways. Studies on ethnic identity (see Phinney, 1990; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) and social identity in general (e.g., Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; J. W. Jackson & Smith, 1999; Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999) have shown that different aspects of identity can be distinguished. Hence, future studies could examine whether interethnic ideologies have similar effects on different aspects of identity. For example, the multiculturalism hypothesis stresses the importance of developing a secure ethnic identity. Although in Study 4 some items on identity security were included, it could be argued that this issue should be examined more systematically. This can be done by using ethnic identity developmental models (e.g., Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1989), but also by using combinations of identity dimensions, such as commitment, common fate, and depersonalization (J. W. Jackson & Smith, 1999).

Group Evaluations

The pattern of findings indicate that multiculturalism positively influenced the in-group evaluation by the Turkish participants and the out-group evaluation by the Dutch participants. Hence, for both groups of participants, multiculturalism was related primarily to the evaluation of the ethnic minority group rather than of the majority group. This is in agreement with the multiculturalism discussion in the Netherlands that has focused on the identity and position of ethnic minority groups (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). In addition, for the Dutch participants, assimilationism tended to have a negative effect on the evaluation of Turkish people and a positive effect on in-group evaluation. These results indicate that ethnic attitudes fluctuate depending on the interethnic ideology and that multiculturalism yields positive outcomes for intergroup relations (see also Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000).

However, the research also indicated the limits of these ideologies in affecting intergroup relations. In Study 4, multiculturalism and assimilationism did not affect ratings on trait dimensions that are consensually seen as more descriptive of the Dutch or of the

Turkish group. Thus, ideologies about how to deal with cultural diversity affected general evaluative responses but not the assessment of traits for which there are social reality constraints. In further examining the limits of these ideologies, future studies should examine multiculturalism in relation to other types of social judgment, such as attributions and behaviors, as well as more explicit and more implicit group measures (e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; L. A. Jackson et al., 1993). For example, Wolsko et al. (2000) found that relative to a color-blind perspective, a multicultural perspective led to stronger stereotypes and greater use of category information in judgments of individuals.

The multiculturalism hypothesis proposes that a positive and secure ethnic identity leads to a more accepting attitude toward out-groups. In all four studies, identification did not, however, moderate or mediate the relationship between multiculturalism and group evaluations. Hence, there is no support for the supposed role of group identification. SIT predicts a different pattern of intergroup differentiation for low and high identifiers, and it can also be seen as arguing for identification as a mediator between socio-structural characteristics and identity management strategies (e.g., Mummendey et al., 1999). The lack of mediation may be due to the use of general group evaluations as criteria, and other group differentiation measures may yield different results.

Conclusion

The present research has shown that group position and interethnic ideologies affect ethnic group identification and ethnic group evaluations. Focusing on multiculturalism and assimilationism, it was found that these ideological discourses have important implications for group relations and developments in society. Identification and group evaluations are guided by ideological beliefs about the extent to which ethnic and cultural differences should be recognized or denied. In social psychology, there is a growing acknowledgment that the examination in laboratory experiments of fundamental cognitive processes among artificial groups is insufficient for understanding actual intergroup relations in society. It is clear, for example, that historical and ideological contexts have a profound influence on ethnic relations (Verkuyten, 2004). The debate about ethnic and cultural diversity continues, fuelled by different ideological beliefs about the role of ethnicity in society and cultural diversity. Hence, to understand ethnic relations, theoretical accounts are needed which link group processes to belief systems that justify or question group distinctions.

Furthermore, which features of a situation make different ideologies more salient as a framework for group identification and intergroup relations could be examined. In addition, multiculturalism can be interpreted in different ways. The present research focused on the understanding and support for cultural diversity and identity maintenance of ethnic minority groups. This is the predominant interpretation in the Netherlands, in which considerations of cultural diversity and identity dominate those of economic interests and advantages (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004). However, it is also possible to examine the concordance or fit between preferred and perceived acculturation strategies of minorities and the majority (Pionkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). The relative concordance or fit seems important for understanding intergroup relations in plural societies.

Multiculturalism is not without its problems, and there are critiques of forms of multiculturalism that merge the concept of culture with that of ethnic identity, reify groups as separate entities, ignore group similarities, and ultimately rationalize and justify segregation and separation (Barry, 2001; Brewer, 1997; Turner, 1993). However, an approach that rests on a view that cultural diversity is inevitable and valuable is probably the only feasible option for ethnically plural societies. The debate on the managing of cultural diversity continues. The present research has tried to make a contribution to this debate by examining the multiculturalism hypothesis, or the role of ideologies in managing diversity for ethnic identification and interethnic relations. In social reality, the lively debate on these ideologies continues to influence social identity processes, and these processes also have an impact on people's attitudes. Hence, it is also possible and necessary to examine, for example, how ethnic identification affects the endorsement of multiculturalism.

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