



Valuing diversity in Spain and Canada: The role of multicultural ideology in intergroup attitudes and intentions to reduce inequalities

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ABSTRACT

Multicultural ideology proposes that group memberships should be not just acknowledged but also valued in order to accommodate diversity and attain equality. In three studies conducted in Spain and Canada we analyzed, using different measures, the relationship between multicultural ideology on the one hand and prejudice, support for social policies, and motivation for social change on the other hand. In Spain we focused on responses to *Gitanos* (Spanish Roma) and, in Canada, on First Nations people. Results showed that multicultural ideology was related in both cases to lower prejudice and higher support for social policies to support the minority group and motivation for social change. The internal motivation to control prejudice was an important mediator of this relationship in both countries. In contrast, the way in which social identities are represented played a different role as a function of country: whereas a dual identity representation played a mediating role in Canada, a common identity representation was the mediator in Spain. These results support the importance of valuing cultural diversity to harmonize intergroup relations and to reduce inequalities between majorities and minority groups.

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Diversity refers to those things that make us different from others. However, speaking about diversity means referring not just to “any difference”, but to those social differences that are important in our context, that determine the social position of individuals, and that influence daily experiences (Jones, Dovidio, & Vietze, 2014).

Cultural diversity is increasing in most countries, and the presence of multiculturalism is becoming common (Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). Nowadays there is an intense debate in workplaces, schools, universities, and political and legal arenas about how diversity ideologies can contribute to improving the harmony of intergroup relations and reduce prejudice toward minority groups: Is it better to ignore or acknowledge group differences? From a multicultural perspective, recognizing and valuing cultural diversity would generate a positive diversity climate and would reduce disparities between majority and minority groups (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009).

According to Guimond, de la Sablonnière, and Nugier (2014), the main diversity ideologies are assimilation, colorblindness, and multiculturalism. The ideology of assimilation (*sensu stricto* an anti-diversity ideology) is based on homogeneity and involves an orientation to reduce or eliminate differences between groups (Schalk-Soekar & Van De Vijver, 2008); the colorblind perspective holds that equality among groups is best gained by downplaying group distinctions and treating people as unique individuals (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010); the multicultural ideology contends that group memberships and identities are a positive and valuable source of difference between people, something to be acknowledged and celebrated rather than ignored in order to attain equality (Plaut, 2010; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

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In practice, assimilation has usually implied an unidirectional process in which cultural minorities experienced pressures to conform to the majority cultural standards (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). A colorblind perspective generally leads to less stereotyping but greater prejudice toward outgroups (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). A multicultural perspective, in contrast, would encourage inclusive politics and behaviors and decreases prejudice (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park & Judd, 2006). In this vein, Wolsko et al. (2006) showed that endorsement of multiculturalism was associated with greater support for affirmative action, more lenient immigration policy (i.e., allowing greater number of immigrants into the United States), and more lenient English-speaking standards (i.e., allowing bilingual classrooms), whereas endorsement of assimilation was negatively correlated with all of these policies.

In the present research, three studies were conducted in two different countries that have different pro-diversity policy and social norms: Spain and Canada (see Banting & Kymlicka, 2003; Guimond et al., 2013; Multiculturalism Policy Index, 2016). We analyzed the role of multicultural ideology in prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities in relation to *Gitanos* (Spanish Roma) in Spain and First Nations people in Canada.

1. Diversity and intergroup relations in two different contexts: Spain and Canada

Countries differ in pro-diversity policies and social norms related to diversity, as they also differ in the presence of cultural and ethnic diversity in their populations and public discourse.

Presence of cultural diversity in Canada and its reference in public discourses has been well documented (see Canada's policy of multiculturalism: Government of Canada, 2012). In Spain, until some decades ago, *Gitanos* were almost the only ethnic minority, but cultural diversity has increased considerably in the last 20 years due to the increase in immigration, so that Spain is an emergent multicultural society (Briones, 2007). As a result of these structural changes, Spain has had to confront how to manage diversity. The limited research on this topic shows that Spaniards tend to prefer assimilation—or a position between assimilation and integration in some private domains—as an acculturation process (Rojas, Sayans-Jimenez, & Navas, 2012).

The classification of the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI), developed by Banting and Kymlicka (2003), uses different criteria to categorize the diversity policy of each country (e.g., the promotion of cultural diversity, adoption of multiculturalism in the school curriculum, etc.). According to this classification, although in Spain the latest available data show that has slightly increased the proportion of policies that promote the maintenance and value of ethnic and cultural minorities, Canada has been a high-diversity country and Spain a low-diversity country.

Guimond et al. (2013) argue that the extent to which diversity policy is an important element of the sociopolitical context can influence intergroup relations and prejudice toward minority groups. Thus, prejudice will be lower when pro-diversity policy is high. However, even in countries with a strong pro-diversity policy, such as Canada, it is possible to find prejudice or the existence of an ethnic hierarchy with the dominant majority enjoying more prestige than ethnic minorities and immigrants (see Berry, 2006; Guimond et al., 2013). In addition, multicultural policies can differently influence attitudes toward minority groups, depending on the target group. In Canada, although the link between multicultural policies and attitudes toward immigrants is well established, the relationship between multicultural policies and attitudes toward other groups, particularly aboriginal people, needs to be addressed (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). Therefore, although the difference in pro-diversity policies may influence absolute levels of prejudice and discriminative behaviors in different countries, the pattern of relations between personal endorsement of multicultural ideology and prejudice or discriminative behaviors may be similar or not, in different countries, and would partially depend on which minority groups are evaluated as a target of prejudice.

In Canada, First Nations people (aboriginal people who are neither Inuit nor Métis) are a major target of prejudice and discrimination and this treatment has had a profound impact on their health, cultures, and languages (Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008). Moreover, Statistics Canada (2010) reported that, in comparison to non-aboriginal persons, aboriginal people in Canada are more likely to live in homes in need of major repairs and are more likely to be unemployed or to be the victim of a violent crime.

In Spain, there are between 500,000 and 1,000,000 *Gitanos* (Laparra & García, 2011). The exact figure is difficult to estimate because there is no census or survey that inquires about this membership. According to various studies, *Gitanos* are one of the most discriminated and prejudiced against groups in Spain (Diez Nicolás, 2005). This is supported by data: for example, non-*Gitano* Spaniards would be more upset to have *Gitanos* as neighbors compared to any other minority group, such as immigrants, Muslims, people with AIDS, etc. (CIS, 2013); in terms of inequality, two thirds of *Gitanos* live below the poverty line (FSG, 2013).

Although *Gitanos* and First Nations people suffer intense discrimination, and both groups have had a lengthy pursuit of identity and cultural recognition, these two groups are not commonly studied in diversity research.

Conducting research about multicultural ideology and intergroup attitudes in different countries, in which there are important differences in pro-diversity policies, allows exploration of whether the results can or cannot be generalized to different contexts and whether the mechanisms that explain the relationship between this ideology and intergroup relations and prejudice are the same across countries, as we will examine in this research.

2. Multicultural ideology and social policies support

Dixon et al. (2012) have suggested that improving intergroup evaluations is not equivalent to attaining equality. Prejudice reduction interventions may have positive effects in outgroup evaluations—a majority group could show better evaluations and emotions toward the minority group—but these changes may not be reflected in political and social attitudes concerning intergroup relations. Prejudice reduction interventions may be inefficient at preventing majority group members from continuing to support policies that maintain the status quo. Such interventions may also decrease minority members' perception of injustice. Hence, when assessing and defining prejudice, we should also consider this social structural component. For this reason, we assessed participants' support for social policies and motivation for social change in order to measure not only intergroup evaluations, but also willingness for social change.

Each diversity ideology can be related to different policies that reflect different views about how social categorization is related to intergroup harmony (Guimond et al., 2014). Whereas assimilation and colorblind ideologies are related to policies aimed at eliminating or ignoring diversity, multicultural ideology is related to policies aimed at recognizing and promoting diversity and its contribution to a common society. Previous research has shown that the majority members' preference for assimilation or colorblind policies could be a mechanism to maintain the status quo more than an integrative or egalitarian behavior (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). Therefore, we expect that low endorsement of multicultural ideology would be related to a lower motivation for social change and with lower support for specific social policies—those that are aimed at reducing inequalities and increasing direct social and political participation of minority groups.

3. Mediating mechanisms: motivation to control prejudice and social identity representations

In the present research, we also examined two processes extensively studied in the field of prejudice reduction: the individual motivation to control prejudice and social identity representations (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002).

The motivation to control prejudice has been defined as the concern about appearing prejudiced to others or oneself and the motivation to not deviate from personal egalitarian standards (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). This self-regulatory motivation facilitates the inhibition and control of prejudiced responses, so when there is a discrepancy between this motivation and the performed response, individuals can experience negative affect, feeling guilty or disappointed with themselves. This affective state instigates subsequent regulatory efforts of prejudice (Monteith et al., 2002).

Literature has shown that motivation to control prejudice is related to the reduction of prejudiced feelings, thoughts, or behaviors (Chen, Moons, Gaither, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2014; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). Likewise, a link has been established between multicultural ideology and self-regulatory approaches that involve goal-driven processes initiated by individuals to regulate their own thoughts and behaviors to counteract intergroup bias (Todd & Galinsky, 2012). For instance, Todd and Galinsky (2012) conducted a set of 4 experiments in the United States. In these experiments, participants read about the benefits of multiculturalism (or color-blindness; they also included a control group) and listed up to five reasons why this ideology might be beneficial for intergroup relations. Afterwards, they responded to self-reported or indirect measures of perceptual and conceptual perspective-taking. Results consistently showed that the multicultural ideology facilitated different forms of perspective taking.

Building on these results, in the present studies we predict that a multicultural ideology will increase the motivation of individuals to control and regulate their own prejudice and that this motivation, in turn, will lead to less prejudice and higher intentions to reduce inequalities in the studies conducted in both countries, Spain and Canada.

In addition, categorization of people into groups is an essential process in the way people view, think about, and respond to others (Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2015). There is extended literature showing how different ways of constructing social categories and identities influence attitudes toward people who are included in these categories (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Likewise, the link between political context, diversity ideologies, and categorization principles has been proposed by previous authors relating multicultural, colorblind, and assimilation ideologies with salient categorization, decategorization, or one-group categorization, respectively (see Guimond et al., 2014).

The two group identity representations that have been studied in connection with diversity ideologies are common identity and dual identity. The first representation refers to perceiving members of the outgroup and the ingroup as one common superordinate group. The second refers to perceiving members of the outgroup and the ingroup as one common superordinate group, as well as members of different cultural groups at a subordinate level (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009).

Research in the common ingroup identity model demonstrates that both creating dual identities and a single common ingroup identity are related to more positive feelings and attitudes toward others because those who were previously seen as outgroup members become part of the ingroup after a process of recategorization (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). However, the single common ingroup identity has been related to the deflection of attention away from group-based disparities, whereas the dual identity reflects perceptions related to multiculturalism and can promote positive attitudes and action by members of both high-status and low-status groups (Dovidio et al., 2015).

Dual identity may be more important as a mediator variable in Canada than in Spain due to the following reasons. First, because the Canadian sociopolitical context advocates for the maintenance of diverse minority identities, which is related more to a dual identity representation than to one common ingroup representation. However, in Spain this public discourse has been less present in the socio-political context, in which recognition and promotion of minority identities is less emphasized. Second, because of the creation of a complex Canadian identity in which different group identities can be included.

Summing up, based on previous literature on multicultural ideology and prejudice, in the present research we will test the following hypotheses:

H1: Participants with a higher endorsement of multicultural ideology will report less prejudice and higher intentions to reduce inequalities in both countries.

H2: Motivation to control prejudice will mediate the relation between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities in both countries.

H3: Social identity representations will mediate the relation between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities. Moreover, we propose that a dual identity representation could mediate the relation in the Canadian context, whereas a common identity representation could do so in Spain.

4. Study 1

The goal of the first study was to explore in Spain whether endorsement of a multicultural ideology would predict prejudice, support for social policies, and motivation for social change concerning *Gitanos*. Moreover, we examined whether individual differences in motivation to control prejudice and the common or dual identity representations would mediate these relations.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants

We recruited 393 participants from the general population using incidental sampling procedure. Nine participants were extracted from the sample because they identify themselves as *Gitanos* and four because they were foreign people living in Spain less than a year. The final sample was composed of 380 non-*Gitano* participants, of which 60.9% were women and 39.1% were men. The mean age was 27.14 ($SD = 10.96$). Among the participants, 1.6% had received no schooling, 1.3% completed primary school, 5.5% completed compulsory secondary education, 36.6% completed upper secondary education or professional training, 43.7% completed university, 8.4% had a post-graduate degree, and 2.9% of participants did not provide information on their education.

4.1.2. Procedure

Participants responded to the questionnaire in the waiting room of the city bus station. All participants answered the questionnaire individually and took 15 min on average to complete it. Participation in the study was voluntary and without any economic compensation for participants.

4.1.3. Instruments

The following measures were included.

4.1.3.1. Predictor

As a predictor variable we used the following measure.

Endorsement of *multicultural ideology*

Participants answered the 5-item scale used by Verkuyten (2005) translated into Spanish. Some examples of items are "You can learn a lot from other cultural groups" or "It is never easy to understand people from another culture" (reverse coded). Items were measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*). The alpha of the scale was .68.

4.1.3.2 Mediators

Social Identity Representations (based on Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Participants answered two items on a Likert scale from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*): (a) "To what extent do you agree that *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos* should see themselves as members of one common group?" (common identity); (b) "To what extent do you agree that *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos* should see themselves as members of different cultural groups as well as one common group?" (dual identity).

Concern with *acting prejudiced*

This measure is a subscale of the *Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions* scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997) and was used to evaluate the participants' motivation to control prejudice. Items (e.g., "I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered prejudiced") were measured on a Likert scale from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*). The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .81$.

4.1.3.3. Criterion variables. modern racism scale

This was developed by McConahay, Hardee, & Batts (1981) and adapted to the Spanish population by Navas (1998). In modern prejudice, on the one hand, racial inequality is rejected and egalitarianism is promoted, but, on the other hand, it is argued that the minority group doesn't suffer discrimination and that it has the same opportunities as the majority group. This scale contains 10 items (e.g., "Discrimination against *Gitanos* is not a problem in our country"), with a Likert response format to indicate the degree of agreement ranging from 1 to 7 ($\alpha = .73$).

. Thermometer (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993)

This measure was used in order to assess general emotions and feelings toward *Gitanos* and consists of a single item response format on a scale from 0 (*completely negative emotions and feelings*) to 100 (*completely positive*).

. Social policies support

This measure was based on a document about social inclusion policies and the Spanish Roma population (FSG, 2012) and evaluates the level of participants' support for social policies related to *Gitanos*. It is composed of three items with a Likert response format from 1 (*I don't support these kind of social policies at all*) to 7 (*I definitely support these kind of social policies*) asking about "General social policies (directed toward all citizens, including *Gitanos*) which permit access to the different social protection systems" "Specific social policies directed toward *Gitanos* used to compensate the historical disadvantages of this group" and "Social policies to promote grassroots movement for *Gitanos*, that would allow the social and political participation of this community" ($\alpha = .76$).

. Motivation for social change

Participants responded (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) to two items based on Glasford and Dovidio (2011): "Right now, I have a strong motivation to change disparities between *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos*" and "At this moment, I am motivated to participate in actions to change disparities between *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos*" ($r = .77$).

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Correlational analyses Correlational analyses were performed to measure the relation between the endorsement of multicultural ideology and all the criterion and mediator variables.

As predicted by our hypothesis, the endorsement of multicultural ideology—which in general was highly endorsed by participants in this sample ($M = 5.37$)—showed a significant positive correlation with emotions toward *Gitanos*, social policies support, and motivation for social change ($r_s > .34$, $p_s < .001$), and a significant negative correlation with modern racism toward the outgroup ($r = -0.44$, $p < .001$). Regarding the relation with the proposed mediators, the endorsement of multicultural ideology showed a significant positive correlation with the Concern with Acting Prejudiced score ($r = 0.21$, $.001$) and the common identity representation ($r = 0.27$, $p < .001$), but not with the dual identity representation ($r = .04$, $p = .43$) (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics and correlations).

4.2.2. Mediation analyses

These analyses were performed to test direct and indirect effects of endorsement of multicultural ideology on prejudice (Thermometer and Modern Racism scale) and on intentions to reduce inequalities (social policies support and motivation for social change) through the motivation to control prejudice and through the common identity representation (see Fig. 1). Following the procedures outlined by Hayes (2013) for using PROCESS macro for SPSS, we conducted OLS regression analyses for testing a parallel multiple mediator model (Model 4) using bootstrapping with 5000 resamples. The model included the multicultural ideology as predictor (X), the three mediators were included as mediating variables—motivation to control prejudice (M_1), common identity (M_2), and dual identity representations (M_3)—and we included the other four measures as outcome variables (Y) in each of the analyses that we describe below.

4.2.2.1. Emotions toward *Gitanos*

The model to predict emotions toward *Gitanos* (Y) was significant, $R^2 = .19$, $F(4, 360) = 20.69$, $p < .001$. The direct effect of multicultural ideology was also significant. However, we only found an indirect effect of multicultural ideology on this variable through the motivation to control prejudice and through the common identity representation (see Table 2).

4.2.2.2. Modern racism

The model was also significant, $R^2 = .20$, $F(4, 366) = 23.39$, $p < .001$. Apart from the direct effect of multicultural ideology on modern racism, none of the specific indirect effects were significant (see Table 3).

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations Between Variables – Study 1, Spain.

Variable	M	SD	Correlations							
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. EMI	5.37	1.02	–	0.338***	–0.440***	0.401***	0.382***	0.212***	0.279***	0.041
2. Ther	55.66	20.80		–	–0.360***	0.425***	0.497***	0.248***	0.287***	–0.035
3. MRS	3.64	0.94			–	–0.498**	–0.387***	–0.088	–0.200***	–0.088
4. SPS	5.08	1.39				–	0.441***	0.382***	0.300***	0.122*
5. MSC	4.06	1.53					–	0.367***	0.217***	–0.037
6. CAP	4.66	1.15						–	0.177**	0.105*
7. CIR	5.25	1.88							–	–0.090
8. DIR	4.86	2.07								–

Note: N = 380 non-Gitano participants. EMI = Endorsement of Multicultural Ideology, Ther = Thermometer, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, SPS = Social Policies Support, MSC = Motivation for Social Change, CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation.

* $p < 0.05$.

** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

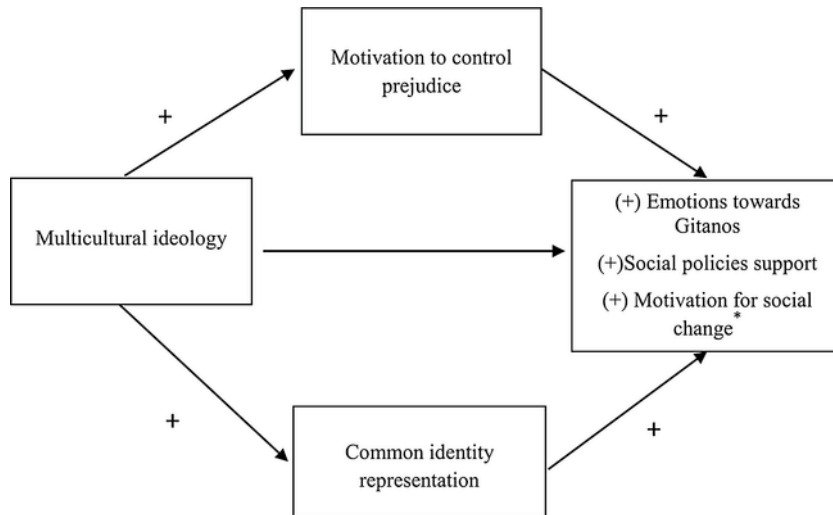


Fig. 1. Conceptual diagram of the indirect effect of endorsement of multicultural ideology on attitudes toward *Gitanos* and intentions to reduce inequalities through the individual level of motivation to control prejudice and the common identity representation.*The specific indirect effects showed that the motivation to control prejudice mediates the relation between multicultural ideology and motivation for social change but the common identity representation does not.

Table 2
Direct and Indirect Effects of Multicultural Ideology on Emotions Toward the Outgroup.

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI
Direct effect of Multicultural Ideology	5.06 (1.04)	[2.998, 7.091]	8.44 (1.06)	[6.352, 10.529]	5.98 (1.40)	[3.215, 8.741]
Indirect effect via CAP	0.80 (0.33)	[0.305, 1.634]	0.03 (0.20)	[-0.324, 0.516]	1.20 (0.51)	[0.331, 2.380]
Indirect effect via CIR	1.15 (0.42)	[0.477, 2.151]	0.74 (0.35)	[0.226, 1.715]	-0.01 (0.10)	[-0.388, 0.100]
Indirect effect via DIR	-0.02 (0.08)	[-0.320, 0.069]	0.01 (0.08)	[-0.085, 0.302]	0.82 (0.45)	[0.127, 1.898]

Note: CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation. The values in parentheses of the coefficients show the standard error of the estimate. The outgroup in Studies 1 & 2 were *Gitanos* and in Study 3 were First Nations people.

Table 3
Direct and Indirect Effects of Multicultural Ideology on Modern Racism Toward the Outgroup.

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI
Direct effect of Multicultural Ideology	-0.38 (0.04)	[-0.474, -0.293]	-0.43 (0.49)	[-0.522, -0.330]	-0.35 (0.08)	[-0.506, -0.199]
Indirect effect via CAP	0.00 (0.01)	[-0.014, 0.030]	-0.02 (0.01)	[-0.050, -0.001]	-0.07 (0.03)	[-0.142, -0.026]
Indirect effect via CIR	-0.02 (0.01)	[-0.057, 0.001]	-0.01 (0.01)	[-0.041, 0.005]	-0.00 (0.01)	[-0.038, 0.015]
Indirect effect via DIR	-0.00 (0.00)	[-0.020, 0.004]	-0.00 (0.00)	[-0.022, 0.003]	-0.05 (0.02)	[-0.100, -0.011]

Note: CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation. The values in parentheses of the coefficients show the standard error of the estimate. The outgroup in Studies 1 & 2 were *Gitanos* and in Study 3 were First Nations people.

4.2.2.3. Social policies support

The tested model was significant, $R^2 = .29$, $F(4, 362) = 36.55$, $p < .001$. The direct effect of multicultural ideology was also significant. Moreover, meditational analyses showed a significant indirect effect through the motivation to control prejudice and through the common identity representation (see Table 4).

Table 4

Direct and Indirect Effects of Multicultural Ideology on Social Policies Support.

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI
Direct effect of Multicultural Ideology	5.06 (1.04)	[2.998, 7.091]	0.49 (0.06)	[0.366, 0.610]	0.19 (0.07)	[0.047, 0.332]
Indirect effect via CAP	0.08 (0.03)	[0.040, 0.147]	0.04 (0.02)	[0.007, 0.085]	0.10 (0.03)	[0.050, 0.168]
Indirect effect via CIR	0.07 (0.03)	[0.025, 0.135]	0.01 (0.01)	[-0.011, 0.045]	0.00 (0.01)	[-0.007, 0.031]
Indirect effect via DIR	0.00 (0.01)	[-0.007, 0.031]	0.00 (0.01)	[-0.004, 0.027]	0.08 (0.03)	[0.033, 0.147]

Note: CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation. The values in parentheses of the coefficients show the standard error of the estimate. Social policies involved *Gitanos* in Studies 1 & 2 and First Nations people in Study 3.

4.2.2.4. Motivation for social change

The model, $R^2 = .25$, $F(4, 362) = 29.80$, $p < .001$, and the direct effect were also significant. Only the specific indirect effect through the motivation to control prejudice was significant (see Table 5).

4.3. Discussion

As we expected, participants' endorsement of multicultural ideology was related to less prejudice and higher intentions to reduce inequalities. Results indicate that people who endorse a multicultural ideology not only express more positive emotions and evaluations toward the outgroup, but they are motivated to challenge the established social hierarchy. The effects of multicultural ideology on prejudice and on intentions to reduce inequalities were partially explained because multicultural ideology influenced participants' motivation to control their own prejudice, and favored the perception of *Gitanos* and non-*Gitanos* as just one common group (Spaniards). However, no support was found for the role of the dual identity representation as a mediator variable between multicultural ideology and any of the criterion variables. This last result may be explained because the Spanish sociopolitical context does not emphasize the recognition and promotion of dual identities to integrate minorities, but puts more emphasis on the single common group of all citizens as Spaniards.

5. Study 2

The goal of the second study was to analyze whether the hypotheses of Study 1 would be confirmed but using a different Spanish sample and a different measure of multicultural ideology—the measure used in Study 1 might be too abstract or general. Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2014) maintained that it is easier to support multiculturalism in abstract terms than in concrete terms, in part because diversity is not seen as threatening to national identity in the former, as opposed to the latter. Therefore, we created a new, more concrete, measure based on various multicultural contexts (i.e., neighborhood, workplace, and school) that will be described in more detail in the next section.

Table 5

Direct and Indirect Effects of Multicultural Ideology on Motivation for Social Change.

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI
Direct effect of Multicultural Ideology	0.45 (0.07)	[0.310, 0.593]	0.45 (0.08)	[0.290, 0.605]	0.33 (0.10)	[0.129, 0.534]
Indirect effect via CAP	0.10 (0.03)	[0.048, 0.171]	0.02 (0.02)	[-0.001, 0.071]	0.11 (0.03)	[0.052, 0.185]
Indirect effect via CIR	0.03 (0.02)	[-0.016, 0.081]	0.04 (0.02)	[0.006, 0.094]	-0.00 (0.01)	[-0.018, 0.013]
Indirect effect via DIR	-0.01 (0.01)	[-0.032, 0.006]	-0.00 (0.01)	[-0.035, 0.005]	0.01 (0.02)	[-0.028, 0.064]

Note: CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation. The values in parentheses of the coefficients show the standard error of the estimate.

5.1. Method

5.1.1. Participants

A total of 336 participants from the general population participated in this study. Three participants were extracted from the sample because they identify themselves as *Gitanos* and two because they were foreign people living in Spain less than a year. The final sample was composed of 331 non-*Gitano* participants, 63.9% were women and 36.1% were men. The mean age was 25.95 ($SD = 10.79$). Among the participants, 1.2% had received no schooling, 0.6% completed primary school, 6.0% completed secondary school, 41.7% completed post-secondary school or technical education, 39.0% completed university, 8.2% had a post-graduate degree, and 3.3% of participants did not provide information on their education.

5.1.2. Procedure

Participants responded individually to the questionnaire in the waiting room of a city bus station and took 20 min on average to complete it. Participation in the study was voluntary and without any economic compensation for participants.

5.1.3. Instruments

We included the Multicultural Ideology in Context scale (see below) as predictor, instead of the Endorsement of Multicultural Ideology. The measures for mediators and criterion variables were the same as in the previous study: Concern with Acting Prejudiced ($\alpha = .82$), Thermometer, Modern Racism Scale ($\alpha = .80$), Social Policies Support ($\alpha = .68$) and Motivation for Social Change ($r = .78$) always referred to *Gitanos*.

5.1.3.1. Multicultural ideology in context

This measure was constructed based on three multicultural contexts: neighborhood, workplace, and school. We specified that the contexts are composed of members from different cultures and that they maintain their values and traditions. The measure was composed of nine items, three for each scenario, in which participants were asked to evaluate to what extent—from 1 (*Not at all enriching*) to 7 (*Extremely enriching*)—these conditions (cultural diversity and the recognition of different values and customs) would enrich the neighborhood, workplace, school, and themselves, and to what extent these conditions would be problematic (reversed code). For example, the neighborhood scenario was:

Imagine a neighborhood where there are many people of different cultures living and maintaining their traditions, customs and values. These people come across each other in the shops, restaurants, cafes, and parks. The neighborhood association is also composed of members of different cultures involved in decision making for the development of the neighborhood.

An example of one item is: “To what extent do you think that this situation (a neighborhood composed of members of different cultures) is enriching for the neighborhood?” We calculated a total mean of scores of all three scenarios, in which higher scores indicate that participants value more cultural diversity in these concrete contexts ($\alpha = .86$).

5.2. Results

5.2.1 Correlational analyses Participants reported slightly lower scores on the measure of multicultural ideology ($M = 4.95$) compared to participants in the previous study. The Multicultural Ideology in Context showed a significant positive correlation with emotions toward *Gitanos*, social policies support, and motivation for social change ($r_s > 0.34, p_s < .001$), and a significant negative correlation with modern racism toward *Gitanos* ($r = -0.46, p < .001$). Correlations and descriptive statistics are presented in Table 6. Regarding the relation with mediators, the Multicultural Ideology in Context score showed a significant positive correlation with the Concern with Acting Prejudiced scores ($r = 0.16, p = 0.004$) and with the common identity representation ($r = 0.16, p = .003$), but not with the dual identity representation ($r = 0.05, p = .319$).

5.2.2. Mediation analyses

As in Study 1, we tested again a parallel multiple mediator model (see Hayes 2013), including multicultural ideology in context as predictor (X), the three mediators—motivation to control prejudice (M_1), common identity (M_2) and dual identity representations (M_3)—, and the following variables as outcome variables (Y):

5.2.2.1. Emotions toward *Gitanos*

The model was significant, $R^2 = .23, F(4, 311) = 23.85, p < .001$, as well as the direct effect of multicultural ideology on this variable. Only the indirect effect through the common identity representation was significant (see Table 2).

5.2.2.2. Modern racism

The tested model, $R^2 = .25, F(4, 312) = 25.32, p < .001$, and the direct effect were significant. In addition, the indirect effect through the motivation to control prejudice was significant (see Table 3).

Table 6
Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations Between Variables – Study 2, Spain.

Variable	M	SD	Correlations							
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. MIC	4.95	1.05	–	0.440***	–0.461***	0.453***	0.348***	0.160**	0.163**	0.055
2. Ther	51.62	22.14		–	–0.475***	0.454***	0.481***	0.102	0.257***	0.041
3. MRS	3.72	1.04			–	–0.531***	–0.349***	–0.180**	–0.165**	–0.097
4. SPS	4.86	1.29				–	0.494***	0.260***	0.126*	0.099
5. MSC	3.98	1.58					–	0.162**	0.208***	–0.032
6. CAP	4.65	1.16						–	0.148**	0.120*
7. CIR	4.67	1.90							–	0.023
8. DIR	5.06	1.92								–

Note: N = 331 non-*Gitano* participants. MIC = Multicultural Ideology in Context, Ther = Thermometer, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, SPS = Social Policies Support, MSC = Motivation for Social Change, CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation.

p < .001.

5.2.2.3. Social policies support

The model, $R^2 = .24$, $F(4, 311) = 24.23$, $p < .001$, and the direct effect were significant. We only found an indirect effect on participants' social policies support through the motivation to control prejudice (see Table 4).

5.2.2.4. Motivation for social change

The model, $R^2 = .15$, $F(4, 309) = 13.53$, $p < .001$, and the direct effect were significant. The indirect effect through the common identity representation was significant (see Table 5).

5.3. Discussion

The results confirmed the pattern of relations and the proposed mediation model obtained in the first study with a different sample—even when multicultural ideology was evaluated in a more concrete way, using specific social contexts.

6. Study 3

This study was designed to explore the generalization of findings; thus, we ran the present study in a different country and with a different target group of prejudice: it was conducted in Ontario (Canada) and First Nations people were the target group.

Canada has been an international example of the implementation of policies that recognize and promote diversity and is considered a high-diversity country (Banting & Kymlicka, 2003). For that reason, the main hypothesis of the study is that the relation between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities will be replicated. We also tested whether the mediator between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities in the Canadian context is a dual identity representation instead of a common identity.

Additionally, we included the Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice scales (Plant & Devine, 1998). These authors differentiate two sources of motivation to control prejudice, aimed at identifying people who are primarily motivated by personal concerns (i.e., internally motivated) and those who are motivated by concerns about how they might appear in the eyes of others (i.e., externally motivated). Because the Concern with Acting Prejudiced scale, used in previous studies, is not focused in this distinction, we introduced these measures in order to clarify whether the motivation that is mediating the relation between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities is internally or externally focused. Previous research has shown that internal motivation contributes more than external motivation to individuals' success in avoiding prejudiced behavior (e.g., Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002). For that reason, we predicted that internal motivation (but not external motivation) would mediate the relation between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities.

6.1. Method

6.1.1. Participants

A sample composed by 339 undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses participated in the study. Five people were excluded because they identify themselves as First Nations people and 14 were excluded because they were foreign students living in Canada less than a year. The final sample was composed of 320 participants. Among them, 68.8% were women, 30.9% were men, and 0.3% identify themselves as "other." Participants were between the ages of 17 and 54, and the mean age was 18.83 ($SD = 2.93$). Among the participants, 46.3% were Caucasian/White, 41.3% were Asian, 1.3% were African American/Black, 0.9% were Hispanic/Latino, and 10% identify their ethnicity as "other."

6.1.2. Procedure

The study was conducted in a university psychology lab. After reading the letter of information and indicating consent, participants responded to the questionnaire individually, using Qualtrics program for its implementation, and they took 20 min on average to complete it. Finally, they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

6.1.3. Instruments

We used the Multicultural Ideology in Context measure in order to evaluate this ideology in a more concrete way.

6.1.3.1. Predictor

As a predictor variable we used a translated English version of the Multicultural Ideology in Context ($\alpha = .78$); the same variable used in Study 2.

6.1.3.2. Mediators

We used the following mediator variables.

Social Identity Representations (based on Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Participants answered the same two items as in the previous studies.

Concern with Acting Prejudiced. The original items of the first subscale of the *Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions* scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997) were used ($\alpha = .85$).

Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998). These two scales are composed of five items each; one example of an item from the Internal Motivation scale is "I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward members of minority groups because it is personally important to me" and one of the External scale is "I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward members of minority groups in order to avoid disapproval from others." The items have a Likert response format ranging from 1 (*I completely disagree*) to 9 (*I completely agree*). The alpha coefficient for the Internal Motivation was .86 and .85 for the External Motivation scale.

6.1.3.3. Criterion variables

Modern Racism Scale. McConahay's scale (1986) was used for measuring the modern prejudice against First Nations people. Item 5, "Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have" was not included because it was considered not applicable to the First Nations people, as there is not the perception of this kind of influence by First Nations people in Canada ($\alpha = .80$).

Thermometer. This was used in order to assess general emotions and feelings toward First Nations people (Haddock et al., 1993).

Social Policies Support. We used the same measure as in Studies 1 and 2, with First Nations people as the target group ($\alpha = .65$).

Motivation for Social Change. The same two items as in previous studies were used ($r = .72$).

6.2. Results

6.2.1 Correlational analyses Participants again quite highly endorsed a multicultural ideology ($M = 5.40$). The Multicultural Ideology in Context score showed a significant correlation with emotions toward First Nations people, social policies support, and motivation for social change ($r_s > .25$, $p_s < .001$) and a significant negative correlation with modern racism ($r = -0.34$, $p < .001$). For descriptive statistics and correlations, see Table 7. Regarding the social identity representation, the value of diversity showed a significant correlation with the dual identity representation ($r = 0.22$, $p < .001$) but not with the common identity representation ($r = -0.02$, $p = 0.691$).

6.2.2. Mediation analyses

These analyses were performed to test direct and indirect effects of multicultural ideology on prejudice and on intentions to reduce inequalities through the motivation to control prejudice and through the dual identity representation (see Fig. 2). As in the last two studies, we conducted a parallel multiple mediator model (see Hayes 2013; Model 4), using bootstrapping with 5000 resamples, and including multicultural ideology in context as the predictor variable (X). The three mediators were included—motivation to control prejudice (M_1), common identity (M_2) and dual identity representations (M_3)—and the following measures were considered outcome variables (Y):

6.2.2.1. Emotions toward First Nations people

The tested model was significant, $R^2 = .15$, $F(4, 313) = 13.46$, $p < .001$, as it was significant the direct effect of multicultural ideology. The specific indirect effects through the motivation to control prejudice and through the dual identity representation were both significant (see Table 2).

6.2.2.2. Modern racism

The model was significant, $R^2 = .18$, $F(4, 313) = 16.91$, $p < .001$. The direct effect was also significant. The indirect effects through the motivation to control prejudice and through the dual identity representation were both significant (see Table 3).

6.2.2.3. Social policies support

The model, $R^2 = .21$, $F(4, 313) = 20.28$, $p < .001$, and the direct effect were significant. We also found that the indirect effects through the motivation to control prejudice and through the dual identity representation were both significant (see Table 4).

6.2.2.4. Motivation for social change

The model, $R^2 = .10$, $F(4, 312) = 8.74$, $p < .001$, and the direct effect were significant. The specific indirect effect on motivation for social change was only significant through the motivation to control prejudice (see Table 5).

No support was found for the role of the common identity perception as a mediator in any case.

Additionally, we conducted simple mediation analyses to explore whether it was the internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice that mediated between multicultural ideology and the four outcome variables. Thus, we conducted several mediation analyses with 5000 bootstraps (see Hayes 2013; Model 4). Results showed an indirect effect through the internal motivation on emotions toward the outgroup, $b = 2.89$, $SE = 0.86$, 95% CI [1.402, 4.821], modern racism, $b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.04$,

Table 7
Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations Between Variables – Study 3, Canada.

Variable	M	SD	Correlations									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. MIC	5.40	0.79	–	0.327***	–0.342***	0.281***	0.257***	0.309***	0.432***	–0.020	–0.022	0.220***
2. Ther	74.22	19.75		–	–0.420***	0.527***	0.392***	0.249***	0.359***	0.115*	0.023	0.215***
3. MRS	2.89	1.12			–	–0.578***	–0.335***	–0.245***	–0.304***	0.054	0.136*	–0.235***
4. SPS	5.21	1.05				–	0.378***	0.296***	0.304***	0.109	–0.085	0.336***
5. MSC	3.86	1.40					–	0.260***	0.333***	0.014	0.021	0.089
6. CAP	5.53	0.98						–	0.651***	0.441***	0.132*	0.099
7. IMRP	7.01	1.40							–	0.216***	0.055	0.114*
8. EMRP	6.55	1.70								–	0.093	0.112*
9. CIR	4.37	1.92									–	–0.123*
10. DIR	5.75	1.54										–

Note: N = 320 non-First Nations participants. MIC = Multicultural Ideology in Context, Ther = Thermometer, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, SPS = Social Policies Support, MSC = Motivation for Social Change, CAP = Concern with Acting Prejudiced, IMRP = Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice, EMRP = External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice, CIR = Common identity representation, DIR = Dual identity representation.

* $p < 0.05$.

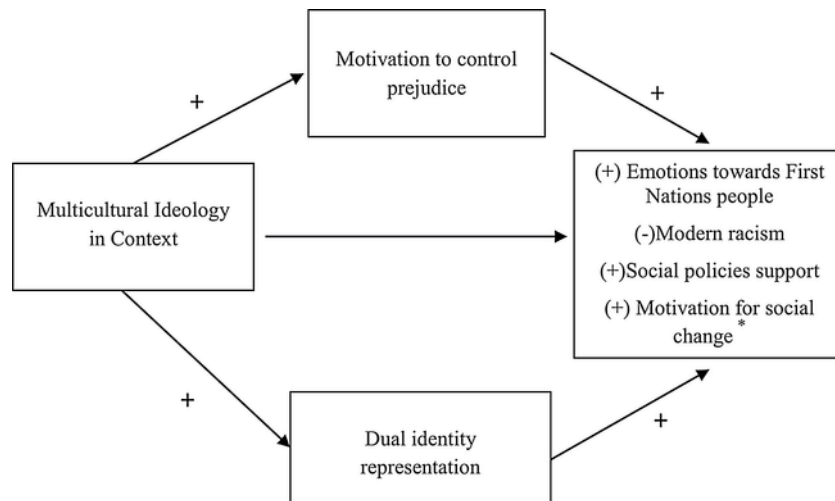


Fig. 2. Conceptual diagram of the indirect effect of multicultural ideology on attitudes toward First Nations people and intentions to reduce inequalities through the individual level of motivation to control prejudice and the dual identity representation.*The specific indirect effects showed that the motivation to control prejudice mediates the relation between multicultural ideology and motivation for social change but the dual identity representation does not.

95% CI [-0.208, -0.042], social policies support, $b = 0.13$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [0.053, 0.225], and motivation for social change, $b = 0.21$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [0.099, 0.333]. However, we did not find an indirect effect through the external motivation to control prejudice on any of the four outcome measures.

6.3. Discussion

The results replicated the relationship among variables in a different country with an important tradition of multicultural sociopolitical context. Participants who valued higher cultural diversity in the schools, workplace, and neighborhood scenarios showed less prejudice toward First Nations people, higher social policies support, and higher motivation to social change.

These results strengthen the generalizability of the significant relationship between multicultural ideology and prejudice, on the one hand, and between multicultural ideology and intentions to reduce inequalities on the other hand. However, although the motivation to control prejudice was a mediator in this study (as in the previous studies), the dual identity representation and not the common identity representation mediated the effect of multicultural ideology on prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities. This result may be explained because of the link between pro-diversity sociopolitical context and the way of representing identities based on salient categorization of multiple groups included in national identity (Guimond et al., 2014), more than as one common group. Canadians could be more habituated to represent identities recognizing multiple categories of identity included in the superordinate national identity, and First Nations people would be one of these relevant social categories.

Additionally, we confirmed that the internal motivation, but not the external motivation, mediated the effects of valuing cultural diversity on all criterion variables.

7. General discussion and conclusions

As Guimond et al. (2013) indicated, the identification of country-specific processes of intergroup relations and prejudice may be useful to better understand how general principles can be valid despite changing cultural, historical, or political conditions. Across three studies, in two different countries (Spain and Canada), we found that overall, participants' support for a multicultural ideology was quite high. In addition, this ideology was related not only to more positive evaluations of the outgroups, but with higher intentions of behaviors that challenge the social structure between groups—to support social policies that increase participation of minority groups and improve their social situation or to be motivated to participate in actions aimed at reducing inequalities. These results are inconsistent with the idea that multiculturalism is a form of segregation that can lead to inequality, as some European politicians have claimed (see Guimond et al., 2014). On the contrary, multiculturalism is not only a celebration of diversity but is a progress toward the equality of all citizens in economic and sociopolitical terms.

Likewise, these results indicate that benefits of this ideology could be specific not for one group (e.g., just for the integration of immigrants), but could be generalized to different groups that share some similarities and, most importantly, groups that are in a similar position on the social hierarchy. We consider that *Gitanos* and First Nations people would be an example because they share some similarities, given that both are autochthonous minorities who are victims of similar stereotypes and discriminative behaviors and are low-status groups.

In the three studies, the relationship between multicultural ideology and the criterion variables was mediated by participants' internal motivation to control prejudice. However, a dual identity representation (members of different cultural groups as well as one common group) played a mediating role in Canada, but a common identity representation (as just one common group) was the mediator in Spain. This difference could be explained because of the different sociopolitical context and its link with the way in which national identity is constructed in each country. Therefore, the dual identity representation could be the explicative mechanism in Canada, and not in Spain, for various reasons. Firstly, Canada has been considered one of the most important countries on the politics of promotion of diversity—especially in comparison with European countries (Guimond et al., 2014)—and multiculturalism is considered an intrinsic characteristic of Canadian national identity (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). In turn, the link between a dual identity and valuing diversity could be more established in Canada than in Spain. Secondly, we believe that in Canada, identities are represented as more complex (pertaining to more than one ethnic or cultural group at the same time) than in Spain, given that for Canadians, it is more common to have mixed ethnic origins than for Spaniards, and this complexity is more reflected in the dual identity representation than in the common identity representation (Dovidio et al., 2009).

Further research is needed to address some limitations of the present work. First, although motivation to control prejudice and social identity representations are demonstrated to be relevant explicative mechanisms for the studied relations, future research could determine if there are other variables that further mediate the relation between multicultural ideology and prejudice and intentions to reduce inequalities. For instance, previous research has shown that identity threat could be a relevant variable (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

Second, the correlational nature of the present results should be considered. Future studies should use experimental methods to definitively establish causality. This could help to determine a causal chain between multicultural ideology, its consequences, and the underlying psychological processes (see Spencer, Zanna, & Fong, 2005).

Third, in the study conducted in Canada, our sample was composed of students and not the general population. Straus (2009) showed that, paradoxically, using student samples is a valid means of testing for national context effects, but the replication of these results with the general Canadian population would increase the validity of this pattern of results.

In sum, the present research helps to advance the knowledge of where and why multicultural ideology has beneficial consequences for individuals and their societies. Moreover, the results can be useful as a guide to create effective interventions for managing diversity and reducing prejudice and inequalities.

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