

# Dual identity and immigrants' protest against discrimination: The moderating role of diversity ideologies

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## Abstract

Discrimination of immigrant groups is an important social problem in many societies around the world. This study examines the moderating role of cultural diversity beliefs on the relation between dual identity and the intention to protest against immigrants' discrimination. An experimental study was conducted among national samples of the three main immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands. It was found that dual identity predicted the intention to protest against discrimination more strongly within a context of multicultural recognition compared to a context of assimilation or interculturalism. This demonstrates that multicultural recognition is a facilitating condition for dual identifiers to get involved in collective action for social change.

## Keywords

collective action, diversity ideologies, dual identity, immigrants

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In many European countries, members of immigrant-origin groups face discrimination and exclusion (Dancygier & Laitin, 2014). Discrimination implies unfair treatment and such treatment tells people that they are not equal members of society. Claims of discrimination tend to have social costs that prevent individual minority members from confronting the discrimination that they face (Kaiser & Miller, 2001), and makes them less likely to blame negative outcomes on discrimination when they are with members of the dominant majority group (Sechrist, Swim, & Stangor, 2004). Collective action can play an important role in challenging and changing discriminatory practices, and protest is a form of collective behaviour of immigrant-origin groups.

Social psychologists have examined the psychological processes underlying people's endorsement of and participation in actions that aim to improve the rights, power, and influence of their group (Becker & Tausch, 2015; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). The research indicates that people who more strongly identify with their group are more likely to protest against a

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perceived injustice faced by their group. Many immigrants identify with their ethnic minority group and the larger host national community, and research has demonstrated that dual identifiers are more likely to endorse social change and lawful, normative forms of protest (e.g., Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Yet, for dual identifiers it might be difficult to act on behalf of their ethnic minority group when there is a normative emphasis on common national identity (assimilation) rather than on the recognition of separate cultural identities (multiculturalism). The lack of recognition can compromise minority members' ability to speak up in the public sphere (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Wiley, Figueroa, & Lauricella, 2014). Thus, dual identity might be associated with protest on behalf of one's ethnic minority group when immigrants' minority identity is recognized and less so when the focus is on national commonality. This would imply that the relation between dual identity and normative forms of protest depends on the particular cultural diversity ideology.

The current study examined this implication among three immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands. Going beyond existing research (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Wiley et al., 2014), I tested experimentally whether the relation between dual identity and the intention to protest against discrimination of immigrants depends on multiculturalism compared to assimilation. In addition, I considered the difference with interculturalism which is proposed as an alternative for multiculturalism in Europe (Cantle, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2013). The expectation tested is that the relation between dual identity and protest is stronger in a temporary salient multicultural context compared to an assimilation or intercultural context.

## Dual Identity, Protest, and Multiculturalism

The concept of dual identity has increasingly gained currency in different areas of psychological research. It is used for example in the fields

of intergroup relations, acculturation studies, and political action research (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). People have the ability to endorse multiple social identities and some of these refer to the same domain, such as immigrants' ethnic and host national group memberships. Individuals can adopt different strategies of combining and integrating these identities into a structured self (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In addition to the work on combination rules and identity, dual identity is conceptualized and assessed in terms of strength of group identifications. The combination of high levels of identification with separate ethnic and national identities would imply dual identity. However, in their political action research among Turkish migrants in Germany, Simon and Ruhs (2008, p. 1355) have argued that "this view may be too mechanistic and restrictive to adequately capture the rich phenomenology of dual (hyphenated or hybrid) identity in the context of migration." They therefore proposed a direct measure of dual identity (e.g., "I feel Turkish German") that does not necessarily imply equally high separate group identifications. In the current study I used this direct approach.

Research in the context of Germany, the Netherlands, and the US has shown that immigrants are more likely to be involved in lawful forms of protest if they have two important and compatible group memberships (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Immigrants' dual identity would function as a politicized collective identity because of the combination of perceptions of injustice derived from identification with the minority group with feelings of entitlement derived from identification with the host society. Thus, ethnic minority identity would provide the motivation to protest and national identification the legitimization for doing it.

In some contexts, however, the lack of dual identity recognition might compromise minority members' intention to protest. One reason is that one's membership of the national community is not accepted. Hopkins and Blackwood (2011),

for example, found that the perceived ability of British Muslims to advocate for their group in public life was undermined by the perception that their national belonging was not recognized. And among Latino immigrants in the United States, Wiley et al. (2014) found that dual identity did no longer predict protest intention when antiimmigrant policies that exclude Latinos from the national community (through detention or deportation) were made salient.

Another reason is that the importance and value of the minority identity is ignored or undermined. This might have an impact on the ability and confidence to speak up on behalf of one's minority group. For example, Whites' emphasis on colour blindness has been found to be associated with lower minority engagement in organizational contexts (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Colour blindness ignores and minimizes group differences and this can distract disadvantaged group members from attending to group-based inequalities and engaging in collective action (see Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2015). Furthermore, the national community might be characterized by assimilationist thinking which emphasizes a single national culture that is represented by the native majority group and which immigrants are expected to adopt (Plaut, 2010). This might compromise the motivation and efficacy to act politically on behalf of one's minority group as part of the larger national community. As noted by Tiberj and Michon (2013), the dominant assimilative political culture in France makes the articulation of "ethnic" interests illegitimate. A lack of minority recognition and acceptance can lead to societal and institutional disengagement (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011), with a reduced tendency to get involved in normative forms of political action.

In contrast, multicultural ideology encourages recognition and appreciation of cultural group differences as a basis for equality (Bloemraad & Wright, 2014; Modood, 2007). Although the capacity of multiculturalism to address social inequalities might be limited (Plaut, 2010), for minority members multiculturalism provides an ideological framework for claiming resources and influence and for challenging inequalities. In

multiculturalism meaningful group differences are endorsed and minority members' right to act politically in the public sphere is recognized. Cross-national research suggests that immigrants living in more multicultural countries are more likely to engage in normative political activities, and also more in activities directed at the host society rather than the homeland (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). And in the Netherlands, the swing in the last 15 years from a more multicultural to a more assimilationist public discourse has made political participation of minority group members more difficult (Michon & Vermeulen, 2013). Therefore, I expected dual identity to predict the intention to protest against discrimination of immigrants more strongly under the condition in which ethnic minority groups are recognized in society (multicultural condition) compared to when the national community is defined in terms of the native majority group to which they have to adapt (assimilation condition).

Although proponents of multiculturalism emphasize that group distinctiveness needs to be affirmed within a context of common national belonging (Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2000), it is argued that European multiculturalism would encourage minorities "to identify *first* as a member of that minority and only second, if at all, as a citizen" (Goodhart, 2013, p. 190). After surveying 47 member states, the Council of Europe (2008) concluded that multiculturalism is inadequate because it leads to fragmentation and argued for a political discourse and public policy centred on "interculturalism." Interculturalism would differ from multiculturalism in its emphasis on dialogue, cultural change, and the promotion of unity (Cantle, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2013).<sup>1</sup> Whereas European multiculturalism emphasizes the primacy and value of recognizing relatively separate and stable minority identities, interculturalism is less "groupist," favours change, and is committed to the importance of unity in diversity (Meer & Modood, 2012; Taylor, 2012). Thus, in contrast to multiculturalism with its emphasis on subgroup differences, interculturalism argues for a superordinate national identity

being the figure against a background of subgroup cultural differences that are secondary. Shared belonging typically means that one comes to like and trust the advantaged, that group-based inequalities are less salient, and that the intergroup context is seen less in terms of “us” and “them.” These correlates tend to undermine collective action of minority groups (Wright & Baray, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). This means that it can be expected that interculturalism does not have the same “political functions served by multiculturalism in mobilizing collective action and garnering resources for cultural communities” (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015, p. 23). This would imply that dual identity predicts minority members’ intention to engage in normative forms of protest less strongly in an interculturalism context compared to a multicultural one. I will examine this possibility in the current research.

## The Current Research

Participants were randomly assigned to different normative ways of dealing with diversity within the nation (assimilation, interculturalism, multicultural recognition) and subsequently asked to indicate their behavioural intention to engage in protest against the continuing discrimination of immigrants in Dutch society (Andriessen, Nievers, & Dagevos, 2012). Responding to important concerns about social psychological reliance on students samples (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), I used national samples of the three largest immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands (of Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese origin) that have different migration histories, different cultural characteristics, and different disadvantages (see Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009). Turks and Moroccans have a history of labour migration dating back to the end of the 1960s. Nearly all of them self-identify as Muslims (Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijsberts, 2010) and the Moroccans, followed by the Turks, occupy the most disadvantaged position in Dutch society in terms of educational attainment, labour market position, and experiences with discrimination.

The Surinamese have a more favourable position in society. Coming from a former Dutch colony, most Surinamese immigrants possessed the Dutch nationality and spoke the language upon arrival, and many of them have a Christian background (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009). These differences allow me to examine whether the expected role of multicultural recognition on the relationship between dual identity and protest intention is robust across these three immigrant-origin groups.

## Method

### *Participants*

In April 2014 data was collected using the online panel of TNS NIPO Consult—a Dutch bureau specialized in collecting national population data. The panel is representative for gender, age, education, and region. Samples were drawn of people of the three largest immigrant-origin groups: of Surinamese, Turkish, and Moroccan background. Adult respondents were invited to participate via e-mail and were paid €1.20 in vouchers for completing the questionnaire (or could donate that amount to charity). In total 474 respondents completed the survey (Surinamese  $N = 168$ , Moroccans  $N = 144$ , and Turks  $N = 162$ ). Of the sample, 46% was male and 54% female, with an even gender distribution across the three groups. There also was an even educational distribution across the three groups and in the analysis I did not consider education level because it was not associated with dual identity and protest intention. Age ranged between 18 and 84 ( $M = 41.17$ ,  $SD = 13.16$ ) but the Surinamese were somewhat older than the Moroccans and the Turks,  $F(2, 472) = 9.79, p < .001$ .

### *Experimental Procedure and Measures*

Right at the start of the survey and following the design and successful manipulations of previous research (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011) participants read an ostensible excerpt from the Dutch quality newspaper

*NRC-Handelsblad*. There was a different version for each of the experimental conditions and these versions closely matched this previous research. In the *multicultural condition* the excerpt was from an article titled “The Strength of Cultural Identities” and stressed the societal importance of appreciating and recognizing ethnic and cultural diversity:

Researchers have concluded that the recognition and acceptance of ethnic-cultural differences is best for society. We are all members of an ethnic or cultural group and it is only when our cultural background is recognized that we can be open towards others. Therefore, social scientists stress that acceptance of ethnic-cultural differences is essential for a well-functioning society.

In the *assimilation condition* the excerpt was taken from an article titled “The Strength of a Single Common Identity” and the author explained the societal importance of similarities and a single national identity:

Researchers have concluded that an emphasis on *one* single, shared identity is best for society. Everyone in the Netherlands is member of one and the same community—the Dutch. Therefore, social scientists stress that thinking in terms of what we share—rather than in terms of ethnic-cultural differences—is essential for a well-functioning society.

In the third condition (*interculturalism*) the excerpt from the article explained the virtues of a shared national identity together with integrating ethnic-cultural groups:

Researchers have concluded that acceptance of ethnic-cultural differences while also emphasizing our common national identity, is best for society. We are all members of an ethnic or cultural group but also of *one* community—the Dutch. Social scientists stress that attention to ethnic differences but *within* a shared national identity is essential for a well-functioning society.<sup>2</sup>

### *Intention to Protest*

After the excerpt and in all three conditions the participants were presented with the following text,

Various studies have demonstrated that discrimination of immigrants in applying for a job, at work, and in everyday life happens quite often. How likely is it that you would do one of the following things to protest against discrimination of immigrants in the Netherlands?

Subsequently a list of four actions was given: (a) sign a petition against discrimination, (b) participate in an antidiscrimination demonstration, (c) donate money for an antidiscrimination campaign, and (d) put up an antidiscrimination window poster. Participants were asked to indicate the likelihood of participating in these actions on a 5-point scale (1 = *no, certainly not*; 5 = *yes, certainly*). For these four items Cronbach’s alpha is .85 ( $M = 2.87$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ).

*Dual identification* was assessed at the end of the questionnaire and in a separate section. Six items (7-point scales) were used that directly measure duality and that were adapted from previous research (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Wiley et al., 2014). Three of these items focused on the blended form of dual identity (“I feel a I am both Turkish and Dutch,” “I feel that I am a combination of both: Turkish and Dutch,” and “I feel that I am a Turkish Dutch”) and three other items on the alternating form (“Sometimes I feel more Turkish and sometimes more Dutch—it depends on the situation,” “One moment I feel Turkish and the next moment Dutch,” and “It is as if I switch between feeling Turkish and feeling Dutch”). However, and similar to previous research (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014), principal component analysis for the sample, as well as for the three immigrant groups separately, indicated a single factor that for the total sample explained 70.7% of the variance with all items having a factor loading  $> .83$ . Alpha for these items is .94 ( $M = 4.35$ ,  $SD = 1.89$ ).

**Table 1.** GLM findings predicting intention to protest against discrimination of immigrants.

	<i>F</i>	Sig.	Partial eta squared
Ethnic group	13.565	.000	.056
Dual identity	53.734	.000	.105
Experimental condition	0.245	.783	.001
Exp. Cond. x Ethnic Group	0.951	.434	.008
Exp. Cond. x Dual Identity	4.380	.013	.019
Ethnic Group x Dual Identity	5.395	.005	.023
Exp. Cond. x Ethnic Group x Dual Identity	0.825	.509	.007

Note. R Squared = .211.

Analyses of variance (ANOVA) showed that there was no significant ethnic group difference in the level of dual identity,  $F(2, 472) = 1.71, p > .10$ . Furthermore, there were no significant differences ( $ps > .10$ ) between the experimental conditions in dual identity and also not for the demographic variables.

## Results

Considering the experimental design with three conditions, differences in protest intentions were examined using the general linear model (GLM) univariate procedure. The general linear model is a flexible generalization of analysis of variance and regression analysis and yields similar results (Rutherford, 2001; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Between-subjects analysis was conducted in which experimental condition and immigrant-origin groups were included as factors, and (the covariate) dual identity a continuous centred variable. A significant interaction effect was examined using simple slope analysis in GLM.

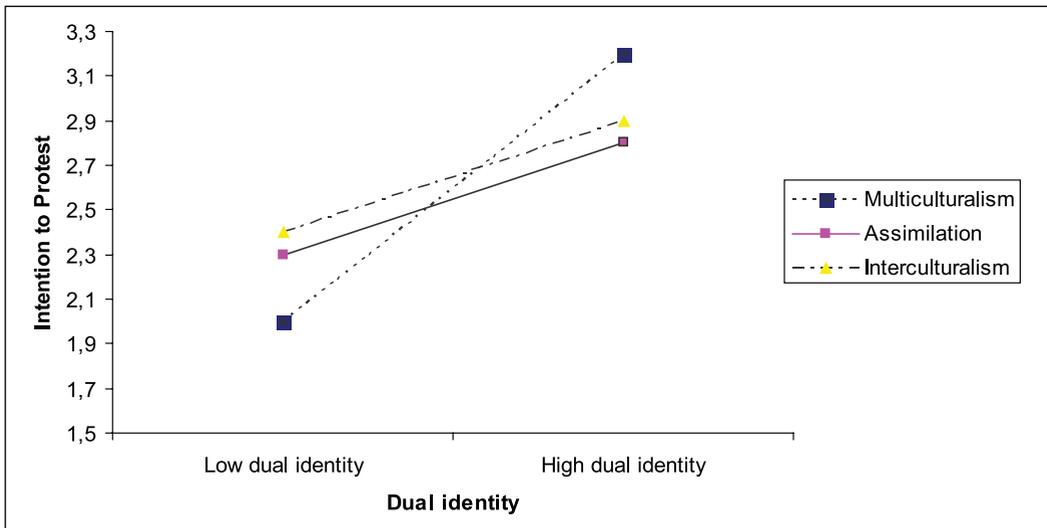
As shown in Table 1, there was no significant main effect for experimental condition: in the multicultural condition the intention to protest (adjusted  $M = 2.84, SD = 1.10$ ) was similar compared to the assimilation and intercultural conditions (adjusted  $M = 2.87, SD = 0.92$ , and  $M = 2.92, SD = 0.98$ , respectively). Higher dual identity was associated with higher protest intention. However, as expected the interaction effect between experimental condition and dual identity was significant. This means that the positive

effect of dual identity differed between the experimental conditions. Simple slope analysis showed similar positive effects of dual identity on protest intention in the intercultural condition,  $F(148, 1) = 9.54, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .063$ , and in the assimilation condition,  $F(157, 1) = 8.97, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .056$ . Yet, as expected in the multicultural condition, higher dual identity was much more strongly associated with higher intention to protest against discrimination,  $F(167, 1) = 46.26, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .221$ . This pattern of findings is shown in Figure 1.

Table 1 further shows that there was no significant three-way interaction effect between immigrant group, experimental condition, and dual identification. This indicates that the differential effect of dual identity in the three conditions was similar for the three groups. There was however an interaction between immigrant group and dual identity. Dual identity was a stronger predictor of the intention to protest for the Moroccans,  $F(144, 1) = 39.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .222$ , compared to the Turkish and the Surinamese participants, respectively,  $F(162, 1) = 7.76, p = .006, \eta_p^2 = .047$ , and  $F(168, 1) = 10.62, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .062$ . This might be due to the fact that the Moroccans occupy the most disadvantaged position in Dutch society.

## Discussion

The present study goes beyond the research on dual identity and collective action of immigrant-origin groups by studying the ideological



**Figure 1.** The interaction between dual identity and the three experimental conditions (multiculturalism, assimilation, interculturalism) on the level of protest intention.

conditions under which dual identity predicts the willingness to engage in lawful protest (see Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Wiley et al., 2014). Among national samples of three immigrant-origin groups that differ in their level of social disadvantage and cultural similarity with the native Dutch, a similar effect was found. In line with previous research, dual identity was associated positively with the intention to protest (Klandermans et al., 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Yet, the significant interaction effect indicates that this association was stronger in the condition in which multiculturalism was temporarily salient compared to the assimilation and interculturalism conditions.

Following the West European debate, the multicultural condition emphasized the recognition of separate minority cultures and in this context higher compared to lower dual identifiers appear to feel more entitled to advocate for their disadvantaged group. In contrast, in the assimilation condition in which the national community is defined in terms of the native majority, dual identity predicted protest intention significantly weaker. These findings indicate that when immigrants' cultural identity is not recognized this

limits their capacity to participate in public life and to speak up on behalf of their disadvantaged group. As noted for France by Tiberj and Michon (2013), an assimilative approach makes the articulation of "ethnic" interests illegitimate.

However, the current study found no difference in protest intention for cultural diversity ideology. Overall, the intention to protest was similar in the three experimental conditions. Furthermore, the weaker positive association between dual identity and protest intention in the assimilation condition (compared to the multicultural one) can also be interpreted differently. It might indicate that assimilation enhances low dual identifiers motivation to engage in collective action rather than undermining the motivation of high dual identifiers. A relatively low score on dual identity can mean different things: identification with the nation only, or only with one's ethnic minority group, or with neither of the two identities. The former case is less likely because in Western Europe, immigrants typically develop a dual identity when a sense of national belonging is combined with an existing strong sense of ethnic minority belonging (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). Low dual identity in the form

of an exclusive sense of ethnic belonging provides the motivation for engaging in collective action on behalf of one's minority group. This might be more likely in an assimilation context in which minority cultures are threatened, than in a multicultural context. The ethnic motivation to protest might also be stronger in a context in which interculturalism is emphasized.

I explored the role of interculturalism which, in Europe, has been proposed as an alternative to multiculturalism (Cantle, 2012). The findings show that dual identity also was less strongly associated to protest intention in the intercultural, compared to the multicultural, condition. This supports Morris et al.'s (2015) proposition that interculturalism does not have the same potential as multiculturalism for mobilizing collective action. Compared to multiculturalism, interculturalism is less "groupist," more oriented towards cultural changes, geared toward dialogue and interaction, and privileges commonality over minority identities (Meer & Modood, 2012; Taylor, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2013). These features tend to deflect minority members' attention away from injustices and undermine their collective action support (see Wright & Baray, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). The experimental manipulation that I used emphasized the "unity in diversity" aspect of interculturalism and cued the notion of a single national identity. Yet, by stressing in the text that we should all belong to one community—the Netherlands—the manipulation also might have had assimilationist connotations because national identity is implicitly equated with the native Dutch (Devos & Banaji, 2005). In countries such as the Netherlands and Germany the linguistic representations of nationhood and of the native population correspond: Dutch typically means native Dutch, and German means native German.

It is likely, however, that other aspects of interculturalism have a similar undermining effect—in comparison to multiculturalism—on minority members' intention to engage in lawful protest. For example, the emphasis on cultural changes and on dialogue and interaction reduces the tendency to perceive the intergroup context

in terms of "us" and "them," and can promote positive intergroup attitudes which makes collective action more difficult. Studies among minority groups in different countries have demonstrated that positive contact with the dominant group can reduce awareness of group inequality and discrimination, and decreases support for social policies that benefit minorities (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Future research has to examine whether these other aspects of interculturalism do indeed have a weakening effect on the relation between dual identity and protest intention.

There are some other limitations that provide directions for future studies. First, it is important to examine in future research the psychological mechanisms underlying the findings. For example, the stronger association between dual identity and protest in the multicultural condition might have to do with feelings of entitlement, perceptions of collective efficacy, and clarity of group boundaries (van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). It is also possible that the lower associations in the assimilation and interculturalism conditions are due to reduced anger and blurred group boundaries (Becker & Tausch, 2015; Ufkes, Dovidio, & Tel, 2014). These processes can be examined by assessing these perceptions and feelings and by including an experimental control condition in which no cultural diversity ideology is temporarily made salient.

Second, rather than using a combined score derived from separate measures of ethnic and national identification, I measured dual identity directly (e.g., "Turkish Dutch"). Yet, the use of such a measure implies that the meaning of a low dual identity score is rather ambiguous. A low score can, for example, mean a lack of identification with both identities (see Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016), or a moderate level of national identification against the backdrop of a strong minority group identification (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Future studies should examine these possibilities systematically and could also try to manipulate dual identity experimentally. Although

manipulating such meaningful identities among immigrants is quite difficult it might be possible to directly vary dual identity salience. This would allow the use of a design in which both diversity ideology and dual identity salience are manipulated which would provide a causal test of their combined effect on lawful forms of protest.

Third, although protest intentions and actual behaviour tend to be associated (van Zomeren et al., 2008) it remains to be seen whether the current results hold for actual protest. In addition, future research could assess how dual identity and diversity ideologies shape the nature of collective action by investigating not only normative but also nonnormative forms of protest (Becker & Tausch, 2015; Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013).

## Conclusion

Using national samples of the three largest immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands, the present findings show that the strength of the relation between dual identity and the intention to engage in lawful forms of protest against discrimination of immigrants depends on cultural diversity ideology. This corresponds to social science research that demonstrates that different diversity and integration policies offer different opportunity structures for the political participation and collective action of immigrant-origin groups (e.g., Koopmans et al., 2005). More specifically, the findings indicate that a multicultural context is more beneficial than assimilation and interculturalism for motivating higher compared to lower dual identifiers to engage in lawful forms of protest against the continuing discrimination that immigrants face.

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## Notes

1. This difference has similarities to the distinction between a multidisciplinary and an interdisciplinary approach. In the former the focus is on

separate discipline and the unique contribution that each makes to understanding a particular problem or phenomenon. The latter focuses more on creating a new, integrated and coherent whole by thinking across disciplinary boundaries.

2. I did not use a message manipulation check as this might have risked demand characteristics (O'Keefe, 2003), and because the manipulation used has been validated by prior research (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Yet, in a post hoc test ( $N = 60$ ) I examined whether the manipulations worked as intended in the Dutch context. Post hoc participants in the multicultural recognition condition reported (9-point scales) that they agreed more ( $M = 7.90$ ,  $SD = 2.11$ ) with the importance of recognizing cultural diversity than did those in the interculturalism ( $M = 6.25$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ) and the assimilation ( $M = 3.85$ ,  $SD = 2.3$ ) conditions,  $F(2, 58) = 19.69$ ,  $p < .001$ , all pair-wise differences  $ps < .036$ . Conversely, participants in the assimilation condition agreed more ( $M = 6.05$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ) that it is important for society to ignore ethnic differences as much as possible, than did those in the intercultural ( $M = 3.05$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ) and multicultural ( $M = 2.33$ ,  $SD = 1.74$ ) conditions,  $F(2, 58) = 25.89$ ,  $p < .001$ .

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