ADOLESCENTS LIVING MULTICULTURALISM

Intergroup relations in multicultural Mauritius

Caroline Ng Tseung-Wong Tak Wan
Adolescents living multiculturalism: Intergroup relations in multicultural Mauritius

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ADOLESCENTS LIVING MULTICULTURALISM

Intergroup relations in multicultural Mauritius

Adolescenten die multiculturalisme beleven
Intergroepsrelaties in het multiculturele Mauritius

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Caroline Ng Tseung-Wong Tak Wan

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Promotor: Prof.dr. M. J. A. M. Verkuyten

Manuscript	Prof. dr. P. Eisenlohr (Utrecht University)
Committee:	Prof. dr. A. J. M. W. Hagendoorn (Utrecht University)
	Prof. dr. X. Chryssochoou (Panteion University)
	Prof. dr. K. Phalet (Leuven University)
	Prof. dr. C. Ward (Victoria University of Wellington)

For there are more of us today.

Our hopes are, if anything higher.

Our understanding deeper.

And there's still one thing we've got.

Our *lakorite**?

Till today, it's all we have got.

Lindsey Collen

*Mauritian kreol word that denotes getting along well with others wherever one lives, whoever one's neighbours.

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Introduction

1.1. Background

One of the main challenges-perennial for some, contemporary for many-faced by most countries is the management of diversity. In the United States, the forecast is that by 2050, Hispanics could make up as high as 29% of the population while the Whites could decrease to as low as 47% (Pew Research Center, 2008). In Europe, the management of diversity is increasingly viewed as a 'Muslim problem' lying at the heart of the 'crisis of multiculturalism' (e.g. Modood & Ahmad, 2007) because of the assumption of colliding ways of life (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). In post-colonial countries, the management of diversity involves the recognition of indigenous groups (e.g. Australia, New Zealand) or less commonly researched the power struggles between majority and minorities (e.g. Malaysia). While diversity is the common thread in these examples, its expression and the manner in which it is construed, directed and lived vary by the prevailing socio-historical context.

Two main ideologies, nonetheless, tend to dominate as guiding frameworks to the management of cultural diversity. On the one hand, colour-blindness argues that the state, i.e. government, should consider all citizens as individuals having equal rights and responsibilities (e.g. Barry, 2001). On the other hand, multiculturalism proposes that individuals belong to cultural groups with specificities that should be recognized and respected by society (e.g. Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2000). Because of the rise of 'visible' immigrants, most Western countries have adopted at one point or another, forms of multiculturalism policies in varying degrees (e.g. Canada, Britain, the Netherlands). Social psychological research looks at multiculturalism mainly in terms of its endorsement by majority and minority group members (e.g. Berry & Kalin, 1995; Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Bruunk, 1998) and its implications for intergroup attitudes (e.g. Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink, 2000) and acculturation processes (e.g. Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004; Berry, 1991, 2001; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Moreover, there has been a tendency to equate ethnic studies to ethnic *minorities* (e.g. Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, 1992; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). From this body of work, research has shown, for example, that ethnic identification is stronger amongst ethnic minority than majority group members (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Verkuyten, 2005) whilst national identification is stronger in (host) majority than minority groups (Staerklé, Sidanius, Green & Molina, 2010; Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2007).

But multiculturalism is not only about the recognition and maintenance of ethnic identities and cultures but also about the full participation of all ethno-cultural groups in society. This means that individuals have to make sense of how their collective identities (e.g. ethnic, religious, national) come together. Politically, multicultural societies are about equitable participation and hence inclusion, decision-making and power. To my knowledge these two aspects of multiculturalism, i.e. multiple identities and equitable participation, have not received much research attention in social psychology. Furthermore, most of the social psychological research on multiculturalism emanates from Western contexts where the overarching narrative is one of a host nation and immigrants and ethnic or racial minorities. Multiculturalism was proposed to 'deal with' newcomers and various minority groups. Diverse societies do not necessarily take this form however. They can also be about the nation represented as a 'rainbow' or 'fruit salad' where all the different ethno-cultural components remain distinct but yet are part of one colourful picture or share a common 'bowl'. In this way, the nation is precisely about its different components. Mauritius, a post-colonial island nation, has since its independence prone such an image. It therefore provides an interesting and important context to study multiculturalism. The social context of Mauritius can shed light on the social psychological correlates of multiculturalism as a *predominant* ideology.

The dissertation attempts to contribute to the social psychological literature on multiculturalism in two ways: (i) beyond looking at intergroup evaluations, it also examines multiple identifications and the evaluation of (group) decision-making, and (ii) by studying these aspects of multiculturalism in an under-researched context of the nation as a 'fruit salad' and among adolescents. Psychologically, one of the issues or challenges is the incorporation of various cultural orientations in one's sense of self (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013). *How to manage multiple relevant social identities?* The social context provides the group boundaries, the criteria for distinctiveness, and the norms and platform on which social identities acquire their full meaning. At the inter-group level there is the question whether *individuals are positive about marrying an ethnic other and how individuals evaluate out-groups, and more generally what leads to positive inter-group evaluations*? And at the political level there is the question *how individuals evaluate the fairness of different decision-making procedures*?

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the general approach, the research context and main themes of the dissertation which

contains a collection of four different studies. This means that in each chapter the relevant theoretical approach, specific aims and hypotheses are discussed. Therefore, I do not intend here to provide a specific rationale for each of the four empirical studies but rather to locate the dissertation within the social psychological literature on intergroup relations and multiculturalism and in relation to the Mauritian context. I start with a demographic description of Mauritius and an analysis of why the intergroup situation in the country makes it an appropriate setting in which to study multiculturalism in action (Section 1.2). This is followed by an overview of the theoretical framework that forms the underlying thread amongst the chapters (Section 1.3). I then summarise the main research questions and studies that run through the dissertation (Section 1.4.). Finally I end with a description of the survey sample used in the chapters (Section 1.5).

1.2. The Research Context: Multiculturalism in Mauritius

"….and the government speaks, as they must speak, of a Mauritian nation. As though immigrant nations are created by words and exhortation and not by the possibilities of the land. No one has yet devised, or attempted to devise, a political philosophy for these independent state-barracoons; and it may be that their problems defy solutions…"

(V.S. Naipaul, The Over-Crowded Barracoon, 1972, p.292)

Contemporary Mauritius provides a vibrant real-life context to study multiculturalism in action. As V.S. Naipaul observed constructing a national identity out of immigrant origins is a daunting task and the future was indeed bleak for Mauritius at that time. The country was recuperating from the racial unrest that the transition to independence fuelled, faced a high level of unemployment and skilled emigration, and juggled with the economic fragility that a mono-crop country confronted. Against the odds, Mauritius navigated through economic diversification and kept the ethnic diversity that characterise immigrant nations, alive

and well. It came to embody US President Carter's view of a nation as a 'beautiful mosaic'. The anthropologist Eriksen (2004) considered Mauritius as a strong candidate for "truly successful polyethnic societies" (p. 79) because, with the exception of the February 1999 riots, of the mostly nonviolent coexistence of different ethnic communities. Yet, this coexistence cannot hide the fact that there are quite some 'ethno-cultural tensions' in Mauritius (e.g. the lawsuit against the use of loudspeakers for the call for prayers (azaan); ISKCON vs. McDonald lawsuit over serving beef in its restaurants)[1]. In what follows, I present the socio-historical context of Mauritius in terms of the human demographic, economic and political situations that led to current Mauritius. This discussion serves as a general background for the research. It is not meant to suggest that the adolescents studied are all aware of this history and situations.

1.2.1. Overview of Mauritius' historical settlements

Mauritius is a small insular island state in the Indian Ocean located at latitude 20^0 17' south of the equator and longitude 57^0 33' east of Greenwich Meridian. A former Dutch, French and English colony respectively, it obtained its independence in 1968 and became a Republic[2] in 1992. With no prior indigenous population, the Dutch through the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) were the first to colonise the island in 1638 to exploit the ebony forest. The Dutch settled for two brief periods- 1638-1658 and 1664-1710 -and named it Mauritius but left no substantial legacy apart from the name. However, by introducing sugar cane, bringing enslaved people from Madagascar and using Mauritius as a port of call for

[1] In 2007, a Mauritian citizen - Gavin Glover filed a lawsuit against a mosque in Quatre Bornes for its use of loudspeakers in the call for prayers (azaan). Judge Lam Shang Leen in his verdict stated that the right of devotees to practice their religion is not infringed by prohibiting the use of loudspeakers (Ramsamy, 2007).
In 2011, McDonald opened its fast food outlet in Phoenix. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) contested its opening and made an appeal in the Supreme Court for McDonald not to serve beef in its Phoenix outlet because it is geographically close to the ISKCON headquarters. In March 2013, Supreme Court Judge Fekna rejected ISKCON appeal and ruled that McDonald can serve beef in its restaurant (*L'Express*, 27 March 2013).
[2] As a juridical entity the Republic of Mauritius includes not only the island of Mauritius but also a number of outlying island dependencies such as Rodrigues (distance 563 km; population 35, 000) and Agalega (933 km northward; 200 habitants). The present study only dealt with mainland Mauritius.

its ships, the Dutch set the base for what is the early history of Mauritius (Truth and Justice Report, 2011). The French were the first to formally colonise the island in 1715 naming it 'Ile de France'. The government of the island was left to the French East India Company who gave land grants to the colonists for agricultural purposes. Slaves were brought in mainly from Africa and Madagascar. During the French period, Port-Louis - the capital to this day- was turned into a bustling port and the main infrastructure of the island was laid down, thanks to the slaves who in 1810 reached 63,821 individuals. When the British won the island in 1810 and renamed it Mauritius, they allowed the French settlers to retain their language and customs. To this day, French is more spoken than English - although the latter is the official language- and Mauritian law is a mixture of both French Codes and English Law. Under British rule, slavery was abolished in 1834 and the British government paid compensation to the slave owners. Indentured labourers from India mainly Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Hindus and Muslims) were brought in to work in the sugar-cane fields. A small Chinese community, mainly ethnic Hakka, settled as traders although the first Chinese that landed in Mauritius between 1840 and 1844 came as indentured labourers.

1.2.2. Nation building Mauritian style: 'Fruit salad' multiculturalism

The current representation of Mauritius is one of a multicultural mosaic (Eriksen, 1994) or 'fruit salad' that incorporates in its concept of nation all the cultural groups without pressuring them into assimilating into a national ideal. There is also an alternative minority representation which views Mauritius as a 'Creole Island'- hybrid and mixed, with *Kreol* language as the lingua franca of all Mauritians (Benoist, 1985). In European and American discourses the nation is generally identified with one norm-referencing ethnic group (i.e. tacitly the majority group, see Devos & Banaji, 2005), and attitudes towards multiculturalism are generally more positive among minority than the majority members (e.g. Arendt-Toth & Van de Vijer, 2003; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). In contrast, in Mauritius the popular representation as a 'fruit salad' or 'rainbow nation' implies that groups that can claim a cultural 'homeland' are granted special rights or privileges so that difference and equality can ideally co-exist (Lionnet, 1993). This is supported and promoted by the dominant majority Hindu group.

Eisenlohr (2006a) argues that for Hindu Mauritians to maintain their dominant position in a plural context, they strategically and forcefully promote links to the imaginary homeland-mother India- by keeping alive ancestral traditions, culture and languages. In this way, highly marked group boundaries between the different groups in Mauritius are maintained-the 'fruit salad' or mosaic- and serve to justify the prominent position of the Hindus. In Mauritius, hence, the national narrative is a portrayal of multiculturalism in that the different communities are needed to make up the mosaic, but some have more prominence and can therefore claim more from the state apparatus. Multiculturalism in Mauritius- in the form of cultural recognition and respect- serves the needs of the majority group and of minorities Muslim and Chinese that are also constitutionally recognised and respected as ancestral cultural communities, but not the Creoles who are a mixed group that cannot claim a specific cultural 'homeland'. As Vaughan (2005, p. 276) put it "The game of multiculturalism had begun, and the Creole population, dispossessed by the twin processes of enslavement and emancipation, would lose".

The narrative of Mauritius as a 'Creole Island', hybrid and mixed, sharing a similar past French colonial rule with Guadeloupe or Martinique (Benoist, 1985) does not have much resonance in Mauritius, probably because the majority in Mauritius is of Indian origin. Nor did the Creole militants of the 1970s that located vernacular Mauritian *Kreol* as the glue in an ideological nationalist movement survive as a political project (Eisenlohr, 2006a). Both Creole linguistic nationalism and Creole Island as a past plantation colony, would reverse the hegemonic order among ethnic groups and was stopped in the case of the former and not promoted in the case of the latter, by the Hindu state bourgeoisie. Assimilation into one national category represented by *Kreol* as the common language and denominator amongst all Mauritians would imply loss of majority status for Hindus and legitimise a more prominent position for Creoles.

The relatively strong demarcation between public and private spheres maintains the 'fruit salad' image of the nation. This image requires the continuation of existing cultural communities. Whilst neighbourhoods are mostly ethnically mixed (Christopher, 1992), according to an informed estimation by Nave (2000) the rate of inter-ethnic marriage is relatively low (approximately 8.2%). Marriages occur primarily along ethnic rather than class lines. Even the relatively few children born of mixed marriages ultimately follow the ethnic and religious traditions of one of the parents, thereby keeping the ethnic boundaries unchecked (Nave, 2000). At the

same time, the social representation of Mauritius as a tolerant multicultural country where ethnic groups live in harmony imply that it is prescriptive if not normative for Mauritians to get along in the public sphere of work, school and collective places.

1.2.3. Current ethnic and religious composition of Mauritius

To this date, the main cultural groups are the Hindus, Tamils, Telegus, Marathis, Muslims, Creoles, Whites, and Chinese (Eriksen, 2004). Yet the Constitution recognises only four main groups: Hindus (52 percent), General Population (29 percent), Muslims (16 percent) and Sino-Mauritian (3 percent). Hindus have risen from poor indentured labourers, then drivers of independence, to be the current powerful political group that is dominant in the public sector. Although they also came from India, most Muslims have not kept many ties with India but rather form a tight community centred round their religious faith (Hempel, 2009). General Population[3] is a miscellaneous term to describe any Mauritian who does not fall under the other three categories (i.e. Hindu, Muslim and Sino-Mauritian) and therefore the former colonisers (Franco-Mauritians, i.e. Whites) and the former slaves (Creoles- in Mauritius the term refers to individuals of African-Malagasy origins) are amalgamated under the same appellation when they are rather distinct communities. This residual group also contains the *gens de couleur* (mulattos) who are of mixed origins. The Whites despite being a small numerical minority are economically powerful and therefore are not affected by, but rather dominate, this generic appellation. The Hindu majority share with most other minorities a past of being oppressed.

The different groups making up Mauritius illustrate well the conceptual difficulty of defining groups as 'ethnic', 'cultural' or even 'religious'. The official categorisation of Mauritius into four 'communities' hide the various social groups that give rise to different social identities in the social-psychological sense (see Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). For instance the group 'Hindu' found in the Constitution, denoting a common religious affiliation to Hinduism is in fact an umbrella term that

[3] The Constitution (First Schedule, section 31 3) stipulates that "[The] population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community, a Sino-Mauritian community and every person who does not appear to belong to one or another of these 3 communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population which shall be itself regarded as the fourth community"

includes the majority who came from Northern India (approximately 41 percent) and are simply known as Hindus as well as Tamils, Telegus and Marathis who are distinctive social groups because of regional and linguistic differences. 'Muslims' in Mauritius share cultural similarities with the Hindus because both came from India and mainly as indentured labourers. However, difference in religious belief is a strong marker. 'Muslims' in Mauritius, despite internal cultural heterogeneity, is a religious affiliation but also a community whereby people who identify with the group share normative beliefs and practices. For Hindus of Northern Indian origin and Muslims, then, religious and ethnic identities are largely overlapping.

The 'Creoles' form a community of people mainly of African-Malagasy origin with no official recognition in the Mauritian Constitution. Yet, it is a community that has, together with the Whites, the longest affiliation to Mauritius as their birth place. Importantly, because slavery has meant no ties to a (imaginary) 'homeland', their attachment to Mauritius can be seen as unequivocal but not valued (see Truth and Justice Commission Report, 2011). In between the Creoles and Whites as two ends of the colour spectrum, are those of mixed origins with various epidermal hues, commonly known as gens de couleur. Unlike the US, where the 'one drop rule' was and often is still used to define Blackness, in Mauritius the identity label 'Creole' has not been appropriated by those of mixed descent. They tend to find the 'rainbow' nation rhetoric problematic and rather prone a melting pot '*Mauricianisme*'.

The empirical studies in this dissertation are based on data collected among the three main numerical groups in Mauritius, i.e. Hindus, Muslims and Creoles. Therefore I will give a short description of each group and the socio-cultural differences between them.

Hindus in Mauritius

The narrative of Hindus in Mauritius, often retold by Hindu politicians on Hindu festivals in front of Hindu devotees is one of the success story of a group who came as indentured labourers, faced adversity and contempt by the then sugar barons and English administrators, but managed to withstand hardship and kept its culture, language and traditions alive. What were seen as liabilities by the Other turned into Hindu strength: projected group cohesiveness, strong group norms (religious devotions, importance of rituals, maintenance of ancestral language) and cultural distinctiveness (customs, food, dress). Because of their numerical size and ability to mobilise along kinship networks (Eriksen, 2004), they have

become the politically dominant community in Mauritius. According to Eisenlohr (2006a) Hindu of north Indian origin have made ancestral languages the battlefield on which hegemony and power relations are played out. Mauritian Hindus represent 52 percent of the population but are actually divided along regions of origin in India and ancestral language: Hindi, Tamil, Marathi, and Telugu. Hindi occupies central stage as the language of the Hindu of north Indian origin-what would be referred to as ethnic Hindu. The Hindus can be further divided along caste lines - Babujee, Vaish, Rajput and Ravived- that do not have ritualistic status anymore but are kept as a matter of prestige and esteem (Hollup, 1994).

The Hindus as understood in the Constitution are therefore a heterogeneous group that however has managed to keep their majority position by favouring a national narrative that is centred on ancestral origin and the promotion of ancestral customs, traditions and language. In this way, the Hindu group is presented as a clearly defined group with fixed boundaries and in need to remain 'pure'. This serves to contrast with the culturally hybrid and mixed Creoles (Boswell, 2006) and it sets the criteria on which groups are to be compared and evaluated in Mauritius.

Muslims in Mauritius

While in contrast to other groups Muslims stand as a unified community, there are internal differences (ethnic and religious) and power struggles (Eisenlohr, 2006b; Rajah-Carrim, 2010). Most Mauritian Muslims are descendants of indentured Northern Indian labourers (Kalkatiyyas) who came between 1835 and World War 1 after the abolition of slavery to work in the sugar cane plantations (Eisenlohr, 2006a). A small group of free immigrants came from Gujarat-Kutch and Surat (Kutchi Memons) as traders. They institutionalized Islam by building and managing the Jummah Mosque which follows the tradition of the Sunni South Asian Ahl-e-Sunnat va Jama'at. However, the other group of Gujarati traders, the Sunni Surtees developed an affiliation with the Deobandi movement represented by Tablighi Jama'at which promotes a purified Islam striped of Indian cultural influences with Saudi Arabia as the reference point (Eisenlohr, 2006c). The Kalkatiyyas belong to either group. Both groups claim to represent the authentic version of Islam and affiliate with different 'ancestral' languages, Sunnat Jama'at with Urdu and Tablighi Jama'at with Arabic. For both groups however the mosque and madrassahs are important and vibrant sites for the Muslim community. In Mauritius, madrassahs are places where a pan-Islamic Muslim identity is perpetuated and forged (Auleear Owadally, 2011).

Importantly, despite the internal heterogeneity, the Muslim community stands as an ethno-religious group, different and in contrast to others (Hempel, 2009). However, Muslims in Mauritius are of Indian origins and most came together with Hindus and spoke Indian Bhojpuri. By the late 19th to early 20th centuries the Indian Muslims increasingly used Urdu as the transmitter of their cultural and religious identity (Emrith, 1994) that differentiated them from Hindus. In effect, by being a distinct community recognised in the Constitution, Muslims could re-create an identity routed away from India to one rooted in Islam and inevitably in Mauritius (see Hollup, 1996). This narrative fits well in the multicultural diasporic image of Mauritius (Eisenlohr, 2006a). Muslims can claim they form 'part of' the larger pan-religious Muslim Ummah with Urdu and Arabic as ancestral languages. As a recognised minority group, the position of Muslims gains legitimacy and rights in the multicultural image of Mauritius because the state guarantees and fund their religious organisations and festivals. Muslims in Mauritius are an unthreatened and uncontested minority group. Paradoxically although Muslims would not take India as the 'motherland', Mauritian Muslim implies a Muslim of Indian origin. For instance, membership in the Creole community and being Muslim are viewed as mutually exclusive in Mauritius, unlike Afro-Creole communities in for instance Trinidad that claim Islam within an African heritage (Eisenlohr, 2006a).

Creoles in Mauritius

In the dominant discourse on ancestral origin that sets the framework on which ethnic groups find meaning, legitimacy and entitlements, it has been very difficult for Creoles to find their place. Mostly descendants of slaves and highly hybrid and mixed most Creoles were considered to have a weak sense of collective identity (Miles, 1999). They rather had a relatively strong sense of Christian (mainly Catholic) religious identity which was socially more valued and conveyed higher group esteem. But the Catholic Church in reproducing the social hierarchy amongst Whites and Creoles has not helped Creoles in constructing an ethnic identity of their own with Catholicism being part of it. Yet, awareness that Creoles were not benefitting from the economic boom of the 1990s came from Creole Catholic priests who asked the Church to take care of its 'poorest children' (see Palmyre, 2007). This was coined by Father Cerveaux as the 'malaise creole'. The term has since been taken as synonymous to the economic and social problems that the Creole community has faced for a

long time. Working class Creoles generally have lesser opportunities than other Mauritians and upward economic mobility is an individual strategy that often means dissociation from one's original community (Eriksen, 2004).

Following Father Cerveaux's speech, Creoles started to re-construct their Creole identity and self-identified themselves as Creoles. They mobilized in small associations, published a newspaper- 'La Voix Creole'- and voiced their opinion on societal issues (Teelock, 1999). Creoles' claim to an African heritage (mostly the middle-class), especially after the 1999 riot following the death of a Creole singer in custody, can be viewed as an identity strategy that fits in multicultural Mauritius where "there can be no space for ambiguity" (Boswell, 2006, p. 6). Jeffery (2010) argued that to align itself with the dominant multiculturalism discourse, there have been three processes in Creoles' collective identification: cross-continental inspiration from the Creole world of the African diaspora; regional ethnic identification as Indian Ocean Creoles; and localizing Creole culture as rooted in and unique to the particular island context. Through these processes, Creoles try to find their place in the 'mosaic' discourse. For instance, in 2008, Father Jocelyn Gregoire, an enigmatic Catholic priest with numerous followers, independent but with the approval of the local church authority, argued for the recognition of Creoles in the Mauritian Constitution and the betterment of the Creoles' status through his movement the 'Federation Des Creoles Mauriciens' (FCM). He pushed for 30 percent of Civil Servants-currently dominated by Hindus- to be Creoles. He chose the 1st May which is the day on which political parties usually hold their public meetings to stage an apolitical meeting for the status of Creoles. He drew as many if not more followers than the main political parties (L'Express 2nd May 2008). However the movement faced internal disputes and the momentum of 2008 did not last.

Be that as it may, the mobilisation of Creoles as a cultural group has had social repercussions. Politicians quickly saw 'ethnic votes' and took concrete actions. For instance the setting up of a *Truth and Justice Commission* in 2009 to look into the legacy of slavery and indenture (Truth and Justice Commission report, 2011), an equal opportunity bill launched in 2006 and in 2012 the *Kreol* language was recognised and is now taught in primary schools as an optional language that can be learnt at par with the oriental languages. Interestingly, the teaching of Kreol as the 'ancestral' language of Creoles has been viewed as a politically acceptable

decision but Kreol as *Kreol Morisien* - the Mauritian language of all[4] and not of a particular ethnic community- is seen as problematic by some.

1.2.4. Economic and educational positions of the different ethno-religious communities

Mauritius is often hailed as an economic success story, one of Africa's 'teacher's pet'. Nobel economic prize winner, James Meade forecasted a dismal future for the island nation in 1961 because there are no natural resources, there was high fertility rate, high unemployment, a mono-crop sugar industry and skilled emigration. Yet in the early 1980s, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was created so that the textile industry became a second economic pillar together with sugar. Concurrently, tourism was promoted and the island is still being marketed as an up-market resort island. This industry is currently facing difficulty with the economic recession in Europe, the main tourism provider. Recently the financial sector through offshore and a double tax agreement with India has been a strong sector of the economy. GDP per capita has increased from less than $ 500 to more than $ 6000 from 1970 to 2010. The economic development of Mauritius is often accounted for by the resiliency of its people and prudent macroeconomic fundamentals as well as strong democratic principles. At the individual level, house ownership is high (88.9 % of household owned their house, 2011 Housing Census) and fertility rate has dropped to 1.45 in 2011 from 6.18 in 1961 (World Bank Indicators, 2013). In principal, schooling is compulsory and free, public transport is free for students and retired individuals and health services are also free.

Yet, disparities between the poor and the rich are substantial and of interest to this dissertation is the economic disparity that exists between cultural groups. The economic development of Mauritius has not benefitted all groups equally. Whites, despite being a small minority, have strong economic power and dominate the private sector. Most of the top Mauritian companies have as major shareholders White families. Hindus and Muslims have invested in their children's education and benefit from the competitive educational system. At the end of the six year primary schooling, a national examination (Certificate of Primary Education, CPE) takes place that determines the secondary school that the child will attend. At the moment, national and regional schools exist with the former

[4] In the last 2011 census, 80% of Mauritians reported speaking *Kreol* at home.

taking the academically successful students. Prevocational education has been set up to cater for those students that failed the CPE examination.

Hindus are mainly employed in the public sector and are found at all levels. Muslims, a smaller minority community than Creoles, are more numerous in the public sector than Creoles. Muslims are also found in the liberal professions and in the informal sector. The Creoles are the ones that have benefited the least from the economic success of Mauritius. Subjected to discrimination at school by teachers (mostly non-Creole) who often hold stereotypes of Creoles as lazy and poor (Truth and Justice Commission, 2011), ill-equipped for the academic qualifications that are mandatory for jobs in the public sector and confined to manufacturing and construction jobs that are harsh and not well paid, Creoles do not stand on an equal footage compared to majority Hindus.

1.2.5. Political positions of the different communities

The political history of independent Mauritius is inextricably linked to the rise of Indo-Mauritians as they organised in political parties. After the '*petit morcellement*' policy in the late 19th century that allowed indentured labourers to acquire land, Indo-Mauritians (both Hindus and Muslims) stood for election to make their voices heard. The impetus came with Mahatma Ghandi's brief visit to the island after which he sent his envoy Manilal Doctor in 1907. The latter started the Hindustani newspaper and concurrently the process of political mobilisation was under way. The labour party was founded by Dr Maurice Curé in 1936 and Basdeo Bisoondoyal mobilised the Hindu community on the importance of voting. The Muslims formed their political party, the 'Comité d'Action Musulman' (CAM) and made an alliance with the Labour Party as pro-independence parties. The Parti Mauricien Social Democrate (PMSD) led by the charismatic Creole Gaëtan Duval (who came to be known as 'King Creole') was against independence and warned of Hindu hegemony should independence be obtained. Independence from the British did occur in 1968 and Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam became the first Mauritian prime minister. He is often portrait as the father of the nation. From their inception, political parties have been tied to specific ethnic communities. An exception is the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) that as a reaction to the ethnic-based politics and corruption of the late 1970s started as a movement that fought for trade unions and for the working

conditions of the working class. The movement was lead by a Franco-Mauritian Paul Bérenger. However, even the MMM with its Marxist ideological origin, kept in view the ethnic composition of the constituencies when aligning candidates. As Minogue (1987, p. 133) argued "Mauritian politics are above all, ethnic politics."

The Hindus are dominant in the political spheres and no party has gone to the election without forming an alliance. In 1982, when the MMM came into power, they were driven by the ideology of '*enn sel lepep, ene sel nayson*' (one people, one nation) and officially abolished the question on 'ethnic group' from the population census. This is the case to date so that figures on the ethnic composition of the population are outdated. Yet, the Best Loser System (BLS) introduced in 1965 to ensure the representation of ethnic minorities in parliament, was maintained. Candidates at the general election have to state their ethnic community (from the four official categories) and if they do not do so their candidacy is denied. In the 2010 election, a group called 'Block 104' aligned candidates who did not indicate their ethnic community. As expected their candidacy was not accepted and they took the case to Court. The Privy Council ruled that it was for the Mauritian government to decide and currently a White Paper is being set up. In 2007, the group 'Resistans ek Alternativ' made a complaint to the UN Human Rights Committee that in July 2012 ruled that the mandatory classification of a candidate for general election without an updated population census was arbitrary. Mauritius is therefore under obligation to update the 1972 census with regard to community affiliation and/or reconsider whether the BLS is necessary.

The complex and substantial cultural diversity in Mauritius can be examined in different ways (e.g. individual or societal levels, social policies, personal narrative of living in cultural diversity) and also from different disciplinary perspectives (e.g. political science, anthropology, sociology). Each of these disciplines can provide their own specific and useful insights to the understanding of cultural diversity and specifically the Mauritian mosaic. For instance, political science has been at the forefront in formulating theories and policies for the management of difference (e.g. Barry, 2001; Kymlicka, 1995; Taylor, 1994; Young, 1990). In Mauritius, Boswell (2006) using an anthropological approach did fieldwork amongst Creole communities located in four geographical areas. Her research provides a detailed and rich analysis of their day-to-day living and how their Creole identity is construed. Eisenlohr (2006a) has analysed how a diasporic Hindu identity is performed through an analysis of language and he has also looked at the influence of electronically mediated devotional

discourses on Muslim identity performance (2006c). While these provide an understanding of specific 'pieces' of the mosaic, a social psychological perspective on Mauritius has much to offer to our comprehension of the dynamic amongst the different pieces of the mosaic. In what follows, I present the social-psychological approach as the framework from which to make sense of cultural diversity and particularly Mauritian diversity.

1.3. Theoretical Approaches: Multiculturalism and the Social Identity Tradition

Intergroup theories (e.g. Social Identity Theory-SIT, Social Categorisation Theory-SCT, Group Position Model) provide suitable frameworks to make sense of and derive predictions for diversity contexts that involve a variety of groups and majority and minority groups in particular (e.g. Blumer, 1958; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1999). Commonly these theories stress the importance of the social context in terms of its social, historical and political particularities that form the background on which individuals play out their social group memberships. Moreover, different ideologies to successfully manage diversity have been proposed in social psychology. For the colour-blind approach successful management of different groups is best achieved by downplaying group distinctions and treating people as unique individuals (see Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Rattan & Ambady, 2013 for reviews). This ideology emphasises similarities and one derivative is assimilation ideology which holds that all groups should adopt the same ways, namely that of the dominant mainstream culture. In contrast, the multicultural approach argues that group memberships and cultural differences should be recognised and valued (see Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013; Plaut, 2010; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). However, 'multiculturalism' is a loose term and I will attempt to provide a snapshot of what it entails. The focus in this dissertation is not so much on multiculturalism as a policy or ideology but rather on the challenges that a multicultural polity, as described in section 1.2., pose.

Multiculturalism is a multi-level term that can be used at the descriptive level- to denote the reality of cultural diversity of a particular setting; the individual level-to reflect the membership of an individual to various cultural groups and how these are included in the self; the societal level - to indicate the normative expectations for dealing with diversity, and

the political level of decision-making (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013; Wieviorka, 1998). As an ideology multiculturalism denotes tolerance of diversity and the recognition and respect of cultural groups, especially ethnic minorities (e.g. Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Parekh, 2000). In this dissertation, the descriptive aspects of multiculturalism are gleaned from existing research (mainly anthropological) which I use as the canvas on which multiculturalism is painted by the individual. The research focus is at the individual level in terms of multiple identities and at the level of intergroup attitudes and the evaluation of decision-making of concrete issues in a diversity context. In line with the social identity tradition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982), I examine intergroup relations from the vantage point of *individual* perceptions and beliefs. Social behaviour depends on the belief system that structures society and self understandings. It is possible for individuals to interact not as individuals on the basis of their personal characteristics but rather as members of a group that stand in power and status difference in relation to relevant other groups. I first provide a brief discussion of the ideology of multiculturalism. I then present intergroup theories, more specifically the social identity tradition, as a social psychological framework from which multiculturalism can be understood.

1.3.1. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as an ideology and policy for the management of cultural diversity is on the retreat in Europe. For instance German Chancellor Angela Merkel viewed multiculturalism as a failure and David Cameron talked about post-multiculturalism. Critics of multiculturalism argue that it leads to reified group distinctions, cultural group essentialism, and group stereotyping (e.g. Barry, 2001; Brewer, 1997). In the New World, multiculturalism is taken to be less problematic and majority and minority individuals tend to be in favour (moderately) of the ideology (e.g. Berry & Kalin, 1995 but see Morrison, Plaut & Yrabba, 2010). At the core of the ideology is the recognition that cultural differences exist and that these differences should be recognised and respected so that intergroup tolerance and equality can be achieved. Multiculturalism therefore entails the twin elements of recognition and acceptance on the one side and equality on the other side.

Social psychological research has mainly focused on the recognition and acceptance aspects of multiculturalism. This has led to the examination of the correlates of the endorsement of multiculturalism by majority and minority group members (see Verkuyten, 2006), and the consequences of multiculturalism for intergroup perceptions and evaluations (e.g. Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers & Ambady, 2010; Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Ryan et al., 2007; Wolsko et al., 2000). One consequence of the promotion of recognition and acceptance of groups that has not received much attention is the possibility of in-group closure. Concretely, recognition of group differences and hence of group boundaries might imply that multiculturalism encourages acceptance of diversity in the public domain (e.g. neighbours and classmates) but not in the private domain of marriage because such marriages lead to loss of cultural group distinctiveness that is at the heart of the multiculturalism 'fruit salad' ideology. I will examine whether adolescents are positive about interacting with out-groups in public domains but reluctant to marry an ethnic other (Chapter 3).

Research on the equality aspect of multiculturalism is scarce, although recently the association between diversity ideologies - multiculturalism, colour-blindness and assimilation-and preference for equality has been studied (Levin et al., 2012). For example, using Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, Sidanius & Platto, 1999) as a measure of support for inequality, research found that multiculturalism and colour-blindness had a hierarchy-attenuating role whereby participants' endorsement of both ideologies mediated the link between their SDO and prejudice against out-groups. Also, when White American participants who strongly identified with their racial group were exposed to a multicultural ideology they reported greater preference for inequality compared to when exposed to a colour-blind one (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Thus, the outcome of multiculturalism is not always positive but depends on majority/minority positions, strength of group identification and the social context. The 'equality' part of multiculturalism also pertains to decision-making procedures. Indeed, one of the challenges for a diversity polity is how to make sure that all are treated equally given cultural group differences. The current research attempts to contribute to this debate by investigating adolescents' fairness judgments of decision-making procedures involving group representation (Chapter 5).

There is yet another side to multiculturalism which is often overlooked or refuted (e.g. Jopkke, 2004): the recognition of cultural difference should take place within a context of shared national identity.

As Modood (2007, p. 149) argued "it does not make sense to encourage strong multicultural or minority identities and weak common or national identities; strong multicultural identities are a good thing but they need a framework of vibrant, dynamic, national narratives and the ceremonies and rituals which give expression to a national identity." Therefore multiculturalism cannot be equated to recognition of difference only but must also consider what is common, i.e. the national polity.

In most European countries, multiculturalism is viewed as targeting immigrant groups and not necessarily as beneficial for the whole society. However, a complex representation of the nation, i.e. one which reflects its different cultural groups, is proposed as a promising avenue to tolerance in culturally diverse societies (Wenzel, Mummendey & Waldzus, 2007). Such a complex representation would make it more feasible for groups to accept each others' strength and weaknesses. The 'fruit salad' multiculturalism found in Mauritius is a close real-life equivalence to a complex representation and provides an ideal context to test this proposition (Chapter 4).

1.3.2. Social identity approach

Intergroup theories provide relevant frameworks from which to make sense of the implications of multiculturalism for intergroup relations and identification processes. Social identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) highlights the importance of group membership and social identification to individuals' perceptions, evaluations and behaviours. At the core of the social identity perspective is that the social setting and hence the socio-historical dynamics precede the individual who through processes of categorisation, identification and comparison makes sense of his/her in-group position and the emotional and behavioural actions that are derived from this. Psychologically, the in-group becomes part of the self and given the specificities of the social context, individuals act in terms of their group membership. Because individuals strive to maintain positive self-esteem, it is proposed that they prefer their in-group to be positively recognised, valued and accepted. In other words individuals strive for favourable in-group differentiation and thereby a positive in-group identity. The implications of in-group identification have been extensively researched. For example, high in-group identifiers are more likely to show group-level responses compared to low identifiers (see Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002), in-group identification is an important condition for

collective action (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) and identification is linked to the endorsement of multiculturalism (see Verkuyten, 2006). Therefore, I examine group identification processes (e.g. ethnic identification, religious identification, national identification) and how they relate to evaluations of out-group relationships in the private and public domains, to intergroup evaluations and to judgments of fairness of decision-making procedures.

Dual identification

Individuals belong to multiple groups and theorists have been interested in the manner in which these group memberships are combined. The Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM, Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Dovidio et al. , 2007) drawing from SIT and SCT, proposes that social categorisation and social identity contribute to the development of intergroup tensions and competition. In its initial formulation, re-categorisation of the out-group under a common group identity (superordinate identity) shared by both in-group and out-group members would lead to better evaluations of the out-group because 'they' become part of 'we'. However, it is not always possible or desirable for individuals to forgo membership in a valued (religious, ethnic) group that contribute to group distinctiveness. In these instances a dual identity representation can have the same beneficial effect as a one-group representation (see Gaertner et al., 1996; Gonzalez & Brown, 2006).

In the social psychological literature, consensus over the meaning and measurement of dual identity is being sought in terms of whether it is the simple 'addition' of two identities (e.g. national and ethnic identities), whether an asymmetrical constellation of both identities provides enough ground for a dual identity (see Simon & Ruhs, 2008) or whether dual identity is a hyphenated or hybrid identity (e.g. Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; LaFramboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). The current research contributes to this debate firstly by measuring not only dual identity in terms of national and ethnic identifications (Chapter 4) but also in terms of national and religious group identifications (Chapter 2). In the social psychological literature, religious identity has received research attention only of late (see Ysseldyk, Mathesson & Anisman, 2010) and has tended to look at Muslim minority identity (e.g. Hutnik & Coran Street, 2010) and Christian groups (e.g. Muldoon, Trew, Todd, Rougier, & McLaughlin, 2007) in particular. I focus on religious group identification in Hindus, Muslims and Christians that constitute respectively majority and minority groups. Secondly, I assess dual identity in three different ways: a self-identification choice (Chapters 2 and 4), by transforming scores on two

continuous social identities into Hutnik's (1991) two-dimensional model (Chapter 2) and as a relative score of ethnic identification compared to national identification (Chapter 4).

Majority and minority individuals have been found to have different identification preferences: a one-group representation for majorities and a dual-identity representation for minorities. These reflect strategies that functionally maintain the status quo (for majority) or challenge the status quo (for minorities) (see Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2009). This is further reflected in majority preferences for assimilation and minority preferences for multiculturalism (e.g. Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Most social psychological research has been carried out in social contexts where assimilation is the beneficial and thus preferred strategy for the majority and multiculturalism is accommodating for the minorities. In the context of Mauritius where multiculturalism also justifies the dominant position of the majority, I expect that dual identity will be preferred by both majority and minority groups (Chapter 4) and I look at the correlates in terms of group evaluations and self-esteem of holding a dual identity (Chapter 2 and 4).

Ingroup Projection Model

The Ingroup Projection Model (IPM, Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel et al., 2007) makes opposite prediction to the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) on the consequences of a dual identity. Turner (1985) hypothesised that preference for one's in-group depends on the perceived prototypicality (i.e. how characteristic) of the in-group compared to relevant out-groups, for the valued superordinate category. Two different groups are comparable when they share a common higher-order category. Drawing from self-categorisation theory, the IPM further explores the role of self-categorisation processes in the form of relative group prototypicality, i.e. in-group projection. In-group projection is the extent to which group members consider the characteristics of their in-group and the superordinate group as similar. By engaging in in-group projection, members come to view their in-group as normative for the superordinate category. This serves to legitimise their group perceived entitlements (Wenzel, 2004) and out-groups are consequently evaluated more negatively. The IPM argues that individuals, who strongly identify with their sub-group and with the superordinate category, are more likely to view their sub-group characteristics, i.e group prototypicality, as compatible or typical of the superordinate category and engage in in-group

projection. To the extent that high in-group projection denotes that out-groups are less prototypical of the superordinate category, they are evaluated more negatively. Moreover, the effect of dual identity can be moderated by 'finer gradations of *relative* category salience' (Wenzel et al., 2007, p. 356). In contrast, for the CIIM, a dual identity can have the same beneficial effects as a one-group representation especially for those individuals whose sub-group identity is valued and contribute to their sense of distinctiveness - for instance minority group members (Dovidio et al., 2007). Hence dual identity is predicted to be positively associated to out-group evaluation. I tested the opposing predictions of the CIIM and the IPM on the correlates of dual identification and out-group evaluations in Chapter 4.

Moreover, in-group projection can depend on social identification and features of category representation. The IPM claims that a complex representation of the superordinate category where all sub-groups are 'equally indispensable and prototypical" (Wenzel et al., 2007; p. 358) will make in-group projection less likely (or not possible) and is therefore proposed as a route to tolerance in diverse context. The notion of indispensability as being distinct from prototypicality is not argued in the IPM and I investigate whether the two are related but distinct constructs (Chapter 4). Indispensability touches on the notion that all members irrespective of their status and role are needed to form a team. This can be realistically claimed by majorities and minorities too. In contrast, prototypicality pertains to a sub-group being characteristic and typical of the superordinate group which might not be feasible to the same extent for all sub-groups.

1.3.3. Social cognitive domain theory and intergroup theories

In diversity contexts, group considerations can come into play in perceptions of fairness of decision-making processes. For a multicultural polity, one issue is whether an individual should be heard via his/her group membership- "should Blacks be represented by Blacks and Women by women" (Mansbridge, 1999). Research by Killen and colleagues have highlighted the importance of group identity in the evaluation of exclusion and rights in group contexts amongst adolescents (e.g. Killen, Margie & Sinno, 2006, Killen & Rutland, 2011). Social cognitive domain theory

(Smetana, 2006, Turiel, 2002) contends that adolescents use distinct domains of reasoning – social-conventional, psychological and moral- in their judgments of a situation. For instance, social exclusion can be considered as unfair (moral), as legitimate for a group to function (social-conventional) or acceptable because it is based on individual choices (psychological). For Turiel (2002) in situations that involve issues of harm and fairness (morality), individuals across cultures tend to respond in a similar morally disapproving manner. This has been empirically supported by Helwig (1998, 2006) and colleagues (Helwig, Arnold, Tan & Boyd, 2007) who found that adolescents in Canada and China prefer democratic systems (representative and direct democracy) to nondemocratic systems such as oligarchy of the wealthy. However, in situations which are not straightforward such as exclusion in play context, adolescents also used social conventional reasons and group considerations matter (Rutland, Killen & Abrams, 2010). I therefore examine adolescents' judgments of decision-making procedures that also involve group representation (equal group and proportional) (Chapter 5). Following intergroup theories, in these types of decision-making, group considerations become relevant especially for those who strongly identify with their group.

1.4. Research Questions

Against the background of multicultural Mauritius, the aim of the research project is to get a better understanding of intergroup evaluations, identification patterns and decision-making processes in a multiculturalism context. Most of the social science research carried out in Mauritius has been anthropological in nature and tends to focus on a particular community or group: e.g. looking at Hindus in Mauritius (Eisenlohr, 2006a), or at Muslim identity (Eisenlohr, 2006c, 2009) and Creole identity (Boswell, 2006; Jeffery, 2010; Palmyre, 2007; Vaughan, 2010). This valuable and rich body of research has employed a mainly qualitative approach using ethnographic fieldwork, historical documents and in-depth interviews (e.g. Lau-Thi-Keng, 1991 but see Hempel, 2009). What is missing is a large scale quantitative research amongst the three main groups in Mauritius. This allows us to develop a social psychological understanding of how individuals perceive themselves and the intergroup relations. As Plaut (2010) argues it is important to consider and understand both majority's and minority's perspectives of the socio-

cultural environment in which they are both found. The current project attempts to do this. I chose majority and minority group adolescents as my sample because most research carried out on Mauritius, has taken adult participants who were born before or just after 1968 and have known the transition from British colony to independent nation. The views of adolescents are timely because they only know and are growing up with markers of Mauritius as a nation and their views could differ from an ethnicised version of the nation. In what follows, I present the main questions addressed in each of the four empirical chapters.

Chapter 2: How do majority and minority adolescents perceive their religious and national identities and how are the two identities associated?
The main aim of Chapter 2 is to investigate religious group identification of 'native' adolescents of three different faiths (i.e. Hindus, Muslims and Christians) living in the same national context and to explore how religious and national group identifications come together in both majority and minority adolescents. Using Social Identity Theory as a theoretical starting point, I argue that religious group membership can be considered a social identity from which a sense of belonging and commitment to the religious group can be derived. Individuals have multiple social identities and the intergroup context provides clues as to the manner in which religious and national identifications are related. I will examine whether strength of religious and national identifications and the associations between the two, differ by religious groups. Furthermore, the association between religious and national identifications can form a so-called dual identity and in Chapter 2 I will investigate the form that this dual identity can take by using a forced-choice measure and by transforming scores on two continuous religious and national identifications measures into Hutnik's (1991) two-dimensional model of group identification. I will also investigate the psychological consequences of group identifications by exploring how religious identification and dual identification relate to global self-esteem.

Chapter 3: How can we be friends, but not lovers? Does a multicultural setting promote a distinction between public and private domains?
In Chapter 3, I look at adolescents' perceptions of different social relationships and examine how positive they are towards having an ethnic in-group and out-group as a neighbour, classmate and spouse. Using a social distance scale, I attempt to demonstrate that a multicultural setting can promote positive inter-ethnic relationships in the public domain of

schools and neighbourhoods but at the same time, can promote ethnic endogamy because of the importance to maintain cultural group boundaries. I examine the possibility of positive attitudes towards ethnic out-groups in the public domain (neighbours and classmates) together with positive attitudes towards ethnic in-group in the private domain (spouse) in both majority and minority adolescents. I also look at the correlates of out-group and in-group public and private social distances in terms of national and ethnic group identifications (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and adolescents' implicit understanding of groups in terms of incremental and entity theories (e.g. Carr, Rattan, & Dweck, 2012).

Chapter 4: What are the correlates of intergroup evaluations? Do group indispensability and prototypicality matter?
In this chapter, I look at how adolescents perceive the association between the superordinate (national) and subgroup (ethnic) identifications, relative prototypicality and relative indispensability and how these are associated to in-group and out-group evaluations. Theories looking at the conditions for positive intergroup relations, i.e. the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) and the Ingroup Projection Model (Wenzel et al., 2007), make different predictions for the role of dual identifications on out-group evaluations. I test the proposition that a complex superordinate group representation is a promising avenue for achieving positive intergroup relations because the attribution of one's own group distinctiveness to the more inclusive category (ingroup projection), is less possible when the superordinate category is represented by multiple subgroups that are "equally indispensable and protptypical" (IPM, Wenzel et al., 2007, p. 358). I investigate the concept of relative indispensability and propose that it is empirically distinguishable from relative prototypicality.

Chapter 5: What are considered fair procedures in decision-making in a multicultural setting? Can cultural group representation be viewed as a fair option?
The management of diversity is put to the test when it comes to decision-making whether at the level of society, i.e. government, or at more local levels such as in the school context. Should ethnic group considerations matter when decisions are made? I examine adolescents' fairness judgments of three democratic decision-making procedures (representative democracy, equal group representation, proportional group representation)

and one nondemocratic procedure (cultural group oligarchy) in the contexts of the school and government. Research has shown that group identity can become an important dimension when evaluating rights in group contexts (see Killen & Rutland, 2011). In these contexts majority and minority group positions and social group identifications (Blumer, 1958; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) can challenge adolescents' moral judgments. Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 2002) however, argues that moral considerations are important and probably dictate adolescents' judgment of decision making procedures that do not involve group considerations. I therefore examine (i) the fairness rating of these four decision-making procedures and (ii) ethnic group differences on the fairness rating. Because ethnic identification can challenge adolescents' moral judgment I also investigate the associations of ethnic identification with the fairness of the four decision-making procedures.

1.5. Age and Gender

In most of the chapters of this research project, attention is paid to age and gender differences. First, I investigate age differences in multiple identities. Previous research has been equivocal on the development of adolescents' social identities. Some have argued that early-adolescents are more concerned with achieving a sense of belonging to groups whereas late-adolescents are concerned with achieving a sense of personal identity (Kroger, 2000, Tanti, Stukas, Halloran & Foddy, 2011). Others have argued for stability in social identities across the adolescent years (Lopez, Huynh, & Fuligni, 2011). I also look at age differences in the possible distinction between social distance in the public and private domains. In a multiculturalism polity, age should not matter for the evaluation of intergroup interactions in the public domain because all adolescents grow up 'knowing' that interactions with ethnic out-groups are inevitable, expected and tend to be positively (at worst neutrally) viewed. However, it is not clear if older compared to younger adolescents will evaluate marrying the in-group more positively or negatively. On the one hand, early adolescents are more likely to adopt the views of their parents and late-adolescents are more likely to view possible intimate partners as a personal matter. Hence with age there could be higher in-group private social distance. On the other hand, older adolescents could be more aware of the social context in which they live and of the demands that a multicultural society implies (i.e. positive public evaluations together with

maintenance of cultural group boundaries). Therefore with age there could be lower in-group private social distance. Finally, I look at age differences on the fairness of decision-making procedures. Helwig (2006) has shown that with age adolescents begin to understand the practical problems of consensus and majority rule and prefer representative democracy. Also, older adolescents are more aware of and worried about group functioning and group status (Berti, 2005; Killen & Rutland, 2011) that may influence their fairness judgments.

I also investigate gender differences on some of the above issues. Studies that have looked at gender differences on social distance have found boys to report greater overall social distance compared to girls (e.g. Bastian, Lusher & Ata, 2012; Parillo & Donaggue, 2005). I am not aware of research that has looked at gender differences in social distance in the public and private domains. On moral reasoning, systematic research has not found gender to explain variability in its development (see Walker, 2006). For instance Killen, Sinno and Margie (2007) have found that boys viewed ethnic and racial exclusion as more acceptable than girls but Helwig (1998) did not find gender differences in the evaluation of freedom of speech and fair government.

1.6. The Data

I collected the data used in this research project in August-October 2007 in 23 secondary schools in the four educational zones of Mauritius amongst 2327 students. Schools in Mauritius are mostly single sex. Survey data was judged appropriate to reach a large sample of Mauritian adolescents (aged between 11 and 19 years). Each educational zone is composed of both urban and rural areas so that a school found in an urban area also draws students from rural areas. All the schools that participated came from urban areas. State schools are governed and under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources. Permission was sought and granted from the Ministry to access fifteen state schools found in all four educational zones. The Catholic Church has been influential in the educational system of Mauritius by setting up the first schools. Initially this was mainly for Catholic students but the schools took part in the educational reform of 1972 that made education free for all Mauritians. Thus participation from confessional schools (mostly Catholic, one Anglican and one Muslim) which are found in urban areas

was deemed important. To each of the schools, I sent a letter to the principal and all the eight schools responded positively. As English is the official language in Mauritius, the questionnaires were answered in English and I was present in each of the classrooms where data was collected to answer any query that the participants had. Dimensions assessed in the questionnaires were mostly taken or adapted from existing social psychological measures and are described in the relevant chapters. Prior to data collection, a pilot study was carried out amongst 36 students (mean age 12.85) in order to gauge if the students found the questions difficult to understand or the wording unclear and the amount of time they took to complete the questionnaire. The youngest age group was chosen for the pilot study because they were the ones more likely to face difficulties in understanding the questions. The participants reported no major misunderstanding of the questionnaire in the pilot study.

Chapter 2

Religious and national group identification in adolescence: A study among three religious groups in Mauritius

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2.1. Introduction

Striving for a sense of belonging within valued social groups is seen as a critical developmental task for adolescents (Newman & Newman, 2001). Research has focused mainly on racial or ethnic identity formation among minority groups in the United States (e.g., French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006), and to a much lesser extent in Europe (e.g., Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Research outside this Western context is scarce and few studies have investigated adolescents' sense of belonging to their religious group (Sirin & Fine, 2008). This is unfortunate because religion is often of profound importance to individuals' lives and religious groups are among the more salient buttresses of identity (Seul, 1999). Moreover, there can be important differences between religions and the existing research is predominantly concerned with Christian groups (e.g., Muldoon et al., 2007) or with Muslim identity among immigrants (e.g., Hutnik & Coran Street, 2010). What is lacking is research on religious group identity among 'native' adolescents of different faiths living in the same national context and on how religious and national group identities come together among religious majority and minority adolescents.

The social identity approach (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) provides a useful perspective to understand religious group identity. According to SIT, social identities pertain to social group memberships that are internalized as part of the self-concept. Our interest is in the degree to which adolescents feel a sense of belonging and commitment to their religious community. From the perspective of SIT, religions can be characterized as social groups and religious people are those who identify with the group and adhere to its normative beliefs and practices (Ysseldyk, et al., 2010). SIT further emphasises that people have multiple social identities and that the intergroup context influences the degree to which different group identifications, such as religious and national identification, are related (Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2011).

This chapter addresses these issues by studying the strength of religious group identification, its association to national identification and to global self-esteem in a sample of Hindu (52% of the population), Muslim (16%) and Christian (29%) adolescents (11 to 19 years) in Mauritius. Several features of Mauritian society make it a relevant context to investigate religious identification amongst different faiths and to explore the ecologically valid link between religious and national identities. The cultural complexity of Mauritius is substantial. Various ethnic groups live

together (e.g. Hindu, Tamils, Creoles, Whites, and Chinese), around fifteen languages are said to be spoken, and, importantly, the three world religions rub shoulders (Eriksen, 1994).

Group identification: Age and religious group differences

Developmental models have described a gradual progress from a foreclosed ethnic identity that reflects the opinions of parents and other authority figures and that is typical for young adolescents to an achieved identity more typical for older adolescents and implying a nuanced sense of belonging formed from personal efforts to understand the meanings of the ethnic group membership (e.g., French et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006). A similar distinction and progression has been described for religious group identification among youth in Britain (Lewis, 2007). The empirical support for this developmental view is nevertheless equivocal. Some recent investigations have noted stability in collective identities (ethnic and religious) across the high school years (Lopez et al., 2011). However, identity theorists (Kroger, 2000) argue that early-adolescents are more concerned with achieving a sense of belonging to groups and late-adolescents with achieving a sense of personal identity. Tanti et al. (2011) found cross-sectional evidence that early adolescents reported stronger levels of group identification than mid- and late-adolescents irrespective of the type of social identity (gender or peer group). Given the similar cross-sectional design and the age range (11 to 19 years) employed in the present chapter, we expected lower religious as well as national group identification for older compared to younger adolescents.

Religious group identification might not only differ by age but can also be expected to depend on the nature of the religious beliefs and the intergroup setting (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Monotheistic religions, based on the belief in one God and one sacred truth, tend to promote relatively strong religious group identification (Ysseldyk, et al., 2010). In addition, religious groups usually differ in terms of their numerical and status position in societies. Compared to majority group members, minorities more often face identity threats leading to higher group identification. Because group members derive their social identity from membership in social groups, people prefer their minority group to be socially recognized, accepted, and valued (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This confers a secure and positive identity on them that they try to maintain and protect. Furthermore, some religious groups are ethnically diverse and

this diversity might lead to lower group identification compared to groups for which religion and ethnicity correspond (Kelman, 2001).

In Mauritius, the Hindus are numerically, socially and politically the majority group (Hempel, 2009). The markers of Hinduism are visible and numerous in public life, and thus 'secure'. In addition, the Hindu community is ethnically diverse (i.e. majority Hindu, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi). This leads to the expectation that Hindu adolescents have lower religious group identification than the two monotheistic religious groups of Christians and Muslims. Moreover, Muslim adolescents were expected to have a stronger religious group identification compared to their Christian peers. One reason is the religious duty that, according to the Quran, Muslim parents have to raise their children as good Muslims, and the emphasis on childhood obedience and respect for parents that are 'only second to God' (Mahtani-Stewart, Bond, Ho, Zaman, & Anwar, 2000). For Muslims, there are many reminders of their religious affiliation such as the five daily obligatory prayers and dietary restrictions, and, in Mauritius, there are madrassahs that offer religious instruction after school hours, muezzin call over loud speakers, one-hour release from work on Fridays to attend the mosque, and halaal meat available in grocery stores. In addition out of all the religious groups in Mauritius, the Muslims are the only one that is ethnically homogeneous[5] so that they form a tight community centered on their religious faith (Hempel, 2009). In contrast, Christians form a rather diverse group in terms of ethnicity and race.

The link between religious and national group identification

Adolescents have multiple groups with which to align (Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008) and the social context provides normative beliefs about what is acceptable and expected. Ethno-religious diversity is intrinsic to the Mauritian self-understanding and pluralism and dual identities represent the national ideal. Eisenlohr (2011) argued that in Mauritius religious traditions provide the moral values to forge tolerant and responsible citizens and most Mauritians agree on the importance of

[5] Muslims in Mauritius can be divided along social class lines or Islamic tradition. However we take this division to be internal to the group bearing no 'official' recognition. The Hindus are divided along ethnic lines (each having a public holiday attached to the group) and the Christians are divided into Chinese, Whites and Creoles (visible epidermal differences).

religious beliefs and practices. We therefore expected a positive association between religious group identification and national identification.

However, this positive association might be stronger in early compared to late adolescence. With age the self-concept becomes more differentiated (Harter, 1999) and there is also an increasing awareness of the differential meanings of group identifications and the differences between social groups (Bennett & Sani, 2004). Ethnographic work shows that adult Mauritians can experience cultural and religious diversity as a source of stress and frustration (e.g. Eriksen, 1995). This might mean that the expected positive association between religious and national group identification is weaker among older compared to younger adolescents.

There are also reasons to expect a stronger association between religious and national identification among the Hindu majority group than the Muslim and Christian minority groups. Various studies have argued for a differential preference of ethno-religious and national identity by majority and minority group members (see Dovidio et al., 2007). Cross-national research has shown that majorities feel more identified with the nation than minorities and that the association between ethnic and national identity is generally stronger among majority than minority groups (Staerklé et al., 2010). Therefore, we expected a stronger national identification as well as more positive association between religious and national identification for Hindus compared to Muslim and Christian adolescents.

The meaning of dual identity

A dual identity confirms ethnic or religious group distinctiveness within a context of national connection and common belonging. There are different ways to conceptualize dual identities and for adolescents to manage this duality (see LaFromboise et al., 1993; Kiang et al., 2008). A strong religious group identification can form the backdrop against which a moderate level of national identification acquires 'sufficient self-relevance to prompt a sense of dual identity' (Simon & Ruhs, 2008, p. 1355). Research on biculturalism indicates that the subjective experience of a dual identity is not necessarily equal to a strong minority group identification added to a strong national identification (LaFromboise et al., 1993). For example what it means to be a Hindu Mauritian can differ from what it means to be a Hindu and to be a Mauritian as two separate identities. The implication is that there might be a difference between conceptualizing and assessing dual identity in terms of combining separate measures of group identifications (dual identifications) or asking

adolescents explicitly to indicate whether they consider themselves to be religious, national or dual identifiers (dual self-identification). We used both approaches and explored whether these produce similar or divergent findings. This allows us to understand better the forms in which religious and national identities subjectively combine.

First, we assessed dual identification by transforming scores on the two continuous national and religious identification measures into Hutnik's (1991) two-dimensional model of group identification (see also Berry, 2001). Using a person-centered approach to examine how each individual's levels of dual identifications interact with each other (Bergman, Magnusson, & El-Khouri, 2003), we tried to find empirical evidence for the distinction into the four identity positions: dual identifiers (both high religious and national identification); predominant religious identifiers (high religious identification and low national identification); predominant national identifiers (high national identification and low religious identification), and individual identifiers (low religious and low national identification). Second, we examined dual self-identification by a direct question in which participants were asked to choose between options that indicate the relative importance of both identifications. Given the multi-religious nature of Mauritius where religion is typically viewed as contributing to citizenship and nationhood, we expected for both measurements that most adolescents of the three religious groups would indicate a dual identity. In addition, we expected a higher percentage of predominant national identifiers among the high status Hindus compared to the Christian and Muslim adolescents.

Religious Group identification and global self-esteem

Groups give a sense of social identity which makes individuals feel grounded, connected and distinctive. Research indicates that group identification has positive consequences for psychological well-being and can buffer well-being when it is threatened (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). For example, religious group identifiers demonstrate relatively high self-esteem and high levels of subjective well-being (Furrow, King, & White, 2004; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). We expected that religious group identification is positively related to global self-esteem among the three age groups and for the three religious groups. Furthermore, some research indicates that dual identity is associated with more positive well-being compared to a single group identity (Phinney et al., 2006; but see Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In the current study, this could mean that dual identifiers have higher global self-esteem compared to adolescents who

predominantly identify with the national category or with their religious group.

Summary

The present chapter investigates religious identification as an under-researched but important identity in a non-Western context. The key questions were fourfold: (a) How does the strength of religious and national identifications differ between age groups of adolescents? (b) Are there religious group differences in strength of religious identification? (c) What is the association between religious and national identifications and what form does this association take? (d) How do religious identification and dual identification relate to global self-esteem?

We predicted a decline in the strength of religious group identification and of national identification with age. Across religious groups, we expected Hindus to report the lowest level of religious group identification and Muslims the strongest. We hypothesized that the positive correlation between national and religious identifications would be stronger for Hindus compared to Christians and Muslims, and would decrease with age as adolescents become more aware of group distinctions and intergroup relations in society. We predicted that a dual identity would be the most preferred category across religious groups. Finally, a positive association between religious group identification and global self-esteem and between dual identity and global self-esteem was expected.

2.2. Method

Participants

Participants were 2327 secondary school students (1129 boys and 1198 girls) who attended either a state (N = 15) or confessional (N = 8) school in Mauritius. All participants came from three different levels of secondary schooling which correspond to the following three age groups: early adolescents (11-13 years; N = 773), mid-adolescents (13.5-15.5; N = 832) and late adolescents (16-19; N = 709). The mean age of participants was 14.8 (range 11-19). When data was collected in 2007, entry to secondary schools corresponded to early adolescence and entry to Form 6 schools corresponded to late adolescence. The three largest religious communities from which the participants came were 'Hindus' (n = 973),

'Muslims' (n = 653) and 'Christians' (n = 526). Of the Hindus, 820 reported their ethnic group as Hindu, 77 as Tamil, 27 as Telegu, 17 as Marathi, 20 as mixed, 9 others and 3 missing cases. Of the Christians, 303 reported their ethnic group as Creole, 88 as Chinese, 88 as Mixed, 12 as Tamil, and 35 others (3 missing case). Of the Muslims, 628 reported their ethnic group as Muslim, 18 as Mixed, and 6 others (1 missing case).

Measures

The research material consisted of a questionnaire including items assessing basic demographics, religious group and national identifications and global self-esteem.

Group Identifications. Participants were asked to indicate their religious group in an open-ended question: 'This part concerns your views about being from your religious group. First write down your own religious group in the next line. I am _____'. Following which they answered six group identification questions that were taken from previous studies (see Ashmore et al., 2004): 'I am proud to be _____', 'I am happy to be _____'; 'Being _____ is important to the way I see myself', 'Being _____ is important to who am I'; 'I have a strong sense of belonging to _____' and 'I care a lot about _____'. Items were measured on a five point Likert type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The same six questions were asked for assessing national identification (e.g., 'I am proud to be Mauritian'). Internal reliabilities (cronbach alpha) for religious group identification and national identification were respectively .89 and .79.

Self-identification was assessed by the 'Moreno question' that is widely used in survey research (Moreno, 1988). With this question the participants were asked to indicate how they predominantly feel using five options ranging from 'mainly Mauritian' and 'both Mauritian and my religious group' to 'mainly my religious group'. The correlation between the five-point measure and a combined three-point measure was high (r = .94). Therefore a scale with three discrete self-identifications - 'mainly national', 'dual identifiers', 'mainly religious' - was used for ease of interpretation.

Global self-esteem was assessed by means of the Single-Item Self-Esteem Scale(SISE) developed by Robins, Hendin, and Trzesniewski (2001). Apart from having face validity, Robins et al. (2001) report findings from four studies that support the reliability and validity of the SISE. In particular, they found strong convergence between the SISE and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) with correlations ranging from .74 to .80. In addition, both scales had nearly identical correlations with 37 different criteria,

including academic outcomes and psychological and physical health. This convergence was also found for different ethnic groups. Their findings suggest that 'researchers using the SISE will find virtually the same relations as they would have had they used the RSES' (Robins et al., 2001, p. 159). In addition, their studies indicate that the SISE is less affected by socially desirable responding than the RSES. Using a five-point scale ranging from 1 (no, not at all) to 5 (yes, very much), participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed with the statement 'I think very positively about myself'.

2.3. Results

Preliminary analysis

We adopted the .05 level of significance throughout all analyses. Table 2.1 contains the mean scores on the two identification measures for the three religious groups and the three age groups. The mean scores for religious and national identification were significantly above the neutral mid-point (p_s < .05). We tested whether participants reported significantly different levels of religious and national identifications using a within-subject Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with religious group and age group as between-subjects factors. Across participants, religious identification was stronger than national identification, $F(1, 2049) = 1058.6$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .34$. This effect was qualified by a significant interaction effect with religious group, $F(2, 2048) = 118.7$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. The higher religious than national identification was stronger for Muslims. There was no significant interaction effect with age. Thus, for all three age groups, religious group identification was stronger than national identification.

Group identification: Age and religious group difference

To examine age and religious group differences on religious and national identification, a 3 (11-to 13.5-year-old, 14-to 15.5-year-old, 16-to-19-year old) x 3 (Hindu, Muslim, Christian) Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was performed. The multivariate effect (Pillai's) was significant for age group, $F(4, 4100) = 14.51$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$; for religious group, $F(4, 4100) = 73.74$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$; and for the interaction between age and religious group, $F(8, 4100) = 3.02$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$.

Univariate results showed that there were significant main effects of age on religious identification, $F(2, 2050) = 18.33$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and on national identification, $F(2, 2050) = 19.67$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. There were also significant main effects of religious group on respectively religious identification, $F(2, 2050) = 124.79$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, and national identification, $F(2, 2050) = 8.46$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. The interaction effect of age by religious group was significant only for religious identification, $F(4, 2050) = 4.58$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$. As expected, follow up Bonferonni adjusted post-hoc comparisons showed that the early adolescents had higher religious group identification and higher national identification than mid- and late- adolescents (see Table 2.1). There were no significant differences between mid-and late- adolescents on both national and religious identification.

Post-hoc comparisons further showed that in line with the expectation, Muslim adolescents reported significantly higher levels of religious group identification compared to Christians and Hindus (Table 2.1). In addition, Hindus had higher national identification than Christians. Muslims did not significantly differ from Hindus or Christians on national identification.

Simple effect analysis for the significant interaction between age and religious group on religious identification showed that only Muslim participants reported similar levels of religious identification across the three age groups. This means that, as expected, the lower religious group identification for older adolescents was found for Hindu and Christian adolescents but not for Muslims.

The link between religious and national group identifications

The correlations between religious identification and national identification were computed separately for the three religious groups and the three age groups (see Table 2.2). As expected the correlations between religious and national identification were significant and positive for all groups of participants. We used Fisher *z*-tests to compare the correlations. As predicted, the association between religious and national identification was significantly stronger for the Hindu majority compared to Muslim and Christian adolescents, respectively $z = 3.21$, $p < .01$, and, $z = 2.63$, $p < .05$. In addition and also as expected, early-adolescents reported a stronger association compared to late-adolescents, $z = 2.92$, $p < .05$.

Understanding the religious national association: The meaning of dual identity

In order to assess dual identity in terms of religious and national identifications, we examined the two-dimensional model that results in four identity positions (Hutnik, 1991; Berry, 2001). We used clustering which implies the grouping of participants on the basis of their similarity on a number of pre-defined variables. Given the large sample size, we performed a two-step cluster analysis which involves the formation of pre-clusters followed by the standard hierarchical clustering algorithm using SPSS 16. Log likelihood was chosen as distant measure and a priori four clusters (to match the four identity positions) were specified. The clusters did not map completely onto the four theoretical identity positions. In particular, we did not obtain a 'national group identification' cluster (i.e. high on national identification and low on religious identification) but rather a 'neutral' position in which participants reported scale mid-point levels ('neither agree nor disagree') for religious identification (M = 3.73, SD = 0.45) and for national identification (M = 3.74, SD = 0.37). The means for religious and national identifications for the dual cluster were 4.76 (SD = 0.26) and 4.23 (SD = 0.37), respectively. For the predominant religious cluster the means were 4.78 (SD = 0.26) and 2.92 (SD = 0.59), and for the individual identifiers the means were 3.05 (SD = 0.74) and 2.80 (SD = 0.54).

As predicted and shown in Table 2.3 most of the participants could be classified as 'dual identifiers' and around a quarter of the sample fell into the 'neutral' category. Thus the majority of participants indicated a similar (both high or both mid-point) sense of belonging to their religious group and the national category. However, there were significant differences in identity positions by religious group, $\chi^2 = 181.4$, $p < .01$. The percentage of dual identifiers was higher among Muslims (50.8%) compared to Hindus (40.6%) and Christians (41.7%), and Hindus (8.8%) reported the lowest percentage of respondents in the religious group cluster (28.4% and 23.4% respectively for Muslims and Christians).

On the Moreno self-identification question, 59.3% of participants indicated to have a dual identity, 25.6% felt more religious than Mauritian, and 15.1% felt more Mauritian than religious. There were significant differences in self-identification by religious group, $\chi^2 = 189.91$, $p < .01$. Of the Hindus, 20.8% felt more Mauritian than a member of their religious group, 65.4% felt both Mauritian and a religious group member, and

13.8% felt more a member of their religious group than a Mauritian. For Muslims these percentages were 6.5%, 50.7%, and 42.9%, and for Christians, 15.4%, 58.9%, and 25.7%, respectively. Thus, although the dual identity option was the most frequent chosen category among all three groups, Muslim adolescents felt relatively more religious than Mauritian.

The meaning of dual identity: Clusters and self-identification

Dual identity and mainly religious identity were the only two identity positions found in both the cluster analysis and the Moreno self-identification question. Considering the two identity positions, we performed a three-way exploratory analysis with identity positions, self-identification, and religious group. The test of independence to determine whether these two identity positions differ by cluster membership or self-identification assessment was significant, partial association $\chi^2(1) = 92.15$, $p < .01$, see Table 2.4. This means that measuring dual identity indirectly in terms of combining separate religious and national identifications or directly in terms of self-identification is not fully the same.

Religious group identification and global self-esteem

The correlations between religious group identification and global self-esteem were similar and significant for the three religious groups (.24, .16, and .20 for respectively Christians, Hindus and Muslims, p_s <.01*)*. A stronger sense of belonging to one's religious group was associated with more positive self-esteem.

A three-way analysis of variance with age group and religious group as between-subjects factors and religious identification as a covariate was performed. Religious identification was positively associated with global self-esteem, $F(1, 2027) = 62.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. There were significant main effects for age, $F(2, 2027) = 11.13$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, and for religious group, $F(2, 2027) = 5.43$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. Post hoc procedure using Bonferonni correction showed that early-adolescents ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 0.96$) reported a significantly higher level of self-esteem than mid- ($M = 3.89$, SD =1.01) and late-adolescents ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 0.98$). In addition, Hindus (M = 3.96, $SD = 0.97$) reported higher global self-esteem than Christians (M = 3.89, $SD = 1.03$) and Muslims ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 0.98$).

Table 2.1. Mean Levels of Religious and National Identifications and Self-Esteem by Religious group and Age group

	Religious group and age group														
	Hindu				Muslim				Christian				Total		
Age groups	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3
Religious identification	4.23	4.09	3.81	4.05	4.72	4.57	4.58	4.61	4.43	4.23	4.26	4.32	4.40	4.27	4.18
National identification	3.93	3.73	3.65	3.78	3.88	3.62	3.56	3.67	3.68	3.61	3.52	3.62	3.85	3.67	3.59
Self-esteem				3.96				3.92				3.89	4.11	3.89	3.80

Note: For age groups 1 = Age group 11-13.5, 2 = Age group 14-15.5, and 3 = Age group 16-19

Table 2.2. Correlations between Religious and National Identification by Religion and Age

	Religious identification
Hindu(n = 928) / Muslim (n = 630) / Christian (n = 501)	
National Identification	.38* / .23* / .25*
11-13-years (n = 667)/ 13.5-15.5 –years (n =742) / 16-19 years (n = 650)	
National Identification	.32* / .28* / .17*

* $p < .01$

Table 2.3. Overall Percentages of Participants that fall under Each Identity Cluster and self-identification category by Religious Group

	Hindus (%)	Muslims (%)	Christians (%)
Identity Cluster			
1.Predominant religious	8.8	28.4	20.4
2. Separate individual	15.5	5.6	12.4
3. Dual identity	40.6	50.8	41.7
4. Neutral	35	15.2	25.5
Self-identification category			
1.Predominant religious	13.8	42.9	25.7
2. Dual identity	65.4	50.7	58.9
3.Predominant national	20.8	6.5	15.4

A 3 (early-, mid-, late-adolescents) x 3 (Hindu, Muslim, Christian) x 4 (identity cluster) analysis of variance was performed to examine differences in global self-esteem. This analysis yielded an additional significant effect for identity cluster, $F(3, 2001) = 20.31$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, and there were no interaction effects. Dual identifiers ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 0.90$) reported higher self-esteem compared to religious identifiers ($M= 3.90$, $SD = 1.02$), 'neutrals' ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 0.94$), and individual identifiers ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.20$). The religious identifiers and the 'neutrals' did not differ significantly. For all three age groups and the three religious groups, the dual identifiers reported higher self-esteem compared to the other three groups and the individual identifiers reported lowest self-esteem.

The same analysis was carried out with the Moreno self-identification question (mainly nationals, dual identifiers, mainly religious) and this analysis showed no significant main or interaction effects ($p_s > .05$) for self-identification on global self-esteem.

Table 2.4. Overall Percentage of Participants that fall under Each Identity Cluster by Self-Identification Group

Cluster	Self-identification group		
	Predominant national	Dual identity	Predominant religious
	%	%	%
1. Predominant religious	5.2	39.4	55.4
2. Separate individual	34.3	43.5	22.2
3. Dual identity	9.0	68.3	22.8
4. Neutral	23.3	64.7	12.0

2.4. Discussion

Religion is often of great importance in individuals' lives. One's religious group is an important community to identify with and strong religious group identification is associated with positive youth development (Furrow et al., 2004). However, little is known about the development of religious group identification among adolescents of different faiths living in a non-Western country and in relation to other group memberships. We focused on religious group identification of Hindu, Muslim and Christian adolescents in Mauritius and in relation to national identification and global self-esteem.

Identity theory indicates that early adolescents are concerned with achieving a sense of group affiliation whereas late adolescents are more focused on developing a sense of personal identity (Kroger, 2000). This is supported in research that finds an age decline in the strength of group identifications, with early-adolescents holding the strongest group identities (e.g. Tanti et al., 2011). Our results provided support to this view because early adolescents had stronger religious and national identification than mid- and late-adolescents. Importantly, however, Muslim adolescents showed a decline with age in their national identification but not in religious identification. In addition, and as predicted, religious identification was stronger among Muslims compared to the other two faith groups. These findings indicate that religious group identification has a different meaning for Muslim adolescents compared to adolescents of other faiths. Very strong Muslim identity in response to current global, and the related national, intergroup tensions has been found in recent studies among Muslim immigrants in Western Europe (see Verkuyten, 2011). However, it is not likely that these tensions are an important factor in the religious group identification of Muslim adolescents in Mauritius in which Muslims are an uncontested and unthreatened minority. Relatively strong religious group identification has also been found in countries in which Muslims are the majority group, such as Malaysia (Verkuyten & Khan, 2012), and among Western European immigrants in the 1990s when there were no strong intergroup tensions between the host society and Muslim immigrants (e.g. Modood, et al., 1997). These findings suggest that characteristics of the Islamic faith and processes within Muslim communities are important for understanding the relatively strong Muslim group identification. For many Muslims, the declaration of faith and the various religious practices symbolize one's belief and commitment to Islam: one either is a believer who is committed

to Islam and the community of believers or one is not. Furthermore, raising children as good Muslims is a religious duty for Muslim parents and Muslim children probably grow up in a familial atmosphere in which their Muslim identity with the related religious practices is primary (Mahtani-Stewart et al., 2000). Similar high Muslim religious group identification among Mauritian Muslim adolescents of all ages is likely to be the result.

In contrast, Hindus reported the lowest level of religious identification but the present study could not tease our whether this is due to Hindus being the majority group in Mauritius or to the nature of their religion. Indeed Muslim and Christian adolescents' higher religious identification compared to Hindus can be attributed both to the nature of their monotheistic religions and their minority statuses in Mauritius. Lopez et al. (2011) found that Latin American and Asian American youth had higher levels of religious identification even after controlling for religious affiliation, showing that minority status of ethnic groups can lead adolescents to emphasize other social affiliations to reduce identity threats. This argument could apply to the ethnically heterogeneous Christian sample in Mauritius.

One way in which to make sense of patterns of group identifications is to consider the ideological context in which the identities are played out (Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2011). In Mauritius all ethno-religious groups are seen as making up the national mosaic of a 'divine and rainbow nation' to the point that being 'just Mauritian' is considered problematic. Rather, being a good religious follower paves the road for being a good Mauritian (Eisenlohr, 2011). Our results show that for the three religious groups and the three age groups, religious identification was stronger than national identification. This indicates that for adolescents in Mauritius a sense of belonging to one's religious community is more important than a sense of national belonging. Furthermore, the two identifications were positively associated across the three religious groups. In other words, both group identifications were compatible and religious identity might indeed form a basis for developing a commitment to the religiously diverse Mauritian nation. However, the association between the two identities was stronger for Hindus than for Christians and Muslims. Compared to the other two groups, the Hindus also had a stronger national identification. These findings are in agreement with intergroup perspectives that emphasize the importance of realistic and symbolic group positions and argue that national attachment should be stronger in majority than minority groups and that the association

between national and ethno-religious identifications should also be stronger for the former compared to the latter (e.g., Staerklé et al., 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

We further examined the manner in which religious and national identities come together by looking at dual identification patterns using a person-centered approach (Bergman et al., 2003; Kiang et al., 2008). With such an approach a person's score on national identification is interpreted in light of his or her religious identification. We obtained three clusters that were in line with Hutnik's (1991) and Berry's (2001) two-dimensional model of group identifications (dual, separate and individual). The fourth cluster of adolescents scored for both religious and national identification around the neutral mid-point of the scale. This is in agreement with Rudmin (2003) who has criticized Berry's framework for not allowing the possibility that a person is neutral to both groups or cultures.

In a social context where the hegemonic view of the nation is in terms of its diversity, it probably did not make sense to our participants to identify strongly with the national category and weakly with their religious group. But it did make sense to some to choose the 'mainly Mauritian' label in the Moreno self-identification question. It is informative that 34.3% of the separate individuals and 23.3. % of the neutrals on the clusters were predominant nationals on the Moreno question. Unfortunately, the self-identification measure did not offer participants the option of being low on both identities[6] and hence the categories on this measure and the clustering did not directly match. Nevertheless, the two identity positions (dual identity, mainly religious identity) found in both the cluster analysis and the self-identification question did not fully correspond. These findings indicate that assessing dual identity in terms of the combination of the two component identifications probably differ from a direct measurement strategy (see Simon & Ruhs, 2008). One possible reason is the multidimensional nature of social identities and the fact that different configurations of identity aspects are possible (Ashmore et al., 2004). For example, how one feels about oneself can differ from the subjective importance attached to a particular social identity and from the sense of belonging and pride that it provides. The Moreno question asks people to use the label that describes best how they feel about themselves whereas the group identification questions focuses on belonging and pride. Dual identities contain multiple elements and one can be a dual identifier on some of these elements, but not on others (see Wiley & Deaux, 2011).

[6] We thank one of the reviewers for pointing this out.

Another possible explanation is that the combination of two component identifications does not adequately capture the subjective meaning of dual identity. It is difficult to know whether adolescents with both a strong religious and a strong national identification actually experience this combination as a dual identity. Explicitly defining oneself as a Mauritian Hindu or a Hindu Mauritian, might have a different psychological meaning than separately indicating how strong one identifies as a national and how strong as a religious group member (see Wiley & Deaux, 2011). In addition, a dual self-identification can have other social meanings and consequences than separate group identifications (Hopkins, 2011). A dual identity recognizes one's group distinctiveness in a context of connection with other groups. It simultaneously communicates one's group distinctiveness and belonging to the national category.

The manner in which multiple social identifications come together can have consequences for psychological well-being (Kiang et al., 2008). The dual identifiers reported the highest level of global self-esteem, independent of age or religious group, whereas the individual identifiers had the lowest self-esteem. These findings are in agreement with acculturation research and studies among ethnic minority adolescents that show that dual identifiers are better adjusted and experience higher well-being (Phinney et al., 2006 but see Brown & Zagefka, 2011). The current findings highlight that the positive effect of dual identity is not limited to the context of acculturation and ethnic minority adolescents but also applies to majority adolescents and to different age groups (see also Kiang et al., 2008).

In contrast to the existing research, we used a multi-faith sample of different age groups of 'native' adolescents in an under studied context. Apart from this strength there are also some limitations that should be considered. The correlational nature of our results means that we cannot draw causal conclusions about the effects of multiple identities and the ways in which group identities influence each other over time. In addition, the clusters of dual identification obtained are sample specific and therefore the findings, specifically with respect to the neutral position, cannot be generalized. Our study is more exploratory and serves to highlight the need for future research to study the different ways in which a dual identity can find expression and also the ways in which they are enacted in everyday life (Hopkins, 2011; Wiley & Deaux, 2011). Because in Mauritius, the ethnic-religious boundaries are not clearly defined, with for example 'Muslims' being both an ethnic and religious group, we could not examine the possible within ethnic differences that might exist in the

religious affiliations. In addition, we examined changes in adolescence by comparing three age groups. Future studies should use a longitudinal design to study developmental trajectories more closely. Finally the present chapter has looked at the strength of religious group identification but other dimensions of group identification (Ashmore et al., 2004) and other facets of religion should be examined in adolescence.

In conclusion, this chapter has highlighted the importance of religion in adolescents' lives. Across age and religious group, religious identification was stronger than national identification and was linked with more positive global self-esteem. The specific religion can influence the strength of identification as demonstrated by Muslim adolescents' similar level of religious group identification across age groups. Group identities came together in different ways and the two assessments of dual identity yielded different findings. Using cluster analysis, a group of predominant national identifiers was not found while a substantial proportion of the participants chose that option on the self-identification question. It is likely that the two measures tap into different psychological aspects of multiple identities: e.g., a choice for the self-identification measurement and an evaluative judgment (e.g. pride, belonging) for the identity positions. This difference would also explain why the cluster of dual identity has higher global self-esteem compared to the other clusters, whereas the self-identification question was not related to self-esteem.

Chapter 3

‘We can’t be lovers, just friends’: The two-sidedness of multiculturalism

This chapter is co-authored by Maykel Verkuyten and is currently under review by an international journal.

3.1. Introduction

Multiculturalism, as an ideology or policy, contends that the promotion of diversity and differences leads to successful plural societies (e.g. Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2000). It argues for the recognition of cultural diversity and supports ethnic group distinctiveness. Multicultural recognition offers a positive view of heritage cultural maintenance by ethnic groups and experimental and survey research has demonstrated that it can have positive consequences for inter-ethnic relations (see Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013; Rattan & Ambady, 2013. for reviews). Yet, it also has been argued that multiculturalism can lead to reified and essentialist group distinctions that promote group stereotyping and ultimately rationalize and justify ethnic segregation and separation (e.g. Barry, 2001). The group thinking of multiculturalism implies clear group boundaries and the maintenance of heritage cultures which should be recognized and respected.

One possible implication of multiculturalism that is ignored in research is that it stimulates the positive acceptance of ethnic out-groups in the public sphere of work, school and civic life but not necessarily in the intimate private sphere of family and marriage. Researchers typically view intermarriage as the 'last taboo' in ethnic and race relations (Qian, 2005), and the level of interethnic marriage in society is a common indicator of the degree of societal integration of ethnic groups (Blau, Beeker, & Fitzpatrick, 1984). We argue however for the possibility that a plural society that adheres to multiculturalism can actually promote intra-ethnic marriage *together* with positive intergroup relations in the public domain. Empirical studies have found that immigrant's acculturation preferences tend to be domain specific whereby heritage cultural maintenance is more strongly endorsed in the private (home) domain than the public (outside home) one (e.g., Arendt-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003, 2004). The most intimate domain is marriage and ethnic endogamy is important for the continuation of the ethnic culture whereas inter-ethnic marriages reduce the possibilities of passing on heritage cultural practices and beliefs to the next generation (Clark-Ibanez & Felmlee, 2004; Huijnk, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2010). Children born from inter-marriage blur ethnic group boundaries and in the long run raise questions about the nature of ethnic groups. Thus, paradoxically one by-product of multiculturalism could be the promotion of intra-ethnic marriages together with the acceptance of out-group members in public life. The ideology of maintenance of cultural diversity and cultural recognition might not only result in the public

acceptance of ethnic out-groups but also in the endorsement of ethnic endogamy.

This possibility is masked in research because intergroup attitudes are typically measured in general terms. The impact of diversity ideologies on intergroup attitudes is assessed in terms of global out-group feelings (thermometer ratings) or trait evaluations. The current study focuses on social distance in different domains of life. The aim is to investigate (i) whether a distinction between evaluations in the public (school, neighbourhoods) and private (marriage) domains can be made and (ii) how the social distances in these domains are associated with the endorsement of multiculturalism. We investigated this possibility in the context of Mauritius which is viewed as a strong candidate for 'truly successful polyethnic societies' (Eriksen, 2004, p.79) and therefore offers a unique real world context for examining the possible two-sidedness of multiculturalism. Furthermore, the focus on this relatively unknown non-Western context is in agreement with the need to broader the empirical scope of existing social psychological body of knowledge (Arnett, 2008; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). We focused on adolescents from the three main ethnic groups in the country (Hindu, Muslim and Creole). In contrast to adults who often are married, for adolescents social distance questions about marrying out-group members are useful indicators of intergroup attitudes. The focus on three groups allows us to examine ethnic group differences in preferred social distance and whether the expected relationships are robust across these groups. Furthermore, because multiculturalism is about positive cultural group differences we examined the role of two dimensions that have been found to influence intergroup relations, i.e. group identifications (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and implicit theories (e.g. Carr, Rattan & Dweck, 2012). We expected evaluations in the public and private domains to be differentially associated with national identification and ethnic identification and with entity and incremental theories of groups. Finally, we explored for gender and age differences in public and private intergroup relationships.

A public and private domain distinction

Ever since the work of Bogardus (1925), the concept of social distance is commonly used for studying ethnic attitudes. Social distance refers to the degree of acceptance that people feel towards out-group members (Wark & Galliher, 2007). Bogardus provided an instrument to study social distance

by developing a scale that assesses group members' evaluations of different types of social interactions. Typically, participants are asked to indicate whether they like to have contact with members of different ethnic groups, for example, as colleagues at work, neighbours in their street, and close kin by marriage.

Research on ethnic social distance has used a one-dimensional, cumulative scale that orders domains of life in terms of the level of acceptance of ethnic out-group members (e.g., Owen, Eisner, McFaul, 1977; Parrillo & Donaghue, 2005). Others have used a Likert-type approach and collapse the social distances in the different domains into an overall social distance score (e.g. Bastian, Lusher, & Ata, 2012; Hagendoorn, Drogendijk, Tumanov, & Hraba, 1998; but see Weaver, 2008). Especially the latter approach tends to overlook the possibility that people make a distinction between their preferred social distance towards out-group members as a neighbour or classmate (public domain) and as a spouse (private domain). In the present study we assessed the preferred social distance towards ethnic out-group members in these two domains. We expected adolescents to make a distinction between neighbours and classmates, on the one hand, and spouses, on the other hand. For examining this prediction we compared the fit of a one-dimensional model of social distance with that of two-, and three-dimensional models using a modified multitrait-multimethod design.

Multiculturalism in context

We propose that a multicultural context can have a two-sidedness with a simultaneous endorsement of marrying an in-group member (private domain) and being positive towards out-groups in the public domain. Mauritius provides a suitable context in which to test this proposition. The metaphorical representation of the Mauritian nation as a mosaic, rainbow, or 'fruit salad' is based on the recognition of the culture of groups that have clear ancestral origins in a kept alive imaginary homeland (Eisenlohr, 2006a). The dominant ideological discourse is one of 'unity in diversity' and the normative tacit understanding of the nation is 'to get along'. Because of the small geographical space, intergroup contacts and interactions are inevitable. Schools, workplace and neighbourhoods are generally ethnically mixed (Christopher, 1992) and civil participation through non-governmental organization is vibrant. A sense of a shared

society and common belonging is present, which Eriksen (1998) termed the 'common denominators' of Mauritian society.

Yet, the representation of Mauritius as a fruit salad, rainbow or cultural mosaic implies clear group boundaries and a need to preserve the discrete 'ingredients, colours or components'. This is promoted at both the individual and societal levels. At the societal level, ethnic groups are encouraged to maintain their cultural distinctiveness that defines group identities and justifies the diasporic ancestral culture policy and related political claims (Eisenlohr, 2004). At the individual level, the 'policy' of ancestral culture maintenance and continuation of ethno-religious communities is promoted by intra-ethnic marriages. The prevalence of inter-ethnic marriages is low (about 8.2%) and marriage choices are primarily along ethnic rather than class lines (Nave, 2000). Ethnic endogamy is maintained through the cultural transmission of preferences and the few children born of mixed marriage are encouraged to choose one of the parents' cultural traditions thereby maintaining the ethnic boundaries (Eriksen, 1997; Nave, 2000).

Given the national discourse and ideology of Mauritius as a multicultural island where groups should live in harmony, it is normative for individuals to be in contact with out-group members as neighbours or classmates. Therefore, it can be expected that across ethnic groups the preferred public social distance towards out-groups is relatively low, and that stronger individual endorsement of multiculturalism is associated with lower out-group public distance. But precisely because of the multiculturalism discourse of a 'fruit salad', the continuation of distinct cultural groups is vital to the existence of the nation. Ethnic groups are necessary for a society to be multicultural and intra-ethnic marriage (endogamy) is a critical means to maintain group differences. Hence the endorsement of multiculturalism should not be associated with out-group private social distance. Rather, it can be expected that stronger endorsement of multiculturalism is associated with lower in-group private social distance and not with in-group public social distance. Furthermore following the two-sidedness argument it can be expected that the difference in in-group and out-group social distance is larger in the private than the public domain.

The role of ethnic and national identification

Multiculturalism is about cultural identities and group belonging. Many studies have shown that group identification is a key factor in the ways in

which people react and respond to in-group and out-group members. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), striving for a positive and meaningful social identity leads to evaluating the in-group more favourably compared to relevant out-groups. In the Mauritian multicultural context the distinctiveness of all cultural groups is valued. The more an individual is committed to membership to the cultural group, the more important the related cultural maintenance will be. Intra-ethnic marriage is an important way to perpetuate the ethnic in-group distinctiveness (Nave, 2000). This means that stronger ethnic identification can be expected to be associated with less private and public in-group social distance. Furthermore, stronger ethnic identification might be related to higher out-group social distance. Marrying an out-group member undermines the ability to preserve the ethnic culture which is particularly important for high identifiers.

Proponents of multiculturalism agree that a shared sense of unity and national belonging is necessary for a diverse society to work (Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2000). According to the Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM, e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), a one-group representation (superordinate group) has positive effects on intergroup relations. The reason is that a shared category can reduce negative feelings as, for example, ethnic out-group members (i.e. 'them') become fellow national in-group members (i.e. 'us'). Research using the CIIM framework has indeed found that a one-group representation is associated with more positive intergroup attitudes and behaviour (see Dovidio et al., 2009). This means that it can be expected that higher national identification is associated with lower out-group public social distance. Whether the benefits of a common national identity extend to the intimate private sphere of marriage will be explored.

Not only the strength of national identification but also the content of national identity is important. For example, several studies have shown that ethnic attitudes depend on whether national identity is defined in ethnic (e.g., ancestry) or civic (e.g., community engagement) terms (e.g., Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). Self categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) proposes that people who highly identify with a group are more likely to act in accordance with the group's norms and beliefs. When multicultural norms and beliefs define the nation, especially highly identified nationals should behave accordingly. Thus, when adolescents identify strongly with the Mauritian multicultural nation, they are more likely to endorse multiculturalism which in turn should be associated with less out-group

public social distance. This reasoning implies a relationship of mediation whereby the association between national identification and out-group public social distance runs via the endorsement of multiculturalism. Furthermore, the two-sidedness argument of 'fruit salad' multiculturalism implies that this mediation relationship can also be expected for in-group private social distance. These possible mediations will be tested.

The role of implicit theories

Multiculturalism is about groups that are bounded and claim to have their own authentic heritage culture. Multicultural approaches are prone to essentialism in that ethnicity is equated to cultural groups whose differences and boundaries should be promoted and respected (Taylor, 1994). Individuals' implicit entity and incremental theories have been shown to influence intergroup relations (Carr et al., 2012). Entity theorists tend to understand the social world in terms of fixedness and immutability, while incremental theorists think more in terms of malleability and changeability (e.g. Levy & Dweck, 1999). The former are more likely to infer static traits in others and are motivated to avoid challenging situations, whilst the latter are more likely to view people's social behavior as contextual and are motivated to approach others. This body of research has shown that group members who hold an entity theory are more likely to have negative out-group attitudes than those who hold an incremental theory (e.g. Levy, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Rydell et al., 2007). The present study goes beyond previous research by examining whether the effect of holding entity or incremental beliefs on out-group attitudes, generalizes to the public and private domains.

Entity theorists tend to view ethnic groups as fixed with clear boundaries and therefore might be inclined to evaluate inter-ethnic marriage, which blurs ethnic boundaries, as a challenge to the distinctiveness of the group. Thus, an association between stronger entity theory beliefs and lower private in-group social distance and higher private out-group social distance, can be expected. These associations are less likely in the public domain. In Mauritius, this domain is not viewed as challenging the maintenance of ethnic group boundaries and the continuation of the ethnic culture. Actually getting along with others in the larger society is a requisite in Mauritian multicultural society.

Those endorsing an incremental theory perceive cultural groups as changeable and open. For example, Halperin, Russell, Trzesniewski, Gross

and Dweck (2011) demonstrated that holding beliefs in the malleability of groups increases the willingness to compromise for peace among Palestinians and Israeli Jews. Incremental beliefs are contrary to thinking and acting in 'cultural group' terms and imply openness and the willingness to learn from others. We expected, therefore, that higher endorsement of incremental beliefs would be associated with lower public and private out-group social distances. Yet there is not necessarily an association with social distances towards in-group members because incremental beliefs are primarily about openness to others.

Ethnic groups, gender and age

As a result of the multiculturalism 'fruit salad' discourse whereby the continuation of distinct cultural groups is considered vital to the existence of the nation, it can be expected that for all ethnic groups, private social distance towards out-groups is relatively high whereas out-group public social distance relatively low. However, the 'diasporic' cultural image of the nation is problematic for the Creoles. Due to their history of slavery, they form a rather mixed group who do not have recognized claims on legitimizing ancestral cultures and ancestral languages originating outside of Mauritius (Laville, 2000). Eriksen (2004) argues that Creoles lack strong kinship and ethnic networks that characterize other cultural groups. In addition, Creoles are relatively individualistic in the sense that marriage is considered more a personal decision, while for Hindus and Muslims marriage is more a familial matter that involves maintaining kinship networks and cultural traditions (Eriksen, 1997). The individualism amongst Creoles can be traced back to the conditions they faced under slavery when kinship and family systems were destroyed. Thus, we expected Hindus and Muslims to be more positive towards marrying an in-group member than Creoles. In addition, we expected Muslims to be the most positive about marrying an in-group member. Inter-marriage between Muslims and non-Muslims is prohibited by Islam. And, Muslim identity tends to be very strong and is linked to clear normative beliefs and religious practices (e.g. Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

Studies that have investigated gender differences in social distance have found boys to indicate greater overall social distance compared to girls (e.g., Bastian, Lusher, & Ata, 2012; Parillo & Donaghue, 2005). Yet, to our knowledge, gender differences in public and private domains have not

been explored. This is unfortunate because intermarriage is not only an inter-ethnic situation but de facto mostly also an inter-gender situation. This is not necessarily the case for public social distance. Therefore, we examined gender differences in the two domains.

We also looked at the association of age with public and private social distances. While we do not expect to find age differences in the evaluation of public out-group social distance (neighbour and classmate) because all Mauritian adolescents grow up in a context that encourages tolerance and cultural diversity, there might be age differences in private social distance. Early adolescents are more likely to adopt the views of their parents and with age adolescents increasingly form their own appreciations of possible intimate partners based on personal preferences. This might mean that there is lower private in-group social distance and higher private out-group social distance among younger than older adolescents. However, it is also possible that with age, adolescents become more aware of the societal context in which they live and hence more aware of the implications of a multicultural society (positive public evaluations coupled with maintenance of cultural group boundaries). This would mean that with age there is an increasing preference for the in-group in the private domain.

Summary

To summarize, the present chapter investigated the two-sidedness of multiculturalism, i.e. positive attitude to public cultural diversity and maintenance of group distinctiveness in private social relationships through marriage. We first expected that the participants make a public (neighbour, classmate) and private (spouse) distinction in out-group social distance. Following the argument for the 'two-sidedness' of multiculturalism, we expected that out-group public social distance would be lower than out-group private social distance and that the in-group versus out-group difference in social distance will be lower in the public domain compared to the private domain of marriage. Third, we expected stronger endorsement of multiculturalism to be correlated with lower out-group public social distance and lower in-group private social distance. Fourth, higher national identification was expected to be associated with lower out-group public social distance and this relation could be mediated by the endorsement of multiculturalism. A similar relationship of mediation was expected for in-group private social distance. Fifth, we

expected that higher ethnic identification and stronger endorsement of entity theory of cultural groups would be associated with lower in-group social distances and higher out-group social distances. Stronger endorsement of incremental theory of cultural groups was expected to be associated with lower public and private out-group social distances. Also, we expected Muslim participants to favour marriage with an in-group member most followed by Hindus and then Creoles. Finally, we explored the associations of age and gender with public and private social distances.

3.2. Method

Participants

The sample included 2327 secondary school students between 11 and 19 years of age (*M* = 14.79, *SD* = 1.68). All participants came from three different levels of secondary schooling: 34.5% were in the lowest level of secondary education (Form 2), 37.4% were in the middle level (Form 4) and 28% in the upper level of secondary education (Lower Six). Mauritian schools are mainly single-sex schools. The study was carried out in 23 secondary schools and 82 school classes located in the four educational zones of Mauritius. For the present purposes, only the answers of participants (n = 1784) from the three main ethnic groups: Hindus (n = 844), Muslims (n = 630) and Creoles (n =310) were analyzed. Of these participants, 52.8% were females and 47.2% were males.

Measures

Social distance. Based on previous work (Hagendoon et al., 1998), a 3-item measure of social distance was used. Items were selected and adapted so that they would be meaningful to and easy for adolescents to answer ("To have a _____ neighbor seems to me …"; "To have a _____ sitting next to me in class seems to me …"; "To marry a _____ seems to me …"). Items were measured on a five-point scale from 1 (*not nice at all*) to 5 (*very nice*). The three items were answered respectively for the five groups, i.e. Hindu, Creole, Muslim, White and Chinese. Items were reverse-coded so that a higher score corresponds to higher social distance.

Multiculturalism. Endorsement of multiculturalism was measured by three items on a five-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The items were "In general, Mauritians should preserve the cultural differences that exist in the country", "In general, Mauritians should value the ethnic diversity in the country" and "In Mauritius, all the ethnic and religious groups should be recognized and respected" (Cronbach α = .50)[7]. In line with the hegemonic representation of Mauritius as a multicultural nation, the mean score for multiculturalism was above the scalar mid-point, $t(1779) = 58.40$, $p < .01$ (see Table 2). This positive endorsement of multiculturalism was found among the three ethnic groups, i.e. Hindu (M = 3.99, SD = 0.80), Muslim (M = 4.17, SD = 0.73) and Creoles (M = 4.00, SD = 0.71).

Implicit theories of cultural group. The entity and incremental items used were adapted from Levy and Dweck's (1999) measures of theory about personality traits. Participants rated the items on a five-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). There were two entity items (for e.g. "Deep down inside, people of the same cultural group have a similar personality" and two incremental items (for e.g. "No matter which culture you are from, you can always change your ways"). We performed a confirmatory factor analysis to compare a one-factor model where the four items loaded on one latent dimension with the expected two-factor model. The two latent dimensions were allowed to correlate to each other but no errors were allowed to correlate. The two-factor model ($\chi^2(1) = .786$, p= .375) was significantly better than a one-factor model ($\chi^2(2) = 178.7$, $p <$ .000). Fit indices for the two-factor model were better than the one-factor model, CFI of 1.00 and .783 respectively; TLI of 1.00 and -.085 respectively and RMSEA of .00 (90% CI= .00 - .06) and .223 (90% CI = .196-.251) respectively. We therefore computed separately a mean score for the endorsement of entity theory (Cronbach's α = .50) and one for the endorsement of incremental theory (α = .68).

Ethnic and national group identifications. A six-item measure of group identification assessing importance and feelings attached to one's group was used, respectively for ethnic and national identity (see Ashmore, Deaux, & Mc-Laughlin-Volpe, 2004). Two sample items are "I am happy to be _____", and "Being _____ is important to who I am". The items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly*

[7] The three items formed a single but not very reliable construct with Item-total correlations in the range of .25-.39. We examined whether the findings are driven by one particular item and this was not the case. Regression analyses with the three items separately yielded similar results.

agree). Internal reliabilities (Cronbach's α) for ethnic and national identification were respectively .88 and .79.

Analysis strategy

The data had a three-level structure, with adolescents nested in different school-classes in different schools. However, because there were 230 missing cases on the self-reported school-class level, we performed a two-level multilevel analysis, as this corrects for dependencies between observations nested within the same units (e.g., schools). We compared four intercept-only models (Model 1) to examine the variance components of out-group social distances and in-group social distances at the individual and school level. For out-group public social distance, 96.66% of the variance was at the individual level (Level 1) and 3.34% at the school level (Level 2). For out-group private social distance these percentages were 89.09% and 10.09% respectively. For in-group private social distance, these percentages were respectively 97.15% and 2.85%, and for in-group public social distances, the percentages were respectively 92.22% and 7.77%. These findings show that most of the variance in out-group social distances and in-group social distances exists between individual adolescents and there were (very) small differences between schools. Furthermore, although there was higher classroom variance in out-group private social distance and in-group public social distance (ICC above .05), the multilevel findings were similar to the results from multiple regression analyses. We therefore analyzed the data with multiple regression analysis in which we examined the effects of endorsement of multiculturalism, national identification, ethnic identification, implicit (entity and incremental) theories, ethnic group, gender and age on public and private in-group and out-group social distances.

3.3. Results

Public and private social distance

To test our first hypothesis on the expected distinction between public and private out-group social distance, we used CFA in an adapted multitrait-multimethod (MTMM) design (correlated method). In this design, each indicator is considered to be a function of trait (i.e. social distance),

method (i.e. ethnic group), and unique variance. This means that the latent variables (neighbour, classmates and spouse) are predicted by four items each (for example for Hindu participants: Muslim classmate, White classmate, Creole classmate, Chinese classmate). This model takes participants' general resistance to having out-group classmates, neighbours, and spouses into account. However, a drawback of the correlated method model is that it is usually empirically unidentified (Brown, 2006). Therefore, we used the Correlated Uniqueness (CU) model (e.g. Marsh, 1989) instead of the original MTMM design (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). The CU model is an alternative to the numerous estimation and convergence problems encountered with the correlated traits/method models (Byrne, 2010). In the CU model the method factors (in our case the four ethnic out-groups) are not specified but their effects are implied from the specification of the correlated error terms associated with each set of indicators for the same ethnic group (see Figure 1). To investigate if the participants made an empirical distinction between public and private out-group social distance, CFA and ML estimation were used because of missing data. For each ethnic group, three models were analyzed and compared. In Model 1 social distance is one latent dimension. In Model 2 social distance is divided into two (private and public) latent dimensions. The two dimensions are free to correlate with each other and the items measuring social distance to neighbours and classmates are assumed to form one 'public' dimension. In Model 3, social distance is divided in three latent dimensions (neighbour, classmate, spouse) that are free to correlate with each other. Table 1 shows that across the three ethnic groups, Model 1 did not fit the data very well which indicates that the adolescents did indeed made a distinction between domains of social distance. In Model 2, the RMSEA values were higher across the three ethnic groups compared to Model 3, and $\Delta\chi^2_{(2)}$ were significant for all three ethnic groups. However, Cheung and Rensvold (2002) argued that it is more reasonable to base invariance decisions on a difference in CFI rather than χ^2 values as the latter are overly affected by sample size. They proposed a cut-off point of less than .01 for differences in CFI values (ΔCFI). Comparing Model 2 to Model 3, the ΔCFI values for Hindus, Muslims and Creoles were respectively .015, .012, and .008. Moreover, in Model 2 the correlations between the latent dimensions 'neighbours' and 'classmates' were very high for all three ethnic groups: .93 for Muslims, .92 for Creoles, and .92 for Hindus. Given these high correlations and the ΔCFI values that are around the cut-off point of .01, we used the distinction between private

(spouse) and public (neighbours and classmates) social distances in the further analyses.

Public and private social distance scores

We computed out-group public and private social distance scores by averaging the participants' ratings of the four cultural out-groups. We also computed in-group public and private social distance scores. As shown in Table 2, lower public out-group social distance was significantly associated with lower public in-group distance and was not associated with private in-group distance. Lower public and private in-group social distance were related to higher private out-group distance.

On the 5-point scale the score for out-group public social distance was significantly below the scalar mid-point, $t(1742) = -30.0$, $p < .001$, while the mean score for out-group private social distance was above the mid-point, $t(1774) = 21.49$, $p < .001$, Thus, as expected participants were somewhat negative ('not nice') about marrying an out-group member while they were somewhat positive about having out-group classmates and neighbours ('nice') and this difference was significant, $t(1724) = 44.44$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, and as expected the difference between in-group and out-group public social distance (-0.82) was significantly smaller than the difference between in-group and out-group private social distance (-2.0), $t(1725) = 40.71$, $p < .001$.

Endorsement of multiculturalism

Following the two-sidedness of multiculturalism, we predicted that stronger endorsement of multiculturalism would be associated with lower out-group social distance in the public domain and lower in-group social distance in the private domain. Table 3 shows that this is indeed the case. Moreover, multiculturalism is neither associated with out-group private social distance nor in-group public social distance.

National identification

Table 3 shows that higher national identification is associated with lower social distances in both domains and for the in-group and the out-groups. As expected, national identification is a relative strong predictor for out-group public social distance.

To examine whether endorsement of multiculturalism mediated the relationship between strength of national identification and public out-group social distance, a mediation analysis was conducted using a bootstrapping method (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Ethnic group was added

as a covariate in the model in order to test whether endorsement of multiculturalism mediated the link between national identification and public out-group social distance across ethnic groups. Following Preacher and Hayes's recommendations, the analysis was performed with 5000 bootstrapping samples, 95% bias- confidence and accelerated confidence intervals to estimate indirect effects. Mediation is considered to have occurred if zero is not in the 95% confidence interval. The analysis revealed a significant total effect of strength of national identification on out-group public social distance (B = -0.20, SE = .024, p < .001). The direct effect of strength of national identification on out-group public social distance after controlling for endorsement of multiculturalism was reduced but significant (B = -0.19, SE = .02, p < .001). The total indirect effect (i.e. the difference between the total and the indirect effect) was significant with a bootstrap confidence interval that was estimated to lie between -.029 and -.001. Hence endorsement of multiculturalism partially mediated the relationship between strength of national identification and evaluation of out-groups as neighbours and classmates (out-group public social distance).

National identification and the endorsement of multiculturalism were both related to in-group private social distance. Therefore, we performed the same mediation analysis to examine whether endorsement of multiculturalism mediated the link between national identification and in-group social distance in the domain of marriage. The analysis showed a significant total effect of strength of national identification on private in-group social distance (B = -0.18, SE = .026, p < .001). The direct effect of strength of national identification after controlling for endorsement of multiculturalism was reduced but significant (B = -0.16, SE = .03, p < .001). The indirect effect was significant with a bootstrap confidence interval that was estimated to lie between -.035 and -.011. Thus as expected, endorsement of multiculturalism partially mediated the link between strength of national identification and private in-group social distance.

Ethnic identification

Table 3 shows that stronger ethnic identification was associated with higher social distance towards out-group members in the public and the private domain, and with lower social distances towards the in-group. Thus ethnic identification appears to have a polarizing effect on in-group and out-group attitudes.

Implicit theories

Stronger endorsement of entity theory also had a polarizing effect with more social distances towards the out-groups and less social distances towards the in-group. Additionally and as expected, stronger endorsement of incremental theory was associated with lower social distance towards out-group members in the public and private domains, whereas there were no significant associations with in-group social distances.

Ethnic group

As expected, Creole participants (M = 2.94, SD = 0.74) were more positive about marrying an out-group than Hindus (M = 3.42, SD = 0.93), whilst Muslim participants (M = 3.86, SD = 0.93) were most negative about it[8]. Furthermore, Muslims (M = 1.24, SD = 0.56) reported lower social distance towards the in-group as a spouse than Hindus (M = 1.57, SD = 0.84) and Creoles (M = 1.74, SD = 0.97). Additionally, Creoles (M = 2.39, SD = 0.65) reported lower out-group public social distance compared to Hindus (M = 2.49, SD = 0.76) and Muslims (M = 2.50, SD = 0.73). There were no ethnic group differences for in-group public social distance.

Age and gender

There were two age effects with older compared to younger adolescents being more in favor of marrying an out-group member and having higher in-group distance in the public domain (Table 3). Additionally, there were gender differences for out-group social distances but not in relation to the in-group. Girls (M = 2.40, SD = 0.65) reported less social distance than boys (M = 2.56, SD = 0.80) towards the out-group in the public domain but more social distances in the intimate domain of marriage (M = 3.68, SD = 0.89, and M = 3.28, SD =0 .98, respectively)[8].

[8] In an additional regression step and for testing the robustness of the associations, we examined the possible interactions between ethnic group, gender, age and the five continuous predictors. For *public out-group social distance*, the addition of the interaction terms increased the explained variance by only 2.0%, $F_{change}(20, 1692) = 1.885$, $p = .01$. This indicates that by and large the associations were similar across gender, ethnic group and age. Furthermore, only 4 interactions were significant and separate analyses showed that the directions of the associations were similar. For *private out-group distance*, the addition of the 20 interaction terms increased the explained variance by only 1.6%, $F_{change}(20, 1723) = 1.755$, $p = .02$. Furthermore, adding the interactions increased the explained variance in *private in-group social distance* by only 2.7%, $F_{change}(20, 1730) = 2.875$, $p < .01$. For *public in-group social distance* the addition of the interaction terms in Step 2 did not significantly contribute to the explained variance.

Figure 1. MTMM Model 2 (correlated uniquenesss model)

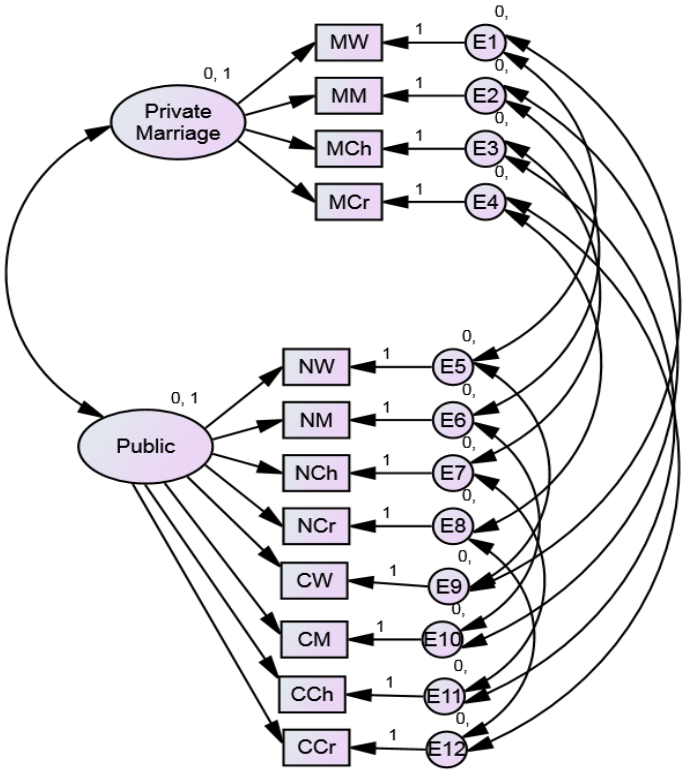

Table 3.1. Summary of Goodness-of-Fit Indices for the Three Models for the Three Ethnic Groups

Model	χ^2			df	CFI			NFI			RMSEA		
	H	M	Cr		H	M	Cr	H	M	Cr	H	M	Cr
3	142.5	90.8	121.6	39	.98	.99	.95	.98	.98	.93	.06	.05	.08
2	232.6	146.3	137.7	41	.97	.97	.94	.96	.96	.92	.07	.06	.09
1	887.5	720.4	228.9	42	.85	.84	.89	.85	.83	.87	.15	.16	.12

Note: H = Hindu; M = Muslim; Cr = Creole

Model 1: One dimension; Model 2: Two correlated dimensions; Model 3 = Three correlated dimensions

Table 3.2. Means, Standard Deviations and Inter-correlations for the Different Measures.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. POSD	-								
2.PrOSD	.40**	-							
3.PISD	.10**	-.15**	-						
4. PrISD	.001	-.22**	.53**	-					
5. M	-.10**	.09**	-.10**	-.15**	-				
6. NI	-.20**	-.02	-.21**	-.16**	.17**	-			
7. EI	.003	.13**	-.33**	-.31**	.23**	.31**	-		
8. ET	.02	.10**	-.20**	-.17**	.12**	.20**	.21**	-	
9. IT	-.15**	-.16**	.09**	.09**	-.006	.03	-.11	-.12**	-
Means	2.48	3.49	1.66	1.49	4.06	3.73	3.94	3.41	3.78
SD	0.73	0.96	0.70	0.80	0.76	0.72	0.85	0.93	1.04

Note: POSD= public out-group social distance; PrOSD = private out-group social distance; PISD = public in-group social distance; PrISD = private in-group social distance; M = endorsement of multiculturalism; NI = national identification; EI = ethnic identification; ET = entity theory; IT = incremental theory ; *$p < .05$; ** $p < .001$

Table 3.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Public Social Distance (*N* = 1726) and Private Social Distance (*N* = 1757): Standardized regression coefficients

	Out-group social distance		In-group social distance	
	Public	Private	Public	Private
Multiculturalism	-.07**	.03	-.01	-.05*
National identification	-.22**	-.09**	-.085**	-.06*
Ethnic identification	.05*	.14**	-.22**	-.25**
Entity theory	.04*	.06**	-.08**	-.08**
Incremental theory	-.09**	-.12**	.008	.03
Ethnic1 (Creole vs Hindu)	-.16*	-.49**	.000	.21**
Ethnic2 (Muslim vs Hindu)	-.008	.37**	-.21**	-.30**
Gender (Boys vs Girls)	-.14**	.37**	.05	.004
Age	-.02	-.05**	.055**	-.004
R^2 change	.087	.191	.175	.17
F-change	18.23	45.62	40.98	40.18

*p <.05; **p <.001

3.4. Discussion

Multiculturalism is about acknowledging and valuing cultural groups in order to attain equality and diversity. Group differences are considered meaningful sources of identity, and multiculturalism affirms group identities and aims to engender acceptance of out-group members. This means that multiculturalism, on the one hand, justifies heritage cultural maintenance or in-group closure, and, on the other hand, argues for increased acceptance or out-group openness. There is quite some social psychological research investigating the intergroup benefits of

multiculturalism (see Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013; Rattan & Ambady, 2013) but there is no research that has examined this two-sidedness of multiculturalism. Our study is the first to empirically examine the two-sides of multiculturalism by focusing on the public (neighbours, classmates) and private (spouse) domain distinction. In contrast to the view that the level of interethnic marriage in society is an indicator of the degree of societal integration of ethnic groups (Blau et al. 1984), we have argued for the possibility that the ideology of maintenance of cultural diversity and cultural recognition might result in the public acceptance of ethnic out-groups *together* with the endorsement of ethnic endogamy. We examined this proposition among adolescents from three different ethnic groups living in the same small national context. The 'fruit salad' multiculturalism of Mauritius provides a unique real-world context for examining the two-sidedness of multiculturalism. Several findings support our proposition.

First, it was found that across the three ethnic groups participants made an empirical distinction between public (neighbourhood, classmates) and private social distance (possible spouse) towards the out-groups. The existing research on multiculturalism and out-group attitudes has ignored this possible distinction because of its focus on, for example, thermometer-like feelings and trait adjectives. Furthermore, social distance research tends to collapse the social distances in the different domains into an overall social distance score (e.g. Bastian et al., 2012; Hagendoorn et al., 1998; but see Weaver, 2008) which overlooks the possibility that people make a distinction between their preferred social distance towards out-group members as a neighbour or classmate (public domain) and as a spouse (private domain).

Second, the participants were significantly more positive about having social contacts with out-group members in the public domain compared to the private domain. Furthermore, the difference in in-group versus out-group social distance was much lower in the public than the private domain. The participants were relatively positive about contacts with out-group members as classmates and neighbours and relatively negative about an out-group member as a spouse. This suggests that in a multicultural society positive public inter-ethnic relations can go together with maintaining ethnic group distinctiveness through a preference for intra-ethnic marriage.

Third, stronger endorsement of multiculturalism was associated with lower social distance towards the out-group in the *public* domain and towards the in-group in the *private* domain. And the endorsement of

multiculturalism was not independently associated with out-group private and in-group public social distances. Thus participants who more strongly endorsed Mauritian multiculturalism did show a stronger pattern of two-sided multiculturalism.

A fourth finding supporting our proposition about the two-sidedness of multiculturalism relates to national identification. The discourse about unity in diversity is strong in Mauritius and the mean scores indicate that participants of all three groups endorsed multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is about the recognition of difference within a common national identity framework (Modood, 2007). In agreement with this, our findings demonstrate that higher national identifiers indicated lower out-group public *and* private social distances. Theoretically, this finding is in line with the common in-group identity model that argues for intergroup benefits of superordinate categories (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). There is quite some empirical evidence supporting this model and our findings go beyond the existing research by showing that the positive implications extend to the private domain as well. Furthermore, our findings show that the associations between national identification, on the one hand, and out-group public social distance and in-group private social distances, on the other hand, are (partly) mediated by the endorsement of multiculturalism. This indicates that higher national identifiers more strongly endorse the country's norm and discourse of multiculturalism which in turn relates to a more positive attitude towards public social contacts with ethnic out-groups and a stronger preference for marriage with an in-group member. The result for out-group social distance provides further support for the claim that the association between national identification and out-group evaluations is not straightforward because the content and meaning of the national identity plays a role (e.g., Meuus et al, 2010; Perhrson et al., 2009; Wakefield et al., 2010).

The discussion so far indicates that there are two sides to the 'fruit salad' multiculturalism of Mauritius: acceptance of diversity in the public sphere and in-group closure in the intimate private sphere. This seems to be one recipe for a cohesive plural society. However, the national ideal of multiculturalism cannot hide the fact that Mauritians experience everyday diversity also as a source of stress and frustration. Ethnographic work has clearly shown that ethnicity is often the background for entitlement issues, and at the interpersonal level having close relationships outside of the boundaries of one's ethnic community is often a source of conflict (Eriksen, 1995; Nave, 2000). Furthermore, there are social psychological

processes working against mutual acceptance. Our findings show, for example, that higher ethnic identification and a stronger endorsement of entity beliefs are both associated with higher out-group social distance (public and private) and lower in-group social distance (public and private). This suggests that both have polarizing effects on intergroup attitudes in Mauritius. Higher ethnic identifiers are more committed to their ethnic group and this seems to translate into more social distance towards out-groups and less social distance towards in-group. And entity beliefs are about fixedness and the unchangeable nature of groups, and holding such beliefs makes engagement with out-groups challenging which entity theorists shy away from (Carr et al., 2012). The results for entity beliefs should however be treated with caution because of the low internal reliability of the two item scale. Higher endorsement of an incremental theory was associated with lower out-group social distances (public and private). This is in agreement with previous studies showing that incremental beliefs are associated with more positive intergroup relations and proactive engagement with out-group members (see Carr et al., 2012).

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations of the current study that should be mentioned. First, there is an alternative interpretation for the distinction found between public and private social distance towards the out-group. Questions on social distance towards ethnic out-group neighbours or classmates do not have to imply cross-gender relations, whereas questions on marriage predominantly do. In terms of crossed-categorization this means that an ethnic out-group marriage partner is a double out-group member (different ethnicity and different gender) who typically is evaluated more negatively than single out-group members (same ethnicity but different gender) (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). Yet, it is not very likely that our findings are only due to crossed-categorization effects. The difference in out-group social distance between the public and private domain is in agreement with Mauritian society where there are many inter-ethnic interactions and contacts in public life and few intra-ethnic marriages. Furthermore, there are some ethnic group differences such as Muslims having lower in-group private social distance and higher out-group private social distances compared to Creoles and Hindus. These ethnic group differences are difficult to understand from a crossed-categorization perspective and suggest that the social context and group characteristics are important. The Creoles are a rather mixed, heterogeneous group with no recognized ancestral culture and few ancient traditions that define their

ethnic community. This means that they are more 'open' to other groups, also when it comes to inter-ethnic marriage (Eriksen, 1997). In contrast, the lower in-group private social distance among the Muslims probably reflects the rules and obligations of the Islamic faith that, for example, forbids marrying a non-Muslim.

Second, the clear gender difference found in out-group social distance is another result on which crossed categories might have had an influenced. Compared to boys, girls reported less social distance in the public domain but they were less positive about marrying someone from an out-group. Marriage typically involves an inter-gender situation so that marriage with someone from an ethnic out-group involves a double out-group member. This might be more difficult for females because women (especially in Asian traditions and cultures) are perceived as bearers and transmitters of the ethnic culture and as being responsible for upholding cultural traditions and family cohesiveness (Dasgupta, 1998). In support of this interpretation is that there was no gender difference in the preference for marrying an ethnic in-group member. However, there might be an age related difference here because older compared to younger adolescents were more positive about marrying an out-group member. Adolescence is a time of autonomy seeking, and growing resistance to family obligations and parental authority has been reported in various cultures (Fuligni, 1998). Increased individual autonomy and greater influence of peers can mean that with age adolescents develop more personal views on possible marriage partners.

Third, by using a cross-sectional design, we were unable to examine the causal directions of the associations. It is of course possible that preferred social distances have an influence on the endorsement of multiculturalism and on ethnic and national identification, although the reversed relations seem more likely. The question of causal effects on public and private social distances is probably not so easy to examine. A longitudinal design would be very useful but does not in itself allow us to determine causality. Furthermore, it is theoretically often unclear what the most appropriate time interval for measuring developments in beliefs, attitudes and identifications is. Quite some research on the effects of multiculturalism has used an experimental design but to our knowledge none has used social distance measures (see Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Investigating in an experiment whether the situational salience of multiculturalism has an effect on, for example, in-group and out-group social distances in the intimate sphere of marriage might be difficult. Yet, future studies could examine further the distinction

between public and private social distances and the different associations by using an experimental design.

We focused on a real-world and under-researched context and we were able to recruit a relatively large sample from three ethnic groups. The 'fruit salad' multiculturalism of Mauritius provides a unique setting for examining the implications of this form of cultural diversity. The focus on a relatively unknown non-Western context is very useful for challenging existing assumptions, developing new ideas, and adding to the social psychological body of knowledge that has a very limited scope (Arnett, 2008; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Henry, 2008). Future studies could examine whether the current findings are specific to the context of Mauritius or apply to other countries and situations in which multicultural ideology is relatively strong but also tends to have a somewhat different meaning (e.g. 'fruit compote', 'melting pot'), like Canada, Australia and the United States. Future studies could also examine these issues in a national or local context that stresses assimilation. For example it might be the case that in such a context cultural maintenance is more strongly endorsed in the public rather than the private domain, especially by minority groups.

Conclusions

In examining the two-sidedness of multiculturalism we tried to make a novel contribution to the research on intergroup dynamics in contexts of diversity. Our findings demonstrate that a public-private distinction in out-group social distance is part of the 'fruit salad' understanding of multiculturalism. This means that a multicultural ideology can promote positive feelings about interacting with members of ethnic out-groups in public life while also promoting in-group closure through ethnic endogamy. Thus, the level of inter-ethnic marriage in society does not have to be the best indicator of the degree of societal integration of ethnic groups (Blau et al., 1984). Intra-ethnic marriages are critical for the maintenance of ethnic distinctiveness and group boundaries, and are favoured in Mauritius (Eriksen, 1997). The rhetoric of the 'rainbow nation' or 'fruit salad' as a route to the promotion of tolerance and a cohesive society is an important veneer to the protection of cultural group differences. Reminders of diversity abound in the Mauritian landscape but at the same time these are reminders to who belongs where. Thus, it seems that a 'fruit salad' ideology of multiculturalism encourages

positive interactions with out-groups in the public domain as long as out-group members do not enter the private realm.

Chapter 4

Intergroup evaluations, group indispensability and prototypicality judgments: A study in Mauritius

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4.1. Introduction

Ethnic, racial and religious differences raise difficult questions about how to deal with cultural diversity. In social psychology the challenge of diversity is viewed in terms of finding the right balance between the need for distinctiveness and the need for similarity (e.g. Brewer, 1991; Dovidio et al., 2006; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a; Hogg & Hornsey, 2006). Different models on the importance of a superordinate category for intergroup relations have been proposed, like the Common In-group Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), the Dual Identity Model (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a) and the In-group Projection Model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). Research has tested these models and the conditions under which a superordinate category either has beneficial effects (e.g. Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell & Pomare, 1990; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989) or leads to increased intergroup tension (e.g. Brown & Wade, 1987; Deschamps & Brown, 1983; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000b).

Experimental research has investigated the role of representations of the superordinate category and of subgroups by manipulating the ideologies and norms that define the nature of these categories (see Wenzel et al., 2007). For example, the superordinate category can be represented by several subgroups, and the subgroups can vary in how well-defined they are. The findings show that these representational features affect in-group perceptions and out-group evaluations. The current research goes beyond these findings by examining in-group indispensability and its relationship with group evaluations in a real-world setting and among high and low status groups. We focus on group evaluations in relation to the perception of relative in-group prototypicality (RIP) of the superordinate national category and ethnic and national identification. In addition, we propose that not only prototypicality but also the perception of relative in-group indispensability (RII) for the shared national category is important to consider. When diversity is a defining attribute of the superordinate mosaic, the question is not only whether some subgroups can claim to best represent the national category but also whether subgroups consider themselves to be an indispensable part of the mosaic.

Relative in-group indispensability and prototypicality

In-group projection refers to the perception of 'the in-group's greater relative prototypicality for the superordinate group' (Wenzel at al., 2007, p.

337). With in-group projection, attributes that are relatively distinctive of one's own group are regarded as prototypical for the inclusive category and thereby serve as criteria for (negative) out-group evaluation. In-group projection is not automatic but depends, for example, on the representional features of the superordinate category. The In-group Projection Model (IPM, e.g. Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) argues that a complex superordinate group representation is a promising avenue for achieving tolerance in intergroup relations. The reason is that in a complex representation 'ingroup projection would…seem pointless because the superordinate category could not be represented by a single (unitary) subgroup but rather requires multiple differing subgroups that, by implications are equally indispensable and prototypical' (Wenzel et al., 2007, p. 358). Whereas relative in-group prototypicality has been empirically tested, the notion of relative in-group indispensability has not been examined.

The perception of the in-group's perceived indispensability and prototypicality for a given superordinate category can be closely related but differ in important ways. The metaphor of a mosaic implies that the nation is made up of different, complementary parts and that none of these parts represent the picture in its entirety. The separate pieces of the mosaic differ from each other and when one piece is missing the picture is incomplete, similar to a missing piece in a jigsaw puzzle. Thus, all the pieces are necessary or indispensable. Maori in New Zealand might be viewed as less typical New Zealanders by dominant group standards but it is not denied that they are an intrinsic and indispensable part of New Zealand. Without them, New Zealand would no longer be the same (Sibly & Liu, 2007). And Michael Jackson might have been more representative of the Jackson Five, but all five brothers were members, i.e. indispensable, for the 'Jackson Five' as a group. Indeed, the replacement of one of the brothers by another one, led to renaming the band. Similarly, when a superordinate category is represented metaphorically as different groups playing on the same team, it implies that the team is incomplete when one position or role is not filled (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994). In cognitive psychology there is the contention that category membership is not necessarily defined or graded in terms of prototype similarity (Kamp & Bartee, 1995; Rips & Collins, 1993). Furthermore, indispensability as the notion of being necessary per se might be more stable across contexts than perceived prototypicality which tends to depend on the frame of reference (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1998).

We expected that an empirical distinction between RIP and RII can be made. Furthermore, both constructs were expected to be independently related to out-group and in-group evaluations. According to the IPM, in situations where the superordinate category is truly inclusive and the subgroups are nested within it, dual identifiers will project their valued subgroup characteristics onto the superordinate category leading them to hold more negative out-group and more positive in-group evaluations (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). Thus, groups that consider themselves as more indispensable and as more prototypical of the national category can be expected to evaluate out-groups less positively and their in-group more positively. Furthermore, social identity theory argues that intergroup differentiation contributes to a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to the In-group Projection Model, group members therefore have a tendency to perceive their ethnic in-group as relatively prototypical for the national category. The same tendency can be expected for RII. Thus, we expected that the participants of all three ethnic groups will perceive their ethnic in-group as more indispensable for and as more prototypical of Mauritius than the two out-groups.

Group identifications

According to the Common In-group Identity Model (e.g. Dovidio et al., 2007; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), a one-group representation has positive effects on intergroup relations. The reason is that a shared category can reduce negative feelings as, for example, the ethnic out-group members (i.e. 'them') become fellow national in-group members (i.e. 'us') (Gaertner et al., 1993; Gaertner et al., 1989). This means that national identifiers are expected to show more positive out-group evaluations than those who identify predominantly with their ethnic in-group. In addition, Hornsey and Hogg (2000a) have shown that a reduction in negative feelings is particularly likely when the superordinate (national) category membership is combined with a strong (ethnic) subgroup identity (see also Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006). Such a combination helps to reduce threats to a valued identity that may result from assimilation to the national category.

Wenzel and colleagues (2007) suggest that the effects of dual identity on group evaluations depend on whether it is the superordinate or the subgroup level which is psychologically more focal. One way to test

this proposition is by using a relative identification score: ethnic identification minus national identification. A positive score indicates that the subgroup identity is considered more important than the national one and therefore acts as the figure against a background of the national category. To our knowledge, previous studies have not investigated group identification in this relative manner, although multiple memberships in the collective self is widely acknowledged (e.g. Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In line with both theories, a subgroup identity which is the figure against the background of the superordinate identity should lead to less positive out-group evaluations and more positive in-group evaluation. This means that higher relative ethnic compared to national identification can be expected to be associated with a more negative evaluation of out-groups and a more positive evaluation of the in-group.

In addition, we assessed self-identification by asking our participants explicitly to indicate whether they consider themselves to be ethnic, national or dual identifiers. Following the common in-group identity model and the dual identity model, we expected national and dual identifiers to show similar and more positive out-group evaluations than ethnic identifiers.

Furthermore, it can be expected that in Mauritius ethnic identity is not experienced to be in competition with national identity because the national context is explicitly defined by diversity and multiculturalism. Cultural diversity is intrinsic to the Mauritian national self-understanding and pluralism and dual identities represent the national ideal. Various studies have argued for a differential preference of ethnic and national identity by majority and minority group members (see Dovidio et al, 2007; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Typically, minority groups are more concerned about maintaining their subgroup identity. However, this concern will depend on the way that the superordinate category is defined. In the context of Mauritius, we expected few, if any, ethnic group differences in national identification and in self-identification. In a national context explicitly defined by diversity and multiculturalism, all groups can be expected to have a similar sense of belonging to the superordinate category and a similar self-identity. Therefore, we predicted for all three groups a positive association between the measures of national identification and ethnic identification. In addition, for each of the three ethnic groups, we expected that most participants would choose the dual identity option on the self-identification question.

Status group differences

The great majority of social psychological studies have a rather straightforward understanding of (ethnic) status group differences. For example, it is typically assumed that compared to low status groups, high status groups will more strongly identify with the national category, show lower out-group evaluation and can more easily claim to be prototypical of the superordinate category. However, the in-group projection model argues that in-group projection depends on the particular representations of the subgroups and the superordinate category (see Wenzel et al., 2007). A complex representation is proposed as a promising avenue for intergroup tolerance, and could well be illustrated by a multi-ethnic nation whose representation is 'as one people, as one nation, in peace, justice and liberty' (Mauritian national anthem).

The cultural complexity of Mauritius is substantial. Various ethnic groups live together, around fifteen languages are said to be spoken, and the four world religions rub shoulders (Eriksen, 1994). It is no wonder that the representation of the nation is one of a complex multicultural mosaic in which all of these various ethnic groups are incorporated. In contrast to European or American discourses whereby the nation is tacitly identified with a particular ethnic group – e.g. American = White (Devos & Banaji, 2005) - in Mauritius all ethnic groups are considered to make up the national mosaic (a 'rainbow nation'). Tolerance, mutual respect and coexistence are considered to be critical moral values to be instilled in Mauritian citizens (Eisenlohr, 2006b).

However, the national ideal cannot hide the fact that Mauritians experience everyday multi-ethnicity as a source of stress and frustration. Ethnographic work has clearly shown that ethnicity is often the background for entitlement issues, and at the interpersonal level having close relationships outside of the boundaries of one's ethnic community is often a source of conflict (Caroll & Caroll, 2000; Eriksen, 1995; Nave, 2000). Furthermore, there are clear status differences between the ethnic groups. Two different and competing images of the Mauritian nation exist: the diasporic nation and the Creole nation (Eisenlohr, 2006a, 2007). The notion of being a diasporic nation and the related cultural politics of the state, encourage the cultivation of 'ancestral cultures'. Diversity is based on the recognition of the culture of groups that have clear ancestral origins, like the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus are powerful in politics and the public sector and the Muslims form a tight community centered

on their religious faith (Hempel, 2009). In contrast, the term 'Creoles' is used for a rather diverse population of descendants of African and Malagasy slaves. Most of them are Catholics and they do not have recognized claims on legitimizing ancestral cultures and ancestral languages with origins outside Mauritius (Laville, 2000). This means that the diasporic ancestral culture policy justifies the position of the Hindus and Muslims and has exclusionist implications for the Creoles (Eisenlohr, 2006a). The Creoles are generally faced with negative stereotypes, higher unemployment, less political power and with fewer opportunities than other Mauritians (Eriksen, 1994). For example, they suffer from exclusion because services and other facilities provided by the government - such as the teaching of ancestral language in state schools and the establishment of 'cultural centres' - are given only to officially recognized cultural categories (Aumeerally, 2005). The lower status position of the Creoles is recognized by the various ethnic groups in Mauritius (see Hempel, 2009). In agreement with the social psychological literature and considering the clear group boundaries in Mauritius (see Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001), it can be expected that the low status Creoles have higher ethnic group identification and a more positive out-group evaluation and a less positive in-group evaluation compared to the Hindus and the Muslims.

At the same time, however, there is the notion of Mauritius as a Creole nation. For Hindus and Muslims the proposition of diasporic ancestral culture and language defines and legitimizes their place in the Mauritian nation. But this notion also implies a past-oriented commitment to a tradition based in a homeland or around a religion (the *umma*). In contrast, although there has been an attempt towards the Africanisation of the Creole identity, the Creoles, as a result of fragmentation and hybridization that occurred under slavery, are actually a culturally diverse group (Boswell, 2005, 2006). They are a mixed group of people living in a context in which ethnic homogeneity and cultural ancestry are recognized and encouraged at the subgroup level. But, it is also a national context in which cultural diversity is presented as defining the nation and as an end in itself. The heterogeneity of the Creoles mirrors the heterogeneity of the nation. Thus, it is in the interest of the Creoles to consider their subgroup as indispensable and prototypical for the superordinate category and research has shown that prototypical judgments vary according to instrumental considerations (Sindic & Reicher, 2008).

Furthermore, virtually all Mauritians are fluent in the *Kreol* language that serves as a *lingua franca*, and symbols of 'Mauritian-ness'

such as the *Sega,* which is an African based art form, are largely inherited from colonial times in which slavery dominated (Eriksen, 1994). Hence, it has been argued that Mauritius is a Creole island (Benoist, 1985) and that the Creoles are the only 'true Mauritians' of the island (Miles, 1999). The representation of Mauritius as a Creole island, i.e. hybrid and mixed, is in the interest of the Creoles and would cease to exist without Creoles. The national representation could more easily withstand the absence of one of the ancestral cultural groups (Hindus, Muslims) that embodies singularity and purity. Therefore, we expected that in comparison to the Hindus and the Muslims, the low status group of Creoles will actually consider themselves as relatively more indispensable for the cultural mosaic of Mauritius and as more prototypical of Mauritius.

Summary

This chapter examines the superordinate-subgroup relationship in the real-life context of Mauritius. The focus is on ethnic and national identification and on perceived relative in-group indispensability and in-group prototypicality among Hindu, Muslim and Creole participants. We hypothesised that in-group indispensability and prototypicality are empirically distinct constructs and that RIP and RII are positive for all three groups. Given the specific socio-historical context of Mauritius, the low status group of Creoles was expected to show higher RIP and higher RII compared to the Hindus and Muslims. Furthermore, for all three groups we expected ethnic identifiers to show higher RIP and RII compared to national and dual identifiers.

The representations of the Mauritian nation made us expect for all three groups a higher percentage of dual self-identifiers compared to ethnic and national identifiers. Additionally, for all three groups a positive association between ethnic and national identification was expected. Furthermore, we expected national and dual identifiers to have more positive out-group evaluations compared to ethnic identifiers. Moreover, for all three groups, higher RIP, higher RII and higher ethnic compared to national identification, were expected to have independent negative effects on out-group evaluation and positive effects on in-group evaluation.

4.2. Method

Participants
The study was conducted in 2007 in twenty-three secondary schools. Across the schools, questionnaires were distributed and answered in classrooms. An introduction to the questionnaire explained that the study was concerned with 'how it feels like living in Mauritius' from the adolescents' perspective. The questionnaire took approximately thirty minutes to complete. Mauritian schools are mostly single sex schools and grouped under four educational zones so that each zone includes both urban and rural areas. Students can be admitted to any school within the zone, so that for instance, urban schools cater for students coming from both urban and rural areas. The participating schools came from an urban area in each of the educational zones. A total of 2327 secondary school students participated in the study. However, for the present purposes, the answers of the participants (n = 1784) who in an open-ended question, described their ethnic group as Hindu (n = 844), Muslim (n= 630) or Creole (n = 310) were analysed[9]. There were 842 males and 942 females aged between 11 and 19 years, with a mean age of 14.8 years.

Measures
Relative in-group prototypicality: An indirect measure for group prototypicality using, for example, generated traits was considered too complex in a questionnaire for adolescents, and for Mauritians in particular because they have very few to none experiences with responding to questionnaires. Furthermore, Waldzus and colleagues (2003, p. 35) found that asking participants directly how prototypical they thought the in-group and the out-group are for the superordinate category, correlated highly with indirect measures. We therefore used a direct, single measure of 'relative prototypicality' by asking participants to answer for each of the three ethnic groups, the following question: '_____ are real Mauritians' on a scale (1 = no, not at all!; 5 = yes, certainly!). We used the term 'real' for referring to prototypicality because the latter term is unknown to most

[9] The remaining 543 participants were from other smaller minority groups such as Tamils (n = 159), Chinese (n = 125), Mixed (n = 146), Marathi (n = 24), Telegou (n = 46), White (n =4) and Others (n = 28) and eleven did not give their ethnic group. We therefore kept the analysis to the three main ethnic groups.

adolescents in Mauritius[10]. Following Wenzel et al (2007), a relative in-group prototypicality (RIP) score was computed by subtracting the mean of the two out-group scores from the in-group score. A higher score indicates higher RIP.

For *relative in-group indispensability* a similar single direct measure was used[11]. Using a 5-point scale (1 = not at all!, 5 = yes, certainly !) the participants were asked to indicate for each of the three ethnic groups whether 'Mauritius, without the _____ will still be Mauritius'. The items were reverse-coded so that a higher score means higher relative in-group indispensability (RII), in line with the prototypicality measure. A similar procedure as used for RIP was used for computing a relative indispensability score.

Ethnic and national group identifications were assessed by asking the participants to respond to six items (5-point scales). These items measure the importance and feelings attached to one's ethnic and national group membership and two sample items are 'I am proud to be _____', and 'Being _____ is important to the way I see myself'. Both national and ethnic identifications were assessed with the six items (α = .79 and α = .91 respectively). The differential ethnic to national score was computed by subtracting the mean national identification score from the mean ethnic identification score for each participant.

Self-identification: Participants explicitly indicated the relative importance of the national and ethnic identity by ticking their preferred identity amongst five options ranging from 'mainly Mauritian', 'both Mauritian and my ethnic group' to 'mainly my ethnic group'. Correlation between the five-point measure and a combined three-point measure was very high (r = .94). Therefore a scale with three discrete self-identifications: 'mainly

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[10] In order to verify that the use of the word 'real' has a similar meaning as 'typical', we conducted an additional study among a sample (n = 44) of first year undergraduate students (35 females and 9 males, average age 20.2) at the University of Mauritius. These participants were asked two questions for each of the three ethnic target groups: '_____ are real Mauritians' with the item '_____ are typical Mauritians'. The correlations between these two questions were acceptable: Hindus, r = .58; Creoles, r = .75; and Muslims, r = .63.

[11] In line with our prototypicality measure, we further investigated the reliability of the indispensability measure in the sample described in footnote 10. Specifically, we assessed indispensability with 3 items measured on a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' as such: 'Mauritius, without the _____, will still be Mauritius (reversed coded); '_____ are an indispensable part of Mauritius' and '_____ cannot be missed in making Mauritius what it is.' Reliability analysis for the three ethnic target groups yielded satisfactory Cronbach alpha's: Hindus, α = .79; Creoles, α = .79 and Muslims, α= .77.

national', 'dual identifiers', 'mainly ethnic', was used for ease of interpretation.

The *out-group evaluation* and *in-group evaluation* scores were based on six positive trait ratings. The participants were asked to indicate the number (1 = almost none, 5 = almost all) of each ethnic group who possessed the relevant attribute. Hence, participants judged all three target groups on the same set of attribute dimensions. The question was formulated as: 'In Mauritius, how many _____, do you think are…' on a 5-point scale (1, almost none; 5, almost all). The six positive characteristics, taken from Leach, Ellemers, and Barreto (2007), were honest, trustworthy, capable, competent, friendly, and warm. A mean score[12] was derived for each ethnic group: the Hindus (α= .90), Creoles (α= .91) and Muslims (α= .92). The out-group evaluation score was based on the mean of the participant's ratings of the two out-groups while the in-group evaluation score was based on the participants' rating of their in-group.

4.3. Results

Preliminary analysis

To know whether our participants shared the notion of Mauritius being a culturally diverse and complex country in which tolerance and mutual acceptance is endorsed, we asked them the following question: 'In Mauritius, all the ethnic and religious groups should be recognized and respected'. On a five-point scale the mean score for this question was high (M = 4.64, SD = 0.76) and the mode was 5. For the sample, 76% had the highest score ('strongly agree') and a further 17% agreed with the statement. Thus, there was a high level of adherence to the positive view of Mauritius as a multicultural society, and this was similar for all three ethnic groups (p > .10).

[12] In line with Leach, Ellemers and Barretto (2007), we used factor analysis with oblique rotation on the six characteristics in order to see if the traits refer to three distinct components (i.e. warmth, competence and morality). A one factor solution was obtained, both for the whole sample and for each of the three ethnic groups. Therefore, we computed overall mean scores of group evaluations based on the six characteristics.

Group indispensability and prototypicality

Maximum likelihood estimation with oblique rotation was used to determine whether indispensability and prototypicality are empirically distinct constructs. A two-factor structure emerged. The first factor explained 37.7% of the variance, and the second factor explained 26.1%. The items intended to measure indispensability had a high loading on the first factor (> 0.63). The highest loading of these items on the other factor was 0.17. On the second factor, the prototypicality items had a high loading (> 0.60) with a loading < 0.22 on the other factor. Thus, the analysis indicated that an empirical distinction could be made between group prototypicality and group indispensability.

The RIP and RII scores were positively correlated (r = .44, p < .001; for the Hindus, r = .53, p < .001; Muslims, r = .28, p < .001; Creoles, r = .48, p < .001). The correlations indicate that the two measures are not independent but share not more than 28% of their variance. Paired sample t-tests for each ethnic group showed that scores on RIP and RII differed significantly (p_s < .01) with the latter being higher than the former. Thus, all three ethnic groups consider themselves as more indispensable than prototypical of Mauritius.

Relative in-group indispensability

As expected, participants of the three ethnic groups had positive RII scores indicating that they viewed their ethnic group as more indispensable to the nation compared to the out-groups (Table 4.1). A one sample t-test on the relative indispensability score for each group showed that the three scores differed from zero (p_s < .001).

A 3 (ethnic group: Creole, Hindu, Muslim) x 3 (self-identification: national, dual, ethnic) analysis of variance yielded a significant main effect for ethnic group, F(2, 1758) = 11.41, p < .001. As expected, the Creole participants significantly considered their own ethnic group as relatively more indispensable for the imagined national community than the Hindus and the Muslims (see Table 4.1). The Hindus and Muslims did not differ on RII. The higher RII score of the Creoles depends on both a significant higher in-group indispensability score and a lower out-group indispensability score (see Table 4.1).

The main effect for the three categories of self-identifications was also significant, F (2, 1758) = 26.3, p < .001. Post-hoc analyses indicated that there was no significant difference in RII score between the national and dual identifiers. However the ethnic identifiers (M = 0.61, SD = 1.28)

had a significantly higher score (p_s < .001) than the national identifiers (M = 0.45, SD = 1.19) and the dual identifiers (M = 0.54, SD = 1.18). The interaction effect of ethnic group by self-identification was not significant. Furthermore, the ethnic identifiers reported significantly higher scores on in-group indispensability (F(2, 1767) = 3.71, p <.05) and lower scores on out-group indispensability (F(2, 1767) = 9.77, p < .05) than the dual identifiers and the national identifiers who did not differ from each other.

Relative in-group prototypicality

As expected and as shown in Table 4.1, the RIP scores are positive for all three ethnic groups. A one sample t-test for each group revealed that the three scores were significantly different from zero (p_s < .001). Thus, the participants viewed their in-group as more representative of the nation than the out-groups.

To examine differences between the ethnic groups and for the three categories of group identifiers, a 3 (ethnic group: Creole, Hindu, Muslim) x 3 (self-identification: national, dual, ethnic) analysis of variance was performed on RIP. There was a main effect for ethnic group, F (2, 1762) = 60.3, p < .001, with significant differences among all three groups (p_s < .01). As expected and shown in Table 4.1, the Creoles considered themselves as the relatively most prototypical group, followed by the Hindus, and the Muslims. In addition, the Hindus considered themselves as relatively more prototypical than the Muslims. The higher RIP score of the Creoles is due to the fact that they had a significantly higher in-group prototypicality score than the Hindus and Muslims, and also the lowest out-group prototypicality score (see Table 5.1).

There was also a significant main effect for self-identification, F (2, 1762) = 5.89, p < .01. The ethnic identifiers (M = 0.68, SD = 1.63) had higher RIP scores compared to the dual identifiers (M = 0.47, SD = 1.10) and national identifiers (M = 0.30, SD = .99). Post-hoc test using Games-Howell procedure showed that all three groups of identifiers significantly differed from each other (p_s < .05). The interaction between ethnic group and self-identification was not significant.

Group identifications

In line with our expectation, 51.7% of respondents had a dual identity, 32.4% felt more Mauritian than ethnic and 15.5% felt more ethnic than Mauritian. Thus, more than half of the participants chose the dual identity option. We examined ethnic group differences in self-identification patterns. For the explicit measure of the three categories of identity

(national, dual, ethnic), there was a significant difference between the three ethnic groups, χ^2 (4, 1776) = 31.12, $p < .001$. Of the Creoles, 24% felt more Mauritian than ethnic, 58% had a dual identity and 18% felt more ethnic than national. For the Hindus, these percentages are 35%, 54%, and 11%, and for the Muslims 35%, 47%, and 18%, respectively. Thus, as expected for all three groups the dual identity option was chosen most often. Further, a smaller proportion of the Creole participants indicated to feel more Mauritian than ethnic.

Ethnic group differences in the continuous scores for national and ethnic identification are reported in Table 4.1. The Hindu participants identified somewhat more strongly with the national category compared to the Muslims but not compared to the Creoles. The Muslims and Creoles did not differ in national identification. In contrast, for ethnic identification, the Creole participants had a somewhat higher score than the Hindus but not higher than the Muslims. The mean scores for the Hindu and Muslim participants did not differ significantly.

Table 4.1 also shows the means for relative group identification (ethnic identification – national identification). For all three groups, ethnic identification was stronger than national identification. One sample t-tests showed that all three scores differed significant from zero ($p_s < .001$). However, there are also significant ethnic group differences with the Hindus favouring their ethnic over the national category less compared to the Muslims and Creoles. For all three groups of participants, and as expected, national identification was significantly and positively related to ethnic identification (see Table 4.2). This correlation was significantly stronger for the Hindus ($r = .42$, $p < .01$) compared to the Muslims and the Creoles ($r = .27$, $p < .01$; $z = 3.24$, $p < .01$, and $r = .29$, $p < .01$; $z = 2.24$, $p < .05$, respectively).

For all three ethnic groups, national identification was significantly and positively associated with out-group evaluation and in-group evaluation (see Table 4.2). Thus, a stronger commitment to the nation was associated with a more positive evaluation of one's in-group and of ethnic out-groups. However, for all three groups, ethnic identification was significantly related to in-group evaluation but not out-group evaluation.

Table 4.1. Means Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Main Variables by Ethnic Group.

Variables	Hindus	Muslims	Creoles	One-way Anova
In-group Indispensability	3.75 (1.42)[a]	3.69 (1.42)[a]	4.00 (1.26)[b]	$F(2, 862) = 6.11$**
Out-group Indispensability	3.25 (1.37)[a]	3.10(1.39)[ab]	3.02 (1.39)[b]	$F(2, 1775) = 3.87$*
Relative indispensability	0.50 (1.15)[a]	0.58 (1.29)[a]	0.97 (1.51)[b]	$F(2, 759.4) = 12.33$**
In-group Prototypicality	3.74 (1.22)[a]	3.65 (1.21)[a]	4.35 (1.04)[b]	$F(2, 878.4) = 47.6$**
Out-group Prototypicality	3.36 (1.15)[ab]	3.48 (1.14)[a]	3.17 (1.24)[b]	$F(2, 809.2) = 6.76$*
Relative prototypicality	0.38 (1.02)[a]	0.17 (1.11)[b]	1.18 (1.34)[c]	$F(2, 766.9) = 65.50$**
National identification	3.79 (0.69)[a]	3.68 (0.73)[b]	3.69 (0.76)[ab]	$F(2, 1780) = 5.41$*
Ethnic identification	3.89 (0.83)[a]	3.96 (0.90)[ab]	4.03 (0.81)[b]	$F(2, 840.7) = 3.86$*
Relative ethnic to national	0.09 (.82)[a]	0.28 (.99)[b]	0.34 (0.93)[b]	$F(2, 797.2) = 12.57$**
In-group Evaluation	3.96 (0.72)[a]	3.91 (0.78)[a]	3.62 (0.71)[b]	$F(2, 833.6) = 25.89$**
Out-group Evaluation	2.91 (0.83)[a]	2.92 (0.70)[ab]	3.04 (0.79)[b]	$F(2, 828.3) = 3.57$*
In-group Bias	1.06 (1.00)[a]	1.00 (0.95)[a]	0.58 (0.96)[b]	$F(2, 1759) = 28.12$**

Notes. The *F* values represent the result of a one-way ANOVA to test for ethnic differences (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$). Except for National Identification and Out-group Indispensability, all *F* values are Welch *F*-ratios because of violation of homogeneity of variance. Means within rows not having a common superscript differ at $p < .05$ using Games-Howell procedure.

Group identifications and inter-group evaluations

To examine differences in out-group evaluation, a 3 (ethnic group: Creole, Hindu, Muslim x 3 (self-identification: national, dual, ethnic) ANOVA was performed. There were significant main effects for ethnic group, F (2, 1752) = 3.27, $p < .05$, and for self-identification, F (2, 1752) = 11.57, $p < .001$. The interaction was not significant. Post-hoc tests indicated that as expected the out-group was evaluated more positively by the Creole participants than by the Hindus and the Muslims (see Table 4.1). There was no significant difference in out-group evaluation between the latter two groups. In addition, post-hoc analysis showed that there was a significant difference ($p < .001$) between the national (M = 3.00, SD = 0.82) and the dual identifiers (M = 2.95, SD = 0.76), on the one hand, and the ethnic identifiers, on the other hand (M = 2.72, SD = 0.74). As expected the national and dual identifiers rated the out-group more positively than the ethnic identifiers, and this result is not moderated by ethnic group.

The same analyses were carried out for in-group evaluation. There was also a main effect for ethnic group (F(2, 1751) = 28.13, $p < .001$) with the same pattern of difference between the ethnic groups as for out-group evaluation with the exception that Creoles reported lower in-group evaluations. Self-identification was not significantly related to in-group evaluation. However, there was a significant interaction effect between self-identification and ethnic group, F(4, 1751) = 3.34, $p < .01$. Simple effects analysis revealed that self-identification was associated with in-group evaluation for the Hindus only, F(2, 1753) = 4.88, $p <.05$. Hindu participants who predominantly identified themselves as nationals had lower in-group evaluation than dual and ethnic identifiers.

Inter-group evaluations and relative indispensability, prototypicality and identification

Hierarchical regression analysis was used to examine the effects of RII, RIP and relative ethnic to national identity, on out-group evaluation. All continuous predictor variables were centered and the criterion measure was left uncentred (Aiken & West, 1991). Ethnic group was coded (i) Hindus = 1, Muslims = -1, Creole = 0, to compare Muslims with Hindus and (ii) Hindus = 0.5, Muslims = 0.5, Creole = -1, to compare Creoles with Muslims and Hindus. The effects of RII, RIP and relative ethnic to national identity and the two ethnic group comparisons were entered in Step 1. The

six possible interactions between the three predictor variables and the two ethnic group comparisons were entered in Step 2.

As shown in Table 4.3, the first model explained 16.1 % of the variance in out-group evaluation, F_{change} (5, 1747) = 67.20, $p < .001$. Ethnic group was a significant predictor with the Creoles having more positive out-group evaluation compared to the Hindus and Muslims. Also, there were significant main effects for all three measures. As expected, RII, RIP, and relative ethnic to national identity had independent negative effects on out-group evaluation (Table 5.3). Thus, the more the participants viewed their group as relatively prototypical of and indispensable for the nation, the more negative they evaluated the out-groups. Furthermore, participants who consider their ethnic identity relatively more important than their national identity evaluated the out-group more negatively. The effect of RII was the strongest one and significantly stronger than the effects of the other two measures (z-value = 3.39, $p < .01$).

As shown in Table 4.3, the addition of the interactions in Step 2 did not significantly increase the explained variance. Thus, the effects of the different measures did not differ amongst the three ethnic groups.

The same analyses were carried out for in-group evaluation. As shown in Table 4.3, the first model explained 9.1 % of the variance in in-group evaluation, F_{change} (5, 1746) = 34.78, $p < .001$. Ethnic group was a significant predictor with the Creoles reporting lower in-group evaluation compared to the Hindus and Muslims. Also, there were significant main effects for relative indispensability and relative prototypicality, but not for relative ethnic to national identification. RII and RIP had independent positive effects on in-group evaluation. Thus, the more the participants viewed their group as relatively prototypical of and indispensable for the nation, the more positive they evaluated their in-group.

As shown in Table 4.3, the addition of the interactions in Step 2 increased the explained variance in in-group evaluation by 1.3%, F_{change} (5, 1740) = 4.09, $p < .001$. The positive effect of relative indispensability on in-group evaluation was stronger among the Hindus and Muslims compared to the Creoles.

Table 4.2. Correlations Amongst the Main Variables

Variables		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.National Identification	Hindu											
	Creole											
	Muslim											
2.Ethnic Identification	Hindu	.42**										
	Creole	.29**										
	Muslim	.27**										
3.Relative ethnic to national	Hindu	-.41**	.65**									
	Creole	-.56**	.63**									
	Muslim	-.49**	.71**									
4.In-group indispensability	Hindu	-.03	.08*	.11**								
	Creole	-.04	.01	-.02								
	Muslim	-.02	-.02	-.01								
5. Out-group indispensability	Hindu	.005	-.05	-.06	.66**							
	Creole	.19**	-.01	-.16**	.35**							
	Muslim	.02	-.07	-.08*	.58**							

(Continued)

Table 4.2. Continued

Variables		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
6.Relative indispensability	Hindu	-.05	.16**	.20**	.45**	-.37**						
	Creole	-.14**	.02	.13**	.51**	-.63**						
	Muslim	-.04	.06	.08*	.48**	-.44**						
7. In-group prototypicality	Hindu	.13**	.16**	.06	.17**	-.006	.21**					
	Creole	.20**	.20**	.01	.10**	-.05	.15**					
	Muslim	.10*	.06	-.02	.12**	.08*	.04					
8. Out-group prototypicality	Hindu	.14**	.03	-.09**	.06	.26**	-.24**	.63**				
	Creole	.14**	.14**	.006	-.08	.36**	-.39**	.32**				
	Muslim	.19**	.02	-.12**	.01	.23**	-.23**	.55**				
9.Relative prototypicality	Hindu	-.01	.16**	.17**	.13**	-.31**	.52**	.48**	-.38**			
	Creole	.02	.03	.006	.15**	-.37**	.48**	.47**	-.68**			
	Muslim	-.09*	.04	.15**	.12**	-.15**	.28**	.52**	-.42**			
10. In-group evaluation	Hindu	.18**	.29**	.14**	.08*	-.13**	.26**	.26**	-.02	.27**		
	Creole	.29**	.26**	-.03	.06*	-.025	.07	.15**	.05	.07		
	Muslim	.14**	.15**	.04	.08*	-.14**	.24**	.07	-.13**	.21**		
11. Out-group evaluation	Hindu	.20**	.01	-.18**	.07*	.22**	-.36**	-.04	.25**	-.32**	.17**	
	Creole	.36**	.06	-.24**	-.09	.36**	-.41**	.04	.36**	-.30**	.18**	
	Muslim	.29**	.04	-.18**	-.04	.23**	-.29**	.04	.25**	-.20**	.18**	

Table 4.3. Hiearchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Out-Group Evaluations (N = 1753) and In-group Evaluation (N = 1751): Standardised regression coefficients (beta)

	Out-group evaluations		In-group evaluations	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Relative indispensability	-.26**		.14**	
Relative prototypicality	-.16**		.15**	
Relative ethnic to national identity	-.14**		-.04	
Ethnic1 (Creole vs Muslim/Hindu)	-.15**		.22**	
Ethnic2 (Muslim vs Hindu)	-.01		.02	
Relative indispensability x ethnic1		.01		.07*
Relative indispensability x ethnic2		-.02		-.02
Relative prototypicality x ethnic 1		-.008		.06
Relative prototypicality x ethnic 2		-.05		.01
Relative ethnic to national x ethnic1		-.03		.02
Relative ethnic to national x ethnic2		-.005		.03
R^2 change	.16	.004	.09	.01
F-change	67.20**	1.38	34.78**	4.09**

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

4.4. Discussion

Questions of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity have moved to the centre of debates and politics in many countries around the world. It has also attracted increased interest of social psychologists who examine, for example, how superordinate identities play a role in the relations between subgroups. Experimental research has investigated whether a superordinate identity leads to more positive out-group evaluations (see Dovidio et al., 2007) or rather provides the comparative frame for the differentiation between subgroups that all want to be seen as prototypical for the superordinate category (see Wenzel et al, 2007). The current study has tried to make a contribution to this line of research by focusing on the notion of in-group indispensability and by examining high status and low status groups within the real-life context of Mauritius. Eriksen (2004) viewed this country as a strong candidate for a truly successful multiethnic society. Our results show that despite participants' very strong endorsement of the idea of Mauritius being a multicultural society, ethnic status differences still occur.

The findings indicate that an empirical distinction between in-group indispensability and in-group prototypicality can be made. Thus, a sense of one's group being indispensable for the superordinate category does not appear to be the same as considering one's group as prototypical of the nation. Indispensability taps onto the notion of different pieces of a mosaic or puzzle whereas prototypicality implies the concept of best or ideal exemplar. The empirical distinction between both constructs is also indicated by the fact that participants' scores on the two measures were significantly different. For example, the Muslims' saw themselves as relatively more indispensable than prototypical for the nation. This difference reflects the fact that typical Mauritian national markers are rarely Muslim-related whereas a claim to be an indispensable part of the mosaic per se is legitimate for all the 'pieces'. In addition, the Hindus scored higher on relative in-group prototypicality (RIP) than Muslims. The Hindus are the numerical majority and dominate in public services and politics. Moreover Muslims are not very likely to view themselves as more prototypical of the nation because their identity is centred around religious faith. Hindus and Muslims, however, did not differ on relative in-group indispensability (RII). Furthermore, the relevance of the distinction between indispensability and prototypicality is indicated by their independent effects on out-group and in-group evaluations.

Similar to RIP, RII can be seen as a form of in-group favouritism in which there is a bias in favour of in-group characteristics that cannot be missed in the definition of the superordinate category. Following social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it can be argued that either group will want to see and portray itself as more indispensable and prototypical than others for the superordinate category. It turned out that all three ethnic groups did indeed see their own group as more indispensable for the nation and as representing Mauritius better than the other two groups. In addition and across the three groups, the ethnic in-group identifiers had higher RII and RIP compared to the dual and national identifiers. This finding indicates that in a setting in which all groups tend to identify with the superordinate national category, stronger subgroup identification is related to rating one's ethnic subgroup as more indispensable and prototypical than others. These findings can be viewed as indicating forms of in-group favouritism (Wenzel et al., 2003).

However, social identity theory with its motivational explanation for RIP and RII does not seem to be the whole story. Social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) would predict that because societies are rarely composed of equally powerful groups, there will be an asymmetrical in-group bias, i.e. in-group bias would be stronger among dominant than subordinates groups. In agreement with this theory, the results show that although the low status group of Creoles had stronger ethnic identification compared to the dominant group of Hindus, the former group nevertheless showed less positive in-group evaluation and also more positive out-group evaluation, compared to the latter one. However, the Creoles also had significantly higher scores for RIP and for RII. These latter findings contradict the typical argument that the existing intergroup structure makes claims of prototypicality more difficult for low status groups. Following this argument, majority group members would tend to see the superordinate identity as representing and promoting their group's norms and values. In contrast, members of low status groups would perceive less commonality with the superordinate category and are expected to be more likely to think that their group is not adequately represented in this category (Dovidio, et al., 2007). Our findings indicate that these perceptions depend on the ways that the superordinate and subgroup identities are understood. In Mauritius, the Creoles' commitment to their place of birth is unequivocal. Due to a past rooted in slavery, they do not have recognised claims on ancestral cultures and languages as opposed to the Hindus whose commitment to a tradition based on a homeland is strong and the Muslims who can claim allegiance to a pan-religious

community (*umma*). Also, the cultural diversity that typifies the national context is mirrored at the subgroup level in the internal heterogeneity of the Creoles. It is therefore in the interest of the Creoles to consider themselves as the 'true Mauritians' of the island (Miles, 1999). This interpretation is in agreement with experimental research that shows that prototypical judgments vary according to instrumental considerations (Sindic & Reicher, 2008).

Thus, the findings reflect the two competing representations of Mauritius. The diasporic ancestral culture policy has exclusionist and social status implications for the Creoles (Eisenlohr, 2006a) and the notion of Mauritius as a Creole nation defines the Creoles as the only true Mauritians of the island (Miles, 1999). The ethnic group differences in mean scores do not imply, however, that the associations between RII and RIP and out-group and in-group evaluations differ between the three groups. For all three groups there were negative associations with out-group evaluation and positive associations with in-group evaluation.

In line with Wenzel et al. (2007), a complex representation can be viewed as one where the superordinate identity is defined by the diversity of the subgroups. On the small island of Mauritius a highly diverse population lives and our participants strongly agreed with the notion of Mauritius being a country where ethnic and religious groups should be recognized and respected. Thus, the understanding of Mauritius as a country defined by diversity was endorsed by our participants. In line with this understanding, the mean scores for both national and ethnic identification indicated positive group identification among all three ethnic groups. Furthermore, both identifications were positively associated and dual identity was the self-category option most often chosen. These results confirm the importance of the 'cultural ideal of the social entity' (Dovidio et al., 2007, p. 320). Indeed, in a multicultural mosaic, subgroup (i.e. ethnic) and superordinate (i.e. national) identities are *both* significant in people's sense of their identity, independent of ethnic group status. For instance, both the high status Hindus and the low status Creoles preferred the dual identity option and showed a positive association between national and ethnic identification although this association was stronger for the Hindus compared to the Creoles and Muslims. This finding lends partial support to the social dominance perspective that argues that the association between national and ethnic identifications should be stronger for dominant than for subordinates group. However, the related proposition that national attachment should be stronger in dominant than subordinates groups is not borne out in our findings. Creoles and Hindus

had not significantly different levels of national identification. Hence, our findings differ from research that indicates that for high status groups the relationship between ethnic and national identification tends to be positive, whereas for low status groups it tends to be zero or negative (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This research, however, is predominantly conducted in settings where explicitly or implicitly the dominant ethnic group is equated with the national category, like in 'American = White' (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Depending on the national context, the associations between ethnicity and nationhood can be different and do not have to differ between high and low status groups. In the context of New Zealand, Sibly and Liu (2007), for example, show that both the majority group (Pakeha) and the minority group of Maori, hold the implicit and explicit association of New Zealand = bicultural. In Mauritius, the nation is typically presented as multiethnic and the different ethnic groups are considered to make up the national whole.

The multiethnic representation of Mauritius does not imply, however, that ethnicity is not related to out-group evaluations. The effects of the superordinate-subgroup relationship on out-group evaluation were assessed in two ways. First, with the explicit measure of self-identification, it turned out that both dual and national identifiers had more positive out-group evaluations compared to ethnic identifiers. This finding is in line with the Dual Identity Model (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a) and the more recent version of the Common In-group Identity Model (Dovidio et al., 2007). Thus, it appears that national identifiers (dual or single) are more positive than ethnic identifiers and this is found for the high and low status ethnic groups. For out-group evaluation, the critical issue seems to be the extent to which one identifies with the Mauritian nation in which all ethnic groups are considered to make up the national mosaic ('rainbow nation'). For in-group evaluation, it turned out that only the Hindu national self-identifiers were less positive about their ethnic in-group compared to the dual and ethnic self-identifiers.

Second, the three continuous measures of the superordinate-subgroup relationship had independent significant effects on out-group evaluation. As predicted, across ethnic groups, higher ethnic compared to national identification, RIP and RII, were associated with more negative out-group evaluations. The In-group Projection Model argues that a complex representation of the superordinate category is a promising avenue for intergroup tolerance (Wenzel et al., 2007). Our findings seem to support this view but also points to the limitations of this strategy in real-world settings. A complex superordinate representation does not imply

that RIP and RII do not occur. They do, and both are negatively associated with out-group evaluation and also independently with more positive in-group evaluation. Furthermore, a complex representation of the superordinate category does not necessarily act as a buffer against status differences. Compared to the Hindus, the lower status group of Creoles showed less positive in-group evaluation and had a lower, but still positive, association between ethnic and national identification.

Interestingly, for the three ethnic groups, relative in-group indispensability was the strongest predictor of out-group evaluation. Social psychological research has focused on prototypicality judgments and, to our knowledge there is no intergroup research that has examined in-group indispensability. However, superordinate categories do not only take the form of a collection of subgroups that 'go together' and in which some subgroups are 'best exemplars'. Superordinate category complexity can also take the form of, for example, organic pluralism (Haslam, 2004) or 'team-type' classification (Sacks, 1972), that involve functional interdependence between included subgroups. Furthermore, it can take the form of a cultural mosaic in which all the pieces are necessary to compose the total picture. And similar to rating one's subgroup as more prototypical or as more functional, it is also possible to rate one's subgroup as more indispensable. Thus, it seems important for future (experimental) studies on ethnic and cultural diversity to not only focus on the issue of relative in-group prototypicality but also on in-group indispensability. One possibility is the ways in which immigrant groups in western countries are defined and define themselves. It is for example possible to portray immigrants as being indispensable for the economic functioning of society and this might lead to more positive attitudes towards immigrants compared to representations that emphasize the threat that immigrants would pose to the country's culture and identity (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Future studies could also use and compare different and more elaborate measures of in-group indispensability and in-group prototypicality as well as different ways for computing and analyzing in-group prototypicality and indispensability scores (see Ullrich, 2009).

To summarize, this chapter has tried to make a contribution to the literature on intergroup relations by focusing on a real-world context, by examining three different ethnic groups, and by considering indispensability, prototypicality and dual identity. It is important to examine models of intergroup relations not only in experimental settings but also in the actual complexities of social life. This allows us to see, for

example, to what extent 'ideal' experimental conditions can exist in multiethnic societies, to consider additional constructs like relative in-group indispensability, and to examine how status positions can work out quite differently depending on the superordinate representation. These issues are not only important for understanding social realities but can also offer new and promising ideas for experimental research. The current findings indicate that both dual and national identity can lead to more positive out-group evaluations. They also indicate, however, that a complex representation of the superordinate category does not rule out the tendency for in-group projection in terms of prototypicality and indispensability.

Chapter 5

Is cultural group representation a fair option? Adolescents' evaluations of forms of decision-making in multicultural Mauritius

This chapter is co-authored by Maykel Verkuyten and has been accepted as 'Ng Tseung-Wong, C., & Verkuyten, M. (2013). Is cultural group representation a fair option? Adolescents' evaluations of forms of decision-making in multicultural Mauritius. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, forthcoming*.'

5.1. Introduction

Diversity is a fact of contemporary life and raises questions about group identities, social cohesion, and political representation. Multiculturalism as an ideology argues for the recognition of group differences and offers a positive view of cultural maintenance by ethnic groups and a concomitant need to accommodate diversity in an equitable way (Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2000). Thus, multiculturalism as a concept and a policy does not only emphasize the recognition and maintenance of ethnic identities and cultures but also the full participation of all ethno-cultural groups in society.

Social psychological research on multiculturalism has mainly examined the endorsement of multicultural recognition by majority and minority group members (e.g. Berry & Kalin, 1995; Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2006), and the correlates and effects of this recognition on intergroup perceptions and attitudes (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko et al., 2000). The multicultural aspect of equitable participation has been examined much less. However, multicultural societies raise issues about inclusion and power. For minority members, multiculturalism offers an ideological framework for improving their status and gaining resources and influence. In contrast, majority group members might see multiculturalism as threatening because it requires them to relinquish some of their power and status. As a result, multiculturalism can increase intergroup biases and thereby contribute to a backlash against minority groups (e.g., Correll et al., 2008; Morrison et al., 2010; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011).

Power involves decision making and raises questions about justice and fair procedures. Therefore, one critical but empirically neglected issue for multicultural societies is the democratic basis on which decisions are made. Political theorists have asked "Should Blacks represent Blacks, and Women represent women?" (Mansbridge, 1999), and critics of multiculturalism (e.g. Barry, 2001) have argued that this would mean that people have a voice only through their 'representative' cultural leaders rather than as individual citizens. To our knowledge there is no empirical research on how members of different ethno-cultural groups evaluate the fairness of democratic procedures of decision making. In the context of Mauritius, we examined Hindu, Muslim and Creole adolescents' fairness judgments of three democratic decision making procedures (representative democracy, equal group representation, proportional group representation), and one nondemocratic form (cultural group oligarchy).

We examined these judgments in two different contexts (i.e. school and national), and in relation to ethnic identification, age and gender.

Democratic procedures of decision making in Mauritius

In democratic forms of social organization, individuals have a say in decisions that affect them. These forms allow individuals to express their viewpoints themselves or through their elected representatives, and to have an impact on the decisions that are made. Most Western multicultural societies have a system of regular elections through representative democracy or direct democracy (e.g. referenda) in which decisions are based on the majority of the entire population. Other countries have forms of ethno-cultural group representation. For example Singapore and Mauritius have legislative measures to ensure the political representation of minorities in parliament through respectively the Group Representative Constituency (GRC) and the Best Loser System (BLS). Mauritius, therefore, provides an appropriate intergroup setting for investigating fairness judgments of forms of majority rule and group-based representations.

The different ethnic groups are considered to make up the national mosaic (a 'rainbow nation'). It is a normative belief among Mauritians that the country is culturally diverse and that all ethnic and religious groups should be recognized and respected (Chapter 4). This diversity is laid down in the Constitution which recognizes Mauritius to be made up of four official ethno-cultural communities: Hindus, Muslims, Chinese, and the General Population. The latter contains all those who do not belong to any of the other three communities. It is a contested 'category' because it includes the Creoles of African descent (slave descendents) and the Whites of European (mainly French) ancestry. Although they share a common Christian religious identity, the term 'General Population' may not have much ecological validity. Yet it does have political weight since the mechanism of the Mauritian political system to ensure the representation of minorities in parliament rests on recognized ethno-cultural communities.

The electoral system adopts the British principle of first-past-the-poll but allows voters to vote for three candidates, leading to three elected members in each of the island's twenty constituencies. In addition, there is a complicated system for awarding eight 'Best Loser seats' to members from under-represented ethno-cultural communities (Mathur, 1997). The Best Loser System (BLS) was established at the time of independence in response to fears of smaller ethnic groups that Mauritius would become a

Hindu dominated country. An implication of the BLS is that all candidates have to stipulate to which one of the four ethno-cultural communities they belong. In addition to the official BLS, there are other forms of ethno-cultural accommodation (Caroll & Caroll, 2000). For example, many non-governmental organisations work for specific communities and these are routinely consulted in policy making. Further, members of the different political parties roughly reproduce the nation's ethnic composition- although it is not known whether this is a by-product of the BLS- and this "symbolic recognition of the right of an ethnic community to play a full role in social and political life can be just as important as actual power-sharing" (Caroll & Caroll, 2000, p. 138). In addition, each community has public figures who voice their opinions on societal issues. Although they are not (always) explicitly designated to speak in the name of their community, they are often implicitly (and sometimes wrongly) believed to do so.

Yet, the national discourse on diversity does not only highlight ethnic diversity. The 'rainbow nation' and 'one people, one nation' slogans co-exist and proponents of the latter tend to equate an emphasis on ethnicity with ethnocentrism. In the last national election (2010), the civil movement 'Blok 104' called upon citizens to register themselves as candidates without indicating their ethnic group membership. As anticipated, the 'Blok 104' candidates were turned down by the electorate committee but the case indicates that the future of the BLS is being debated. For example, whereas some prominent Muslim opinion makers recently made public calls for the maintenance of the BLS because it guarantees the representation of minorities in parliament, civil movements, and the heads of the Catholic and Anglican churches and some academics have argued that the BLS no longer has its *raison d'être*. The system would be divisive because of its emphasis on ethno-cultural differences that undermine national unity (Bunwaree, 2012; Mgr Piat, 2012). In short, the Mauritian context reflects well the difficult issues involved in societal decision making in multicultural societies.

Morality and group status concerns

Decision-making in a multicultural context raises questions of fairness and group interests. Adolescents try to weigh and coordinate moral and social group concerns when thinking about social relationships (Killen & Rutland, 2011). As argued by Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 2002; Smetana, 2006), moral considerations are important and are likely

to underlie adolescent's judgments of decision making procedures that do not directly implicate ethnicity (representative democracy) or are nondemocratic (cultural group oligarchy). However, in decision making procedures that involve forms of group representation, group status consideration become relevant and, following intergroup theories (Blumer, 1958; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), these might influence adolescent's moral judgments, especially among those who strongly identify with their group. Research has shown that group identity can become an important dimension when evaluating exclusion and rights in group contexts (see Killen & Rutland, 2011). Majority and minority group positions and identification with social groups can challenge adolescent's moral judgments because these judgments become influenced by in-group concerns.

Social Cognitive Domain Theory (SCDT) argues that individual's social reasoning reflects moral, social conventional, and psychological considerations (Turiel, 2002; Smetena, 2006). For example, social exclusion may be viewed as unfair (moral), or as legitimate to make the group work well (conventional), or as acceptable because it is based on personal considerations and individual choices (psychological). According to the theory, morality relates to issues of harm, fairness and rights. Concepts of fairness and rights emerge in early childhood and are linked to important aspects of democratic political systems, such as civil liberties and procedures of decision-making.

In a number of studies, Helwig (2006) has examined children's and adolescent's judgments about the fairness of different forms of democratic and nondemocratic decision making. In agreement with SCDT, his findings show that in Canada and across regions in China, children and adolescents prefer democratic systems (representative and direct democracy) to nondemocratic systems such as oligarchy of the wealthy (Helwig, 1998; Helwig et al., 2007). In both countries, democratic systems were viewed as fairer because they give 'voice' to the people and allow for majority rule. The same was found among adolescents living in 18 different European countries (Ellenbroek, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2012). This indicates that children and adolescents are committed to democratic principles such as voice and representation. This interpretation is also supported by research in various countries on the fairness of decision-making procedures in other social contexts, such as schools (see Helwig, 2006).

The current research focuses on four forms of decision making: representative democracy, equal group representation in which each

ethno-cultural community has the same number of representatives, proportional group representation in which the number of representatives depends on the size of the community, and nondemocratic oligarchy in which the largest ethno-cultural community rules. Following SCDT and previous findings, we expected that Mauritian adolescents would consider representative democracy the fairest form of decision making and oligarchy the most unfair. In between these two, we expected equal group representation to be viewed as fairer than proportional group representation. The former can be considered a fairer option because it ensures that all groups are represented, independent of their size, whereas proportional group representation perpetuates the group hierarchy by giving more voice to the largest group.

Evaluating procedures of social decision making does not only involve moral considerations of fairness but also issues of group identity. A unifying assumption of intergroup theories is that asymmetrical group relations have an impact on intergroup attitudes (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Dovidio et al., 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to the group position theory, for example, group members collectively develop a subjective appreciation of the status position that different groups should 'rightfully' have (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). In addition, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argues that group members are motivated to maintain their group's positive distinctiveness. This means that members of higher status groups tend to favor strategies that maintain their privileged position, while minorities tend to favor strategies that enhance their status and entitlements (Dovidio, et al., 2009). This does not only apply to majority and minority groups that differ in social status but also to numerical differences (Minescu & Poppe, 2011; Simon, Aufderheide, & Kampmeier, 2001).

The Mauritian ideal of cultural diversity cannot hide the fact that Mauritians experience everyday multi-ethnicity as a source of stress and frustration and that there are status differences between the ethno-cultural communities (Caroll & Caroll, 2000; Eriksen, 1995). Diversity is based on the recognition of the culture of groups that have clear ancestral origins, like Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus are powerful in politics and the public sector and the Muslims form a tight community centered on their religious faith (Hempel, 2009). In contrast the term 'Creoles' denotes a rather diverse population of descendants of African and Malagasy slaves. Most of them are Catholics and they do not have recognized claims on legitimizing ancestral cultures and ancestral languages originating outside Mauritius (Laville, 2000). This means that the Mauritian diasporic

ancestral culture policy legitimizes the position of the Hindus and Muslims and has exclusionist implications for the Creoles (Eisenlohr, 2006a). The Creoles are generally faced with negative stereotypes, higher unemployment, less political power and with fewer opportunities than other Mauritians (Eriksen, 1994). The lower status position of the Creoles is recognized by the various ethnic groups in Mauritius (see Hempel, 2009).

It can be expected that majority and minority group members will judge the fairness of democratic decision-making procedures differently. Representative democracy and proportional group representation can be expected to be judged as more fair by numerical majority group members, whereas numerical and status minority members will be more in favor of equal group representation whereby each group selects a similar number of representatives. The latter procedure increases the minority's decisional influence and power. Applying these expectations to the Mauritian context we predicted that adolescents of the majority group of Hindus would judge representative democracy and proportional group representation as fairer than Muslims and Creoles. In contrast, equal group representation should be judged as fairer by the numerical minority of Muslims and Creoles in comparison to the Hindus. The nondemocratic procedure of oligarchy in which the numerically largest ethno-cultural group makes the decisions, most clearly favors majority group members. However, this is also the most blatant form of discrimination and the least realistic one in the 'rainbow' nation of Mauritius.

For all three groups we further expected a positive association between ethnic identification and the perceived fairness of the equal group representation procedure. In Mauritius, ethnic groups define the 'rainbow' nation and ethnic identification is relevant for all. According to social identity theory, individuals who feel highly committed to their group are more likely to think and act in terms of their group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Compared to lower identifiers, group identity concerns are more meaningful and relevant for higher identifiers. This can mean that higher ethnic identification is related to a decision-making procedure that ensures that the 'ethnic voice' of one's own group is heard. This does not necessarily have to imply a zero-sum approach to fairness ratings (i.e. one that would benefit the in-group only) but can involve a tendency to favour a procedure of equal ethnic group representation. The latter is especially likely in a national context that is represented as 'united in diversity' and where tolerance is a virtue to be promoted in its citizens (Eisenlohr, 2006b). Equal group representation then can be expected to be a fair

decision-making procedure for those who strongly identify with their ethnic group. Yet, despite the national ideal of 'unity in diversity', the expected association of ethnic identification might differ for the numerical majority group of Hindus and the minority groups of Muslims and Creoles. For the Hindus, higher ethnic identification might be associated with evaluating proportional group representation as more fair because this implies higher influence for their group. For the same reason it might be that among the numerical minority groups, higher ethnic identification is associated with evaluating equal group representation as being more fair. We explored whether ethnic identification is differently related to the fairness judgments of the adolescents of the three ethnic groups.

Variation in contexts and age

We examined the fairness of decision-making in the context of the school and the nation. Helwig and Kim (1999) have found that judgments of decision making procedures vary by social context. In particular, procedures such as consensus and majority rule are considered more appropriate in small groups in which the likelihood of reaching agreement is higher than in larger groups where divergence of opinion tends to be greater. It can be assumed that the election of a student council pertains more to issues that concern all students rather than to ethnic group interests. Representative democracy and not forms of ethnic group representation, is a common manner in which members of student councils are elected. At the national level, however, societal issues such as poverty and inequality are plausibly linked to ethnic minority status and hence decision-making that includes forms of ethnic group representation is more relevant. Therefore, we expected that representative democracy will be judged as more fair in the context of the school than at the national level where forms of group representation can be expected to be considered relatively more fair.

Helwig's (2006) research shows that with age, adolescents begin to understand the practical problems of decision-making by consensus and majority rule, and gradually prefer representative democracy. In addition, older adolescents are more aware of and concerned about group functioning and the social status and power differences between groups (Berti, 2005; Killen & Rutland, 2011). It is likely that with age adolescents are increasingly aware of the functioning of the Mauritian society and its ethnicised political system. Although we did not examine fairness judgments of consensus and majority rule, we explored whether older

compared to younger adolescents differ in how fair they consider representative democracy and (equal and proportional) group representations. Because we expected adolescents to be negative about oligarchy we assumed that there would be no age differences in the perceived fairness of this nondemocratic procedure of social decision making.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate adolescents' fairness judgments of three democratic and one nondemocratic (oligarchy) procedure in two different contexts. In summary, we propose the following hypotheses: Mauritian adolescents will consider representative democracy the fairest decision making procedure, followed by equal group representation, proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy. In comparison to the Muslims and Creoles, participants of the numerical majority group of Hindus will consider representative democracy and proportional group representation as more fair, and equal group representation as less fair. Higher compared to lower ethnic identifiers are expected to consider equal group representation fairer. Finally, representative democracy will be judged as fairer in the smaller everyday context of the school than at the national level where forms of group representation are expected to be considered relatively fairer.

In addition to possible age differences we also explored gender differences. Systematic research has shown that gender does not explain variability in the development of moral reasoning (Walker, 2006). Helwig (1998), for example, did not find any gender differences in the evaluation of freedom of speech and fair government. However, some studies have found gender differences in ethnic group evaluations and group identification (e.g. Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). Therefore, we explored whether there are any gender differences in adolescent's fairness judgments.

Furthermore, we collected the data within schools and it is possible that this context has an effect on the findings. For instance, Muslims who are a numerical minority group at the national level can be a numerical majority group within a school setting. This might mean that they consider proportional group representation as more fair in this setting. Therefore, we used multilevel analysis to examine whether there are school differences in the fairness judgments.

5.2 Method

Participants

The sample included 2327 secondary school students between 11 and 19 years of age (M = 14.79, SD = 1.68). All participants came from three different levels of secondary schooling: 34.5% were in the lowest level of secondary education (Form 2), 37.4% were in the middle level (Form 4) and 28% in the upper level of secondary education (Lower Six). The study was carried out in 82 classes in 23 secondary schools located in the four educational zones of Mauritius. Ethnic group membership of participants was assessed by asking: "First write down your own ethnic group on the next line. I am _____" (adapted from Phinney, 1992). For the present purposes, only the answers of Hindus (n = 844), Muslims (n = 630) and Creoles (n =310) were considered when looking at ethnic differences. Of these participants, 52.8% were females and 47.2% were males.

Measures

Decision-making in the school context. Participants rated on a five point scale ranging from '1' very unfair to '5' very fair, four ways in which decisions can be made in the school (see Helwig et al., 2007). The participants were first given the following introduction: "Imagine (or maybe it is the case already!) that in your school, the student council has a say on all the important decisions made for the school. What would be for you the fairest way of electing students on the student council that makes the important decisions? Please indicate the fairness of each of the following four ways": (i) 'All students in the school vote and elect ten students to sit on the student council' (representative democracy); (ii) 'Students of each cultural and religious group elect one representative of their own group to sit on the student council'(equal group representation); (iii) 'Students of each cultural or religious group elect their own representatives to sit on the student council. But the larger the group is the more group representatives it can elect (proportional group representation); and (iv) 'Only students from the numerically largest cultural or religious group can be elected to sit on the student council' (oligarchy).

Decision-making at national level. The same five point scale was used for rating the four ways in which decisions could be made in the country. The participants first read an introduction: "Imagine that you could decide about the fairest way in which in Mauritius very important decisions are made. What is for you a fair and just way for making very

important decisions? Please indicate the fairness of the following four ways": (i) 'The population elects 100 people and these 100 people make the important decisions' (representative democracy); (ii) 'All the different cultural or religious groups vote for their own representatives and these elected representatives make the important decisions (equal group representation); (iii) 'All the different cultural or religious groups vote for their own representatives for making important decisions. But the larger the group is, the more representatives they can elect to make the important decisions' (proportional group representation); and (iv) 'Only the numerically largest cultural or religious group makes the important decisions' (oligarchy).

Ethnic identification was assessed by asking the participants to respond to six items (5-point scales from '1' strongly disagree to '5' strongly agree) that are typically used in research measuring group identification (see Ashmore et al., 2004). Two sample items are 'I am happy to be _____' and 'I have a strong sense of belonging to _____'. Cronbach's alpha for these six items was .91. Participants were asked to: "Answer the questions in relation to the ethnic group you have just written down**.** The '_____' space stands for your ethnic group. Please indicate how strongly you agree with the six statements".

Analysis strategy

We used a multivariate multilevel model instead of MANOVA using the MIXED procedure (SPSS 19) because multivariate multilevel analysis allows for missing values (Hox, 2010). We focused on building models to explain variation in each of the outcomes with the benefit of testing the equality of the size of the effect of specific predictors on each of the outcomes (Heck, Thomas & Tabata, 2010). In the multivariate multilevel regression model, the responses to the different judgment procedures measure is the first level, participants are level 2 and schools are level 3. Adopting Heck, Thomas and Tabata's strategy (2010), we used the repeated measures option to define the within-school model. We first defined a null model (no predictors-Model 1) whereby no randomly varying intercept is specified. Rather the judgment procedures variable provided an estimate of each fairness judgment's intercept. We then proceeded to define the model (Model 2) with fixed predictors and two- and three- way cross-level interactions between the procedures and fixed predictors (i.e. ethnic groups, gender, age, strength of ethnic identification). As models are nested within each other, the difference in deviance has a chi-square

distribution and can be used to explore a model that contains a set of effects against a model that excludes them (Hox, 2010).

5.3. Results

Preliminary analysis

Pearson-product moment correlations for the four decision-making procedures in the school and national contexts separately as well as the paired sample correlations for each decision-making procedure in the two contexts, are shown in Table 5.1. The correlations between representative democracy and the other procedures were either not significant or low (-.18 > r < .04). Cultural group oligarchy and proportional group representation were moderately correlated. The paired-sample correlations for the four decision-making procedures were significant with the highest correlation of .45 (p_s < .001). These low to moderate correlations indicate that the adolescents' ratings of the fairness of the different procedures were not very consistent across the two contexts.

Table 5.1 Correlations between the Four Fairness Judgment Procedures in the School and Societal Contexts

	1	2	3	4
1.Representative democracy	**.26****	.03	-.03	-.03
2. Equal group representation	-.05	**.37****	.36**	.17**
3. Proportional group representation	-.15**	.33**	**.40****	.52**
4. Oligarchy	-.17**	.21**	.41**	**.45****

Above the diagonal are correlations in the societal context, below the diagonal in the school context, on the diagonal and in bold are the paired correlations of each judgment in the two contexts ** p < .001

Fairness judgments of the four decision-making procedures

Means and standard deviations for the four procedures overall and by ethnic group are presented in Table 5.2. For the total sample and with the exception of 'representative democracy', the two group representation procedures and the cultural group oligarchy ones have means that are

significantly (p_s < .05) below the mid-point of the scale indicating relatively unfair judgments (except for Muslims' judgment of equal group representation in the national context). Overall, the four decision-making procedures significantly differed from each other in the school context, $F(2.66, 4707) = 1679.60$, $p < .001$, and in the national context, $F(2.59, 4608.5) = 794.73$, $p < .001$. As expected, representative democracy was clearly seen as the fairest procedure, followed by equal group representation, proportional group representation and cultural oligarchy.

The results for the overall mean scores show that participants rated the eight fairness judgments (four in each context) significantly different in both contexts, $F(5.50, 9729.16) = 1059.98$, $p < .001$. Within-subject contrasts between each decision-making procedure in the two different contexts (school vs. national) were significant: representative democracy, $F(1, 1768) = 376.18$, $p <.001$, $r = .42$; equal group representation $F(1, 1768) = 92.59$, $p < .001$, $r = .22$; proportional group representation $F(1, 1768) = 53.98$, $p <.001$, $r = .17$ and cultural group oligarchy, $F(1, 1768) = 86.39$, $p < .001$, $r = .22$. As expected, representative democracy was considered fairer in the school context than at the national level, whereas forms of group representations were considered fairer in the latter compared to the former context (Table 5.2).

For conceptual reasons and because the effect sizes for the contrasts were on average moderate, we further analysed the decision-making procedures in the school and national contexts separately.

School context

We performed a multivariate multilevel analysis on the four decision-making judgments with ethnic group and gender as factors and ethnic identification and age (centred scores) as covariates. We specified the variable 'Procedures' (coded 1 = representative democracy, 2 = equal group representation, 3 = proportional group representation, and 4 = cultural group oligarchy) as a repeated measure using unstructured correlation metric as covariance structure, i.e. where separate estimates of variances in the diagonals and separate covariance estimates in the off-diagonal are sought. The variable 'Procedures' was also specified as a random effect with 'diagonal' as covariance structure which assumes heterogeneous variance across measurement occasions in the diagonals and no covariance between occasions. We settled for the above convergent model because choosing an 'unstructured correlation metric' for the random effect failed to converge. Furthermore, Hox (2010) argued that when the focus is mainly on the fixed effects, a more simplified variance and

covariance structure for the random effect can be assumed without generally affecting the fixed effects. Thus, we tested models in which we allowed correlations between the four judgments at Level 2 (participants), but not at Level 3 (schools). A complete model with predictors, two- and three-way cross-level interactions (Model 2) was significantly different from the null model (Model 1), χ^2 (28) = 6673.54, p < .001. From model 1, the proportion of between school variance in fairness judgments for the four procedures is very small (range 1.57% - 4.49%). This shows that there are minor differences between schools and that most of the difference in fairness judgments exists between adolescents. We therefore did not consider school level variables (e.g., school composition) in the further analyses.

Table 5.2. Means (and Standard Deviations) on the Judgment Evaluations Overall and for the Three Ethnic Groups.

	Overall	Hindu	Muslim	Creole
School: Representative democracy	3.98 (1.09)	4.08(1.01)	3.89(1.12)	3.88(1.18)
School: Equal Group representation	2.62(1.39)	2.39(1.35)	2.83(1.39)	2.78(1.39)
School: Proportional group representation	2.03(1.12)	1.94(1.10)	2.11(1.09)	2.12(1.20)
School: Cultural group oligarchy	1.51(0.96)	1.49(0.96)	1.46(0.88)	1.66(1.13)
National: Representative democracy	3.32(1.22)	3.38(1.24)	3.24(1.22)	3.32(1.19)
National: Equal Group representation	2.96(1.30)	2.82(1.30)	3.16(1.26)	2.96(1.31)
National: Proportional group representation	2.20(1.17)	2.23(1.19)	2.18(1.12)	2.19(1.22)
National: Cultural group oligarchy	1.71(1.08)	1.72(1.10)	1.62(0.97)	1.85(1.24)

There was a significant main effect of procedures, $F(4, 37.9) = 3864.9$, p < .001. Bonferonni adjusted comparison of means of the four procedures showed that they all significantly differed from each other (p_s < .001) (Table 5.3). Again, representative democracy was rated as fairest (adjusted M = 3.96) and cultural group oligarchy as most unfair (adjusted M = 1.51). Equal group representation was rated as fairer (adjusted M = 2.66) than

proportional group representation (adjusted M = 2.04). The two way cross-level interactions were all significant except for the procedures by gender interaction (p = .051) showing that males and females did not significantly differ on their fairness evaluations of the decision-making procedures.

Adolescents from the three ethnic groups differed from each other in their fairness judgments, $F(8, 1096.71) = 6.45$, $p < .001$. For representative democracy, there was a significant difference between Hindus on one side and Muslims and Creoles on the other. As hypothesised, Hindus (adjusted M = 4.09) judged the procedure as more fair than Muslims (adjusted M = 3.93) and Creoles (adjusted M = 3.86). However, contrary to expectation for proportional group representation, Hindus (adjusted M = 1.95) viewed the procedure as less fair than Muslims (adjusted M = 2.13) and Creoles (adjusted M = 2.03). For the equal group representation judgment, the Hindus (adjusted M = 2.42) found this procedure as less fair than the Muslims (adjusted M = 2.85) and Creoles (adjusted M = 2.72). There were no significant differences between the three ethnic groups on cultural group oligarchy.

There were significant effects of ethnic identification and age on the fairness judgments, $F(4, 1754.55) = 13.63$, $p < .001$ and $F(4, 501.15) = 13.66$, $p < .001$, respectively. As expected stronger ethnic identification was associated with higher fairness ratings for the equal group representation procedure but also for proportional representation and cultural group oligarchy. There was no association between ethnic identification and representative democracy (see Table 4.3). The association was strongest for proportional group representation followed by equal group representation and cultural group oligarchy. The interaction of ethnic group and ethnic identification was not significant, $F(8, 1768.32) = 1.71$, *ns*. Age was related to the fairness judgment for proportional group representation and group oligarchy: older adolescents viewed these options as less fair (see Table 5.3). Older compared to younger adolescents considered representative democracy as more fair.

National context

For the national context a complete model with predictors, two- and three-way cross-level interactions (Model 2; Table 5.4) significantly differed from the null model, χ^2 (28) = 6810.6, $p < .001$. From model 1, the proportion of between school variance in fairness judgments for the four procedures is very small (range 0.85% - 6.44%) again showing that most of the difference in fairness judgments exists between adolescents.

There was a significant main effect of procedures, $F(4, 33.97) = 3589.3$, $p < .001$. Bonferonni adjusted comparison of means of the four procedures showed that they all significantly differed from each other ($p_s < .001$). Representative democracy was rated the fairest (adjusted $M = 3.34$) followed by equal group representation (adjusted $M = 2.97$), proportional group representation (adjusted $M = 2.17$) and cultural group oligarchy (adjusted $M = 1.69$). The two way cross-level interactions were all significant. Adolescents from the three ethnic groups differed from each other in their fairness judgments, $F(8, 922.33) = 4.305$, $p < .001$. There were no significant differences between the three groups for representative democracy, proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy. For equal group representation, the Hindus (adjusted $M = 2.83$) and Creoles (adjusted $M = 2.93$) found this procedure less fair compared to the Muslims (adjusted $M = 3.16$).

Males and females differed from each other in fairness judgments, $F(4, 41.84) = 3.794$, $p < .001$. However, the differences only applied to proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy whereby males (respectively adjusted $M = 2.29$ and 1.79) significantly viewed the procedures as fairer than females (adjusted $M = 2.05$ and 1.60), $p_s < .05$. There were significant effects of the covariates: ethnic identification, $F(4, 1738.82) = 8.58$, $p < .001$ and age, $F(4, 381.38) = 9.94$, $p < .001$.

As expected, ethnic identification was associated with higher fairness judgments only for equal group representation (see Table 5.4). The interaction of ethnic group and ethnic identification was not significant, $F(8, 1766.03) = .57$, *ns,* showing that there was no ethnic group difference in the association between fairness rating and ethnic identification.

Age was not related to the fairness judgment for equal group representation but for proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy older adolescents viewed these procedures as less fair compared to younger adolescents (see Table 5.4). In addition, older compared to younger participants considered representative democracy as a fairer procedure.

Table 5.3 Results for Fairness of Decision-Making Procedures in the School Context

	Model 1				Model 2			
	RD	EGR	PGR	CGO	RD	EGR	PGR	CGO
Fixed parts								
Procedures	3.99 (.05)***	2.59 (.05)***	1.96 (.05)***	1.45 (.04)***	3.95 (.07)***	2.83 (.07)***	2.06 (.06)***	1.41 (.05)***
Level 2 Predictors (Cross level interaction with procedures)								
Ethnic 1					-.07(.08)	-.13(.10)	-.10(.08)	.04(.07)
Ethnic 2					.17 (.06)**	-.43(.07)***	-.18 (.06)**	-.01(.05)
Gender					-.05(.08)	.05(.08)	.15 (.07)*	.17 (.06)*
EI					.04(.05)	.13(.06)***	.19 (.05)***	.11 (.04)***
Age					.09(.02)***	-.03(.02)	-.10(.02)***	-.05 (.01)***
Variance								
Within-school	1.14 (.03)***	1.88 (.06)***	1.18 (.035)***	.85 (.025)***	1.12 (.04)***	1.81 (.06)***	1.15 (.04)***	.87(.03)***
Between school	.04 (.01)*	.03(.01)	.04 (.02)*	.04 (.01)**	.03 (.01)*	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Within-school variance of Model 2 (%)					1.75	3.72	2.54	-2.35
Between-school variance of Model 2 (%)					25	67	75	75
Deviance			27540.41				20866.87	
Difference deviance			6673.5(28)***					

RD = representative democracy; EGR = equal group representation; PGR= proportional group representation; CGO = cultural group oligay; Ethnic1 = Creoles vs Muslims; Ethnic2 = Hindus vs Muslims; EI = ethnic identification

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

Table 5.4 Results for Fairness of Decision-Making Procedures in *the National Context*

	Model 1				Model 2			
	RD	EGR	PGR	CGO	RD	EGR	PGR	CGO
Fixed parts								
Procedures		2.94 (.04)***	2.14 (.05)***	1.64 (.06)***	3.23 (.07)***	3.16 (.07)***	2.08 (.06)***	1.56 (.06)***
Level 2 Predictors (Cross level interaction with procedures)								
Ethnic 1					.07(.09)	-.23(.09)*	-.10(.09)	.04(.08)
Ethnic 2					.09(.07)	-.32(.07)***	.03(.06)	.10(.06)
Gender					.10(.07)	-.01(.07)	.24(.07)**	.18(.08)*
EI					-.04(.05)	.15(.064)**	.07(.05)	.06(.05)
Age					.04(.02)*	-.02(.02)	-.10(.02)***	-.08(.02)***
Variance								
Within-school	1.45 (.04)***	1.65 (.05)***	1.29(.04)***	1.07(.03)***	1.47(.04)***	1.61(.05)***	1.28(.04)***	1.08(.04)***
Between school	.03 (.01)*	.014(.01)	.05 (.02)*	.07(.02)**	.01(.01)	.01(.01)	.015(.01)	.02(.01)
Within-school variance of Model 2 (%)					-1.38	2.42	0.77	-0.93
Between-school variance of Model 2 (%)					67	28	70	71
Deviance			28311.68				21501.10	
Difference deviance				6810.6(28)***				

RD = representative democracy; EGR = equal group representation; PGR= proportional group representation; CGO = cultural group oligay; Ethnic1 = Creoles vs Muslims; Ethnic2 = Hindus vs Muslims; EI = ethnic identification

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

5. 4. Discussion

Multiculturalism is not only about recognition and maintenance of ethnic cultures and identities but also about equitable participation. Multicultural societies raise questions about equality and power and successful multicultural societies have to develop legitimate procedures for making decisions (Parekh, 2000). There are different ways of decision making and it is important to know how individuals in multicultural societies evaluate these. We focused on the evaluation of three democratic forms of decision-making and one nondemocratic form among adolescents of the three main ethnic groups in Mauritius. As expected, the findings indicate that the nondemocratic form was considered as unfair and representative democracy was seen as fair by almost all adolescents. In between these two, were forms of group representation that were considered somewhat (un)fair with equal group representation being considered more fair than proportional group representation. Importantly, the fairness rank-order of these forms of decision-making was similar for the three ethnic groups, for lower and higher ethnic identifiers, for the context of the school and nation, for younger and older adolescents and for males and females.

These results are in agreement with other research that has found that Canadian and Chinese adolescents support democratic principles of majority rule and representative government and reject nondemocratic decision making procedures (e.g. Helwig et al., 2003, 2007), and that adolescents in European countries consider representative democracy the fairest way of national decision making (Ellenbroek et al., 2012).These findings support social cognitive domain theory that argues for the generality of moral judgments based on rights principles across cultural and national settings (Helwig, 2006; Turiel, 2002). However, there is a dynamic interplay between group membership and adolescents' beliefs about fairness and equality (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). The present chapter demonstrates that some of the fairness judgments depended on the level of ethnic identification and differed between ethnic groups. In the national context, higher ethnic identification was associated to higher fairness rating of equal group representation. Furthermore, the association between ethnic identification and fairness judgments was similar for the three ethnic groups. These findings reflect the intergroup ideal of the 'unity in diversity' or 'fruit salad' ideologies of Mauritius.

In the school context, higher ethnic identification was associated with higher fairness ratings of group based representations, even in its

nondemocratic form. The national ideology of 'Mauritius as a tolerant country, united in diversity' might have less resonance in the school context. The finding that for all three groups, higher ethnic identification was associated with higher fairness rating of cultural group oligarchy is surprising, and the reason is not clear. It might have to do with the fact that an ethnic group that is a minority at the national level can be a majority in the school context, and vice versa. Anyway, for group identifiers of all three ethnic groups, ethnic group considerations were relevant in electing a student council. Adolescents who are highly committed to their group are inclined to act in terms of their group membership and the interests of their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This indicates that adolescents' moral focus can be diminished by their attachment to social groups and their desire to favour the in-group (see Killen & Rutland, 2011).

Further support for the importance of group considerations in fairness judgments comes from the findings for the ethnic group differences. In general, majority groups tend to favour strategies that maintain their privileged position and minority groups favour strategies that enhance their status (Dovidio et al., 2009). As expected, the numerical minority groups of Muslims and Creoles significantly rated equal group representation as fairer than the majority group of Hindus. For Hindus, equal group representation means foregoing some of their decisional power and position, and for the minorities this means the assurance of having an equal voice. However, the higher fairness rating of Muslim adolescents compared to Hindus and Creoles for equal group representation in the national context can be interpreted as Muslims being more open to the idea of 'Muslims being represented by Muslims' (to paraphrase Mansbridge, 1999). Muslim adolescents in Mauritius tend to have higher levels of religious group identification compared to Hindus and Christians (Chapter 2). In addition, only one party the 'Front de Solidarité Mauricienne' with an elected leader in parliament has roots in the Muslim community although it claims to be a party for all Mauritians.

There was no difference in fairness judgment of cultural group oligarchy between majority and minority group adolescents. However, contrary to our expectation, proportional group representation was not judged as fairer by Hindus compared to minorities Muslims and Creoles. Actually the correlation between proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy was moderate (r = .52 in societal context) and both forms of decision-making were viewed as unfair. The ideological representation of Mauritius as a 'rainbow nation' and 'cultural mosaic'

might be important here. In a mosaic, all components can claim to be an indispensable part of the nation. For instance, Hindus and Muslims consider themselves as equally indispensable for multicultural Mauritius (Chapter 4). Such a representation can make unequal group-based decision-making procedure relatively unfair because all groups make up the national mosaic and therefore should have an important say. To view these decisional-making options as fair even when they are to the benefit of one's own group (i.e. the majority group) goes against the nation's emphasis on cultural diversity and therefore can be seen as a form of prejudice.

Dovidio, Gaertner and Saguy (2009) proposed that majority and minority group members attempt to direct intergroup discourse in different ways: majority group members preferring a discourse that favours commonality (i.e. assimilation) and minorities endorsing group recognition (i.e. multiculturalism) more strongly (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). However, in some contexts multiculturalism can also serve the interest of majority members. This is the case in Mauritius where the majority Hindu has more to gain by promoting the recognition of cultural differences. Through a diasporic ancestral culture policy (Eisenlohr, 2006a), Hindus can maintain the hegemony of their cultural practices over other groups leaving the latter with no legitimising ground to contest the iconic representation of such practices on the national level. An ideology of cultural recognition means that all are recognised, but that the majority through its control of the state apparatus gets to be recognised more. In this case, maintaining one's dominant position does not have to be achieved through group-based representation but is indirectly achieved through representative democracy.

As expected, and in agreement with Helwig and Kim (1999), the findings show that representative democracy was considered as fairer in the everyday context of the school than at the national level where forms of group representation were considered relatively fairer. This suggests that procedures of representative and direct democracy will be favoured in smaller contexts in which there are fewer practical difficulties for everyone to be heard and the likelihood of reaching agreement is higher. Interestingly, Muslims and Creoles rated proportional group representation as *more* fair than majority Hindus in the school but not in the national context. It is possible that in the school context the majority group is a numerical minority and a minority group a numerical majority. This highlights the importance of the social context in providing (or not) the relevant comparative framework for group position (Tajfel & Turner,

1979). Future studies could systematically assess ethnic group composition of schools and classrooms and look at its effects on the fairness of decision-making judgments. In the present study the amount of variance explained at the school level was very small but research has found that even if the amount of variance in intergroup relations that is explained at this level is small, specific contextual variables such as ethnic composition of classroom are sometimes important (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1999; Vervoot, Scholte, & Sheepers, 2011).

There were no gender differences in the school context but in the national context males significantly viewed proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy as more fair. A parallel could be drawn with Mauritian males' position of power and dominance in the political sphere. Researchers have found boys to have more specific knowledge of politics and political systems (Barrett, 2007; Moore et al., 1985) and to view exclusion as more acceptable than girls (Killen & Stangor, 2001). However this gender difference was not found in the school context and therefore does not reflect a general difference in the fairness judgment of males and females. This is in line with research that has found no systematic gender difference in moral judgments (Walker, 2006).

The novelty of the current study lies in its investigation of fairness judgments of forms of democratic decision-making in a multicultural society. Some limitations should nevertheless be mentioned. We only measured one form of democratic procedure that is not based on group representation, i.e. representative democracy and did not consider for instance direct democracy (referenda) or democracy by consensus. Past research has shown that it is important to study which forms of democratic procedure are considered fair and in which contexts (see Helwig, 2006). Future research could look at a broader range of democratic procedures and examine whether the current results for group representation judgments replicate in different contexts. This research should also examine fairness judgments in settings and societies in which cultural diversity is much less endorsed than in Mauritius. Furthermore, we did not ask participants to provide justifications for their evaluations of the decision-making procedures. Yet, following SCDT, these justifications would have been informative in understanding the fairness reasoning of adolescents, particularly as it applies to the group representation procedures. The latter could be endorsed not only for reasons of group interests but also because they are considered moral means by which past injustices or current inequalities towards minorities can be addressed. In addition we studied fairness of group representation only through in-group

chosen representatives. Future studies could investigate if decision-bodies that mirror the heterogeneity of society are considered as fair. This can be achieved by wording the questions not in terms of each cultural group electing their leaders but in terms of the fairness of decision bodies (e.g. political parties, student councils) that ensure that each cultural group is represented –equally or proportionately.

To conclude, multiculturalism is not only about the recognition of group differences but also about equitable participation and power. Therefore examining fairness judgments of forms of decision-making is a promising research avenue on the road to understanding when and why multiculturalism works or rather leads to conflicts. The present chapter was a first step in this direction and demonstrated that representative democracy was viewed as fair by adolescents whereas 'cultural group voice' was not considered a very fair way of making decisions. However, ethno-cultural group positions (i.e. majority or minority position) had an influence on fairness evaluations of group representation procedures. In addition, stronger ethnic identification was related to higher fairness of democratic and (only in the school context) nondemocratic group representation decision-making. This indicates that group concerns can challenge adolescents' moral orientation (Killen & Rutland, 2011). It also indicates that in a country (Mauritius) which is sometimes viewed as a strong candidate for 'truly successful polyethnic societies' (Eriksen, 2004, p. 79), decision making is not only about fairness but also about intergroup relations. It is likely that these group concerns are even more important in societies in which there is a public and political retreat of multiculturalism, as is the case in many Western countries (Joppke, 2004).

Chapter 6

General Discussion and Conclusions

6.1. Research aims

The current project aimed to contribute to the social psychological literature on multiculturalism by examining not only intergroup evaluations but also multiple group identifications and decision-making judgments in diversity contexts. I chose a real-life context, i.e. Mauritius, that provides an interesting socio-historical situation of majority and minority relations as well as a national narrative that differ from most of the Western countries (both Europe and settler nations) in which social psychological research looking at the link between diversity and intergroup relations has been done. I investigated multiculturalism in terms of individuals' management of their social identities namely ethnic, religious and national; the different public and private social relationships that a multicultural polity could lead to; the role of group prototypicality and indispensability on out-group evaluations and the fairness of decision-making procedures that involve group considerations. In this concluding chapter, I provide an outline of the main findings of the four empirical studies. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical implications of the research project. Finally, I look at the limitations of the dissertation before making concluding remarks.

6.2. Summary of main findings

The view that Mauritius is a multicultural society where 'all ethnic and religious groups should be recognised and respected' (Chapter 4) was strongly adhered by adolescents, irrespective of the cultural groups. Multiculturalism seems to be relatively consensual in Mauritius unlike in many other countries where a difference in acceptance of multiculturalism ideology exists between majority and minorities (e.g. Dovidio et al., 2009; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Importantly, then, the research throws light on the perceptions of majority and minority members in a context of relatively uncontested multiculturalism. In general, majority group adolescents (i.e. Hindus) and minority group adolescents (i.e. Creoles and Muslims) did not answer in opposite directions. Rather it was more a difference in the strength of their responses.

Social identifications

Psychologically, multiculturalism reflects the membership to various cultural groups and how they are incorporated in the self (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2013). Across the studies, I measured separately the strength of ethnic, religious and national identifications and examined their associations. On average, participants reported positive identification (above the scalar mid-point) with their ethnic, religious and national categories. Religious identification was stronger amongst Muslims than Christians and Hindus while ethnic identification was stronger amongst Creoles than Muslims and Hindus. For all three groups, religious identification (Chapter 2) and ethnic identification (Chapter 4) were significantly stronger than national identification. Contrary to past empirical studies in which majority group members typically have higher national identification compared to minority group members (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), ethnic Hindus did not differ from Creoles on strength of national identification (Chapter 4) and religious Hindus did not differ from Muslims on national identification (Chapter 2). Importantly, the associations between adolescents' ethnic and religious identifications respectively with national identification were positive for all three groups. In line with previous studies (Staerkle et al., 2010), the association between ethnic and national identification was however stronger in majority Hindus compared to Muslims and Creoles. Our results highlight the pertinence of the ideological context in which social identities are played out (Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2011). In a consensual multiculturalism context, sub-group (i.e. ethnic and religious) and superordinate (i.e. national) social identities are neither conflicting nor unrelated. On the contrary, when diversity is representational of the national category, sub-group and superordinate identities are positively related to each other.

Dual Identification

In chapter 2, I addressed the question of *how majority and minority adolescents perceive their religious and national identities and how the two are related*. A dual-identity representation is closely linked to the multiculturalism ideology (see Dovidio, Saguy & Gaertner, 2010). Accordingly in the Mauritian context, across participants, dual identity was the most preferred option whether measured as a self-identification choice (national-religious and national-ethnic) or as high national identification combined with high religious identification (Chapter 2). Researchers have debated about the validity of holding a single national

identity (i.e. superordinate identity) for individuals whose sub-group (mainly ethnic) identity is valued and contribute to their sense of positive distinctiveness (e.g. Dovidio et al., 2007; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a). It is argued and found that minorities prefer to hold a dual-identity (national-ethnic) (see Brown & Zagefka, 2011) because this identity strategy is beneficial to them (Dovidio et al., 2009). For majorities, however, a one-group identification (national only) is more valued because it maintains the status quo by claiming that 'we are (or should be) all the same, namely like us'. The current results require a more nuanced interpretation of the benefits of dual and mainly national identifiers. First, I found that dual identification, whether measured as a cluster of high religious and high national or as a self-identification choice, was preferred by *both* majority and minority group participants. Second, the benefits of holding a dual identification were not moderated by ethnic group membership. Dual identifiers (religious-national) reported significantly more positive self-esteem compared to religious identifiers, neutrals and individual identifiers. Furthermore, dual identifiers (ethnic-national) reported less relative in-group prototypicality, less relative in-group indispensability and more positive out-group evaluations compared to ethnic identifiers. Again, the ideological context can account for these findings. Studies that found disparity between majority and minority members' identity preferences took place in social contexts where there are disparities between the ideological preferences of minorities and majorities (multiculturalism vs. colour-blind/assimilation). In the current context of hegemonic multiculturalism, it therefore made sense that adolescents reported both high levels of ethnic/religious and national identifications.

Moreover, what it actually means to be a dual identifier and whether the different ways of assessing dual identity tap onto the same aspects, are debated issues in social psychology. Dual identity was measured in three ways in the current project: a self-identification choice, a dual identity cluster, and a relative ethnic to national identification score. While more adolescents fell under the dual identification compared to the other categories, it is noteworthy that the dual identity (religious and national) cluster was associated to higher self-esteem but dual identity as a self-identification choice was not. This is in line with the view that the subjective experience of dual identity is not necessarily equal to a strong minority group identification added to a strong national identification (LaFramboise et al., 1993; Wiley & Deaux, 2011). Therefore, the 'dual-identity' label can hide different aspects of social identities-given that the latter are multidimensional (see Ashmore et al., 2004). For

instance, when I assessed dual identity as a relative score with national identification (Chapter 4), I found that the more ethnic identification dominated this relative score, the more negative the evaluation of the out-group was.

Public and private domains

In a diversity polity, one of the critical questions that is linked to the management of difference is *how far should group difference matter* (Chapter 3)? For the colour-blind approach, the answer is not at all, but for the multiculturalism approach, recognition of difference and equality is at the heart of the ideology. I investigated whether multiculturalism translates into a differential appreciation of the social relationships in public and private domains. On the one hand, if multiculturalism is about positively embracing cultural group specificities, then adolescents should be positive about interacting with ethnic others in the public sphere of schools and neighbourhood. On the other hand, to be able to maintain and value group differences, these differences should be preserved and this ultimately occurs through ethnic endogamy. Using a measure of social distance, the data showed that an empirical distinction between the public domain (neighbours, classmates) and private domain (spouse) could be made. Participants reported low level of out-group public social distance but high level of out-group private social distance. Moreover, the difference between in-group and out-group social distance was bigger in the private than public domain. In line with the two-sidedness argument of multiculturalism, endorsement of multiculturalism was associated to lower social distance towards out-group in the public domain and lower social distance towards the in-group in the private domain. The results suggest that in a multicultural polity, positive inter-ethnic relations can go together with maintenance of ethnic boundaries through intra-ethnic marriages.

Multiculturalism is about recognition of difference within a common national identity framework (Modood, 2007) and the Common ingroup identity model (Dovidio et al., 2007) argues for the benefits of superordinate identities. This was evident in the positive implications of holding a strong national identification for relationships in both out-group public and private domains. The association between national identification and respectively out-group public social distance and in-group private social distance was partially mediated by endorsement of multiculturalism. This shows that higher national identifiers, more

strongly endorsed multiculturalism which in turn was linked to more positive attitudes towards out-groups as neighbours and classmates and a stronger preference for marriage with an in-group member.

Indispensability, prototypicality and evaluations

A complex super-ordinate category has been proposed as one route to tolerance and positive intergroup relations because a complex category means that no sub-group can claim to be more prototypical and indispensable (Wenzel et al., 2007). I investigated this proposition (Chapter 4), first, by suggesting that there is a distinction between prototypicality (best examplars) and indispensability (necessary 'pieces') and second by looking at the associations of Relative Ingroup Prototypicality (RIP) and Relative Ingroup Indispensability (RII) with out-group and in-group evaluations. The results showed that an empirical distinction between prototypicality and indispensability could be made. Adolescents of all three ethnic groups reported higher level of RII than RIP. Moreover, the distinction was also demonstrated by the fact that minority Muslim and majority Hindu participants did not differ on RII but differed on RIP. Understandably, majority Hindus scored higher on RIP than Muslims. A claim to be an indispensable part of the nation is legitimate for all the 'components' of the nation whereas a claim to being more prototypical is restricted by the social reality of the polity. However, our results also showed that even in a complex national context, in-group projection through RIP and RII still occurred for all participants and had negative consequences for out-group evaluations. These findings point to the limits of a complex multicultural representation as an avenue for intergroup tolerance.

The salutary role of national identification was further demonstrated in Chapter 4. National and dual-identifiers (as a self-identification choice) reported more positive out-group evaluations compared to ethnic identifiers. In the same vein, on the continuous relative ethnic to national identification measure, higher ethnic compared to national identification was associated with more negative out-group evaluations. For all three ethnic groups, identification with the national category was associated with more positive evaluation of out-groups. The results corroborate the Dual Identity Model (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a) and the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) that both posit that when 'they' become part of 'we' more positive out-group evaluations ensue. The positive role of national identification also brings

support to Modood's (2007) claim that multiculturalism works when a vibrant positive national identity is in place.

Fairness of decision-making procedures

In the last empirical chapter, I looked at a concrete societal issue that individuals living in multicultural settings are confronted to: *should group representation be viewed as a fair decision-making option*? Multiculturalism is not only about the recognition of group differences but concomitantly about equitable participation and power. I examined four types of decision-making procedures in the school and societal contexts: representative democracy, equal group representation, proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy. Across ethnic groups, participants differed on their ratings of the four procedures. According to Social Cognitive Domain Theory (e.g. Helwig, 2006; Turiel, 2002) in situations that involve issues of fairness and harm individuals tend to adopt the same moral views. I found that representative democracy was indeed evaluated as the fairest procedure and cultural group oligarchy the most unfair in both contexts (school, nation) and by all participants. The group representation procedures- equal and proportional- were rated somewhat (un)fair with equal group representation being judged fairer than proportional group representation. Adolescents' moral stand can be reduced by their attachment to their social groups, however (see Killen & Rutland, 2011). This is illustrated by the minority groups of Creoles and Muslims who rated equal group representation as fairer compared to majority Hindus. In the national context, Muslims were the most open to the idea of 'Muslims being represented by Muslims' and this could well be a reflection of their strong level of Muslim identification (Chapter 2) and a non-negotiable Muslim identity that is transmitted while attending religious instruction in madrassahs (Aulear Owodally, 2011).

Contrary to our expectations, majority Hindus did not rate proportional group representation as fairer than Creoles and Muslims. In fact the correlation between proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy was moderate. Here again the representation of Mauritius as a 'rainbow nation' can throw light on the findings. In a rainbow, all the colours are important to make up the whole and hence to view proportional group representation as fair even when it is to the benefit of one's group can be seen as a form of prejudice. The findings also point to the importance of the social context in providing the relevant comparative framework for group positions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Muslims and Creoles rated proportional representation as less unfair than majority Hindus in the school but not in the national context. In the school context, it is possible for a majority group to be a numerical minority and vice versa whereas in the national context, group hierarchy is defined and maintained by the dominant group. Representative democracy was viewed as fair by all participants and 'group voice' as being not a very fair manner in which to make decisions. The latter depended on ethnic group positions and ethnic identification considerations.

Age and gender

In most of the chapters of this research project, I paid attention to age and/or gender differences on multiple identities, public and private social distances and fairness rating of decision-making procedures. For identity theorists early adolescents are more concerned with achieving a sense of group affiliation whereas late adolescents are more concerned with developing a sense of personal identity (Kroeger, 2000). Our results showed that early adolescents reported stronger religious and national identification compared to mid- and late-adolescents (see Tanti et al., 2011). However, this age trend was not similar across ethnic groups: Muslim participants did not report a decline in religious identification with age but did so for national identification. It seems that religious group identification has a different meaning for Muslim adolescents compared to Christians and Hindus. Strong Muslim identification has also been reported in contexts where Muslims are a majority group (e.g. Malaysia, Verkuyten & Khan, 2012) and in Western European Muslim immigrants prior to 9/11 when there was no overt intergroup tension (e.g. Modood et al., 1997). Age differences were also found on out-group private social distance but, as expected, not on out-group public social distance. Older participants were more positive about marrying an ethnic out-group compared to younger participants. This corroborates an identity developmental perspective that argues that older adolescents are more concerned with their personal identity, autonomy seeking and resistance to parental authority (Fuligni, 1998). Furthermore, moral reasoning has been found to become more principled with age (e.g. Enright et al., 1984). In line with this, older adolescents judged representative democracy as a fairer procedure than younger adolescents and viewed proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy as more unfair than younger adolescents.

With respect to gender differences, it was found that girls reported less out-group public social distance but were more negative about marrying an ethnic out-group. Men are more likely to engage in inter-ethnic dating than women (Clark-Ibanez & Femlee, 2004) and women are often held responsible for keeping and transmitting ethnic cultures and traditions (Dasgupta, 1998). However, I also did not find systematic gender differences. There were no gender differences reported on the fairness of decision-making procedures in the school context but in the societal context, boys significantly viewed proportional group representation and cultural group oligarchy as fairer than girls. Gender differences seem to depend on issues and contexts (Smetana, 2006).

6.3. Theoretical implications of the research project and directions for future research

The current research project was set to contribute to the literature on the management of diverse societies in the forms of (i) patterns of social identifications, (ii) social relationships in public and private domains, (iii) intergroup evaluations and (iv) fairness of decision-making procedures that involve group considerations. One of the strengths of the project is its use of a large sample of adolescent participants coming from a diverse and under-researched social context. Most of the social psychological work on intergroup relations and acculturation comes from ongoing immigration contexts, whether in settler countries or past colonies facing migration. From this body of research, there is a rather consensual pattern of findings namely that majority and minorities have differential preferences for diversity ideologies (i.e. multiculturalism vs. assimilation) and for identity strategies (i.e. dual identity vs. superordinate identity), and that the relationships of these differential preferences to outcome measures work differently for majority and minorities (see reviews by Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Dovidio et al., 2010). Nevertheless as emphasised in the social identity tradition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999), the national context and its "social ideal" (Dovidio et al., 2007) sets the tone for intergroup relations. Our results resonate well with this contention. Social groups tend to stand in power relation to each other forming a group hierarchy (see Blumer, 1968; Bobo & Hutchigns, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). While the ethnic group relations in Mauritius

conformed to that view, the outcomes of holding relative majority or minority status depart from many social psychological findings. All participants adhered to the ideal of multiculturalism (Chapter 3 and 4) and to that effect the identity preferences of majority and minority group participants were not in opposite directions: dual identification was the preferred option for all. Importantly, one robust finding of the current project is that the statistical effects of the predictor variables were not moderated by ethnic group (i.e. status). In other words, when an association between, for instance, ethnic identification and private social distance was found, it applied to all three ethnic groups. When the nation is defined as a mosaic or fruit salad, it is possible, even advantageous for the majority group to promote multiculturalism, in the Mauritian case through a diasporic link to an imaginary homeland (Eisenlohr, 2006a). In this way all 'cultural components or ingredients' are recognised without this having to mean that forms of in-group favouritism (i.e. RIP and RII) cannot occur. Our results warn that without an analysis of the social context, a schematic representation of majority and minorities respectively preferring assimilation and multiculturalism and the associated identity preference, national in the former and dual-identity in the latter, is misconstrued (see also Guerra et al., 2010) The current project shows that for both majority and minority group adolescents, ethnic identification was important but that positive national identification was also present (fully or partially) and served to reduce negative out-group attitudes.

Adolescents' strength of identification to the nation was a positive correlate in the different studies: associated to less negative out-group evaluation, less out-group public and private social distance and in the form of dual identity associated to higher self-esteem. Previous research on multiculturalism has tended to emphasise the 'difference' part of multiculturalism and less the national 'common' part. Individuals have competing needs for both distinctiveness and commonality (Brewer, 1991) that can be served respectively by their sub-group and national group. The current results clearly show that identifying with the national category can be good for intergroup relations. Past studies have found that when a civic (citizenship based) representation of the nation is promoted as opposed to an ethnic (ancestry) representation, national identification was positively linked to out-group attitudes (e.g. Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009). The present dissertation shows that in a complex representation, exemplify by a 'rainbow' nation national identification is also positively associated to out-group attitudes in public and private domains.

Proponents of multiculturalism argue that by recognising and valuing group differences, individuals are more likely to positively interact with cultural others in everyday life. Yet, one neglected aspect of this proposition is that paradoxically multiculturalism can 'promote' ethnic endogamy so that group distinctions - and thereby the 'fruit salad'- are maintained. I am not aware of other studies that have investigated this possible distinction between positive effects in the public domain and in-group closure in the private domain. Our results show that a distinction between out-group public and private domains could indeed be made and that inter-ethnic marriage is not necessarily the ultimate sign of integration (e.g. Blau et al., 1984). In general, participants were positive about having an out-group as a neighbour or classmate but negative about marrying the same out-group member. Our research thus throws light on the everyday living of multiculturalism: that it is possible to be positive about ethnic out-groups as long as one knows where to belong and does not undermine the possibility to maintain and transmit one's ethnic culture. It would be informative for future research to examine if this distinction between public and private domains holds in other social contexts where there is ideological contest over the national narrative and amongst mixed or biracial individuals.

A complex representation where the superordinate category (i.e. nation) cannot be represented by a single group (in line with a multiculturalism ideology) has been proposed as the road to tolerance because in such a representation in-group projection is unlikely (Wenzel et al., 2007). I investigated this proposition not only in terms of in-group prototypicality but also in-group indispensability. The latter was more strongly endorsed than the former and was also more strongly related to out-group attitudes. While a complex representation can undermine the process of in-group projection, in the context of multicultural Mauritius, it did not stop relative in-group prototypicality and relative in-group indispensability from occurring. In fact, across participants, both were associated with negative out-group evaluations. A sense of indispensability might be more plausible and possible for all groups, like players on the same team, whereas a sense of prototypicality is probably more realistic for the dominant group. More research is needed to test the reliability and validity of the concept of indispensability especially in social contexts where there is a political retreat from multiculturalism (Jopkke, 2004; Verkuyten & Khan, 2012). In addition, in contexts where there are 'visible' minorities, demonstrating the indispensability of migrants in terms of, for instance, their economic contribution, might be an efficient way in which

their sense of belonging and the dominant group's sense of acceptance are promoted.

One of the challenges of multiculturalism to manage diversity societies is the role that group membership should play, not only in everyday interactions but also in the management of the polity. Social psychological research has looked mostly at the recognition aspect of multiculturalism. I addressed the equality aspect in Chapter 5 and the results showed that adolescents were in general not favourable to decision-making procedures that involved group considerations (equal or proportional). These results point to the limits of 'group-ness' in multiculturalism. That cultural groups should be recognised and valued is one thing but that decisions should be made on a cultural group basis seems to be another matter. The results suggest that adolescents are not comfortable with the idea that their cultural group 'sends' a representative to make decisions whether at the societal or school level. The results also suggest that proportional group representation is viewed as unfair by both majority and minority group adolescent participants. Overtly outshining the other colours of the 'rainbow' was judged as unfair. Multiculturalism is about recognition of cultural groups within a common national framework (Modood, 2007). The adolescent participants indicated that equality in this common national framework should not take the form of group representation but rather representative democracy. Even though, strength of ethnic identification and group positions moderate the fairness ratings of group decision-making procedures. However, the measurements of group representations (equal or proportional) were about each cultural group choosing a representative. But group representation can also take the form of decision bodies that already mirrors the cultural heterogeneity (equal and proportional) of the nation. Future studies could examine these other forms of group representation for a better understanding of what equality in a multiculturalism polity entails.

6.4. Limitations

Notwithstanding its contributions, the present research also has limitations. First, the research was cross-sectional in design and used survey data. This means that all results were correlational in nature and therefore we cannot argue that, for instance, strength of national identification causes more positive out-group evaluation and I cannot draw

conclusions about developmental changes. By employing a longitudinal design, future research could identify over-time relationships and the age-related changes that occur in the development of multiple identities. Furthermore, our measurements of dual identity, although varied, pointed to the limitations of current measurements of dual identity. Qualitative research has shown that individuals often express the duality of their ethnic and national identities as one, e.g. 'Being British in a Muslim way' (Hopkins, 2011). The possibility that dual identity is a form of blended (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) or hybrid identity that can be quantitatively captured is a promising research avenue.

A second limitation of the research project is that I did not extensively assess adolescents' attitudes towards multiculturalism and colour-blind ideologies but inferred from the existing literature the validity of taking Mauritius as a multiculturalism nation. However, the one-item measure and three-item measure both showed that indeed all participants adhered to the notion that in Mauritius the different cultural groups should be recognised and respected. Our results demonstrate the salutary role of holding strong national identification and point to the limitations of current assessments of multiculturalism (e.g. Van de Vijver, Breuglemans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008). Most of the scales measuring multiculturalism have items that look only at the 'distinctiveness' aspects and in contrast most of the assimilation scales look only at the 'commonality' aspects and the colour-blind scales only at the 'individual' aspects. It would make sense, in light of our results, to devise multiculturalism scales that assess both the distinctiveness and commonality aspects of multiculturalism (Modood, 2007). As Ryan and colleagues (2007) argued there is no conceptual reason why the two ideologies (i.e. multiculturalism and colour-blind) should be considered as mutually exclusive or contradictory. There is yet another aspect of multiculturalism that is not captured empirically in most multiculturalism scales. Multiculturalism is also about equality and this can take many forms. It can be in terms of fairness of decision-making procedures or equal access to resources.

A third limitation of the dissertation is that it only considers the three main ethno-cultural groups in Mauritius. Unfortunately, I could not tap onto mixed adolescents' intergroup evaluations, identifications and decision-making. Yet, it is important to collect and understand the views of individuals who do not fit squarely in any one component of the mosaic. Multiculturalism is silent about the outcomes of the ideology for those who cannot or do not want to assert a social group belonging. The present studies could also not assess the views of the two small and visible

minorities, i.e. Whites and Chinese. They form the smallest cultural groups of the island but are economically well off. It would have been instructive to examine their inter-group evaluations and identifications patterns given that previous research has found that group size, status and power are key moderators in intergroup bias (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002).

A final limitation is that the research focused on adolescents and therefore is not informative about the ways in which adults view themselves, their in-group and out-groups, the nation and the different ways of decision-making at local and national contexts. It could well be that adults are more concerned and tuned to the ethnic-based politics in place in Mauritius (Minogue, 1987). If such is the case, Mauritian adults' perspectives on intergroup relationships might differ from that of adolescents who in their daily school lives are shield from such ethnic considerations. Nevertheless, adolescence is a critical period for the development of political views and intergroup relations (see Helwig, 2006; Killen & Rutland, 2011) and an understanding of their intergroup relationships is important because they are after all the adults of tomorrow.

6.5. General conclusions

The general aim of this research project was to study majority and minority adolescents' perceptions of intergroup relations in a multicultural context in terms of multiple identities, social relationships in public and private domains, complex intergroup representation and out-group evaluations, and fairness of 'group voice'. Although the socio-historical context of Mauritius is specific, it provides a real-life equivalence to the theoretical understanding of multiculturalism. The results are thus revealing of the forms that intergroup relations can take when multiculturalism is relatively uncontested. The different chapters showed that majority and minority adolescents' attitudes and views on the different measures were functionally similar: preferred dual identity, positive role of national identification, public and private domain distinctions and representative democracy as fair. A multiculturalism context does not necessarily means 'group thinking' on all grounds because across participants, representative democracy was judged as fairer than decision-making procedures that involved group

considerations. That cultural groups should be recognised and respected is one thing, but that decisions should be made on a group basis is another matter. The results indicated the primacy for the adolescents of their ethnic and religious identities but these were not to the detriment of their identification with the nation. It seems that in a 'rainbow' or 'fruit salad' national narrative, all components can claim to be indispensable, can view their sub-group and national identities as compatible and accept that diversity is part and parcel of public life as long as one knows where to belong. Thus a national narrative that defines itself through difference where each 'component' has a place can produce a conformal partition that is played by all, albeit for some allegro, for others adagio. But for those who do not belong in the defined 'component', it might well leave them out of tune.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands
(Summary in Dutch)

Inleiding

Wereldwijd worden samenlevingen cultureel steeds meer divers. De voorspelling voor de Verenigde Staten is dat in 2050, de Spaans Amerikaanse gemeenschap 29% van de bevolking zal uitmaken, terwijl de Blanke bevolkingsgroep zal afnemen tot slechts 47% (Pew Research Center, 2008). In Europa wordt het culturele verscheidenheid in toenemende mate gezien als een 'probleem rond Moslims' die de oorzaak zouden zijn van de 'crisis van het multiculturalisme' (bv. Modood & Ahmad, 2007) vanwege hun manier van leven die zou botsen met westerse, liberale waarden (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). In post koloniale landen, betekent het omgaan met verscheidenheid, de erkenning van de inheemse bevolking (bv. Australië, Nieuw Zeeland) of de minder vaak onderzochte machtsstrijd tussen de meerderheid en minderheden (bv. Maleisië). Terwijl culturele diversiteit de rode draad is in deze voorbeelden, zijn de uitingen en de manier waarop diversiteit wordt geïnterpreteerd en beleefd afhankelijk van de bestaande sociaal, culturele en historische omstandigheden.

Multiculturalisme als een ideologie benadrukt de erkenning en waardering van culturele gemeenschappen wat tot gelijkheid en positieve relaties tussen die gemeenschappen zou leiden (bv. Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2001). Sociaal psychologisch onderzoek kijkt met name naar multiculturalisme in termen van acceptatie van culturele diversiteit door de meerderheid en minderheidsgroepen en de consequenties die dit heeft voor de relaties tussen groeperingen en voor processen van integratie. Maar multiculturalisme gaat niet alleen over het behoud van etnische identiteiten en culturen maar ook over de gelijkwaardige participatie van etnisch-culturele groeperingen in de samenleving. Dit betekent onder andere dat de vraag niet alleen is hoe verschillende collectieve identiteiten (bv. etnisch, religieus, nationaal) samenkomen, maar ook hoe er politiek gezien en in besluitvormingsprocessen in het algemeen rekening wordt gehouden diversiteit. Dit Proefschrift streeft ernaar om bij te dragen aan de

sociaal psychologische literatuur over multiculturalisme, door verder te kijken dan intergroup relaties en aandacht te besteden aan de verscheidenheid aan group identificaties en aan rechtvaardigheidsoordelen over verschillende vormen van besluitvorming. Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd in een unieke nationale context – Mauritius - die niet eerder in sociaal psychologisch onderzoek is onderzocht. Daarmee sluit het onderzoek aan bij de toenemende kritiek dat (sociaal) psychologisch onderzoek overheersend en eenzijdig kijkt naar de westerse wereld en de Verenigde Staten in het bijzonder (Arnett, 2008). De context van Mauritius is ook uniek omdat er in het land de notie van 'fruit salad' multiculturalism breed geaccepteerde is.

De Context van het onderzoek : Multiculturalisme in Mauritius

Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd in Mauritius, een klein eiland en onafhankelijke staat in de Indische Oceaan. Na achtereenvolgens een Nederlandse, Franse en Engelse kolonie, kreeg het onafhankelijkheid in 1968 en werd het een republiek in 1992. De Fransen waren de eersten die het eiland officieel koloniseerden, waarbij zij kolonisten land gaven voor het bedrijven van landbouw en het brengen van slaven uit Afrika. In 1810 namen de Britten het eiland over en in 1834 werd de slavernij afgeschaft. Gastarbeiders uit India, met name uit Uttar Pradesh en Bihar (Hindoes en Moslims) werden aangevoerd om in de suikerriet velden te werken. Een kleine Chinese gemeenschap vestigde zich als handelaren. Vandaag de dag zijn de voornaamste culturele groeperingen de Hindoes, Tamils, Telegus, Marathis, Moslims, Creolen, Blanken en Chinezen (Eriksen, 2004). Echter de Grondwet erkent slechts 4 hoofd groeperingen: Hindoes (52 procent), Moslims (16 procent), Algemene Bevolking (29 procent) en Chinese Mauritianen (3 procent). De Hindoestanen zijn opgeklommen van arme gastarbeiders, tot een krachtige beweging achter de onafhankelijkheid en ze zijn tegenwoordig de machtigste politieke groepering die domineert in de publieke sector. Hoewel ze ook afkomstig zijn uit India, hebben de meeste Moslims weinig banden met India. Ze vormen een gesloten gemeenschap rond hun religieuze geloof (Hempel, 2009). 'Algemene Bevolking' is een benaming voor iedere Mauritiaan die niet onder de drie categorieën valt (oftewel Hindoes, Moslim en Chinese Mauritianen). Daarom zijn de voormalige kolonisten (Franco-Mauritianen, dat wil zeggen Blank) en de voormalige slaven (Creolen – in Mauritius verwijst deze benaming naar personen van Afrikaanse – Madagascar afkomst) samengebracht onder dezelfde benaming, terwijl het nogal verschillende gemeenschappen zijn.

De Blanken, ondanks het feit dat ze een kleine numerieke minderheid zijn, zijn economisch machtig en daardoor niet geraakt door, maar eerder dominerend in, deze algemene benaming.

De huidige metaforische voorstelling van Mauritius is er één van een multicultureel mozaïek (Eriksen, 1994), 'regenboog' of een 'vruchten salade'. Deze metaforen verwijzen naar het idee dat er eenheid is waarbij de verschillende groeperingen herkenbaar zijn en blijven. Alle culturele groeperingen zijn verenigt zonder dat ze gedwongen worden om te assimileren in een nationaal ideaal. Het nationale ideaal is juist de erkenning en continuering van de bestaande culturele diversiteit. In de praktijk betekent deze populaire voorstelling van het land als als 'vruchten salade' of 'regenboog' dat groeperingen die een cultureel oorsprong kunnen claimen in een land van herkomst, speciale rechten toegewezen krijgen zodat verscheidenheid en gelijkwaardigheid naast elkaar kunnen bestaan (Lionnet, 1993). Dit wordt ondersteund en bevorderd door de dominante meerderheidsgroepering van Hindoes. Een implicatie is dat de Creolen zich in een achterstandspositie bevinden want als nazaten van slaven kunnen zij geen culturele oorsprong in een herkomstland claimen.

In dit proefschrift gaat de aandacht uit naar opvattingen van adolescenten die in deze multiculturele context van Mauritius leven. Deze aandacht draagt bij aan de inzichtsvorming in hoe multiculturalisme door jongeren wordt geleefd en hoe het zijn weerslag heeft op de terreinen van meervoudige identificaties, intergroup evaluaties en de beoordeling van besluitvormingsprocessen. De vier empirische hoofdstukken hebben deze verschillende aspecten onderzocht.

Meervoudige identificaties

In hoofdstuk 2 ligt de nadruk op duale identiteiten in de zin van groep identificaties van adolescenten van drie verschillende religies (oftewel Hindoes, Moslims en Christenen) en de vraag hoe religieuze en nationale identificaties samenkomen bij zowel meerderheid als minderheids adolescenten. Gebruikmakend van de Sociale Identiteitstheorie (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) als theoretisch startpunt, beargumenteer ik dat lidmaatschap van een religieuze groepering beschouwd kan worden als een sociale identiteit waaraan een gevoel van verbondenheid en betrokkenheid

bij de religieuze groep kan worden ontleend. Individuen hebben verschillende sociale identiteiten en de intergroep context verschaft aanwijzingen op welke manier religieuze en nationale identificaties gerelateerd zijn. De samenhang tussen religieuze en nationale identificatie kan de vorm aannemen van een zogenaamde duale identiteit en een dergelijke identiteit kan op verschillende manieren gemeten worden. In dit hoofdstuk is gekeken naar het verschil tussen een directe meting in de vorm van een expliciete keuzevraag en een meting die uitgaat van de clustering van de twee afzonderlijke groeps identificaties.Onder de jongeren was de religieuze identificatie sterker dan de nationale identificatie, maar de twee waren positief gerelateerd. Veder rapporteerden oudere adolescenten lagere religieuze en nationale identificaties dan jongere adolescenten, met uitzondering van de religieuze identificaties van moslim adolescenten die vergelijkbaar waren voor alle leeftijdgroepen. Er was een verschil in duale identiteit afhankelijk van de meting in termen van frequantie van voorkomen en het verband met globale zelfwaardering.

De tweezijdigheid van het multiculturalisme: publiek en privé

Multiculturalisme benadrukt de erkenning van culturele diversiteit en ondersteunt de handhaving van het eigen karakter van etnische groeperingen. Een mogelijke implicatie is dat multiculturalisme bevorderlijk is voor de acceptatie van andere etnische groepen in het publieke domein van werk, school en het alledaagse leven maar niet in het intieme domein van familie en huwelijk. Gebruikmakend van een sociale afstand schaal heb ik in Hoofdstuk 3, getracht aan te tonen dat een multiculturele setting positieve inter-etnische verhoudingen in het publieke domein van scholen en buurten kan bevorderen maar tegelijkertijd ook etnische endogamie door de nadruk op het belang om culturele groepsgrenzen in stand te houden. Bovendien, publieke en privé sociale afstanden zouden verschillende gerelateerd zijn met nationale en etnische identificaties (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) en met 'entiteit' en 'incremental' theorieën (Carr et al. 2012). De resultaten lieten zien dat een empirisch onderscheid tussen publieke en privé sociale afstand bestaat en dat adolescenten relatief lage publieke sociale afstand tegenover andere etnische groepen combineren met relatief hoge sociale afstand in de intieme sfeer. Adolescenten waren positief over iemand van een andere etnische groep als buur of als klasgenoten, maar niet als een mogelijke huwelijkspartner. Jongeren die sterker instemden met multiculturalisme vertoonden dit patroon van sociale afstand sterker en ook nationale

identificatie was gerelateerd met dit patroon van sociale afstand. Daar staat tegenover dat sterkere etnische identificatie en instemming met 'entity' theorie gepaard gingen met grotere sociale afstand in zowel het publieke als intieme domein.

Groep prototypicality en onmisbaarheid

In Hoofdstuk 4, heb ik bestudeerd hoe adolescenten het verband zien tussen de superordinate (nationale) en subgroep (etnische) identificaties, relatieve prototypicality en relatieve onmisbaarheid en hoe deze verband houden met in-groep en out-groep evaluaties. Theorieën die kijken naar de condities voor positieve intergroep relaties, oftewel de 'Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) en 'In-Group Projection Model' (Wenzel et al.,2007) maken verschillende voorspellingen van de rol van duale identificatie op out-groep evaluaties. Ik heb de propositie getest dat een complexe superordinate representatie een veelbelovende richting is voor het bewerkstelligen van positieve intergroep relaties. De reden is dat bij een complexere representatie het minder mogelijk is om de eigen groepskenmerken te projecteren op het grotere geheel en daarmee als standaard te gebruiken voor de evaluatie van anderen (in-groep projectie). Ik heb het concept van relatieve onmisbaarheid onderzocht en voorgesteld dat het empirisch te onderscheidend is van relatieve prototypicality: onmisbaarheid als verwijzend naar 'noodzakelijke onderdelen' en prototypicality naar "beste or meest typische voorbeel'. Het resultaat liet zien dat een empirisch verschil tussen prototypicality en onmisbaarheid gemaakt kon worden. Adolescenten van alle drie de etnische groepen rapporteerden een sterkere mate van relatieve in-group onmisbaarheid (RIO) dan van relatieve in-group prototypicality (RIP). De relevantie van het verschil kwam ook naar voren in de bevinding dat Moslims en Hindoes niet verschilden in RIO maar wel in RIP. De claim een onmisbaar onderdeel te zijn van de natie kan worden gemaakt door alle 'componenten' van de multiculturele 'fruit salade', terwijl daarentegen de claim om meer prototypisch te zijn gemakkelijker is voor de groep die numeriek en sociaal dominant is. Echter, de resultaten lieten ook zien dat zelfs in een complexe nationale context, ingroup projectie door RIP en RIO nog steeds voorkomt onder alle etnische groepen en dat dit negatief samenhangt met out-groep evaluaties. Deze bevindingen wijzen naar de beperkingen van een complexe multiculturele representation als richting voor het bevorderen van verdraagzaamheid tussen groepen.

Eerlijkheid van de besluitvormingsprocessen

Multiculturalisme gaat niet alleen over de erkenning van groepsverschillen maar ook over gelijkheid en macht. In Hoofdstuk 5, heb ik 4 verschillende vormen van besluitvorming onderzocht in zowel de context van school als nationaal: representatieve democratie, gelijke groep vertegenwoordiging (iedere groep evenveel afgevaardigden), evenredige groep vertegenwoordiging (aantal afgevaardigden afhankelijk van de grootte van de groep), en culturele groep oligarchie. Representatieve democratie werd gezien als de meest eerlijke procedure en culturele groep oligarchie als de meeste oneerlijke in beide contexten (school, natie) en door alle deelnemers. De groep vertegenwoordiging procedures – gelijk en evenredig – werden beoordeeld als enigszins (on) eerlijk waarbij gelijke groep vertegenwoordiging als eerlijker werd beoordeeld dan evenredige groep vertegenwoordiging. De oordelen van de adolescenten werd ook beïnvloed door de groep waartoe ze behoorden. Dit wordt geïllustreerd door de bevinbding dat de minderheidsgroeperingen van Creolen en Moslims de 'gelijke groep vertegenwoordiging' als eerlijker waardeerden dan de Hindoes. In Mauritius zijn Moslims het meest open voor het idee dat "Moslims worden vertegenwoordigt door Moslims" en dit zou heel goed een afspiegeling kunnen zijn van hun sterke mate van Moslim Identificatie (Hoofdstuk 2) en een niet sterke Moslim identiteit die wordt uitgedragen en beleefd tijdens het bijwonen van religieuze instructies in madrassa's (Aulear Owadally, 2011). In zowel de context van school en nationaal, werd representatieve democratie gezien als eerlijk door alle deelnemers en 'groep voice' als een niet erg eerlijke manier om beslissingen nemen. De laatstgenoemde hing daarbij af van de positie van de etnische groep en etnische identificatie.

Conclusies

Het algemene doel van dit onderzoek was het bestuderen van de sociaal psychologische aspecten van intergroep relaties in een unieke multiculturele context, De sociaal psychologische invalshoek is uitgewerkt in termen van multiple identiteiten, sociale afstanden in het publieke en private domein, complexe overkoepelende groeps representations en de rechtvaardigheid van 'group representation' in besluitvorming. De context van Mauritius is bijzonder en vormt een belangrijke aanvulling op het

bestaande sociaal psychologische onderzoek naar multiculturalisme dat vrijwel uitsluitend in Europa, Noord Amerika en Australië is uitgevoerd. De 'fruit salad' multiculturalisme van Mauritius vormt een levensecht laboratorium om the implicaties van deze vorm van multiculturalisme te onderzoeken, mede omdat multiculturalisme in Mauritius relatief onomstreden is. De verschillende hoofdstukken laten zien dat de houdingen en opvattingen van de adolescenten uit verschillende etnische groepen redelijk vergelijkbaar zijn: voorkeur voor duale identiteit, positieve rol van de nationale identificatie op intergroepsrelaties, onderscheid in publieke en private domein, en overeentsemming dat representatieve democratie het meest eerlijke is voor het nemen van besluiten. Dit laatste toont aan dat multiculturalisme niet noodzakelijkerwijs betekent dat altijd de voorkeur wordt gegeven aan 'groepsdenken': representatieve democratie werd als eerlijker beoordeeld dan procedures waarbij groepsoverwegingen betrokken zijn. Dat culturele diversiteit wordt erkend en gerespecteerd is een ding, maar dat besluiten gemaakt worden op de basis van groepsvertegenwoordiging is een andere zaak. De resultaten lieten verder zien dat adolescenten sterk de nadruk leggen op hun etnische en religieuze identiteiten maar dat dit niet ten koste gaat van hun identificatie met Mauritius als land. Het lijkt erop dat in een 'regenboog' of 'fruit salade' representatie, alle 'kleuren' of 'ingrediënten' kunnen claimen dat ze onmisbaar zijn voor het groeter geheel, dat hun sub-groep en nationale identiteiten als compatibel kunnen worden gezien, en dat diversiteit als een essentieel onderdeel van het publieke leven kan worden geaccepteren zo lang als men weet waar men thuishoort.

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About the author

Caroline Ng Tseung-Wong Tak Wan was born on 7 August 1978, in Rose-Hill, Mauritius. After her primary and secondary education in Mauritius, she completed a BSc (Hons) Psychology degree (upper 2:1) at the University of Surrey, UK in 2000. This was followed by an MSc in Psychology of Education at the Institute of Education, University of London. She obtained the Mauritius Postgraduate Scholarship in order to pursue the Masters programme. She joined the University of Mauritius as a lecturer (permanent) in the department of Social Studies in 2003. She has been involved in the setting up and the teaching of the BSc(Hons) Psychology programme. She teaches modules on educational, social and developmental psychology as well as supervises undergraduate dissertations. She enrolled for a part-time PhD in 2006 in the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University.