

E Pluribus... Unum?: Multiculturalism, Well-being, and Social Cohesion among Whites and Hispanics in the United States

By

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Abstract

Multiculturalism has been proclaimed as a failure in several European countries and has been said to divide solidarity in the United States. As many Western nations become increasingly pluralistic, multiculturalism has become one of the most socially and politically divisive issues that has been debated among citizens, scholars, and political leaders, many of which suggest multiculturalism undermines social cohesion. However, a review of the literature suggests that inconsistent findings may be due in part to differences in the conceptualisation of the term *multiculturalism*. As we argue in the current study, not only is multiculturalism a multi-faceted phenomenon relating to diversity of a population, policy to manage diversity, and ideologies of whether diversity is positive or negative, but also it may have different consequences for minority and majority groups. In the current study we seek to examine how these different conceptualisations of multiculturalism, are related to well-being and social cohesion using a new construct called Subjective Multiculturalism. This measure investigates participants' perceptions of how multicultural they perceive the United States to be in terms of diversity, policy that promotes equity, and ideology. Results indicate that Whites have higher levels of well-being than Hispanics and are more embedded in society. Results also indicate that perceptions that diversity is positively viewed by Americans predict social cohesion for Hispanics but not for Whites. Overall, findings suggest that multiculturalism does not exert negative effects on well-being or social cohesion, and indeed, in some cases it predicts positive outcomes, particularly for Hispanics.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Social Cohesion, Psychological Adaptation, Majority and Minority, Hispanic

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E Pluribus... Unum?: Multiculturalism, Well-being, and Social Cohesion among Whites and Hispanics in the United States

A debate has emerged among citizens, scholars, and politicians about whether multiculturalism is good or bad for the social fabric of a nation (e.g. Schlesinger, 1992). In the political sphere, British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel have both publically denounced multiculturalism, spoken out about its dangers, and blamed fragmented societies, alienated minorities, and other societal and economic problems on failed multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012). Conservative Party leader David Cameron criticized “the creed of multiculturalism” for contributing to a “deliberately weakening of our collective identity” (The Economist, 2007). German Chancellor Angela Merkel has claimed that multiculturalism has “utterly failed” (The Guardian, 2010) and more recently blamed it for leading to parallel societies and calling it a “grand delusion” (Huffington Post, 2015).

Since the 1990s, there has been an observed backlash against multiculturalism in many Western societies. In a review of the public discourse surrounding criticism of multiculturalism, Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) compiled debates around the issue from governments and assemblies, newspapers and journals, and TV talk shows and radio phone-in programs. They found that multiculturalism was often blamed for stifling debate, fostering separateness, providing a safe haven for terrorists, and justifying reprehensible cultural practices. Even more alarming, multiculturalism was linked with terrorist attacks occurring in Europe and the United States (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). As a result, multiculturalism has become associated with misguided policy among politicians and observers and used as a catchphrase to blame these societal problems (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). However, critics of multiculturalism are not just limited to politicians.

The Multiculturalism Debate

While politicians have spoken out about the negative repercussions of diversity and multicultural policy, some political scientists and economists have also “sounded the alarm” about the negative consequences of diversity, which may be undermining social cohesion within societies (Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010, p. 320). These academics blame ethnic diversity and multicultural policy for creating social division, hindering immigrants’ integration, and undermining national identity, principles, and values (Barry, 2001; Gitlin, 1995; Hollinger, 2000; Huntington, 1997; Huntington, 2004). From these academic viewpoints, pluralism fuels problematic social issues, and multicultural policy only exacerbates these problems. On the other hand, a closer look at these issues reveals these relationships may not be so straightforward. According to political philosopher and researcher Will Kymlicka, “Multiculturalism’s successes and failures, as well as its level of public acceptance, have depended on the nature of the issues at stake and the countries involved, and we need to understand these variations if we are to identify a more sustainable model for accommodating diversity” (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 2). As many Western democratic societies become increasingly diverse, it is essential for researchers to be able to precisely answer the question: *is multiculturalism the cause of social problems or the cure for social ills?*

Some researchers have contended that diversity triggers group division, such that there is a decrease in trust and civic and political engagement (Putnam, 2000, 2007). In a study conducted in the United States, Putnam (2007) found that in very diverse cities people were less trusting of their neighbours, regardless of whether their neighbours were of the same ethnicity. He concluded that diversity does not necessarily trigger ingroup or outgroup division, but rather anomie, where all people seemed to “hunker down” and isolate themselves compared to those who lived in more ethnically homogenous areas (Putnam, 2007, p. 149). In another study investigating the influence of diversity on relationships between neighbours, Fieldhouse and Cutts (2010) examined how close knit members of

communities were. They asked questions such as whether neighbours could be relied on to work cooperatively to solve problems, have shared values, get on well together, and trust one another. These questions measured what the researchers called 'neighbourhood norms' with higher scores indicating a greater sense of belonging. They found that White majority members were negatively affected by diversity, but that for minority groups, more diversity did not necessarily mean a decrease in feeling as though they belonged in their neighbourhood. Previous research has also found important distinctions between Whites and ethnic minorities. Alesina and Ferrara (2002) also found that only Whites living in racially mixed communities were likely to be less trusting of others. These studies expose the discrepancy between sampling majority and minority perspectives and how responses to questions on trust, community engagement, and belonging are dependent on which groups are asked.

In a multi-national study, Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) found that diversity and collective-mindedness were negatively related only in the United States. They concluded that the national context moderates this relationship as there are other factors that need to be considered. They found that income inequality exacerbates negative responses to immigration, probably because inequality undermines a shared sense of fate and solidarity, which are key to trust and collective mindedness. In another study of 20 European countries, the authors did not find evidence of the negative effects of ethnic diversity on generalized trust at the aggregate country level (Hooghe, Reeskens, Stolle, & Trappers, 2009). In the study by Fieldhouse and Cutts (2010), lower levels of trust in neighbours and feelings of belonging to their neighbourhoods was only true for U.S. majority members, but that in comparison to Britain, minority groups were considerably more comfortable living in diverse areas than majority group members. They theorised this was due to a greater discrepancy in affluence between neighbourhoods in the United States than in Britain.

While some of these studies have found a negative relationship between diversity and indicators of social cohesion, such as trust or feelings of belonging, other studies have not found this to be the case or that it is limited to specific groups of people. This research indicates that the social, political, and economic contexts may also help explain some of these differences. This is particularly the case in terms of how diversity is managed and whether it promotes social solidarity or exacerbates existing problems. In an attempt to better understand the impact multicultural policy has on these social issues, researchers developed an index to make cross-national comparisons. The Multicultural Policy Index (MPI; Banting & Kymlicka, 2006-2012) is a way to measure the progress of multicultural policies in a standardised format across many different countries to enable comparative research. Countries are ranked on eight multicultural policies that range from cultural recognition, economic redistribution, and political participation.

Using this data in the first longitudinal study of its kind, Banting and Kymlicka (2004) undertook a study to test whether multicultural policies have in fact eroded the welfare state in Western countries that have adopted them. They measured changes in the welfare state in terms of levels of interpersonal trust across groups and support for social programs that assist minority groups. They found that in fact there is no empirical evidence to support claims made by politicians that multicultural policies have failed and are eroding the welfare state. Furthermore, they found no differences between these findings for different minority groups such as immigrants, national minorities, and indigenous people. The real failure, according to their research, comes from a lack of implementation of policy that helps facilitate positive relationships between members of different groups. In this sense, multiculturalism has not *failed*, because in many instances it has not yet been fully attained.

Psychologists are also interested in understanding how multiculturalism affects the psychological adaptation of those living in pluralistic countries. In another international study

drawing data from the MPI, a team of cross-cultural psychologists developed a 13-nation International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY) to test the relationship between national level indicators of diversity and multicultural policy on psychological and social measures of well-being in immigrant youth (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Using data from this study, researchers found that youth minority members reported greater discrimination and poorer psychological and social adjustment in countries with greater diversity, while minority youth in countries with greater multicultural policy reported higher levels of self-esteem (Ward & Stuart, 2012). Although this appears to confirm the idea that diversity alone can have negative repercussions, in this case for psychological adjustment, deeper analysis indicates that these findings might be limited by the fact that they are conducted at the national level and that diversity alone only forms part of the multicultural picture. When diversity was considered in relation to the policies that help manage and accommodate that diversity, it was found that these immigrant youth had positive psychological outcomes (Ward & Stuart, 2012).

According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX; Migration Policy Group, 2011), a different cross-national multicultural index, immigrants who live in countries which rank at the top of the list for having multicultural policies, such as Canada, experience a greater sense of belonging, have greater trust and experience lower discrimination (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni & Passy, 2005; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). This has also been found at the individual level. Indeed where multicultural policies are strong, minorities are more encouraged to integrate, that is, maintain their ethnic identity while adopting a national identity, which has been shown to improve psychological well-being (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977). Integration as an acculturation strategy for minorities and immigrants is known by members of the receiving society as multiculturalism, a broad term to mean policy that promotes diversity and the belief that diversity is valued. Furthermore, multicultural policies

have been found to be good for the well-being of minorities as it contributes to the collective-mindedness among immigrants and gives them some symbolic legitimacy (Bloemraad, 2006; Vermeulen & Berger, 2008). Immigrants living in a country with greater multicultural policy experience a greater sense of belonging in terms of citizenship acquisition, are more trusting, and report lower levels of discrimination (Koopmans et al., 2005; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012).

The positive effects of multicultural policy on individuals have been empirically shown in a unique study by Bloemraad (2006) who investigated Vietnamese and Portuguese immigrants settling in two major cities in the United States and Canada. By comparing immigrants of the same ethnic background and skillsets settling into countries with relatively similar diversity demographics, but one with strong multicultural policy (Canada) and the other with weak multicultural policy (United States), she was able to isolate the effects these policies had on their adjustment. It was found that those in Canada integrated better, thus giving evidence that the country with greater multicultural policy, helped facilitate integration and therefore lead to better psychological adaptation.

Canada, which scores highest on the MPI, has been widely deemed as a successful multicultural society (Kymlicka, 2012). In the Canadian context, Berry (2000) found that multicultural policy is conducive to immigrant well-being and contributes to better intergroup relations and a more cohesive, inclusive society. Indeed native-born citizens in Canada also feel a mutual identification with immigrants. This is because in Canada a shared national identity and pride in being a multicultural nation is a key feature to being Canadian. In fact, it has been shown that national identity is positively correlated with support for immigration (Johnston, Banting, Kymlicka, & Soroka, 2010). Johnston and colleagues (2010) found that what makes Canada unique is the national pride in the welfare state and specific social redistribution programmes that contribute to nation-building and national narratives. In

Canada, diversity and multicultural policy have become normalised and form part of the country's makeup.

While the majority of Canadians have a positive view on multiculturalism and perceive multicultural policies as an effective way to encourage integration of minorities and immigrants (Berry et al., 1977), the United States has historically taken a more assimilationist perspective, which involves equal participation of minority groups without the recognition of diversity. Thus Americans¹ do not celebrate diversity in the same way Canadians have. The United States, which is considered to have a moderate level of multicultural policy according to the MPI, is founded on a different set of principles that make up the core features of national identity: democracy, liberty, equality, and individual achievement (Citrin, Reingold, and Green, 1990). While Canadians may celebrate diversity, Americans celebrate equality. Compared to Canada, support for immigration and multiculturalism has been found to be negatively related to identification with the country (Citrin, Johnston, Wright, 2012). However, this is not to say that the American identity is completely incompatible with diversity. In fact, it has been found that for Americans, favourability toward diversity is under some circumstances related to patriotism (Li & Brewer, 2004). In a study investigating this relationship, it was found that when majority White Americans conceptualise patriotism as something that involves shared goals, they expressed more favourable views toward multiculturalism (Walzer, 2004). As for immigrants and minority Americans, researchers found that patriotism, among other characteristics, actually grows from one generation to the next (Citrin, Lerman, Murakami, & Pearson, 2007).

While it is essential to consider the broad social science literature, which considers these issues of diversity and multicultural policy at the national level, there is also a strong

¹ The use of the term *American* here and throughout this thesis refers to residents of the United States

body of research in the organisational discipline, which investigates the psychological aspects of these issues at the workplace. At the organisational level, policies aimed at accommodating ethnic and cultural groups has been found to engage minorities (Plaut, Thomas & Goren, 2009) and foster more inclusive, less racially biased environments (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). The opposite was found for dominant member groups in the workplace, such that multiculturalism was perceived as threatening majority members' values (Plaut et al., 2011). In this case, Whites felt implicitly and explicitly excluded more when multiculturalism was implemented than when *colour-blind* approaches were used. That is to say, Whites felt more excluded when policies in the workplace valued and celebrated diversity (multiculturalism model) than when differences in racial, ethnic and other social groups were unified into an overarching category (colour-blind model; Plaut et al., 2011).

In more recent psychological experimental research, the relationship between multicultural policy and attitudes toward diversity were also investigated. Depending on how multiculturalism was framed to participants, White majority members' attitudes toward ethnic minorities varied. Broad abstract conceptualisations of multiculturalism in terms of its general goals decreased prejudice toward minorities, while concrete conceptualisations of specific ways multiculturalism could be achieved increased prejudice (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). In a follow up study, it was concluded that broad abstract descriptions of multiculturalism were seen as less threatening to majority members' national identity than concrete conceptualisations of multiculturalism (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). These studies indicate that under some circumstances, multicultural policies can be seen as exclusionary and threatening to majority Whites in the United States and incite prejudice and negative attitudes toward minority members. While this is not the case for all White Americans, these studies show that when diversity is to truly be recognised and

accommodated (e.g. through workplace policies or the specificities of achieving it), there is a tendency for greater social distancing.

The broad range of findings in the multiculturalism literature demonstrates that determining whether multiculturalism is good or bad is difficult. Each piece of research uncovers a slightly different part of the story, meaning answering the overarching question, is multiculturalism the cause or cure of social ills, does not take a “one size fits all” research approach. Some studies indicate that diversity and multicultural policy undermine psychological adaptation and other measures of what researchers call social cohesion, such as trust, belonging, engagement, and national attachment. Other research indicates that these negative outcomes may be limited to certain members of the population, if occurring at all. Furthermore, it may be that much of the controversy over multiculturalism that arises in public discourse is partly because of different understandings of the term *multiculturalism*. Inconsistent findings by social scientists from a broad range of disciplines may be in part due to the failure of researchers to consider multiculturalism as referring to both diversity and policy that promotes equality. A lack of consistency by what researchers mean by social ills also needs to be considered when researchers make conclusions about the impact it has on social solidarity. In order to address these issues, this review will “unpack” the different meanings of multiculturalism, then address differences between majority and minority perspectives, and comment on how these issues are studied differently across disciplines.

Unpacking Multiculturalism

In order to address the different definitions of multiculturalism, this project examines the two most common formulations found in the social sciences: multiculturalism as defined in terms of the cultural diversity of a population and multiculturalism as defined in terms of policies which accommodate cultural and ethnic diversity while promoting equality

(Kymlicka, 2012). From a psychological perspective, a third framework for defining multiculturalism based on a psychological understanding of the phenomenon is used. Multicultural ideology refers to the belief that cultural diversity is generally good and something to be valued and accommodated through policies and practices that facilitate equitable participation (Berry, 1977). It is important to consider these three conceptualisations of multiculturalism, diversity, equity, and ideology, together in order to truly judge the success or failure of multiculturalism as a broad concept.

Diversity. Multicultural diversity refers to the ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity within a country (Berry & Ward, 2016). As we have seen in the literature above, immigration-driven heterogeneity has become a contentious issue in pluralistic countries. The conflicting evidence, particularly in multi-nation studies, indicates that diversity per se is not necessarily causing conflict or social divisiveness. In fact, in Canada, positive attitudes toward ethnic out-groups increased with greater diversity (Kalin & Berry, 1982). A similar trend has been found in New Zealand, where valuing immigrants increased and perceptions of discrimination by immigrants decreased as a function of immigrant density (Ward, Masgoret & Vauclair, 2011). Therefore, the conflicting international body of research around diversity and negative social issues is at least partly shaped by other contextual social, political, and economic factors.

Equity. According to Kymlicka (2012), multicultural policy is part of a larger human-rights revolution, where policies are developed to help overcome lingering inequalities and when developed correctly can actually facilitate social cohesion within countries. Multiculturalism, then as a policy is the management and accommodation of diversity, which help facilitate equitable participation for heterogeneous ethnocultural groups (Berry & Ward, 2016). Without policies that systematically promote intercultural contact, equal participation among minority members, and inclusion, then it is likely that these diverse groups will

become segregated (Berry & Ward, 2016), thus contributing to problems like societal divisiveness. In light of this definition, one could argue in many countries multiculturalism has not failed because it was never fully implemented. Indeed, some researchers have rejected the notion that multiculturalism has failed, indicating that in many ways multicultural policies have even strengthened over the past 10 years resulting in positive outcomes (Kymlicka, 2012). The real concern is whether enough has been done. Only when policy that promotes cultural maintenance and equitable participation is present and valued will multiculturalism actually be practiced (Berry et al., 1977).

Ideology. While objective measures from census tracts and policy indexes can address the first two constructs of multiculturalism (diversity and equity), the addition of a third framework for defining multiculturalism is needed. The psychological body of literature tells us that the ideologies people hold toward multiculturalism can also be a good indicator of how well all members of that society adapt and feel a part of their social environment. Multicultural ideology is defined as “an appreciation of diversity and support for cultural maintenance in conjunction with a recognised need for mutual accommodation that promotes equitable participation” (Berry & Ward, 2016, p. 447). Without positive multicultural ideologies in addition to multicultural policies, it is likely that minorities will not feel as though they have a place either legally or socially and are more likely to become segregated, which could in fact lead to social division.

According to Berry (2005), acceptance of cultural and ethnic diversity is essential alongside equitable participation for the adaptation of immigrants. This has been shown in studies where minority groups who perceive their ethnic and culture traditions to be accepted by others will adapt better (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2014), have greater life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2010), and feel their ethnic group identity is validated (Burnet, 1995). In the 13-nation International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (Berry, et al., 2006) negative

attitudes toward immigrants predicted lower levels of life satisfaction in immigrant youth (Ward & Stuart, 2012). However, from a majority perspective, these relationships are less clear.

In a study investigating attitudes toward multiculturalism and preferences for acculturation styles, it was found that Dutch majority members who had positive attitudes toward multiculturalism were less likely to prefer Turkish-Dutch to adopt Dutch culture in public (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). As has been previously mentioned, this has positive psychological outcomes for minorities who can then perceive it as more acceptable to maintain their ethnic or heritage cultures. Positive multicultural ideologies are not just linked to psychological well-being in minorities. In cases where dominant group members do endorse a positive multicultural policy, it has been found to relate to higher levels of self-esteem (Verkuyten, 2009) and life satisfaction (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004) even for majorities. These studies show the extent to which multicultural ideologies are also important when determining the influence of multiculturalism on the well-being of individuals and building positive interpersonal relationships.

This review has considered the literature in the general social sciences that focus on diversity and policy aspects of multiculturalism and it has introduced a third framework of multiculturalism, which is more often found in the psychological literature. Although all of these studies contribute to a better understanding of the impacts of multiculturalism, in reality, we experience these different types of multiculturalism simultaneously and therefore should be wary of drawing broad conclusions based on research using only one facet of multiculturalism. The simultaneity of multiculturalism working together to predict social outcomes has rarely been investigated by researchers. In one of the few studies, researchers compared multicultural policies and ideologies in Canada, Germany, the United States, and United Kingdom (Guimond et al., 2013). Countries were ranked according to their score on

the MPI. Multicultural ideologies were operationalised in terms of participants' perceived norms and attitudes toward diversity and multicultural policy. They found that those living in countries with more multicultural policies, such as Canada, perceived multiculturalism as more normative and had better attitudes toward diversity. Participants from Germany, which has the fewest multicultural policies, tended not to perceive multicultural policies as very common and therefore had more negative ideologies toward diversity. Those from the United Kingdom and the United States scored in the middle, which also reflected their moderate score on the MPI. Guimond and colleagues (2013) concluded that national-level policies influence people's ideologies toward diversity and multicultural policy, which can then filter into personal attitudes and behaviours which either promote positive intergroup interactions or create social divide. This study highlights the importance of examining these different constructs of multiculturalism together.

Multiculturalism and Group Status

While distinguishing between the different facets of multiculturalism helps clarify what questions are being answered, it is equally important to consider if these different facets of multiculturalism have the same effects for majority and nonmajority groups. That is, for whom is multicultural diversity, equity, and ideology good or bad? While much of the backlash against multiculturalism assumes only a majority perspective, the academic literature too often fails to distinguish between groups. The risk here is that conclusions are drawn which are not representative of the entire population.

As we have already seen from a few studies that do distinguish between groups, multiculturalism often seems to produce more positive outcomes for minorities and neutral to negative outcomes for majorities. That is, diversity has been linked to lower levels of trust and belonging in Whites, but not minority members in the United States (Alesina & Ferrara

2002; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010). While the evidence is clear that multicultural policies are considered to be good for the psychological adaptation of immigrants (Berry et al., 1977; Bloemraad, 2006; Vermeulen & Berger, 2008) and contribute to greater feelings of belongingness, trust, and lower levels of perceived discrimination for minority groups (Koopmans et al., 2005; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012), it is less clear if it has the same positive effects for majority members. In some contexts multicultural policy can be seen as threatening or exclusionary to majority groups (Plaut, et al., 2011; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014) or that majority groups tend to prefer models that promote equity while not having to recognise diversity (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003), while in other contexts it has been found to be good for both majority and minority groups (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten, 2009). One explanation for the differences in findings is that multiculturalism has different meanings and consequences dependent upon one's group membership (Plaut et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2005). In order to fully understand these relationships, distinctions between majority and nonmajority members need to be drawn.

Multiculturalism across Disciplines

In addition to distinctions between majority and minority groups, there should be consideration for the level of analysis used. As multiculturalism has become a more contentious issue, researchers have begun to study the phenomenon in many different contexts. Berry and Ward (2016) refer to these different levels of analyses as sitting on a spectrum with macro-level groups at one end (e.g. countries or societies) and individuals at the other end. Intermediate level of analyses, like that of institutions, organisations, neighbourhoods, communities, and other groups, fall in the middle (Berry & Ward, 2016).

In political discourse and the social sciences, multiculturalism is often discussed in terms of the cultural diversity of a population and the policies that accommodate the ethnic and cultural diversity within that population (Kymlicka, 2012). Major social surveys are often

used in this type of research to determine how diversity and multicultural policy compromise what many of these scientists refer to as social capital or social cohesion. This level of analysis exists at the national or intermediate level end of the spectrum and helps determine whether multiculturalism promotes positive or negative relationships with in a population or group of people.

Although these level of analyses are important, they do not reflect the true experiences of all those who live in these diverse environments. While objective multicultural policies are meant to regulate overt behaviours and help facilitate equality, does this actually occur? If so, do the attitudes and perceptions of those living in these environments reflect this? Psychologists, therefore, are interested in how individuals experience *everyday multiculturalism*, or the reality of everyday interactions with members of culturally diverse groups. This level of analysis would fall at the individual end of the spectrum because it considers the psychological aspects of multiculturalism and taps into the subjective perceptions, attitudes, interpretation, and evaluations of the everyday people who live in these pluralistic societies. A psychological understanding of multiculturalism helps us determine how diversity and multicultural policy are actually experienced. It helps answer the questions: do people interact with members of ethnic and cultural groups other than their own and are these interactions pleasant? Are minorities equally represented and do people generally think this is a good thing? The primary interest here is whether experiences of multiculturalism are viewed as positive or negative, threatening, or something that is valued. In the current study, we refer to this as *subjective multiculturalism (SMC)*.

Subjective Multiculturalism

In order to capture individual everyday experiences of multiculturalism, participants act as cultural informants about their perceptions and interpretations of living in a diverse society. Subjective multiculturalism (SMC) then is, “the subjective perception of an

individual concerning the degree to which cultural diversity is both evident and accommodated within their cultural context” (Stuart, 2015). The everyday experiences of diversity can then be examined in terms of the three facets of multiculturalism.

The idea of measuring perceptions of multiculturalism is not completely new. According to educational research, perceived multiculturalism leads to better psychological adaptation for immigrant and minority youth in the school environment (Brand, Felner, Shim, Seitsinger, & Dumas, 2003; Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009) and that perceiving one’s classroom to be inclusive of diversity produces greater feelings of support and in turn greater life satisfaction (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). Generally, it has been found that perceiving one’s environment to be multicultural is good for the self-esteem for minorities (Verkuyten, 2009) and even under some circumstances it can also be good for the well-being of majority members (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002).

Breugelmans & van de Vijver (2004) were among the first cross-cultural psychologists to measure majority perceptions of multicultural ideologies among groups in a Dutch society. They found that those who perceived multiculturalism norms as threatening had more negative attitudes than those who perceived multiculturalism norms as supportive. Perceiving multicultural norms to be supportive was related to positive attitudes toward multiculturalism, such as valuing diversity and endorsing the maintenance of ethnic cultures among minority members. Furthermore, participants’ behaviours reflected these positive attitudes, as they reported having more contact with minority groups.

These initial studies show the predictive ability of measuring perceptions. In the initial construction of what would become a three factor measure of SMC, a simplified version of subjective multiculturalism, was developed. Stuart (2012) found that Muslim youth living in New Zealand and the United Kingdom who believed diversity is accepted and

that multiculturalism is important to members of society were more psychologically adjusted, such as having lower depression, greater life satisfaction, adapting better, and having fewer behavioural and psychological problems.

The Subjective Multiculturalism Scale. The Subjective Multiculturalism Scale was developed by Stuart and Ward (2015) based on data from New Zealand and the United States. Due to the strong predictive ability of the initial SMC scale in the Stuart (2012) study, a robust multifactorial measure was constructed and subjected to validation. A 35 item scale was initially generated with a general New Zealand population, resulting in a three factor 17-item scale, which correlated in expected directions with criterion measures (Stuart & Ward, 2015). Items on the scale measured: the likelihood that individuals interact with people from different cultures on any given day (diversity), if people believe there is equal participation, maintenance of traditional culture, and support by policies and practices that accommodate ethnic minorities (equity), and whether it is generally perceived that most people believe multiculturalism is good (ideology; Stuart & Ward, 2015). The 17-item, three-factor scale (SMC Diversity, SMC Equity, and SMC Ideology) that emerged from the New Zealand data was then confirmed using an American sample, confirming that comparisons across different national contexts could be made.

After scales were validated, the relationships between SMC and other measures of interest were tested between the New Zealand and American samples. It was found that in both the New Zealand and United States all three subscales were positively related to measures of national attachment, giving some initial evidence that perceiving society to be multicultural means one is more likely to feel patriotic and identify with their country, which have positive implications for indications of social cohesion.

SMC Equity was found to negatively relate to multicultural attitudes and awareness of discrimination and disadvantage in both the American and New Zealand samples (Stuart & Ward, 2015). This suggests that perceptions that minorities are accommodated and given equal treatment, might be related to having negative attitudes toward multiculturalism and being less aware and empathetic of discrimination and disadvantage. One interpretation of this is that perceiving policies that promote equality may be threatening for some individuals, although this could be limited to majority groups since this was the primary sample group. SMC Ideology was also negatively related to awareness of discrimination and disadvantage, but not multicultural attitudes in the New Zealand sample. In the U.S. sample SMC Ideology was unrelated to awareness of discrimination, but positively related to attitudes toward multiculturalism. This suggests that for New Zealanders the more people are aware of disadvantage and discrimination the less likely they are to perceive members of their society to have positive ideologies toward multiculturalism. In both groups, those who have positive attitudes toward multiculturalism themselves are more likely to perceive society to believe multiculturalism is good. These initial findings during the scale development and validation phase give evidence that SMC is related to several key indicators of the outcomes one would expect of residing in a multicultural country.

In the first study, after the development and validation, to investigate the predictive ability of SMC, Ward and Stuart (2015) examined the SMC subscales in relation to well-being and social cohesion in a UK sample. Social cohesion was operationalised as patriotism, trust, belonging, perceived discrimination, and threat. It was found that after controlling for age, gender, and group (White/non-White), SMC Diversity positively related to measures of well-being and belonging. SMC Equity was also positively related to measures of well-being, as well as belonging and patriotism. SMC Ideology did not significantly correlate with measures of well-being, but it was correlated with several of the social cohesion measures,

such as trust, belonging, and patriotism and negatively correlated with perceived discrimination. Follow up analyses were conducted on the relationship between the SMC subscales and feelings of threat by out groups. It was found that group status moderated the effect of SMC Equity on threat, such that this relationship was positive for Whites, but non-significant for non-Whites. This supports the findings in the initial scale construction and validation phase where SMC Equity was negatively related to multicultural attitudes (Stuart & Ward, 2015). Although the SMC factors were generally positively related to the outcome variables, SMC Equity was found to negatively predict threat, but only for Whites. When the interaction is graphed, we can see that this relationship is opposite for minorities, although the slope is non-significant, most likely due to the small minority sample. One explanation is that SMC equity is seen as threatening to the majority group, however distinctions made between majority and minority groups should be interpreted with caution because of the relatively small sample of minority participants. Furthermore, these initial findings are based on correlations between the SMC subscales and other variables of interest. Simultaneous regressions would help to better investigate which SMC subscale best predicts each of these outcomes.

The Present Study

With the exception of a few studies, most research has investigated the understandings of multiculturalism independently. In reality, though, the different facets of multiculturalism are intertwined and are best explored together. Therefore the best way to simultaneously test the real lived experiences of people is to measure their perceptions of multiculturalism on diversity, equity, and ideology at once. This can help better explain how these dimensions of multiculturalism affect well-being of individuals and intercultural relations between groups. The current study will investigate this by examining the dimensions of SMC as predictors of well-being and social cohesion and will help fill the gap

in the literature by measuring how group status (White or Hispanic)² moderates that relationship.

Firstly, we will investigate how multiculturalism affects one's psychological adjustment within society. *Is it good or bad for their well-being?* This will tap into the intra-personal effects of multiculturalism. Secondly, we will investigate how multiculturalism affects one's relationships to other members of society. *Does it promote positive or negative relationships between members of a society?* The aim here is to measure inter-personal effects of multiculturalism. Lastly, we will investigate how multiculturalism affects attachment to one's nation. *That is, do people feel proud to be a member of the United States?* The aim here is to measure intra-group effects of multiculturalism in terms of pride in being American.

We have chosen to carry out research in the United States because of the rapidly growing Hispanic population and the context of being a diverse nation. Historically known as the "great melting pot", Anglo-assimilationist perspectives have remained the root metaphor within the American democracy for over a century (Sheffield, 2007). This ideology is founded on principles of equal participation among all members of society without recognising ethnic and cultural groups. However, as the previous literature shows, equitable participation forms just one part of the multicultural framework. Furthermore, without public recognition of diversity, Americans are able to ignore ethnic and cultural differences. However, changing demographics in the United States have brought into light the social implications of an increase in diversity, making the United States an interesting country to

² According to the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the terms *White* and *Hispanic* refer to racial and ethnic categorical groups, which are commonly used by many federal statistics and administrative reporting agencies, such as the U.S. Census Bureau (OMB, 1997). Although each of these terms refer to distinct race and ethnic categories, for simplicity reasons, in the current study, *White* and *Hispanic* are both referred to as *ethnicity* throughout this thesis.

explore the impacts of multiculturalism on the social cohesiveness for members of the two largest groups: Whites and Hispanics.

More than half the growth in the total U.S. population between 2000 and 2010 was due to an increase in the Hispanic population, which now outnumbers African Americans 17% to 13% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Furthermore, minorities and ethnic groups now make up half of the population in children under five in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). This trend will only continue with Hispanics projected to comprise of one quarter of the population by 2060 (U.S. Census, 2015a) with 35% being foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). While the Hispanic population continues to grow, this group faces major social and economic inequalities compared to other ethnic groups. Hispanics earn an annual household medium income of \$42,491USD compared to \$60,256USD for White non-Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). Furthermore, the poverty rate for Hispanics (23.6%) is more than double that of White non-Hispanics (10.1%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b).

New metaphors such as “mosaic” and “tossed salad” are seemingly replacing old ideologies in America (Taylor & Lambert, 1996), indicating at least the possible transition from colour-blind assimilationist ideologies to the recognition of diversity. However, lingering inequalities indicate that multicultural policy has not been sufficient in accommodating demographic changes. Furthermore, this raises the question: have Americans really endorsed multicultural ideologies? The current study seeks to better understand the effects of multiculturalism on a minority group, in this case Hispanics, by making comparisons with majority members.

Hypotheses

Drawing from the general social science literature, psychological research, and the initial empirical research conducted using SMC, hypotheses were derived about the

relationships between the three facets of SMC and well-being and social cohesion for Whites and Hispanics living in the United States.

SMC Diversity. At the individual level, perceptions of living in a diverse society have been shown to be generally good for immigrant and minority well-being and social adaptation (Stuart, 2012). Intra-personal benefits have also been found in the educational setting, where greater perceptions of diversity at school has been found to lead to better psychological adaptation for immigrant and minority youth (Le, et al., 2009; Brand, et al., 2003) and feelings of inclusion, which lead to greater life satisfaction (Ward & Masgoret, 2004) and higher self-esteem (Verkuyten, 2009). Given the evidence around minority and immigrant groups, we would expect the relationship between SMC Diversity and well-being to be more salient for these groups. Most of the research examining intra-personal effects of multiculturalism have focused on minority or immigrant groups, while literature from the majority perspective is very limited. In one such study, researchers found that under some circumstances majority Dutch report greater well-being when they perceived their country to be diverse (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Generally, however, we cannot confidently generalise these findings to the U.S. context. Therefore, we hypothesise that SMC Diversity positively predicts well-being for Hispanics, but not for Whites.

We then turn to the general social science literature to review the outcomes of diversity in terms of measures of social cohesion. While this literature is much more extensive, conflicting findings and the influence of contextual factors make drawing a conclusion complex. Some researchers have contended that diversity creates social divide (Putnam, 2007), while other research indicates this may only be occurring in the United States (Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010) or only from majority group perspective (Alesina & Ferrara, 2002; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010). While greater diversity may increase negative attitudes toward immigrants and feelings of threat (Bloemraad & Wright, 2014), this may be

limited to majority groups. Therefore, we hypothesise that SMC Diversity negatively predicts social cohesion for Whites, but not for Hispanics.

SMC Equity. The evidence that multicultural policy is good for the well-being of minority groups at the national level is well established (Berry, et al., 1977; Berry, 2000; Bloemraad, 2006; Vermeulen, et al., 2008). Multi-national comparisons have found that multicultural policy predicts greater psychological and social adaptation (Berry et al., 2006) and self-esteem (Ward & Stuart, 2012) in youth minorities. The organisational literature in the United States tells us that multicultural policy in the work place is associated with greater feelings of inclusiveness and psychological adjustment in minorities (Stevens et al., 2008; Plaut et al., 2011). Again, the previous research mainly investigates these relationships from minority or immigrant perspectives, which may be a reflection of the overall importance of multicultural policies in terms of psychological well-being for these groups. Therefore, we hypothesise that SMC Equity positively predicts well-being for Hispanics, but not Whites.

Many social scientists have echoed political discourse that multicultural policies exacerbate social divisions, hinder immigrant integration (Barry, 2001; Gitlin, 1995; Hollinger, 2000), and undermine democratic values (Huntington, 2004). But a closer look at the relationship between multicultural policy and social cohesion indicators reveal that this relationship depends more on how well policies are implemented (Banting & Kymlicka, 2003; Kymlicka, 2012). When implemented well, these policies have the ability to positively influence feelings of embeddedness for immigrants (Berry, 2000). According to the research conducted using the multicultural policy indexes, immigrants living in a country with greater multicultural policy experience more belongingness and trust (Koopmans et al., 2005; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). In the United States, the organisational literature indicates that multicultural policy engages minorities at work but is seen as excluding to members of the dominant group (Plaut et al., 2011), or in some cases as threatening (Yogeewaran &

Dasgupta, 2014). Furthermore, initial findings with the subjective multiculturalism studies suggest SMC Equity may be seen as threatening to Whites but not nonmajority members (Ward & Stuart, 2015). Based on these findings we hypothesise that SMC Equity will positively predict social cohesion in Hispanics and negatively predict social cohesion for Whites.

SMC Ideology. Berry (2005) argues that alongside multicultural policy, acceptance of cultural and ethnic diversity is essential for the psychological and social adaptation of immigrants. This has been empirically shown in studies where feelings that diversity is valued and accepted are related to psychological well-being for minority groups (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2014; Verkuyten, 2010) even after controlling for the effects of diversity and variations in multicultural policy (Ward & Stuart, 2012). Furthermore, negative attitudes toward immigrants predicted lower levels of life satisfaction in immigrant youth (Berry, et al., 2006). Even majority group members who are accepting of a multicultural ideology report greater well-being (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten, 2009). Therefore, we hypothesise that SMC Ideology will predict higher levels of well-being.

In some cases in the United States, the development of a multicultural ideology is undermined because multiculturalism can be seen as threatening by majority group members, (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Plaut et al., 2011). However, when perceptions of multicultural ideologies are measured a different trend emerges. In the U.S. sample, SMC Ideology was found to be positively related to attitudes toward diversity, attitudes toward multiculturalism, and national attachment (Stuart & Ward, 2015). Combined scores for majority and minority groups in the UK study indicated that SMC Ideology was related to social cohesion measures, meaning that if diversity is seen as good and to be accommodated (having a positive multicultural ideology), it creates an environment for everyone to trust one another, feel as though they belong, and be proud of their country (Ward & Stuart, 2015).

Thus, we would expect those who perceive others to think multiculturalism is good are more likely to score higher in measures of social cohesion. Therefore, we hypothesise that SMC Ideology will positively predict social cohesion.

Review of Research Objective and Hypotheses

The current research investigates whether subjective perceptions of multiculturalism (in terms of diversity, equality, and ideology) predict well-being and social cohesion among Whites and Hispanics living in the United States. We measure everyday perceptions of multiculturalism in the United States in terms of diversity, perceptions of equality among minority groups, and the beliefs that most people have positive ideologies toward diversity and multicultural policy. Hypotheses were formed for each of the SMC subscales and the outcome measures. However for the purposes of discussing how well-being and social cohesion can best be predicted, we have recapped them according to dependent variable. The following hypotheses were formed:

Well-being:

- 1a. SMC Diversity and SMC Equity positively predict well-being for Hispanics, but not for Whites
- 1b. SMC Ideology positively predicts well-being

Social Cohesion:

- 2a. SMC Diversity negatively predicts social cohesion for Whites, but not for Hispanics
- 2b. SMC Equity positively predicts social cohesion in Hispanics, but this relationship will be negative for Whites.
- 2c. SMC Ideology will positively predict social cohesion

Method

Procedure

After receiving approval by the Victoria University of Wellington School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, participants were recruited through various networks such as organisations, online forums, social media sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Reddit), and crowd sourcing platforms. In order to participate, participants had to meet the following eligibility requirements: be currently living in the United States, aged 18 years old or older, self-identify as Hispanic (of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin) or White (Caucasian or of European decent)³ and speak English at an advanced or native level. See Appendix A for an example message used in the recruitment of this sample. In all instances, participants were also offered the option of sharing the survey with friends and family, so that snowballing techniques were used to gain additional participants. After beginning the survey, all participants were provided with an information sheet explaining that their participation was completely anonymous, voluntary, and that they could stop at any time. Upon completion, participants were provided with a debriefing sheet, giving a brief explanation of the study. Refer to Appendix B for the information sheet, all materials used in the survey, and debriefing sheet.

Participants

Three hundred and twenty people began the survey, but 36 participants were not included in the analyses because they did not complete at least 80 per cent of the items or did not meet the inclusion criteria. This left a total of 284 participants with an even distribution across the two ethnic groups (Hispanic $n = 143$, White $n = 141$), but with females slightly

³ The criteria for defining *White* and *Hispanic* is based on definitions from the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB, 1997) and are similar definitions used by the U.S. Census Bureau.

overrepresented ($n = 177$, 62.3%). Almost all participants were U.S. citizens ($n = 274$, 96.5%) who came from 35 different states, with Maryland (15%), California (14.1%), Texas (10.6%), Iowa (8.5%) Florida (6.3%), and New York (4.2%) being the most represented states. The majority of the participants were born in the United States ($n = 245$, 86.3%), and those who were not ($n = 39$, 13.7%) reported having lived in the United States for long periods of time (between 4 - 20 years or longer) and were mostly from Central and South American countries. The sample was diverse in age, ranging from 18 to 87 ($M = 39.88$, $SD = 17.29$).

Materials

The survey included the Subjective Multiculturalism Scale, a measure of well-being (The Flourishing Scale), and social cohesion measures (Trust, General Belongingness, and Patriotism). In addition to these criterion measures, demographic and background information was collected including: ethnicity (either White or Hispanic), citizenship status (citizen or noncitizen), age, gender, country of birth, length of time in the United States if born abroad, and state of residence. Refer to Appendix B for the information sheet, all materials used, and debriefing sheet.

The Subjective Multiculturalism (SMC) Scale. The 17-item Subjective Multiculturalism Scale (Stuart & Ward, 2012) was used to measure the perception that the social environment in which one resides supports cultural diversity. The measure contains three subscales: (a) SMC Diversity (four items; e.g., “*It is likely that you will interact with people from many different cultures on any given day*”), which measures perceptions that the population of the country in which one lives is culturally diverse; (b) SMC Equity (six items; e.g., “*Institutional practices are often adapted to the specific needs of ethnic minorities*”), which measures perceptions that there is equitable participation and accommodation of

diverse groups in society; (c) SMC Ideology (seven items; e.g., “*Most people think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country*”), which measures perceptions that most people residing in society believe that cultural diversity is beneficial. Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert Scale, *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (5). See Appendix B2 for all items.

In the initial construction and validation of this measure, SMC and its subscales were found to have an acceptable level of reliability ($\alpha = .75 - .83$) in New Zealand and U.S. samples (Stuart & Ward, 2015), showing it can be used in different contexts. It also demonstrated good convergent validity. As expected, SMC Equity subscale was negatively associated with perceived minority disadvantage and discrimination, SMC Ideology was positively associated with multicultural attitudes and attitudes to diversity, and SMC Diversity was positively associated with national identity (Stuart & Ward, 2015). In the current study good internal reliability for the SMC subscales was found in the Hispanic group ($\alpha = .70 - .82$) and for Whites ($\alpha = .69 - .79$).

Well-Being Scale

Flourishing Scale. The eight item Flourishing Scale measures positive psychological outcomes in terms of whether participants are thriving in their daily lives (Diener et al., 2010). An example item is, “*I lead a purposeful and meaningful life*”. Participants respond to each statement on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7) with higher scores indicative of greater flourishing. The scale has been validated by Hone, and colleagues (2013) in a New Zealand sample ($N = 9,646$) consisting of participants from a broad range of backgrounds and ethnic groups (European, Maori, Pacific Islander, and Asian). Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses revealed a one-factor structure with good internal reliability ($\alpha = .91$), indicating the scale can be used across a wide range of ethnic groups. In the current

study, good internal reliability was also found for the Hispanic ($\alpha = .89$) and White ($\alpha = .94$) group.

Social Cohesion Scales

Trust. This six-item scale was adapted from the World Values Survey and the European Values Study (2012) in order to measure general trust in others within the United States by changing the original items from a categorical response option to a continuous Likert scale. Participants were asked to think about their trust towards all Americans, by being prompted with the instructions, *“This next section asks you questions about how you feel about others in the UNITED STATES. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements in reference to AMERICANS”*. Example statements include, *“Generally speaking, most people can be trusted in this country”* or reverse coded *“Generally speaking, you need to be careful in dealing with people”*. Participants responded to each statement on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). The World and European Values Study authors have not provided evidence of the measure’s reliability and validity. However, in the current study, it was found to have good internal reliability in both the Hispanic ($\alpha = .82$) and White ($\alpha = .83$) groups.

Patriotism. This 12-item scale measures feelings of attachment to America and positive affect, such as love and pride for the United States (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Participants were asked to rate their agreement on a 5-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5) and responded to statements such as, *“I feel a great pride in the land that is our America”* or a reverse coded statement such as, *“In general, I have very little respect for the American people”*. When used in a study with U.S. undergraduate students, it also demonstrated good internal reliability ranging from $\alpha = .80 - .89$ (Pratto, Sidanius,

Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). In the current study, good internal reliability was also found for the Hispanic ($\alpha = .91$) and White ($\alpha = .91$) group.

General Belongingness Scale. This 12-item scale by Malone, Pillow, and Osman (2012) measures people's general feelings of belongingness to groups. Because the original scale measures feelings of belonging to friends, family, and social groups, the following prompt was used in order to elicit responses that tapped into participants' feelings of belonging to the American society. A prompt was included to elicit responses according to this intended group: "*The United States is composed of people from many different ethnic and racial backgrounds. Thinking about your relationships with ALL Americans who make up this multicultural nation, rate your agreement to the following statements...*". An example statement is, "*When I am with other people I feel included*" or an example of a reverse scored statement is "*I feel like an outsider*". Participants respond to each statement on a 7-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Although this scale has not been used previously with cross-cultural samples, during scale development and validation, the scale indicated good reliability ($\alpha = .92$; Malone et al., 2012). Good internal reliability was also found for the Hispanic ($\alpha = .94$) and White ($\alpha = .90$) group in the current study.

Data Analytic Procedure

Data analyses were conducted in four steps: (1) Firstly, missing data were imputed, (2) equivalence of all measures was assessed between the White and Hispanic groups, (3) descriptive statistics and reliabilities of the final scales were analysed, and (4) predictive models of SMC on well-being and social cohesion were conducted using multiple hierarchical regression analyses.

After missing data were imputed, and before any analyses were conducted, a Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MG-CFA) was conducted to establish configural and

metric equivalence of all scales so comparisons between Whites and Hispanics could be made in subsequent analyses. While most of the other scales had been previously validated, some of the scales had not been extensively used in the psychological literature. Most notably is the SMC Scale, which is a new measure and has never been used in minority samples in the United States. Therefore, it was important to confirm that the three factor structure held in the Hispanic sample before any further analyses were conducted. Furthermore, equivalence testing was conducted in all scales.

Once equivalence was established, descriptive statistics, reliability analyses, and mean differences between Hispanics and Whites for each of the SMC subscales were calculated. Bivariate correlations were also run to test the relationships between the variables in each group. Lastly, multiple hierarchical regressions were calculated to assess the predictive validity of the three SMC subscales and ethnicity (White or Hispanic) on well-being and social cohesion and whether ethnicity moderated these relationships.

During the multiple hierarchical regression analyses, the following steps were taken. Before regressions were run, the SMC subscales were subjected to grand mean centring by subtracting each individual score from the mean of all scores. A multilevel model using raw scores and one using grand mean centred scores of the predictor variables will result in equivalent models, meaning the predicted values will be the same in both models, although the parameters will change (in this case the beta weights). We chose to centre in order to reduce multicollinearity between the SMC subscales and ethnicity. Furthermore, this technique has been found to be a sound way to improve parameter estimation and make the predictor variables more stable (Kreft, Leeuw & Aiken, 1995). In all regressions, age and gender, which served as control variables, were entered into the first step. Ethnicity, coded as Hispanic participants = 0 and White participants = 1, was entered as the second step. The SMC subscales (SMC Equity, SMC Ideology, and SMC Diversity) were entered into the third

step. Finally the interaction terms with ethnicity (SMC Equity X Ethnicity, SMC Ideology X Ethnicity, SMC Diversity X Ethnicity) were entered in the final step of the regression equations.

Results

The results are presented in four parts: The preliminary analyses of data including (1) data-imputation of missing values and (2) multi-group confirmatory factor analyses of the scales for the Hispanic and White samples; (3) the descriptive statistics, including scale descriptions and bivariate correlations between measures; and (4) multiple hierarchical regression analyses for predictive models of flourishing, trust, belongingness, and patriotism.

Preliminary Analyses

Data imputation. All participants who responded to 80% or less of the survey were list-wise deleted from the sample, thus removing 11% of the responses, and leaving 284 participants. The remaining missing data were subjected to an expectation maximization analysis to determine whether the dataset was suitable for imputation of missing values, which has been found to be a suitable method for treating missing data (Gold & Bentler, 2000). The results from this analysis showed that there were no significant differences between real score means and imputed score means (Little's MCAR test: chi-square = 3,192.95; $df = 3,325$, $p = .95$). Because there was no significant difference between these two scores, it was considered acceptable to impute missing data values and conduct all further analyses using the imputed complete dataset.

Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MG-CFA). Before analyses were conducted, all scales were subjected to configural and metric tests of equivalence. A multi-group confirmatory factor analysis (MG-CFA) test of equivalence was conducted using IBM SPSS AMOS 22. To test for configural and metric equivalence the method outlined by Byrne

(2004) was used. After the structures and corresponding items to each latent factors were constructed in AMOS, estimates of the model were calculated. Firstly, a baseline model with no constraints on regression weights from the items to the latent construct was run in order to show how the model fit the data for each group. Goodness-of-fit indices were then used to evaluate the fit of a model. RMSEA values of around .06 or below, CFI values of .90 or greater, TLI values close to .90, are considered to indicate a good level of model fit (Albright & Park, 2009; Bentler & Bonett, 1980). An improved fit was achieved in some cases by allowing error terms to correlate, dropping problem items, or parcelling items. After the unconstrained model fit was shown to reach acceptable threshold levels, indicating that the measurement model worked in both groups (configural equivalence), the validity of the factorial structure was then tested across the groups simultaneously. Parameters of the factor loadings on the latent constructs were constrained to be equal across the groups to assess whether doing so significantly reduced model fit, and therefore evidenced differences in the relative strength of the parameters across groups (metric equivalence). In addition to assessing the fit indices of the overall model, the change in chi-square value was also calculated in order to determine the difference between the baseline values (unconstrained model) and the constrained model. If the discrepancy between these two models is nonsignificant ($p < .05$) then it is said that the model does not differ significantly across groups and therefore the instrument is seen to reach metric equivalence across the groups (Hu & Bentler, 1999). It is important to note, however, that in computing the variables for later analyses, all items were collapsed into one variable, thus any covariances added, items dropped, or parcels made, would not change subsequent analyses.

MG-CFA of SMC subscales. Multi-group models were developed to assess the equivalence of the factor structure of the SMC subscales across Whites and Hispanics. Firstly, a one factor MG-CFA model of this scale was tested, but resulted in a very poor fit,

indicating that the items measure different latent constructs, as was originally expected. Therefore, the three-factor structure, which was originally developed during scale construction, was used in further model testing. Results of the MG-CFA for the three-factor SMC Scale are reported in Table 1.

The first model tested an unconstrained three-factor item-level model, which fit the data poorly with CFI lower than .80 and RMSEA above .06 (Model 1). According to the estimates, item 13, “*We are more able to tackle new problems as they occur because we have a variety of cultural groups*”, had a very low regression weight of .164 in the Hispanic group and .074 in the White group, and did not significantly load as an item measuring SMC Ideology ($p > .05$), therefore it was removed from the model. Removing this item improved the model fit, however, the goodness of fit indices were still below the recommended threshold of .90 (Model 2). Finally, parcelling was applied as aggregate scores are found to be more reliable when sample sizes are relatively low (Bagozzi & Edwards, 1998) and is parsimonious due to having fewer parameters from the observed variables to the latent constructs (MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang, Hong, 1999). There are many additional merits of parcelling including eliminating shared variance between items and reducing error, which can lead to better model fit than when single items are used (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman 2002). Therefore, items were randomly assigned into parcels for the SMC Equity and SMC Ideology subscales. The SMC Diversity subscale only has four items, so was not parcelled since doing so with less than six items is considered suboptimal because it under-identifies the latent variable (Little et al., 2002). Re-running the model yielded a good fit that met recommended thresholds for fit indices (Model 3). After configural equivalence was reached, the regression weights were constrained to be equal across the two groups and the model was rerun (Model 4). This yielded acceptable fit indices and the change in chi-square was non-significant ($p = .354$), indicating that there was not a significant difference between

the final unconstrained model and constrained model, thus metric equivalence was reached. These tests of equivalence confirmed that the latent factor structure of SMC was the same across both groups and that the items loaded on the latent construct in the same way for both the Hispanic and White samples. A depiction of the final constrained MG-CFA model is presented in Figure 1. As illustrated, all parameters from the observed variables to the latent constructs were significant.

Therefore, it was deemed justifiable to conduct comparisons of mean scores across the White and Hispanic samples using the SMC three factor model with the removal of item 13. Internal reliability analyses also confirmed that the items in the revised SMC scale measured the latent construct. Good Cronbach's alphas were found for each scale in both groups: SMC Diversity ($\alpha_{\text{Hispanic}} = .72$; $\alpha_{\text{White}} = .69$), SMC Equity ($\alpha_{\text{Hispanic}} = .83$; $\alpha_{\text{White}} = .79$), SMC Ideology ($\alpha_{\text{Hispanic}} = .70$; $\alpha_{\text{White}} = .77$).

MG-CFA were also conducted on all dependent measures used in the current study and are reported in Appendix C along with explanations of the models and fit indices. Overall, acceptable levels of equivalence were found in all scales and therefore it was deemed justifiable to conduct comparisons of mean scores across the White and Hispanic samples in subsequent analyses.

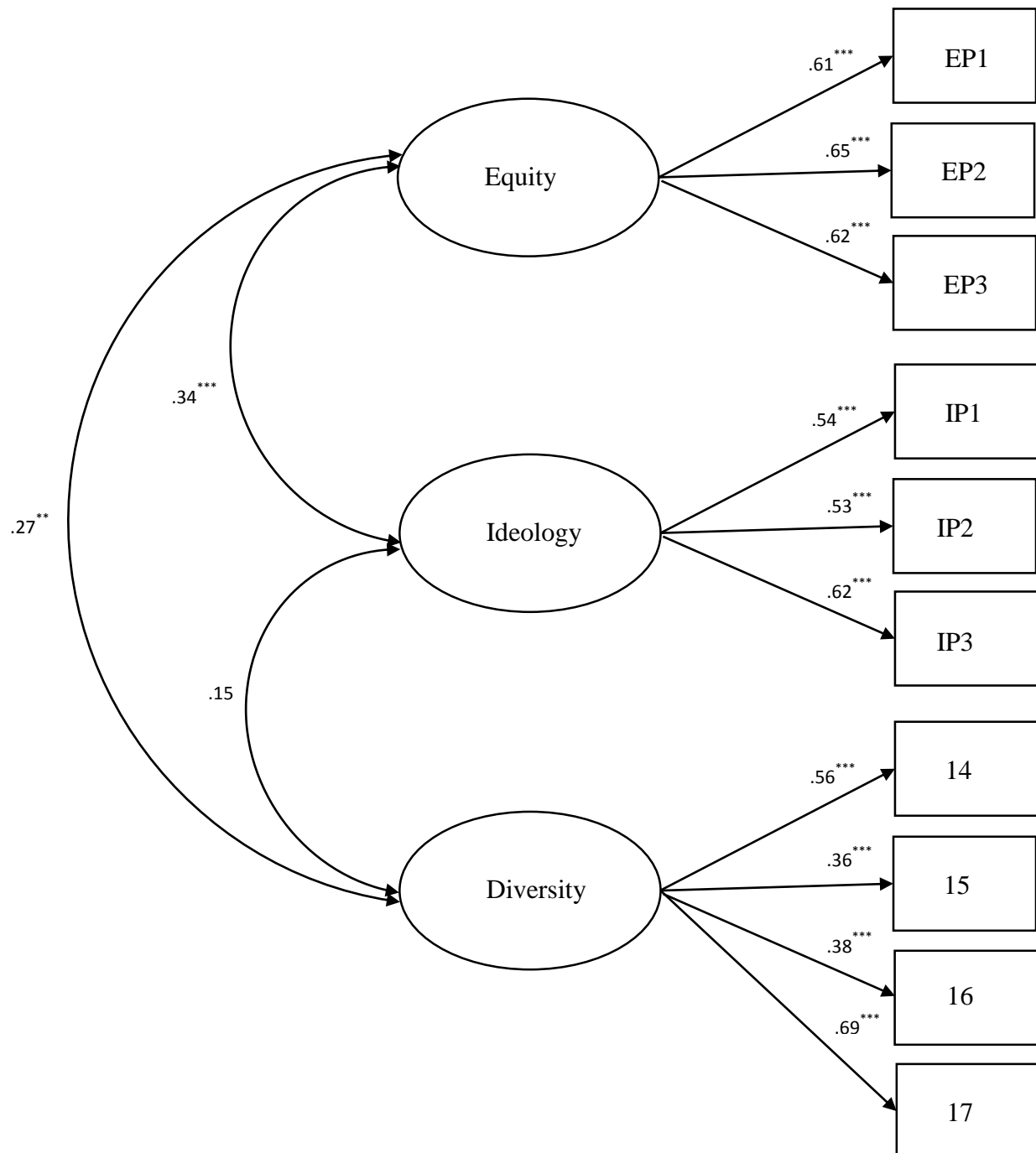
Table 1.

Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Subjective Multiculturalism Scale

<i>Model</i>	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2/DF	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>90%LO, HI</i>	<i>p</i>	ΔCFI	Δdf	$\Delta \chi^2$
Unconstrained Models											
Model 1 (three factors, item-level)	510.75	232	2.20	.75	.78	.07	.06, .07	<.001	-	-	-
Model 2 (three factors, item-level with item 13 removed)	408.87	202	2.02	.80	.83	.06	.05, .07	<.001	.05	30	101.882
Model 3 (three factors, equity and ideology parcelled, diversity item-level)	128.86	64	2.01	.88	.92	.06	.05, .08	<.001	.09	138	280.008
Constrained Model											
Model 4 (three factors, equity and ideology parcelled, diversity item-level)	139.11	74	1.88	.90	.92	.06	.04, .07	<.001	<.001	8	10.25, n.s.

Note. χ^2 = Chi-square. TLI = Tucker Lewis Index. CFI = Comparative Fit Index or Non-normed Fit Index. RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. 90% CI = Confidence Interval for RMSEA.

Figure 1. Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Subjective Multiculturalism structure with factor loadings constrained to be equal.



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

EP = Equity parcel. IP = Ideology parcel

Psychometric Analyses and Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows the psychometric properties of the overall SMC scale, its subscales, and the other outcome measures. As the Table indicates, all measures demonstrate adequate internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha levels ranging from .69 to .94. These were calculated after the MG-CFAs were conducted and any scale modifications were made so that these psychometric analyses and descriptive statistics reflect the final scales. These properties showed that the scales were suitable for subsequent analyses.

In general, participants reported levels of subjective multiculturalism that were higher than the midpoint on each of the three subscales. Hispanics perceived the United States to be more diverse (SMC Diversity) than Whites on average (Hispanic: $M = 4.13$, $SD = .62$; White: $M = 3.60$, $SD = .69$), $F(282) = 3.21$, $p < .001$. On SMC Ideology, Whites scored significantly higher than Hispanics (Hispanic: $M = 3.24$, $SD = .63$; White: $M = 3.47$, $SD = .57$), $F(282) = 3.25$, $p < .01$, indicating that on average Whites tend to agree more than Hispanics that people living in the United States think multiculturalism is good. Finally, on SMC Equity, Hispanics scored significantly higher than Whites (Hispanic: $M = 3.01$, $SD = .74$; White: $M = 2.70$, $SD = .59$), $F(282) = 1.22$, $p < .001$, indicating that Hispanics tend to agree more than Whites that there exists policy and institutions to recognise and accommodate diversity.

Table 2
Psychometric Properties for Hispanic and White Sample

Scale	Mean item score		SD		Alpha		Number of Items	Response Range
	Hispanic	White	Hispanic	White	Hispanic	White		
SMC Equity	3.01	2.70	.74	.59	.82	.79	6	1-5
SMC Ideology ¹	3.24	3.47	.63	.57	.70	.77	6	1-5
SMC Diversity	4.13	3.60	.62	.69	.72	.69	4	1-5
SMC Overall	3.37	3.21	.47	.42	.78	.77	16	1-5
Flourishing	5.86	6.07	.82	.81	.89	.94	8	1-7
Patriotism ²	3.91	3.78	.71	.63	.91	.91	12	1-5
Belonging	5.39	5.82	1.09	.82	.94	.90	12	1-7
Trust ³	3.00	3.49	.71	.59	.82	.83	5	1-5

Note. $N = 284$

¹SMC Ideology is without item 13, which was removed during the MG-CFA

² $N = 271$, only U.S. citizens were asked to complete the Patriotism scale

³The Trust scale is without item 2, which was removed during the MG-CFA

Correlations. Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated between scores on the three SMC subscales and outcome measures. Refer to Table 3 for the correlations for each group. In general, all significantly correlated items were in the positive direction. The SMC Equity and Diversity subscales significantly positively correlated with each other in both groups; however, SMC Ideology was only significantly correlated with Equity, but not Diversity in both groups. This indicates that SMC Equity and Diversity are interrelated, while SMC Ideology and Diversity are not. This was also replicated in the MG-CFA final model where each of the SMC factors were correlated except for SMC Ideology and Diversity.

Correlations between the SMC subscales and our dependent measures of well-being and social cohesion were quite different between Whites and Hispanics. For Hispanics, the SMC subscales were related to many of the outcome variables. SMC Equity was related to Patriotism ($r = .32, p < .001$). SMC Ideology was related to Patriotism ($r = .29, p < .01$), Belonging ($r = .17, p < .05$) and Trust ($r = .28, p < .01$). SMC Diversity was related to Flourishing ($r = .22, p < .01$) and Patriotism ($r = .28, p < .01$). However, for Whites, SMC subscales was largely unrelated to well-being and social cohesion, with the only significant association being between SMC Equity and Patriotism ($r = .32, p < .001$). These results

indicate that there are more relationships between SMC and our measures of well-being and social cohesion for Hispanics than for Whites.

Table 3

Correlations between Subjective Multiculturalism Subscales and Outcome Variables

Scale	SMC Equity	SMC Ideology	SMC Diversity	Flourishing	Patriotism	Belonging	Trust
SMC Equity	-	.27**	.21*	-.03	.32***	.04	-.01
SMC Ideology	.18*	-	.09	.01	.29**	.17*	.28**
SMC Diversity	.27**	.10	-	.22**	.28**	.14	-.09
Flourishing	-.03	.09	.05	-	.18*	.56***	.25**
Patriotism	.30***	-.02	.09	.35***	-	.47	.27**
Belonging	.06	.15	-.00	.65***	.31***	-	.36***
Trust	-.07	-.03	-.09	.28**	.31***	.22**	-

Notes. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Above the diagonal are results from the Hispanic sample and below are from the White sample

Predictive Validity of SMC Subscales

Multiple hierarchical regressions were conducted to assess the predictive validity of the three SMC subscales in relation to well-being (flourishing) and social cohesion measures (belonging, trust in others, and patriotism). The moderating effect of ethnicity (Hispanic or White) on these relationships was also investigated. This method of analysis was chosen because it indicates how the linear combination of all the possible independent variables predict our outcome variables of interest.

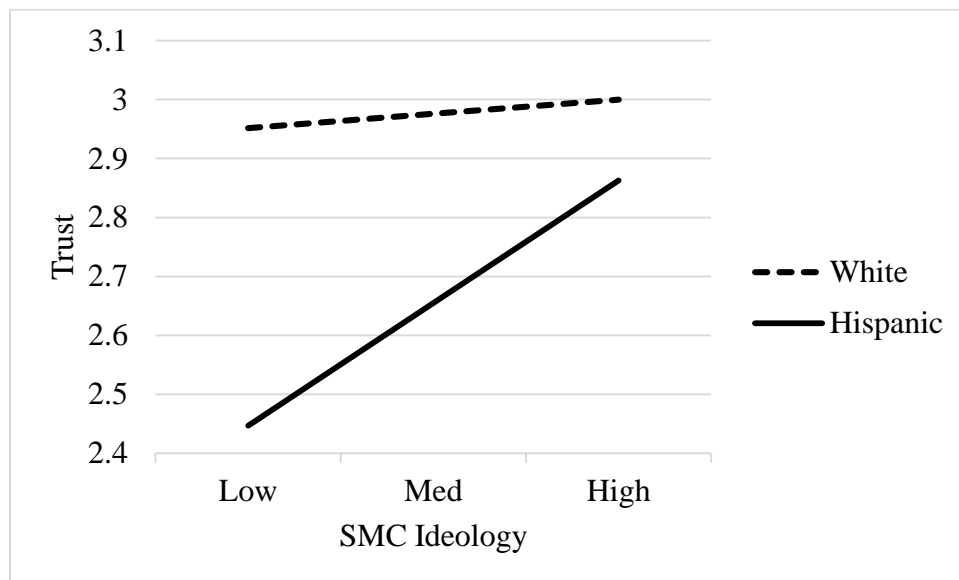
In all regressions, age and gender were entered into the first step as covariates. Ethnicity, coded as Hispanic participants = 0 and White participants = 1, was entered as the second step. The mean centred SMC subscales were entered into the third step, and finally the interaction terms with ethnicity (SMC Equity X Ethnicity, SMC Ideology X Ethnicity, SMC Diversity X Ethnicity) were entered in the final step of the regression equations. Refer to Table 4 for each step of the multiple hierarchical regressions performed for each of the SMC subscales and dependent variables.

Flourishing. Controlling for age and gender, ethnicity did not explain a significant amount of variance in the dependent variable. The addition of the SMC subscales accounted for a significant amount of additional variance (2.8%; $\Delta R^2 = .028$, $p < .05$) in flourishing scores over and above demographics. Of the three subscales, SMC Diversity emerged as the only significant positive predictor of flourishing ($\beta = .167$, $p < .05$). However, with the addition of this step, ethnicity became a significant predictor of flourishing as well ($\beta = .143$, $p < .05$). No significant interactions were found between ethnicity and the SMC subscales, therefore the final model (step 3) was interpreted. Thus, ethnicity and SMC Diversity were the only significant predictors of flourishing, such that being White and perceiving society to

be more diverse significantly predicted greater flourishing. This supported the hypothesis that SMC Diversity would predict flourishing (Hypothesis 1a) although it was not moderated by ethnicity as originally predicted.

Trust. Controlling for age and gender, ethnicity explained an additional 8.8% of the variance in trust ($\beta = .307, p < .001$), significantly accounting for more overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .088, p < .001$) than age and gender alone. In the next step, entering the SMC subscales accounted for an additional 3.4% of the variance above age, gender, and ethnicity (3.4%; $\Delta R^2 = .034, p < .01$). Of the three subscales, SMC Ideology emerged as the only significant positive predictor of trust ($\beta = .182, p < .01$). However, when interactions were entered into the final step, the main effect of SMC Ideology was qualified by ethnicity ($\beta = -.175, p < .05$). Thus, in the final model (step 4) ethnicity had a main effect on trust, while SMC Ideology was moderated by ethnicity. Follow-up analyses on the interaction term between SMC Ideology and ethnicity were conducted by graphing and interpreting the results using Modgraph (Jose, 2008). Figure 2 illustrates the interaction effect.

Figure 2. The moderating effect of ethnicity on the relationship between Subjective Multiculturalism Ideology and Trust.

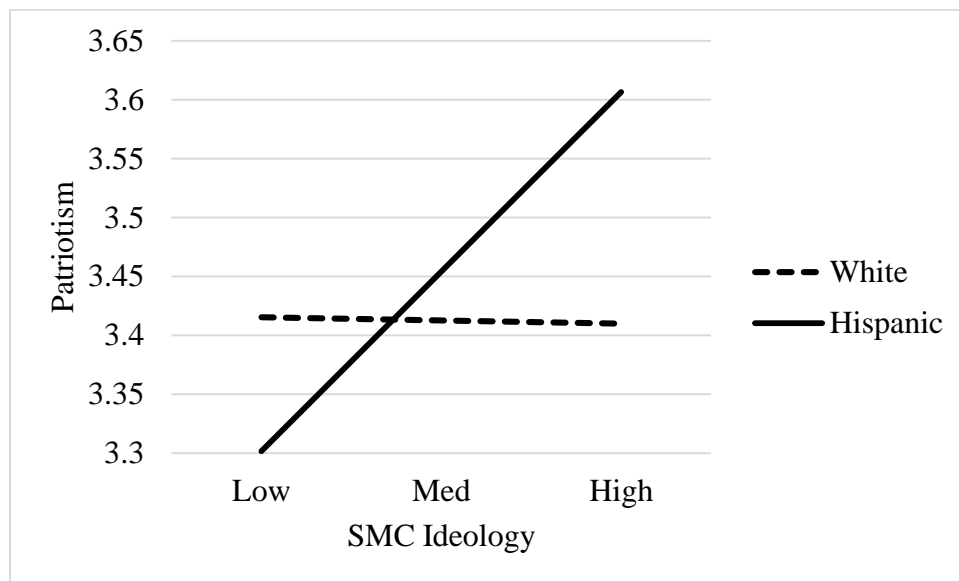


Simple slope computations were calculated to determine whether the slopes produced in the graph significantly differed from zero. Analysis revealed that for Hispanics, higher levels of SMC Ideology were associated with greater trust in other members of society ($t(278) = 3.97, p < .001$), but that this relationship did not hold true for Whites ($t(278) = .42, n.s.$). In other words, Hispanics who believe they live in a society where people have positive ideologies toward multiculturalism are more likely to be trusting of others, but that for Whites, this is not important for predicting how trusting they are of others. These results partially supported the hypothesis that SMC Ideology positively predicts social cohesion (Hypothesis 2c), however the results indicate that this was moderated by ethnicity, specifically, that higher levels of SMC Ideology were associated with greater levels of trust in others for Hispanics only.

Belonging. Controlling for age and gender, ethnicity explained 4.7% of the variance in belonging ($\beta = .211, p < .001$), significantly accounting for more overall variance explained ($\Delta R^2 = .074, p < .001$) than age and gender alone. In the next step, entering the SMC subscales accounted for an additional 2.8% of variance than the previous steps ($\Delta R^2 = .028, p < .05$). In this step, of the three subscales, SMC Ideology emerged as the only significant positive predictor of belonging ($\beta = .157, p < .01$). In the final step, no interactions were found between ethnicity and the SMC subscales, therefore the final model (step 3) was interpreted. Thus in this model, ethnicity and SMC Ideology were the only significant predictors of belonging, such that being White and perceiving people in society to be accepting of diversity significantly predicted greater feelings of belonging. This supported the hypothesis that SMC Ideology would predict measures of social cohesion (Hypothesis 2c), in this case feelings of belonging.

Patriotism. Controlling for age and gender, ethnicity did not significantly account for any additional variance in the second step. In the next step, entering the SMC subscales accounted for an additional 10.6% of the variance than the previous steps ($\Delta R^2 = .106, p < .001$). In this step, all three subscales had main effects on patriotism, meaning that each was a significant positive predictor of patriotism ($\beta_{SMC\ Equity} = .235, p < .001$; $\beta_{SMC\ Ideology} = .122, p < .05$; $\beta_{SMC\ Diversity} = .141, p < .05$). The addition of the interaction terms in the fourth step of the regression yielded a significant amount of variance in patriotism scores explained ($\Delta R^2 = .023, p < .05$). However when interactions were entered into this step, the main effect of SMC Ideology was qualified by ethnicity ($\beta = -.156, p < .05$). Thus, in the final model (step 4) SMC Diversity and Equity had main effects on patriotism while SMC Ideology was moderated by ethnicity. Follow up analyses on the interaction terms between SMC Ideology and Ethnicity were conducted by graphing and interpreting the results using Modgraph (Jose, 2008). Figure 3 illustrates the interaction effect.

Figure 3. The moderating effect of ethnicity on the relationship between Subjective Multiculturalism Ideology and Patriotism.



Simple slope computations were calculated to determine whether the slopes produced in the graph significantly differed from zero. Analysis revealed that for Hispanics higher levels of SMC Ideology are associated with greater feelings of patriotism ($t(267) = 2.93, p < .01$) but that this relationship does not hold true for Whites ($t(267) = -.05, n.s.$). In other words, Hispanics who believe they live in a society where people have positive ideologies toward multiculturalism are more likely to be patriotic, but that for Whites, this is not important for predicting how patriotic they are. These results partially supported the hypothesis that SMC Ideology positively predicts social cohesion (Hypothesis 2c), however the results indicate that this was moderated by ethnicity, specifically, that higher levels of SMC Ideology were associated with greater levels of patriotism for Hispanics only.

Table 4.
Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Well-Being and Social Cohesion

Step	Well-Being				Social Cohesion											
	Flourishing				Trust in Others				Belonging				Patriotism			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Age	.088	.072	.095	.094	.279***	.237***	.257***	.253***	.105	.074	.098	.089	.314***	.324***	.329***	.314***
Gender	.053	.025	.011	.006	.166**	.088	.089	.089	-.015	-.071	-.059	-.069	-.056	-.030	.062	.047
Ethnicity		.112	.143*	.147*		.307***	.231***	.233***		.224***	.211**	.217***		-.099	-.039	-.033
SMC Equity			-.095	-.089			-.071	-.058			-.039	-.070			.235***	.210**
SMC Ideology			.059	.017			.182**	.300***			.157**	.179*			.122*	.228**
SMC Diversity			.167*	.270**			-.065	-.108			.079	.176			.141*	.261**
SMC Equity X Ethnicity				-.008				-.029				.042				.021
SMC Ideology X Ethnicity				.060				-.175*				-.032				-.156*
SMC Diversity X Ethnicity				-.135				.062				-.128				-.154 ⁺
F	1.177	1.892	2.295*	1.851	12.838	19.250	11.913	8.764	1.683	5.790**	4.380***	3.149**	16.443***	11.960***	12.737***	9.552***
R ²	.008	.020	.048	.057	.084	.172	.206	.225	.012	.059	.087	.094	.109	.118	.224	.248
ΔR ²		.012	.028*	.009		.088***	.034**	.018 ⁺		.047***	.028*	.007		.009	.106***	.023*

Note: Values are standardized Beta weights; ⁺ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .00$

Discussion

As many western countries become more ethically and culturally diverse, the question of whether multiculturalism is the cause of social problems or the cure for social ills is becoming of even greater concern. While researchers from many academic backgrounds across many countries have attempted to tackle this dynamic social issue, the current study takes a more comprehensive approach than previous studies by examining different facets of multiculturalism and considering a majority and minority perspective. With a rapidly growing minority population and a history of ethnic and cultural diversity, the United States serves as a good context to investigate the effects multiculturalism. While many previous studies have used large pre-existing social surveys and broad diversity figures to do research, the current study measures subjective perceptions of participants' experiences living amongst diversity. Responses are gathered at the individual level rather than aggregating responses at the national level. Using this approach, we have investigated whether perceptions of multiculturalism (in terms of diversity, equity, and ideology) predict well-being and social cohesion among Whites and Hispanics living in the United States. The discussion of our results addresses these relationships and answers the question, is multiculturalism good or bad and for whom?

Findings in Relation to Ethnicity

Ethnicity alone emerged as a good predictor of our measures of well-being and social cohesion even when controlling for age and gender. Main effects of ethnicity as a predictor for flourishing, trust, and belonging (but not patriotism) showed that Whites are flourishing more than Hispanics, are more trusting of others, and feel a greater sense of belonging to the United States. This gives evidence that Whites are generally doing better and have a greater sense of embeddedness in American society.

This is consistent with the large body of literature that shows Whites have greater psychological well-being, in terms of self-esteem, than Hispanics (Twenge & Crocker, 2002). In terms of social cohesion, on average Whites are more embedded in society according to our findings. We would expect this to be the case because it has been found that being American is at least implicitly synonymous with being White (Devos & Banaji, 2005) and in some cases Whites are even consciously perceived as more American than Hispanics (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Even Hispanics have reported feeling less American overall compared to Whites (Rodriguez, Schwartz, Krauss Whitbourne, 2010). However, when Hispanics perceive the United States to be more multicultural, the difference between how embedded they are in society compared to Whites narrows. In other words, our results indicate that Hispanics too are doing well in society and are socially cohesive when perceptions of multiculturalism are greater. A closer look at what predicted each of our social cohesion measures gives a better understanding of what makes people living in the United States flourish and become socially cohesive.

Findings in Relation to Well-being

Flourishing. We found that perceiving the United States to be diverse positively predicted flourishing and that this relationship was not only true for Hispanics, as was originally hypothesised. Regardless of group status, those who perceive living in a diverse society have greater levels of well-being. This was consistent with the initial research using the SMC scale in the UK sample, where SMC Diversity was also found to positively predict flourishing, regardless of group status (Ward & Stuart, 2015). While other psychological literature clearly demonstrates that diversity is good for the psychological adaptation of minorities (Verkuyten, 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2004) and that perceptions of living in a diverse environment are also beneficial to well-being (Brand et al., 2003; Le et al., 2009; Stuart, 2012), our findings indicate that this positive relationship may not be limited to

minority groups only. According to one of the few studies that consider a majority perspective on this issue, research by Verkuyten, (2009) found that acceptance and recognition of diversity even fosters greater self-esteem in majority groups under certain circumstances. Our research is similar to this in that it demonstrates majority members can also thrive under conditions of diversity.

The finding that SMC Diversity had a main effect on flourishing, rather than being moderated by ethnicity, as originally hypothesised, could be explained by the fact that the previous research measures diversity in terms of demography. In the multi-national study on immigrant youth psychological well-being, it was found that diversity in terms of the percentage of immigrants living in each country was related to poorer psychological adjustment (Berry et al., 2006). Although this method is effective for making cross-national comparisons, it does not necessarily tap into the realities of individual experiences of people living amongst diversity. Measuring perceptions rather than using diversity statistics, allows us to make comparisons between those participants who believed the United States was very diverse and those who did not. This has helped us uncover new perspectives of diversity on intra-personal well-being and that perceiving greater diversity, especially in terms of intercultural contact, can be good for all, not only minority groups.

Findings in Relation to Social Cohesion

Our findings in relation to well-being indicated that perceived multiculturalism has a neutral to positive effect on individuals in terms of how well they are doing psychologically. Interpreting the findings in relation to social cohesion revealed how multiculturalism affects relationships between people and feelings of connectedness to the country as a whole. Our results indicated that a similar trend is occurring to that which was found with well-being. By gaining insight into what features of multiculturalism foster trust in others, feelings of

belonging, and pride being American, it can be better understood how multiculturalism builds or hampers a socially cohesive society.

Patriotism. There was a strong relationship between subjective multiculturalism and patriotism, as it was our only measure of social cohesion that all three subscales significantly predicted. The feeling of pride in being American is a central aspect of social cohesion because it measures the degree of affect toward the United States, which is a core feature of being American, even over and above having citizenship or being born in the United States. (Devos & Banaji, 2005). But what cultivates patriotism? All three subscales of SMC emerged as main effects on patriotism, indicating that perceptions of multiculturalism can promote social cohesion among both groups. However, ethnicity moderated the relationship between SMC Ideology and patriotism, which was only significant for Hispanics. A closer examination of each of our significant findings reveals how multiculturalism has the potential to increase positive affect towards the United States.

SMC Equity and Diversity positively predicted patriotism, such that those who perceived society as being diverse and having policy that promoted equality were more patriotic. These findings have positive implications for feelings of connectedness to the United States. They show that diversity and equity can promote greater social cohesion for everyone, at least in terms of fostering greater feelings of patriotism. This did not support our hypotheses that SMC Diversity and Equity would be negatively related to social cohesion for Whites, indicating that perceptions of diversity do not necessarily undermine people's national identity (Huntington, 1997; Huntington, 2004) or that multiculturalism is negatively related to identification with the United States (Citrin et al., 2012). Our findings are in accordance with the literature that indicates that at least under certain conditions, patriotism is not negatively related to multiculturalism (Li & Brewer, 2004; Walzer, 2004) and that for minorities it can actually grow from one generation to the next (Citrin et al., 2007). Our

findings are also consistent with the results found during the SMC Scale validation phase, using the American sample, in which SMC Equity and Diversity were positively related to measures of national attachment (Stuart & Ward, 2015) and in the UK sample where SMC Equity and Diversity were positively related to patriotism (Ward & Stuart, 2015). The consistency of our results and that of the other researchers using the SMC Scale gives some initial evidence for the predictive power of this method of measuring multiculturalism. These results are important because they suggest that perceptions of diversity and equity potentially have positive implications for feelings of pride in being American for both Whites and Hispanics.

It is possible that even in the United States measures of diversity and equity could be related to patriotism. Canada is a great example of a country where multiculturalism is seen as a key feature of Canadian national identity and a source of national pride (Johnston et al., 2010). Our results could be interpreted in a similar way to this. In the United States, multicultural policy may not be the source of pride per se, but rather the American national identity is founded on principles of equality among other core values (Citrin et al., 1990). Indeed it has been found that the endorsement of civic values such as equality is the number one key characteristic of what it means to be 'American' (Devos & Banaji, 2005). With this in mind, and applying our understandings from the Canadian context, we could interpret our findings such that those who perceive the United States to recognise diversity through policy and promote equity are more likely to be proud of this, regardless of being White or Hispanic. Furthermore, this is consistent with the literature that has found that greater perceptions of diversity in schools leads to greater feelings of connectedness (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). Although, our findings operate at a much larger scale, the same principles apply. Perceptions of diversity supported by multicultural policy have positive implications for feeling pride in being part of a larger group.

While our study indicates that diversity and equity predict patriotism regardless of being White or Hispanic, perceptions of ideologies toward multiculturalism were associated with patriotism for Hispanics only. In other words, the perception that Americans hold positive ideologies toward multiculturalism can have positive implications for feelings of connectedness to the United States and foster pride in being American for Hispanics. It could be that this finding was limited to Hispanics due to differences between their awareness of attitudes toward multiculturalism compared to Whites. For Hispanics, these issues may be more salient and meaningful than for Whites. Regardless, the lack of negative relationship between SMC Ideology and patriotism for Whites supports the idea that favourability toward diversity is not incompatible with patriotism (Li & Brewer, 2004). Finally, it is important to note that our results indicate that Hispanics are no less loyal or committed to the United States than Whites and under conditions of greater perceived multiculturalism are even more so than their White counterparts.

Belonging. Unlike patriotism, the SMC scales were not a strong predictor of our measures of social cohesion, which measured relationships between members of society. Only SMC Ideology emerged as a significant positive predictor of belonging. Those who perceive Americans to have positive ideologies toward multiculturalism have a greater sense of belonging. This was consistent with the UK sample where SMC Ideology also positively predicted belonging (Ward & Stuart, 2015). It also supported our hypothesis that greater scores in SMC Ideology would predict greater social cohesion. However, none of the other measures of SMC predicted belonging. This was not as we hypothesised because we expected there to be negative relationships between SMC Diversity and Equity on belonging for Whites. Contrary to previous research, which indicated immigrants living in a country with greater multicultural policy experience more belongingness in terms of citizenship acquisition (Koopmans et al., 2005) and that generally it is good for minority groups (Wright &

Bloemraad, 2012), but negative for Whites (Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010; Alesina & Ferrara, 2002; Plaut et al., 2011), our findings did not support this literature. Instead our results indicated that SMC Equity and Diversity are largely unrelated to belonging, and unlike the literature suggests, gave no indication of being negatively related for Whites. One explanation for this is the way in which we chose to measure belonging, which was different from the way it was used and defined in previous research. While we were interested in measuring the psychological aspects of belonging in terms of relationships with other Americans, other studies measured belongingness in terms of citizenship (Koopmans, et al., 2005) or how much people reported fitting into specific groups, communities or neighbourhoods (Alesina & Ferrara 2002; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010). The items on our belonging scale tap into inter-personal relationships among the general American public. Our items measured how much participants felt they were included by other Americans. With this definition in mind, our results indicate perceptions of positive multicultural ideologies are the best indicator of promoting social cohesion in terms of building better inter-personal relationship with other Americans. However, it is best to interpret our findings of belonging alongside trust as these two constructs were often used together in the previous research as a measure of social capital and social cohesion. We have also considered trust and belonging to be two ways of measuring social cohesion in terms of inter-personal relationships, especially as the findings are similar for these two measures.

Trust. Like our findings for belonging, SMC Ideology was a positive predictor of trust, but the significant effects were limited to Hispanics. This suggests that Hispanics who perceive that most Americans think multiculturalism is good are more likely to be trusting of others. Although Whites were significantly more trusting than Hispanics on average, under conditions of greater perceived multicultural ideologies, the level of trust in Hispanics appears to approximate that of Whites. In other words, although Whites are generally more

trusting of others, when Hispanics believe most Americans hold positive ideologies toward multiculturalism, they too become as trusting of others as Whites. This shows the importance perceptions of multicultural ideologies have on inter-personal relationships for Hispanics. In a society where Whites are generally more trusting than Hispanics, perceptions that Americans believe multiculturalism is good can help narrow the gap in trust between these two groups. It could be the case that Hispanics who perceive most people to have positive multicultural ideologies believe their status as a member of a minority group is regarded positively, therefore eliciting a greater sense of trust. It has been shown that feelings of belonging and being accepted as a member of a group has positive implications for indicators of interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). While, our findings may not have great implications for Whites, who generally are unaffected by perceptions of multiculturalism, it points to positive implications for creating a more cohesive society among Hispanics, especially in terms of building stronger interpersonal relationships.

Similar to the results found for belonging, SMC Equity and Diversity were not significant predictors of trust. Although we expected SMC Equity and Diversity to be negatively related to measures of social cohesion for Whites, our results did not support this for either trust or belonging. Again, this could be because of the way we measured these constructs, especially in terms of having asked about participants' perceptions. Having only found positive relationships between these measures gives evidence that diversity alone does not trigger group division, as has been suggested in the general social science literature, particularly that which has been conducted in the U.S. (e.g. Putnam, 2007), or that it is bad for Whites (Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010; Alesina & Ferrara, 2002). In fact, our results indicate that perceiving society to be diverse does not trigger distrust or lower feelings of belongingness, even in Whites. Overall, our findings indicate that perceiving Americans to

believe multiculturalism is good, is the best predictor of trust and belonging, which are good indicators for cohesiveness among members of society.

Well-being and Social Cohesion Overall

Overall, our findings indicate that the facets of multiculturalism are associated with measures of well-being and social cohesion in different ways and that these relationships differ between Whites and Hispanics. Although all of our SMC measures predicted at least some of the indicators of well-being and social cohesion, SMC Ideology was the greatest predictor when each of these facets of multiculturalism were examined simultaneously. Considering the findings broadly, being White and perceiving Americans to have positive ideologies toward multiculturalism were the best predictors of social cohesion.

In the case of predicting trust and patriotism, SMC Ideology was moderated by group status, such that this relationship was significant for Hispanics only. This could be because majority groups may on average be less attuned to the ideologies people hold toward multicultural issues. This was also reflected in the discrepancy between the average scores of SMC Ideology subscale between Whites and Hispanics, which were significantly different. On average, Hispanics agree less often that people living in the United States have positive ideologies toward multiculturalism. It could be interpreted that Whites have a more optimistic, but possibly unrealistic perception of the ideologies people hold toward multiculturalism than Hispanics. One could argue that Whites have a skewed perception on this issue, due to not directly experiencing some of the negative consequences minorities face living in a multicultural environment. Indeed, in the first study using subjective multiculturalism, Ward and Stuart (2015) found that greater SMC Ideology was negatively related to perceived discrimination. Although that study lacks a large enough minority sample to make reliable group comparisons, one interpretation is that majority groups perceive others

to have more positive ideologies because of their lack of experiences with negative effects of diversity, such as discrimination. This could explain why perceptions of ideologies as a predictor for trust and patriotism was only significant for Hispanics.

The emergence of ideology as the most frequent predictor of social cohesion, positively predicting trust, belonging, and patriotism, especially for Hispanics, evidences the importance of including ideology in the multiculturalism framework in future studies. It also implies that holding positive ideologies toward multiculturalism can help foster a more socially cohesive environment. Kymlicka (2003) addresses the need for positive ideologies in order to develop successful multicultural nations. He distinguishes between multiculturalism at the state level and multiculturalism at the level of the individual citizen. According to his review, the knowledge, beliefs, virtues, habits, and dispositions of individuals regarding other cultures is as important, if not more vital, to achieving a successful multicultural state than what policy can achieve alone. Becoming what he describes as an intercultural citizen, means supporting the principles of a multicultural state and holding positive personal attitudes toward diversity. Kymlicka's (2003) argument in favour of the importance of the intercultural citizen does not dismiss the importance of developing multicultural policy alongside building positive ideologies. As previous research has found, the socio-political context influence people's ideologies (Guimond et al., 2013). In this sense, while diversity and equity did not emerge as a predictor for every measure of social cohesion like perceived ideology has, each facet of multiculturalism is important for understanding social cohesion, as they each influence each other.

One of the most important findings from our study is the lack of negative relationships between multiculturalism and well-being and social cohesion for the White sample. While the previous research indicates that multiculturalism has been found to be in some cases socially divisive for some groups, generally our findings are not consistent with

this. Moreover, our research shows that multiculturalism is not bad for anyone. In fact, we have found that perceptions of multiculturalism are generally good, especially for minority groups. Having only found positive relationships between our variables is the biggest piece of evidence from our study to negate suggestions made by politicians and some researchers that multiculturalism is socially divisive (Barry, 2001; Gitlin, 1995; Hollinger, 2000; Huntington, 1997; Huntington, 2004).

As our results indicate that there are only positive relationships between our variables, it can be concluded that multiculturalism is good, particularly for Hispanics. Furthermore, our results indicate in what ways multiculturalism is good. The significant findings from our study fall into three main categories, which represent different ways multiculturalism can affect individuals. By conceptually grouping the outcomes of multiculturalism into categories, it has emerged that multiculturalism affects people in different ways. That is, multiculturalism permeates the attitudes and feelings of the individual, between members of a group or community, and in relation to being a member of the nation. Firstly, in terms of well-being, multiculturalism has intra-personal benefits among those who believe they live in a diverse environment. Secondly, perceptions of positive ideologies promote positive inter-personal relationships between members of communities or groups, such as being trusting and feeling a sense of belonging. Thirdly, perceptions of multiculturalism on all facets promote positive intra-group relationships, such as being a proud member of the United States.

Contributions to the literature

Although studying multiculturalism has become a popular area of research for many social scientists, our psychological approach to this area of interest contributes to the existing body of literature in several main ways. Most importantly is the way we defined and

measured multiculturalism. Our operationalisation of multiculturalism took a more comprehensive approach in that the three most common conceptualisations used in other previous research were incorporated into our measure. Furthermore, the way our items were worded, allowed us to collect data that measured multiculturalism in a novel way. Finally, our research helps clarify in what ways differences emerge between a majority and minority group when researchers consider how different groups are affected.

When multiculturalism is used as an all-encompassing term to vaguely refer to different aspects of living in a diverse society, it becomes difficult to identify the cause of social issues, leading to the possibility of the term becoming associated with problems rather than for its positive contributions. In reality, multiculturalism is something that is dynamically constituted by individuals within a diverse society, not something happening “out there” experienced by others. Our research is different because it captures real lived experiences by people who live in ethnically and culturally diverse societies who navigate these pluralistic environments and experience first-hand what it is like to live amongst multicultural policies, and gain a better sense of the ideologies people hold toward diversity and multicultural policy.

Secondly, we were able to determine which of the facets of multiculturalism yielded the strongest predictors of well-being and social cohesion by entering our three subscales of subjective multiculturalism simultaneously into the regression analysis. While most studies have examined just one measure of multiculturalism, most often as diversity or policy and sometimes in the psychological literature as ideology, we were interested in examining these three facets together. By controlling for the effects of all subscales at once, we were able to make comparative arguments about which subscale emerged as the most meaningful predictor of well-being and social cohesion. This has resulted in a more thorough and accurate representation of how multiculturalism actually occurs. In fact, our findings point to

the conclusion that multiculturalism should be understood in more ways than only diversity and policy, as our measure of ideology was the greatest predictor of our outcome measures. This demonstrates the importance for multiculturalism to be considered also as something that people conceptualise as good or bad and should be measured in that way in future research.

The way we have measured the three different facets of multiculturalism also makes our study unique. While many previous studies have measured diversity as the demographic subset of a certain population, group, or community, our study considers the type and quality of diversity in terms of the incidence of intercultural contact. Measuring diversity in this way could be one explanation to why we found that subjective perceptions of diversity did not negatively predict any of our measures of social cohesion. The nature and quality of intercultural contact has been shown in previous research to affect important social outcomes. Stolle and colleagues (2008) found that although diversity had negative effects on trust at the national and neighbourhood level, those who regularly made contact with members of other ethnic and cultural groups, rather than simply living alongside them, were not negatively affected by diversity. This is consistent with our findings, as SMC Diversity predicted greater well-being. The way SMC Diversity items were phrased in the current study included questions of contact with diverse groups, which we believe may explain why our outcomes were different compared to findings from previous research. Redefining the phrasing of diversity questions to include intercultural contact has possibly resulted in fewer negative findings in relation to social cohesion. This has important implications for how greater intercultural contact can promote social cohesion, that is whether diverse groups are isolated or in contact with other people from outside their group.

The findings from our study and by Stolle and colleagues (2008) support intergroup contact theory. This theory states that contact between different ethnic and cultural groups

can reduce prejudice when there is equal status between the groups, shared common goals, intergroup cooperation, and policies in place to support the minority group (Allport, 1954). In a meta-analytic review of the application of the contact hypothesis, it indeed was found that intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice and that when all four of the previously mentioned features of contact are met, there is even greater reduction in prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In a more recent meta-analytic review, it was found that even under suboptimal conditions, where all these conditions are not met, contact alone can reduce negative effects (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). It has also been found that multicultural attitudes predict behaviours because better attitudes facilitate more direct interaction with members of cultural out-groups (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). This suggests that the relationship between attitudes and contact with diverse groups is bidirectional. Although we do not measure attitudes in our study, a similar relationship could occur between intercultural contact and holding more positive ideologies toward diverse groups.

Finally, the current study is unique in that differences between the majority and minority groups are considered. When ethnicity is entered as a moderator into our regression analysis, we can answer the question, *for whom is multiculturalism good or bad?*. We found that generally multiculturalism is good for Hispanics and neutral for Whites. The distinction here between our two groups suggests that perceptions of multiculturalism had a more meaningful impact on embeddedness in society for the minority group. This outcome is different than the limited number of other studies which make majority and minority comparisons. One explanation for these differences are the previously mentioned methodological novelties of this study; measuring perceptions and distinguishing between the three facets of multiculturalism.

Applications

The unique methodology of this study, which sets it apart from other research around multiculturalism, has helped uncover different perspectives around an increasingly important and contentious issue, which transcends many personal and public spheres of life. While most of the political rhetoric is about the negative repercussions of multiculturalism, our psychological approach to studying this topic has not alluded to any negative outcomes. In fact, our results indicate that Whites are generally quite socially cohesive already and greatly unaffected by multiculturalism. The real problem lies with Hispanics, who are generally less embedded in society than Whites. The focus then needs to shift from discussing multiculturalism as something that causes social divide to a tool that can be used to facilitate social cohesion among the groups who are otherwise less socially cohesive.

The blaming of social issues on multiculturalism then has potentially negative consequences for minority groups like Hispanics who become isolated in this debate. Furthermore, scepticism and outright negativity toward multiculturalism will not lead to people generally holding positive ideologies, which we have found have positive implications for minority groups. Thus in the future, politicians should be cautious when speaking out negatively about the repercussions of diversity. Our research suggests, politicians and those who hold positions of power should actually encourage positive ideological framing of diversity and multicultural policy. This could filter down to the public and help facilitate feelings of place in society for culturally and ethnically diverse groups. To achieve this there needs to be a deeper understanding of the different facets of multiculturalism which constrain and facilitate well-being and embeddedness in society. It may be necessary for politicians, leaders, educators, and other individuals to be educated on these dynamics, including an understanding that multiculturalism is also manifested in the minds of people living in those environments. This could help foster a more cohesive society, school environment, and community.

One interpretation of the overall findings from our study may be that simply encouraging people to perceive the United States to be multicultural will improve social cohesion, particularly for Hispanics. However, measuring perceptions should be considered more as a proxy for the real experiences of people living in multicultural societies. Therefore, the focus to improve social cohesion should be increasing people's awareness of multiculturalism by facilitating more intercultural interaction. Significant differences between perceptions of multiculturalism on each of the three measures, gives evidence for the differences between the experiences of multiculturalism as an everyday reality for Whites and Hispanics. In order to improve positive perceptions of multiculturalism among both groups, multiculturalism needs to work for everyone.

The issue with promoting multiculturalism in the United States is that traditional perspectives for managing diversity have often taken an assimilationist approach, also known as colour-blindness, which while promotes equality does not recognise diversity. This ideological framework for managing diversity can be noticed at the macro-level by the ways policies are enacted. It can also be found at the organisational level with how business choose to handle diversity. The problem with the colour-blind approach is it does not capitalise on the benefits of diversity, such as gaining unique perspectives, which can be beneficial for business. However, a multicultural approach that recognises diversity might violate American values of equality and threaten the majority status.

One solution for promoting multiculturalism within the United States context has come from the organisational psychological literature. The *all-inclusive* model, aims to recognise both majority and minority groups by creating an environment that is considered more inclusive by all employees (Stevens, Plaut & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). On the one hand, this model recognises the unique ideas and perspectives minorities provide while acknowledging the important role nonminorities play too. This approach helps gain minority

support while addressing concerns of exclusion of majorities (Stevens et al., 2008). To achieve an all-inclusive society, policies and initiatives should be framed as benefiting everyone and can thus reassure majorities that their perspectives are included even when some policy is aimed primarily at nonmajorities.

Limitations and future studies

Because the United States is so large, it is difficult to control for geographic location as diversity even within cities and states is enormous. It is likely that results could largely vary between urban and rural areas or by politically conservative or liberal states. Indeed it has been found that political orientation moderates the relationship between multiculturalism and threat, which can increase prejudice and social distancing (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). However, as much as this is a limitation it is also an opportunity for future research to conduct cross-cultural work within different parts of the United States, particularly between conservative and liberal areas. Our study serves as a good general population study to make comparisons with in future research.

It would also be relevant to replicate this study in different countries that are experiencing similar changes in demographics or to make comparisons between countries with greater or lesser diversity or multicultural policies. By making cross-national comparisons, using the SMC scale, researchers could test whether living in environments with greater diversity and multicultural policy positively or negatively influences perceptions of ideologies toward these issues.

Furthermore, a clear next step in this field of research is to make comparisons between perceptions and attitudes. In a similar design to that of Guimond and colleagues (2013), future research could examine differences between perceptions of the different facets of multiculturalism and personal attitudes. This could test the idea that ideologies toward

diversity filter down to personal attitudes. Instead of using large indexes and demographic figures, the subjective multiculturalism measure would allow direct comparisons between people's perceptions of the existence of multiculturalism and personal attitudes. It would also be beneficial to test these relationships over time. As with all cross-sectional research, we cannot be sure of the direction of the relationships between our constructs in the current study. Longitudinal studies are needed to determine directional relationships.

Furthermore, it would be beneficial to test behavioural manifestations of measures of social cohesion to better understand the difference between feeling embedded and actually being a participatory member of society. Indeed, Chan, Ho-Pong & Chan (2012) argue that measures of social cohesion should include behavioural manifestations within civil society and in relation to the state or government. According to their theoretical framework, subjective components of multiculturalism, like trust, belongingness, and patriotism, should be measured alongside behavioural manifestations such as the degree of social participation.

Summary and Conclusion

Many western democracies have become more ethnically and culturally diverse and thus face the challenges and benefits of this change. Among those challenges is the consideration of the the social and political adjustments that need to take place. The task of becoming comfortable with diversity is difficult when it requires change and compromise. In the process of coming to terms with these difficulties, multiculturalism has at times become subject to harsh scrutiny, possibly due to a sense of fear or threat. At other times, multiculturalism has been praised for the facilitation of integrating diverse groups and bringing with it a wealth of culture. The paradox of multiculturalism is that it has the possibility of being both the problem and the solution for social issues and is often described in the scientific literature as being both of these. Although each cultural context is unique, in

the current study our findings suggest that multiculturalism is the solution, rather than the problem.

Using a majority and minority sample in the United States, we have investigated how different features of multiculturalism are related to measures of well-being and social cohesion. As we have argued, multiculturalism is a multi-faceted phenomenon whose different dimensions affect psychological adjustment and embeddedness in society in different ways. The idea that features of multiculturalism can function differently is important for implications of how we can build more cohesive societies and happier people. The findings from the current study indicate that Whites are doing better than Hispanics and are more embedded in society. However, as perceptions that diversity is regarded positively by other Americans increases, Hispanics too become as socially rooted in the American society. Overall, our findings suggest that multiculturalism does not exert negative effects on well-being or social cohesion, and indeed, in some cases it predicts positive outcomes, particularly for Hispanics. Although no negative relationships were found among White participants, to be a truly cohesive society, multiculturalism needs to work for everyone. The Great Seal of the United States contains the motto *E Pluribus Unum* which has embodied the guiding principles of the country since the founding of the country. In the context of the country today, can it be confidently said, the United States is *out of many, one*?

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Appendices

Appendix A: Example Participant Recruiting Message

Participate in Research on Multiculturalism in the U.S.!

The United States is rapidly becoming more diverse, which has important implications for how cohesive the country becomes as well as how ALL people manage in dealing with this change.

Are you:

- Over 18?
- Live in the United States?
- Hispanic (of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin) or White Non-Hispanic?
- An English speaker at an advanced or native level?

If you said yes to this, than you qualify to participate in this study. If you would like to share your perspective, not only would you be contributing towards research, which would be greatly appreciated, but you also might gain an insight into your own views.

All you need to do to participate is complete this entirely anonymous survey that should take no longer than **20 minutes** of your time. Just follow this link:

http://vuw.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_011QM5VvRxioZql

*Note that if you stop somewhere in the middle of the survey, the link allows you to come back and finish it at a later date (so long as it is from the same computer).

For any further questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact the principal researcher, Sara Morgan Watters at Sara.Watters@vuw.ac.nz

Thanks!

Appendix B: Study Survey

Appendix B1: Information Sheet



Information Sheet

Application number: 0000021904

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What is the purpose of this research?

- The purpose of this research is to better understand how perceptions of multiculturalism affect psychological adaptation and social cohesion for ethnic majority and minority groups in the U.S.

Who is conducting the research?

- The research will be conducted by Sara Morgan, a Masters student at the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington, under the supervision of Professor Colleen Ward and Dr. Jaimee Stuart. This research has been approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee.

To participate in this research, you must:

- Be over 18 years of age.
- Currently live in the U.S.
- Be White or Hispanic
- Speak English

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate in this study, you will complete a short survey where you be asked about your agreement or disagreement with statements such as "Ethnic minorities are underrepresented in government." We anticipate that the survey will take you no more 15 minutes to complete.

- During the research you are free to withdraw at any point before your survey has been completed.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- **This survey is confidential. Please do not put your name on it anywhere.**
- The survey and the coded survey data will be kept indefinitely in a secure file.
- In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organizations, your data may be shared with other competent researchers.
- The data without identifying names may be used in other, related studies.
- A copy of data without identifying names will remain in the custody of researcher Sara Morgan Watters and supervisors Prof. Colleen Ward and Dr. Jaimee Stuart.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- The survey responses that you submit go into a data file. There is no information in the data file that connects your identity to your responses; thus, we treat your responses as anonymous.
- The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, presented at scientific conferences, or included in a book or book chapter.
- The information you provide will be combined with the information provided by the other participants in the study and will be written up as a Masters thesis that will be submitted for assessment.
- If you would like to know the results of this study, they will be posted as a downloadable PDF by April 1st 2016 on the CACR website: www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr.

Consent of participation:

Please note that by completing and returning the questionnaire to the researchers you agree that your survey responses will be used and analyzed in the ways described above.

If you have any further question regarding the study, please feel free to contact the investigators listed above.

Thank you for considering participating in this research.

Sara Morgan Watters, Colleen Ward and Jaimee Stuart.

Appendix B2: Survey

Demographic Information

1. Are you living in the U.S.?⁴
 - No
 - Yes
2. Please tick the group that applies to you.
 - Hispanic (Of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin)
 - White Non-Hispanic (Caucasian or of European decent)
 - Other⁵
3. What is your citizenship status?
 - 1.) I am a U.S. citizen
 - 2.) I am a NOT a U.S. citizen

If participant answered “I am NOT a U.S. citizen” they were asked a follow up question:

4. How long have you lived in the United States?
 - 3.) Less than 1 year
 - 4.) More than 1 year (Please enter the number of years you have lived in the United States)
5. What is your age?
_____ years old
6. Please indicate your gender:
 - Male
 - Female
7. What country were you were born in?
 - The United States
 - Other (please specify)_____
8. What state do you live in?
-50 States and Washington D.C. appeared from a drop down menu

Subjective Multiculturalism Scale

Instructions: Please indicate your agreement with the following statements in reference to the United States.

⁴ If the participant answers “no” then the survey will automatically finish

⁵ If the participant answers “other” then the survey will automatically finish

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
In the United States . . .					
1. Institutional practices are often adapted to the specific needs of ethnic minorities	1	2	3	4	5
2. Ethnic minorities are supported to preserve their cultures and customs	1	2	3	4	5
3. Ethnic minorities are helped to preserve their cultural heritages	1	2	3	4	5
4. Multiculturalism is supported by most institutions	1	2	3	4	5
5. There are very few ethnic minorities in leadership positions (r)	1	2	3	4	5
6. Ethnic minorities are given opportunities to communicate in their native language	1	2	3	4	5
7. Most people think that it is a bad thing that there are so many people of different ethnic backgrounds living in the country (r)	1	2	3	4	5
8. Most people believe that the country's unity is weakened by people from different cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways (r)	1	2	3	4	5
9. Most people think that multiculturalism is a bad thing (r)	1	2	3	4	5
10. Most people think it would be better if everyone living here had the same customs and traditions (r)	1	2	3	4	5
11. Most people think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country	1	2	3	4	5
12. Most people think it is important for people from different ethnic backgrounds to get along with each other	1	2	3	4	5

13. We are more able to tackle new problems as they occur because we have a variety of cultural groups	1	2	3	4	5
14. Most children go to school with other children from different cultures	1	2	3	4	5
15. It is likely that you will interact with people from many different cultures on any given day	1	2	3	4	5
16. Interacting with people from different cultures is unavoidable	1	2	3	4	5
17. Most people work with people from different cultures	1	2	3	4	5

Flourishing Scale

The next sections are about how you feel about yourself. Please indicate your agreement with the following statements in reference to yourself.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I lead a purposeful and meaningful life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. My social relationships are supportive and rewarding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I am engaged and interested in my daily activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I am a good person and live a good life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I am optimistic about my future	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. People respect me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Trust Scale

This next section asks you questions about how you feel about others in the UNITED STATES.

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements in reference to AMERICANS:

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Generally speaking most people can be trusted in this country	1	2	3	4	5
2. Generally speaking, you need to be careful in dealing with people	1	2	3	4	5
3. Most people try to take advantage of you if they get the chance	1	2	3	4	5
4. Most people try to be fair	1	2	3	4	5
5. Most of the time, people try to be helpful	1	2	3	4	5
6. People mostly look out for themselves	1	2	3	4	5

Patriotism Scale

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I am proud to be an American	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally affected by its actions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Although at times I may not agree with the government, my commitment to the U.S. always remains strong.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. The fact I am an American is an important part of my identity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. In general, I have very little respect for the American people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I love my country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I feel a great pride in that land that is our America	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. It is not that important for me to serve my country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. When I see the American flag flying I feel great	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to his/her country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. The U.S. is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an institution	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. It bothers me to see children made to pledge allegiance to the flag or sing the national anthem or otherwise induced to adopt such strong patriotic attitudes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

General Belongingness Scale

The United States is composed of people from many different ethnic and racial backgrounds.

Thinking about **your relationships with ALL Americans** who make up this multicultural nation, rate your agreement to the following statements...

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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1. When I am with other people I feel included.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I have close bonds with others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I feel like an outsider	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I feel as if people do not care about me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I feel accepted by others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Because I do not belong, I feel distant during the holiday season	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I feel isolated from the rest of the world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I have a sense of belonging.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. When I am with other people, I feel like a stranger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I have a place among others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. I feel connected with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Friends do not involve me in their plans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix B3: Debriefing Sheet



Debriefing Sheet

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Thank you for participating in this survey.

The purpose of this research was to understand better how perceptions of everyday multiculturalism impact social cohesion and well-being in the United States and whether this relationship differs for White and Hispanic Americans. With the Hispanic population making up more than half the growth of the total U.S. population in the last ten years, there are important implications for the social functioning of the country.

Many studies have looked at social cohesion in terms of the solidarity exhibited by people within that society. The main approach of these kinds of studies has been to determine whether increasing diversity has positive or negative effects for groups living within multicultural contexts. Many of these studies have found that diversity triggers group division. However, these findings are often limited to studies that only use majority group members. The current research aims to expand on this knowledge by comparing the White and Hispanic population in order to determine if multiculturalism contributes to the well-being and social cohesion for everyone.

In this study, we asked you some questions about your perceptions of diversity to determine how multicultural you believe the U.S. to be. We also asked you some questions about how involved you are and embedded you feel in the American culture. This will help us determine an overall assessment of the level of social cohesion. Finally, we asked you questions to determine your overall well-being, as this has been shown in previous studies to relate to perceptions of multiculturalism. By measuring these different variables we can determine how these relationships vary between Hispanic and White Americans.

The results of the study will be posted at www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr no later than April 1st 2016.

Thank you again for participating in this research.

Sara Morgan Watters

Colleen Ward

Jaimee Stuart

Appendix C: Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analyses of Dependent Measures

Multi-group confirmatory factor analyses were conducted on all dependent measures to demonstrate configural and metric equivalence. The same methods were used that were described in the analytic procedure and preliminary analyses sections in the main body of the text. Overall, the MG-CFAs demonstrate that the scales had the same underlying meaning and that in most cases the items loaded on the latent construct in similar ways for each scale. Therefore it was deemed justifiable to conduct comparisons of mean scores in both groups in further analyses.

Flourishing. Model 1 (unconstrained item-level solution) indicated acceptable model fit according to the goodness-of-fit indices. In Model 2, error covariances identified in the previous analyses were added to item one and three to assess whether these improved model fit. This indicated that including the correlated error terms improved the fit of the model, therefore reaching configural equivalence. Finally, in Model 3, regression weights were constrained to be equal across the two groups and the model was rerun. Although there was a significant difference between the constrained and unconstrained models, the fit indices were above the recommended threshold. Therefore it was deemed justifiable to use this measure to make comparisons in the Hispanic and White samples in subsequent analyses. Results of these analyses are reported in Table C1.

Trust. Model 1 (unconstrained item-level solution) indicated a poor fitting model. In Model 2, item two, “*Generally speaking you need to be careful in dealing with people*”, was removed because it had a low regression weight in both groups. Removing this item improved the overall fit of the model to acceptable levels, therefore reaching configural equivalence. In Model 3, regression weights were constrained to be equal across the two groups and the model was rerun. No significant difference was found between the

unconstrained and constrained models ($\Delta\text{CMIN} = 8.79, n.s.$), therefore it was deemed justifiable to make mean comparisons of this measure across the Hispanic and White groups. Results of these analyses are reported in Table C2. However, it should be noted that as a result of this analysis only five items were included in this scale for further analyses.

Belonging. Model 1 (unconstrained item-level solution) indicated a poor fitting model. In Model 2 a covariance was added to item 10 and 11, which improved the overall fit, but was still below recommended thresholds. Based on the same reasoning described in the MG-CFA for SMC and the merits for parcelling items (Little et al., 2002), it was decided to randomly assign the 12 items to parcels and rerun the model. This yielded a good fit that met recommended thresholds for fit indices (Model 3). Finally, in Model 4, regression weights were constrained to be equal across the two groups and the model was rerun. Although there was a significant difference between the constrained and unconstrained final models, the fit indices appeared to be well above the recommended threshold. Results of these analyses are reported in Table C3. Therefore it was deemed justifiable to make comparisons of this measure between groups in further analyses.

Patriotism. Model 1 (unconstrained item-level solution) indicated marginally acceptable model fit. Estimates revealed that all items significantly loaded on the latent construct and regression weights were above .59 in both groups. Therefore, regression weights were constrained to be equal across the two groups and the model was rerun. No significant difference was found between the constrained and unconstrained models ($\Delta\text{CMIN} = 10.02, n.s.$) and the fit indices were of a marginally acceptable levels. Results of these analyses are reported in Table C4. Therefore, no modifications were made to the patriotism scale and it was deemed justifiable to make comparisons between the two groups in subsequent analyses.

Table C1

Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Flourishing

<i>Model</i>	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2/DF	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>90%LO, HI</i>	<i>p</i>	ΔCFI	Δdf	$\Delta \chi^2$
Unconstrained Models											
Model 1 (item-level)	120.82	40	3.020	.92	.94	.09	.07, .10	<.001	-	-	-
Model 2 (item-level with covariance)	86.83	38	2.29	.95	.97	.07	.05, .09	<.001	.03	2	33.988
Constrained Model											
Model 3 (item-level with covariance)	116.13	46	2.53	.94	.95	.07	.06, .09	<.001	<.001	8	29.30, (p < .001)

Note. χ^2 = Chi-square. TLI = Tucker Lewis Index. CFI = Comparative Fit Index or Non-normed Fit Index. RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. 90% CI = Confidence Interval for RMSEA.

Table C2

Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Trust

<i>Model</i>	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2/DF	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>90%LO, HI</i>	<i>p</i>	ΔCFI	Δdf	$\Delta \chi^2$
Unconstrained Models											
Model 1 (item-level)	93.33	18	5.19	.80	.88	.12	.10, .15	<.001	-	-	-
Model 2 (item-level with removal of item two)	41.05	10	4.12	.88	.94	.105	.07, .14	<.001	.06	8	52.28
Constrained Model											
Model 3 (item-level with covariance)	49.84	15	3.32	.91	.93	.09	.06, .12	<.001	<.001	5	8.79, (n.s.)

Note. χ^2 = Chi-square. TLI = Tucker Lewis Index. CFI = Comparative Fit Index or Non-normed Fit Index. RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. 90% CI = Confidence Interval for RMSEA.

Table C3

Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Belonging

<i>Model</i>	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2/DF	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>90%LO, HI</i>	<i>p</i>	ΔCFI	Δdf	$\Delta \chi^2$
Unconstrained Models											
Model 1 (item-level)	476.19	108	4.41	.80	.83	.11	.10, .12	<.001	-	-	-
Model 2 (item-level with covariance)	347.48	106	3.28	.86	.89	.09	.08, .10	<.001	.06	2	128.71
Model 3 (parcelled)	19.23	4	4.81	.95	.98	.12	.07, .17	<.01	.09	102	328.25
Constrained Model											
Model 3 (parcelled)	33.20	8	4.15	.96	.97	.11	.07, .14	<.001	<.001	4	13.97, (p < .01)

Note. χ^2 = Chi-square. TLI = Tucker Lewis Index. CFI = Comparative Fit Index or Non-normed Fit Index. RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. 90% CI = Confidence Interval for RMSEA.

Table C4

Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Patriotism

<i>Model</i>	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2/DF	<i>TLI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>90%LO, HI</i>	<i>p</i>	ΔCFI	Δdf	$\Delta \chi^2$
Unconstrained Models											
Model 1 (item-level)	274.02	108	2.54	.87	.91	.07	.06, .09	<.001	-	-	-
Constrained Model											
Model 3 (item-level)	284.05	120	2.37	.89	.91	.07	.06, .08	<.001	<.001	12	10.02 (n.s.)

Note. χ^2 = Chi-square. TLI = Tucker Lewis Index. CFI = Comparative Fit Index or Non-normed Fit Index. RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. 90% CI = Confidence Interval for RMS