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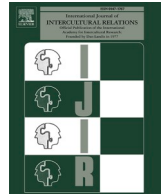
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Antecedents and consequences of perceived misrecognition and perceived discrimination in ethnic minorities

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports a quantitative investigation of the antecedents and consequences of misrecognition for group relations. Moreover, as we simultaneously take into account effects associated with perceived discrimination, we are able to show the added value of attending to the experience of misrecognition as a predictor of outcomes relevant to intergroup relations. The sample comprised 368 Dutch participants with an Antillean ($n = 126$), Chinese ($n = 118$), or Surinamese ($n = 124$) ethnic background. Results indicated that those who identified strongly with their ethnic group and who perceived other (so-called 'native') Dutch people as having negative perceptions of their ethnic group, reported greater levels of misrecognition and discrimination. In turn, higher levels of misrecognition and perceived discrimination were associated with participants reporting lower levels of Dutch identification, lower levels of trust in Dutch authorities, and a greater willingness to exhibit collective action on behalf of their ethnic group. Specifically, misrecognition was more strongly associated with Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities, while perceived discrimination was more strongly associated with collective action tendencies. These findings point to the practical and theoretical importance of misrecognition: Both the experience of discrimination and misrecognition are relevant to understanding the sustainable integration of ethnic minorities in multi-cultural societies.

"It actually started as a child growing up [...]. Our family was one of few people of colour in the village anyway. My brother and I were cycling and at one point there were two other kids. They were all shouting things at us, and at one point one of them said, 'Go back to your own country'. And then I thought, 'Huh, but where am I supposed to go?' Because I was just born here you know.

And as a child you don't really realise at all that you have a different skin colour. Sure, you see that you don't have blue eyes and blond hair, but you don't feel like that's a bad thing. But that comment made me think: 'Oh shit, so I'm different, so I don't really belong here at all.' And from that moment on, every time someone shouted 'Hey Chinese' or 'spring roll' or 'Sambal' at me, it hurt. That really started to sting a bit then, that continuous confirmation that I am different." (Dutch adult woman with a Chinese background - cited in Feddes et al., 2023).

In the present article, we address the sense of national belongingness reported by minority groups in the Netherlands, its antecedents, and its consequences. In doing so, we argue it is important to take into account the extent to which people feel "misrecognized". This term captures minority group members' experiences of finding themselves represented by majority group members in terms that do not correspond with their own self-definition. In the example above, the woman finds herself perceived in a different manner to how she sees herself: despite seeing herself as a Dutch citizen, she is judged a foreigner. In turn this misrecognition hurts ("That really started to sting a bit then, that continuous confirmation that I am different"). Our research addresses three interlinked questions. One concerns the antecedents of misrecognition. Another concerns minority group members' responses to such misrecognition (e.g., concerning their identification with the national group (here, Dutch society)). Finally, we explore the relative contribution of perceptions of misrecognition versus perceptions of discrimination in predicting these responses.

Minority group members' societal integration

Minority group members' identifications have been explored in a variety of contexts. For example, research on migration described a variety of acculturation strategies (e.g., Berry, 2017; Coenders et al., 2008; Gijssberts & Dagevos, 2007; Vervoort & Dagevos, 2011). One such strategy is "integration", which refers to a person's motivation to integrate cultural ideas, norms, values and practices associated with their minority and majority group memberships. In similar vein, research concerning long-settled minority group members (such as the person quoted at the outset to this paper) has explored the complexity to their identifications (e.g., as members of the Chinese community and wider Dutch society), the significance of such dual and intersectional identities for minorities (Hopkins, 2011; Yogeewaran & Verkuyten, 2021) and the functioning of society as a whole (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). With regards to this latter, we conceptualize sustainable integration as a process in which minority group members identify with their minority group in combination with a sense of belongingness to the majority society. Importantly, integration should not be confused with assimilation, which is a process in which members of minority groups start identifying with and behaving exclusively as a majority member at the expense of their identification with the minority group (e.g., Berry, 2017).

We propose that sustainable integration consists of a sense of identification with the majority society in combination with a certain level of trust in national authorities (such as the police and the judicial system) with the corollary that minority group members feel little need to engage in collective action on behalf of their minority group, because they feel that their needs as citizens are already being heard (and catered for) by the majority society. The benefits of such integration (for both minority and majority group members) are many. For example, sustainable integration may contribute to low levels of inter-group conflict and provide important socio-cultural and economic diversity in the labor market. In our view, this makes the question of the determinants of sustainable integration highly relevant for social psychological theory and everyday practice.

Although much attention is routinely devoted to minority group members, it should be clear that sustainable integration cannot be

understood without consideration of the role of majority group members (Kunst et al., 2021; Verkuyten, 2006; Zagefka et al., 2023) and how their attitudes and behaviors are experienced by the minority. Previous studies have shown that perceptions of discrimination are negatively related to sustainable integration. For example, to the extent that African-Americans experienced discrimination they report lower trust in the medical system (LaVeist et al., 2000). Similarly, when people with an Asian background in Finland experienced high levels of discrimination, their level of trust in the authorities was lowered (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000a; 2000b). In the current study, we argue that perceived misrecognition can also contribute to undermining sustainable integration. Specifically, we argue that experiences that lead members of a minority group to perceive that they do not belong and will never be fully accepted in mainstream society will be negatively related to sustainable integration.

Misrecognition

Across the social sciences (e.g., political theory) authors have approached the issue of sustainable integration and social cohesion. In doing so, some have found value in the concept of recognition which refers to the ways in which minority groups' various identities are accorded value (Honneth, 1996; Renault, 2007; Ricoeur, 2005). For example, speaking of contemporary political theory as it relates to ethnicity, Modood (2005) argues we have moved from:

“an understanding of equality in terms of individualism and cultural assimilation to a politics of recognition, to equality as encompassing public ethnicity, that is to say, equality as not having to hide or apologize for one's origins, family or community, but requiring others to show respect for them and adapt public attitudes and arrangements so that the heritage they represent is encouraged rather than ignored or expected to wither away.” (Modood, 2005, p. 134).

Recently, this concept has attracted the interest of social psychologists concerned with citizenship and the development of inclusive societies (e.g., Stevenson et al., 2015). Central to the concept is the idea that minority group members may find themselves being represented by majority group members in terms that do not correspond with their own self-definition (e.g., Blackwood, et al., 2013; Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan et al., 2023).

The mismatch between how minority group members perceive and define themselves and how (powerful) others perceive and define them can take diverse forms (Honneth, 1996; Renault, 2007; Ricoeur, 2005). Given social psychology's disciplinary interest in identity, social psychology is well-placed to contribute to social scientific theory concerning the experience of misrecognition and recent research (Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan et al., 2023) distinguishes four forms of misrecognition. First, *totalising misrecognition* occurs when a powerful other only perceives another in terms of one specific identity, e.g., as when a White American only perceives a person of color as an African-American rather than as a female professional. Another form, *content misrecognition*, arises when powerful others mistakenly assume minority groups have certain group characteristics (as when majority group members assume Muslim women wearing hijab are subjugated and have no choice in the matter). A third form, *invisibility misrecognition*, refers to the experience of having a valued identity overlooked and not catered for (as when minority group members feel that their religious festivals are not acknowledged as features of the national landscape). The fourth, *membership misrecognition*, occurs when people are denied a certain identity, as when Antillean, Chinese or Surinamese citizens of the Netherlands are not seen as fully Dutch (despite their identification as Dutch) an experience which routinely arises when they are confronted with the question “Where are you *really* from?” (the example with which we started this paper).

As all these examples illustrate, the key feature of misrecognition is the idea that although one can conceptualize oneself in particular ways, others may see one (and act towards one) on the basis of different conceptualizations. In this regard, misrecognition differs from discrimination: while people can be discriminated against regardless of their identifications, misrecognition is contingent upon their self-categorization and potential identification. Indeed, the various forms of misrecognition identified here alert us to the diverse ways in which majorities' power constrains minorities' autonomy in self-definition (Amer & Obradovic, 2022) and thus their ability to formulate and pursue their own understandings of their identity-related interests (Ryan et al., 2023).

For social psychology, the added value of the concept of misrecognition is significant. Minorities have many experiences that can be upsetting and prompt reflection on their treatment and the basis for it. How these experiences are categorized and labelled is important. Research shows that minority group members' labelling of their treatment is complicated and involves reference to the degree it was intentionally motivated or more accidental, etc. with the corollary that not all problematic treatment is necessarily labelled as involving 'discrimination' (Crosby, 1984, Crosby et al., 1986; Stangor et al., 2003). Accordingly, it is important that when we ask minorities about their treatment, we do not simply rely on the one concept (of discrimination). If we do so there is a good chance, we will miss a broader range of experiences that are significant to them. The concept of misrecognition adds analytic breadth in this regard. Consider for example, the experience of an Asian-American pupil at the start of the school year being greeted by a smiling teacher of mathematics who says how much they are looking forward to working with the pupil as everyone knows that Asian-American pupils are mathematically able. Although in many ways a positive encounter, the pupil may be upset that their Asian heritage is focused on to the exclusion of other identities (*totalising misrecognition*) and frustrated at the stereotype of mathematical ability (*content misrecognition*). Although it is unlikely that the pupil would construe the welcome from the teacher as discriminatory or racist, there may be contexts in which they would. However, this labelling process is complex (Crosby, 1984, Crosby et al., 1986; Stangor et al., 2003) and one in which others play a role in constructing and validating accounts of what happened as more or less serious (Xie et al., 2021). The key point here is that if we are to capture the breadth to minorities' hurtful experiences there is value in having a range of analytic concepts that extend beyond discrimination and misrecognition contributes in this regard. Indeed, having such a concept not only allows us to more thoroughly measure minority group members' experiences, it can also help identify otherwise easily overlooked practices that are exclusionary (Verloo, 2023).

Previous quantitative studies of misrecognition in social psychology have typically focused on different forms. For example, Barreto and Ellemers (2003) examined the responses of minority groups to situations in which they were categorized in an unwanted manner, which is one form of misrecognition. Similarly, Cheryan and Monin (2005) focused on another form: how Asian Americans can be denied being perceived as fully American. More recent analyses of qualitative data arising from interviews have covered a broader range of misrecognition experiences (e.g., Amer, 2020; Blackwood et al., 2013, 2015; Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan et al., 2023). Although qualitative research is ideal for exploring the subjective experience of different forms of misrecognition, it is less suitable for exploring the antecedents and consequences of these diverse experiences of misrecognition. Accordingly, in order to address these issues our research takes the form of a survey study in which we explore the determinants of misrecognition experiences and the degree to which such misrecognition impacts negatively minority group members' integration in society. With regard to this latter, we are particularly interested in the degree to which misrecognition experiences have outcomes above and beyond those associated with perceptions of discrimination. The context for our research is the Netherlands which is home to a range of minority groups including those with an Antillean heritage (associated with Caribbean islands including Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius and Saba), and those with Chinese or Surinamese heritages. Together, these minorities constitute almost 4 % of the total Dutch population (CBS/Central Bureau for Statistics, 2022) and experience various forms of marginalization.

Antecedents of misrecognition: ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping

When do people experience misrecognition? We suggest (and test) two potential antecedents: ethnic identification and meta-stereotyping. We argue that in order to experience misrecognition (a) people need to feel attached to their ethnic minority group, and (b) people need to have the idea that mainstream society has a negative view of their ethnic group. The reason for this focus on participants' minority identities is that it is these identities that elicit problematic treatment by majority group members. That is, it is these minority identities that are subject to acts of discrimination and various forms of misrecognition. In turn this means it is important to know both the extent to which minority group members feel their minority group membership is judged negatively and the degree to which minority group members identify in terms of this identity (for this latter is relevant to the self-relevance of such negative stereotypes). This logic aligns well with previous research which shows that the extent to which people experience emotions as group members depends on the level of identification such that when people feel highly identified with a particular group, anything that happens to that group as a whole or to themselves as individual group members, has more emotional impact (e.g., Wann, 2006). Indeed, research shows people are more likely to experience anger when they feel that their group has been mistreated to the extent that they identify with that group (e.g., Pennekamp et al., 2007).

With regard to understanding the experience of negative stereotypes, research has highlighted the significance of group members' beliefs as to how their group is represented by others (i.e., 'meta-stereotypes': Vorauer et al., 2000). Such experiences can have consequences for attitudes and behavior. For example, meta-stereotypes have been shown to lead to more distancing from the out-group (Ruys et al., 2007) and greater support for collective action on behalf of their minority group (Kamans et al., 2009). We propose that meta-stereotypes are the basis on which the more general experience of misrecognition is founded. In theory, both positive and negative meta-stereotypes can prompt the experiences of a sense of misrecognition (Dobai & Hopkins, 2021). However, negative meta-stereotypes are particularly painful, especially when the relationship between the groups are marked by power and status differentials such that the relatively powerful are able to act on the basis of their stereotypes and make them count for the lives of others (Lammers et al., 2008). For example, research among Moroccan-Dutch teenagers shows that they are aware that majority members in the Netherlands perceive them as maladjusted, criminal, lazy and aggressive (Kamans et al., 2009). When confronted with these specific stereotypes, minority group members may experience a profound sense of misrecognition which involves elements of *totalizing misrecognition* (e.g., "majority group members only perceive me in terms of my ethnicity"), *content misrecognition* (e.g., "majority group members misrepresent my ethnic group's attributes"), *membership misrecognition* ("majority group members see me as an alien presence rather than a fellow national citizen") and *invisibility misrecognition* (e.g., "the particular needs and concerns of my minority identity are overlooked and ignored"). Thus, building on this research, we predict that when members of minority groups think that members of the majority group have a negative stereotypical image of their minority group, they are more likely to experience misrecognition.

Consequences of misrecognition: trust in authorities, collective action tendency and Dutch identification

With regards to the consequences of misrecognition, previous work has focused on the emotional consequences of misrecognition at the individual level. For example, misrecognition can result in surprise, frustration, and anger (e.g., Blackwood et al., 2013; Da Silva et al., 2022). However, it is less clear which other potential political consequences could arise and impact the degree to which integration is sustainable and minorities' sense of full citizenship be realized (Stevenson et al., 2015). In our work, we focus on three such potential implications: (a) minorities' trust in authorities; (b) minorities' engagement in collective actions on behalf of their ethnic group; and (c) minorities' identification with the mainstream Dutch identity. These three implications form a combination of attitudes (trust in authorities), behavior (collective action) and emotional bond (Dutch identification), all elements of sustainable integration. We elaborate on these elements below.

The first feature of a sustainable sense of an inclusive community - trust in authorities (e.g., police, government, justice system) - has been examined extensively by political scientists because a societal system is stable to the extent that people trust the authorities (Achbari et al., 2021). When this trust is undermined (e.g., via perceptions of the use of excessive police violence), compliance with the law and co-operation with authorities (key to societal stability) are reduced (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In a similar vein, research on experiences of discrimination among immigrants in Finland has shown that greater experiences of discrimination were associated with

lower trust in Finnish authorities across seven immigrant groups (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000a, 2000b). In line with these findings, we predict that when people feel strongly misrecognized their level of trust in the authorities will be relatively low.

The second feature of sustainable integration is the absence of feeling a need to engage in collective actions on behalf of one's ethnic group (because one feels one's interests as a citizen are already properly addressed). Collective actions can be defined as "any action that individuals undertake as group members to pursue group goals such as social change" (Van Zomeren et al., 2018, p. 1). Thus, collective actions indicate that members of a group experience a grievance that has not been addressed through the formal political process (Simon, 2020). We argue that members of minority groups will engage in more collective actions when they experience misrecognition to try and put their grievances on the political agenda. For example, if minority group members feel their minority identification is invisible (*invisibility misrecognition*), they may campaign for policies that address their group's distinctive identity needs (e.g., in educational provision). So too if they feel their minority identity is hyper-visible (*totalizing misrecognition*) such that they are subject to undue attention (e.g., in the media), they may campaign for policies on media reporting. Such predictions are bolstered by the logic to the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren et al., 2018), in which anger predicts collective action (and previous qualitative research has shown that the experience of being misrecognized is associated with feelings of anger, e.g., Blackwood et al., 2013).

With regards to third feature of sustainable integration – minority group members' emotional investment in the national (in this research, Dutch) identification, we expect that minority group members' experience of misrecognition by mainstream Dutch society would discourage their national identification. This logic is in accordance with the empirically supported idea that group relations can be understood as involving a group-level mutual back-scratching dynamic (Doosje & Haslam, 2005) such that: "If you like me, I like you". Similarly, in the acculturation literature, it is assumed that to the extent to which members of migrant groups feel understood and welcomed (rather than feeling misrecognized) by mainstream society, then it is easier for them to develop and sustain a bond with that new society (Berry, 2017). Similar associations are expected between perceptions of discrimination and identification with the superordinate national community (Fleischmann et al., 2019).

Misrecognition versus perceived discrimination

As noted above, there is likely to be some overlap between experiences of misrecognition and perceived discrimination. Both experiences are negative and based on one's group membership. However, they differ in the sense that experiences of misrecognition can be more general and take diverse forms. It is also appropriate to note that misrecognition experiences can be quite specific. For example, minority group members might feel that their group's identity-related needs (e.g., in terms of diet, having alcohol-free social spaces, etc.) are overlooked, yet they might not regard this omission of provision as motivated by discriminatory intent. Indeed, Simon (2020, p. 153) explains that the non-recognition of minority group members as different but equal "more often results from acts of omission or indifference" rather than explicit prejudice.

Based on the above, we predicted that perceived misrecognition and perceived discrimination would function as mediators linking participants' levels of ethnic identification and perceptions of negative meta-stereotyping (antecedents) and their trust in authorities, collective action tendencies and Dutch identification (consequences). Although this model of the relationships of interest has strong foundations in the literature, it should be noted that strong causal claims cannot be made on the basis of cross-sectional data. At the same time, such research is warranted in terms of advancing our current understandings of the potential significance of misrecognition.

The current study

Our study explored the relationship of ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping with Dutch identification, trust in

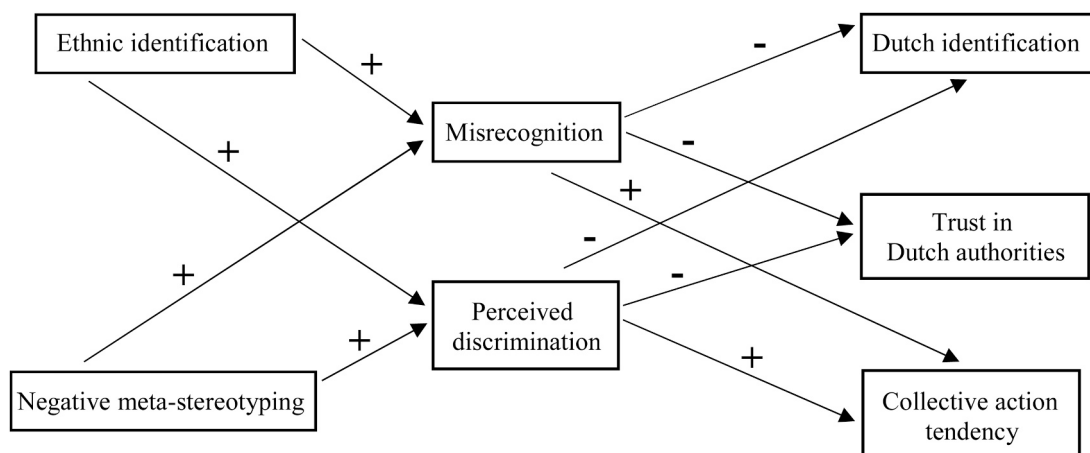


Fig. 1. Expected multiple mediational model. Note 1. +: positive significant association, -: negative significant association.

Dutch authorities and willingness to pursue collective actions on behalf of the ethnic group. Moreover, we investigated the mediating roles of misrecognition and perceived discrimination in these relationships.

As explained above, the study included people living in the Netherlands with an Antillean, Chinese, or Surinamese ethnic background. Historically, the Netherlands Antilles (Aruba, Curaçao, and Sint Maarten) and Suriname were colonies of the Netherlands from the 17th century until their independence in 1954. Significant numbers migrated to the Netherlands, today approximately 185,000 people have a migration background from the Dutch Antillean Islands (they themselves are born abroad, or at least one of their parents (CBS/Central Bureau for Statistics, 2022)). A total of 362,000 people in the Netherlands have a Surinamese migration background (CBS/Central Bureau for Statistics, 2022). A survey study conducted in the Netherlands with a representative sample indicated that about 50 % of Surinamese and people with a migration background from the Netherlands Antilles reported at least one incident of discrimination in the 12 months before the survey related to their religion, skin color or ethnic background (Andriessen et al., 2020). In addition, about 85,000 people living in the Netherlands have a Chinese migration background (CBS/Central Bureau for Statistics, 2022). Chinese migrants started to work in Dutch harbors from the start of the 20th century and the number of Chinese migrants steadily rose since. There is surprisingly little data available on the experience of discrimination among people with a Chinese (and in general an East- or South-East-Asian) background. However, a prospective study reported that since the COVID-19 crisis, people with a Chinese migration background experienced higher levels of discrimination (Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo, 2021).

Our proposed model (Fig. 1) explains we predicted greater ethnic identification and greater negative meta-stereotyping to be positively related to misrecognition and perceived discrimination. In turn, greater misrecognition and greater perceived discrimination were expected to be negatively related to Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities, and positively related to collective action tendencies on behalf of the ethnic group. Importantly, we expected misrecognition to explain unique variance above and beyond that explained by perceived discrimination in mediating the relationship between the predictor variables (ethnic identification, negative meta-stereotyping) and the outcome variables (Dutch identification, trust in Dutch authorities, collective action tendency).

We also investigated several alternative models. In the first alternative model, we examined whether Dutch identification should be treated as an *antecedent* of misrecognition rather than a *consequence* of misrecognition (thus allowing us to investigate the degree to which a strong national identification is a precondition for the experience of misrecognition). In the second and third alternative models, we tested whether ethnic identification or negative meta-stereotyping should be treated as a *consequence* of misrecognition (and perceived discrimination), rather than as an *antecedent*.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 368 people who had been living in the Netherlands for at least 10 years, spoke the Dutch language proficiently, and had an Antillean ($n = 126$, $M_{age} = 34.91$, $SD = 13.24$), Chinese ($n = 118$, $M_{age} = 31.48$, $SD = 11.73$) or Surinamese ($n = 124$, $M_{age} = 35.31$, $SD = 14.47$) ethnic background. There were 172 (46.7 %) females and 196 (53.3 %) males aged between 16 and 80 years ($M = 33.95$, $SD = 13.29$). The number of participants born in the Netherlands was 280 (76.1 %), 86 (23.4 %) participants were born in a different country, and 2 (.5 %) participants did not share information about where they were born.

Materials

Ethnic identification

A 4-item scale was used to measure the extent to which people are emotionally and cognitively connected to their ethnic identity (based on Doosje et al., 1995). Example items included "Being [ethnic group] is an important part of how I see myself" and "I feel committed to [ethnic group] people". Participants responded to items using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "very weakly" to "very strongly", with a Cronbach's alpha of .87.

Negative meta-stereotyping

A single-item measure was used to examine how people perceive the impressions native Dutch people have about their ethnic group. The item was "The impressions that native Dutch people hold of [ethnic group] people are generally ...". Participants responded to the item using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "very positive" to "very negative".

Misrecognition

An 11-item scale was developed to measure the extent to which people feel misrecognized by native Dutch people due to their ethnic identity. Example items were: "I sometimes feel that native Dutch people have no idea what [ethnic group] people are really like", "I sometimes feel that native Dutch people consider us [ethnic group] people as members of groups we do not belong to (for example, a criminal group)", "I sometimes feel that native Dutch people treat us as if we [ethnic group] people do not exist", "I sometimes feel that native Dutch people treat us as [ethnic group] even when we do not want to be", and "I sometimes feel that native Dutch people do not accept that we are both, [ethnic group] and Dutch". Participants responded to items using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree", with a Cronbach's alpha of .82. Confirmatory factor analysis was

also conducted to test the one-factor structure of the scale. We observed relatively low fit indices $\chi^2(44, n = 368) = 542.38, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 12.33, GFI = .77, AGFI = .66, NFI = .81, CFI = .82, RMSEA = .175, 90\% \text{ CI } [.162, .189]$. However, all 11 items with t-values ranging between 3.72 and 17.42 significantly loaded on the same factor without any modification, which indicates that it is appropriate to interpret the current scale for perceived misrecognition as unidimensional. In addition, there is evidence that 11 or 12 items as a single factor might work better than packets of 3 or 4 items using multiple factors (Marsh et al., 1998).

Perceived discrimination

The single-item scale was used to measure how often people are discriminated against by native Dutch people due to their ethnic identity. The item was "How often in the past year have you or fellow [ethnic group] people (for example family, friends, community members) experienced discrimination by native Dutch people" (based on Van Doorn et al., 2013). Participants responded to the item using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "never" to "always".

Dutch identification

A 4-item scale was developed to measure the extent to which people were emotionally and cognitively connected to Dutch identity (based on Doosje et al., 1995). Example items were "Being Dutch is an important part of how I see myself" and "I feel committed to Dutch people". Participants responded to items using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "very weakly" to "very strongly", with a Cronbach's alpha of .83.

Trust in Dutch authorities

A 7-item scale was used to measure the extent to which people trusted and cooperated with Dutch authorities and listened to their opinions (based on the European Social Survey, 2020). Example items were "In general, I trust the Dutch authorities (for example, the government)" and "In general, I cooperate with the Dutch police and judiciary system". Participants responded to items using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree", with a Cronbach's alpha of .83.

Collective action tendency

A single-item measure was used to capture the extent to which people were willing to engage in (peaceful) collective action to improve the conditions of their ethnic group. As the survey was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, the item was phrased "Once the COVID-19 pandemic is over, please tell us how willing you would be to engage in non-violent actions (for example signing petitions, participating in marches) in support of the [ethnic group] community?" (based on Tausch et al., 2011). Participants responded to the item using a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from "not at all willing" to "extremely willing".

Procedure

The survey was part of a larger international research project examining misrecognition of minority groups in several countries. In the Netherlands, data were collected in a research panel hosted by the company Toluna. The participants were people living in the Netherlands with an Antillean, Chinese or Surinamese ethnic background. Individuals who identified with one of these groups and were willing to participate in the study were sent an online link to the Qualtrics survey. They were rewarded with 8 Euros for participation.

At the start of the survey, participants received a brief text explaining that the study's goal was to learn more about individuals in the Netherlands with different ethnic backgrounds. It was emphasized that individuals have different identities, such as a professional identity, a religious identity, or a sport identity and that in this study the focus was mainly on their ethnic identity.

The misrecognition and perceived discrimination measures were introduced with a brief text explaining that these were about their

Table 1
Descriptive statistics and correlations of the variables.

Variables	M (SD)	Correlations								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Dutch identification	3.56 (.73)	—								
2. Trust in Dutch authorities	3.78 (.62)	.36**	—							
3. Collective action tendency	3.26 (1.10)	-.11*	-.11*	—						
4. Ethnic identification	3.50 (.84)	-.06	-.10	.21**	—					
5. Negative meta-stereotyping	2.98 (.85)	-.29**	-.26**	.04	.00	—				
6. Misrecognition	3.27 (.62)	-.35**	-.27**	.25**	.24**	.45**	—			
7. Perceived discrimination	2.82 (1.04)	-.24**	-.21**	.37**	.35**	.25**	.48**	—		
8. Age	33.95 (13.29)	.14**	.05	-.18**	.06	-.08	-.16**	-.30**	—	
9. Gender	1.53 (.50)	.11*	-.06	-.11*	-.00	-.15**	-.14**	-.13*	.07	—

Note 1. n = 368. *p < .05. **p < .01. Gender: 1 = female, 2 = male.

past experiences in relation to interactions with native Dutch people in their social context during the past year. It was explained that "native Dutch people" were those people who were not of their ethnic background and made up the majority of Dutch society. At the end of the survey, participants completed several demographic measures, including questions about birthplace, how many years they had lived in the Netherlands, Dutch proficiency, ethnic identity, age, and gender. The survey duration was about 12 min and could be completed in Dutch or English language. Ethical approval was obtained beforehand from the ethical board of the Psychology Department of University of Amsterdam, 2020-SP-11708.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations between the variables. The results of the three ethnic groups were collapsed into one group to test our hypotheses (see Appendix A for descriptive statistics and correlation scores separated by ethnic group). Considering the associations of predictor and mediator variables with outcome variables, we found negative meta-stereotyping, misrecognition, and perceived discrimination were negatively correlated with Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities, while ethnic identification, misrecognition, and perceived discrimination were positively correlated with support for collective action. Accordingly, ethnic minorities who perceived more negative meta-stereotyping and felt greater misrecognition and greater discrimination reported lower levels of identification with Dutch identity and trust in Dutch authorities. In addition, ethnic minorities who identified more strongly with their ethnic group, felt greater misrecognition, and greater discrimination, reported greater willingness to engage in collective action to improve the conditions of their ethnic group.

It is interesting to note that both the means on national/Dutch identification and ethnic identification were quite high (3.56 and 3.50 respectively on a 5-point scale). In addition, it is interesting to note that the two forms of identification were not significantly correlated with each other.

When the relationships with demographic variables were tested, age and gender (coded as a dummy variable, 1 = female, 2 = male) were positively correlated with Dutch identification and negatively correlated with collective action tendency. Accordingly, older participants and male participants (relative to female participants) reported higher levels of Dutch identification and lower levels of collective action tendency on behalf of their ethnic group.

Mediation analyses

Multiple mediation analyses (using LISREL 9.10) were conducted to test the degree to which ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping were associated with Dutch identification, trust in Dutch authorities and collective action tendency through the variables of misrecognition and perceived discrimination. Following the suggestion of modification indices, we added two error covariances between the variables of misrecognition and perceived discrimination, and between the variables of Dutch identification and

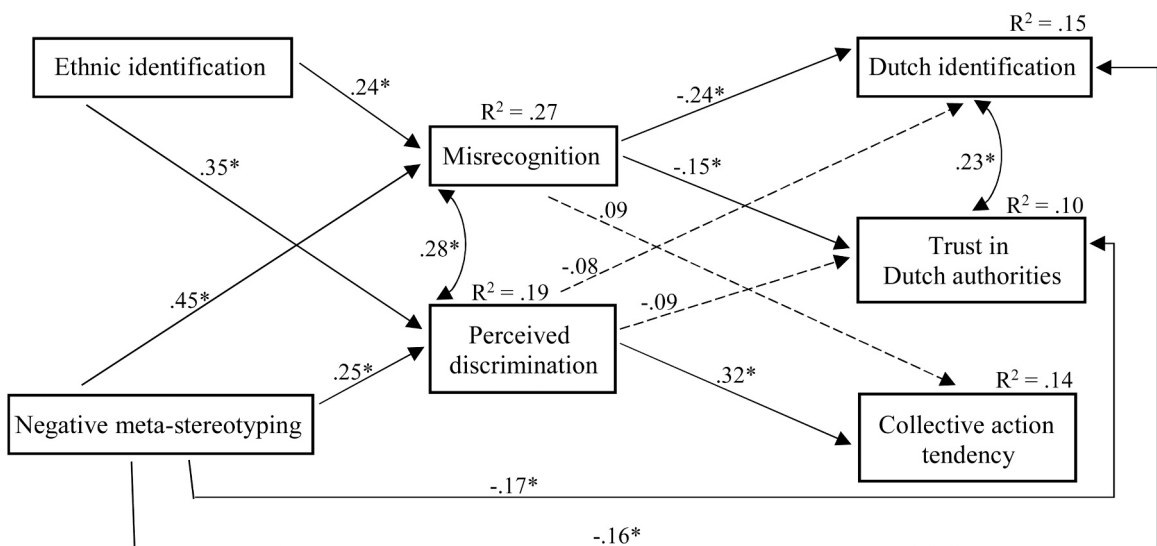


Fig. 2. Multiple mediational model. Note 1. $n = 368$. * $p < .05$, Fig. 2 indicates β scores. Note 2. Ethnic identification was indirectly associated with Dutch identification ($B = -.08$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$), trust in Dutch authorities ($B = -.05$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$), and collective action tendencies ($B = .18$, $SE = .03$, $p < .05$) through both misrecognition and perceived discrimination. Note 3. Negative meta-stereotyping was indirectly associated with Dutch identification ($B = -.11$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$), trust in Dutch authorities ($B = -.07$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$), and collective action tendencies ($B = .16$, $SE = .04$, $p < .05$) through both misrecognition and perceived discrimination. Note 4. No covariate variable was entered into the equation.

trust in Dutch authorities. The proposed model had a good fit to the data, $\chi^2(6, n = 368) = 6.98, p = .322, \chi^2/df = 1.16, GFI = .99, AGFI = .97, NFI = .98, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .021, 90\% \text{ CI } [.000, .073]$.

As shown in Fig. 2, both ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping were indirectly associated with Dutch identification, trust in Dutch authorities and collective action tendencies through the variables of misrecognition and perceived discrimination. Accordingly, people who identified more strongly with their ethnic group and judged their ethnic group negatively stereotyped by majority group members felt more misrecognized and more discriminated against. In turn, these experiences were associated with lower levels of Dutch identification, less trust in Dutch authorities, and higher levels of support for collective action on behalf of their ethnic group.

With regards to the direct paths, negative meta-stereotyping was directly and negatively associated with Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities. That is, the more participants believed their ethnic group was negatively judged by the majority, the lower the level of Dutch identification and the lower their trust in Dutch authorities. Moreover, both ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping were positively associated with misrecognition and perceived discrimination. In addition, misrecognition was negatively associated with the variables of Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities, while perceived discrimination was positively associated with the variable of collective action tendency (see Appendix B and Appendix C for indirect associations and multiple mediational models in separate ethnic groups.).

For completeness, we also tested three alternative models. In the first alternative model, we placed Dutch identification as an antecedent of misrecognition rather than as an outcome. The results are presented in Appendix D of the Supplemental Online Materials. The results show two things. First, the overall model fit indices are comparable to the ones for the model presented in Fig. 2. Secondly, there is a *negative* path from Dutch identification to perceived misrecognition, indicating that high Dutch identification is *negatively* related to misrecognition. In the second and third alternative models, we included ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping as outcome variables, respectively. The results are presented in Appendix E and Appendix F of the Supplemental Online Materials. The results show that the fit indices of the original model presented in Fig. 2 are better than those of the second and third alternative models.

Further, separate multiple mediational analyses were conducted with 5000 bootstraps using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) to explore the mediating roles of misrecognition and perceived discrimination on the relationships between each predictor and outcome variables. In the correlation analysis, age and gender were significantly associated with the outcome variables (see Table 1). Therefore, age and gender were entered as covariate variables. The results are presented in Table 2. Overall, results supported the prediction that misrecognition was more strongly associated with Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities, while perceived discrimination was associated with collective action tendency.

Discussion

The present study focused on the relationships between ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping (predictor variables) and Dutch identification, trust in Dutch authorities, and willingness to support collective action on behalf of one’s ethnic group (our outcome variables), while testing the mediating roles of misrecognition and perceived discrimination. We found people who strongly identified with their ethnic group and believed their ethnic group was negatively stereotyped by Dutch people without a migration background reported greater misrecognition and greater discrimination. In turn, these experiences were associated with our outcome variables (i.e., lower levels of identification as Dutch, less trust in Dutch authorities and a greater willingness to support collective action on behalf of one’s ethnic group). Both misrecognition and perceived discrimination played mediating roles. Of particular interest is the finding that misrecognition was more strongly associated with Dutch identification and trust in Dutch authorities, while perceived discrimination was more strongly associated with collective action tendency.

Table 2
Indirect associations through misrecognition and perceived discrimination.

x ->	y	Mediator	Indirect Association	
			B (SE)	95 % CI
Ethnic identification	Dutch identification	Misrecognition	-.07*(.02)	[-.118, -.035]
		Perceived discrimination	-.02 (.02)	[-.072, .015]
	Trust in Dutch authorities	Misrecognition	-.04*(.02)	[-.080, -.022]
		Perceived discrimination	-.03 (.02)	[-.069, .007]
	Collective action tendency	Misrecognition	.02 (.02)	[-.009, .070]
		Perceived discrimination	.13*(.03)	[.065, .197]
Negative meta-stereotyping	Dutch identification	Misrecognition	-.09*(.03)	[-.142, -.042]
		Perceived discrimination	-.01 (.01)	[-.043, .009]
	Trust in Dutch authorities	Misrecognition	-.05*(.02)	[-.098, -.013]
		Perceived discrimination	-.02 (.01)	[-.044, .001]
	Collective action tendency	Misrecognition	.07*(.03)	[.013, .147]
		Perceived discrimination	.08*(.03)	[.035, .156]

Note 1. n = 368. * p < .05.

Note 2. Separate multiple mediation analyses with 5000 bootstraps were conducted using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013).

Note 3. Age and gender were entered as covariate variables.

What are the theoretical implications of this study? First, unlike most previous studies that examined the concept of misrecognition using *qualitative* research methods (e.g., Amer, 2020; Blackwood et al., 2013; Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan et al., 2023), the current research tested the antecedents and consequences of misrecognition using a *quantitative* research method (for other examples, see Cheryan & Monin, 2005; and Da Silva et al., 2021). Using this methodology allowed us to examine more thoroughly the nature and strength of two hypothesized predictors of misrecognition, namely participants' ethnic identification and meta-stereotyping beliefs. We found both predicted misrecognition (as well as perceived discrimination).

Second, our research underlines the importance of dual identifications. We argue that well-functioning multicultural societies entail the understanding that one can be a full member of the superordinate (national) community and have commitments to one's minority identity (and that one can act in terms of both such identities). So, then the question is, how are these dual identifications received, represented, and valued in the wider community (Hopkins, 2011). This is also where the issue of recognition comes into its own as an explanatory construct. Am I just seen in terms of my ethnicity such that there is no place for me in the wider community? Is my ethnicity ignored and invisible in representations of the wider community? Are my interests and concerns (associated with my ethnic and national belonging) acknowledged and catered for? This then leads to the question: What messages do I get and how do these impact my identification with the wider national community? With regard to such issues, we found participants' identification with their ethnic group was not directly correlated with their level of national identification which implies a lack of integration. Moreover, we found an indirect path from ethnic identification to national identification via perceived misrecognition. This shows that misrecognition is important in explaining the relationship between these two identifications. This is likely because the experience of having one's ethnic identity misrecognized requires one to identify with that identity such that a higher ethnic identification makes the experience of misrecognition more likely. In turn, such misrecognition predicts lowered national identification (because one feels misunderstood).

As noted in the results section, we also tested three alternative models. In the first alternative model, national identification was positioned as an additional antecedent of misrecognition. This showed an equally good fit. The logic to such a model is that misrecognition of one's ethnic identification could be particularly painful for those identifying strongly with the nation. Inspecting this model, we found perceived misrecognition was *negatively* predicted by national identification: high identifiers experienced less misrecognition. That is, we believe misrecognition likely requires some level of self-definition in national terms but that beyond this, the precise level of that identification may be less relevant. In the second and third alternative models, ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping were tested as outcome variables, respectively. These indicated a poor fit compared to the original model presented in Fig. 2. This result supports our argument that ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping should be conceptualised as antecedents of misrecognition (as well as perceived discrimination) rather than outcome variables in the proposed model.

Third, this research focused on the wider political/societal consequences of misrecognition (i.e., participants' identification with Dutch identity, trust in Dutch authorities, and support for collective action on behalf of their ethnic group) rather than the negative emotional consequences of misrecognition (e.g., anger or disappointment). In our model we have shown that both perceived discrimination and misrecognition can result in lower trust at the national level. We thereby complement previous work by Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000a; 2000b) who showed that more experiences with discrimination were related to lower trust in the national authorities among immigrants. We also complement previous empirical work showing that more frequent discrimination is associated with lower levels of national identification (Fleischmann et al., 2019). Specifically, we show that in addition to perceptions of discrimination, perceptions of one's misrecognition can also result in lower levels of trust and national identification. In turn, our findings are relevant for the social psychology of citizenship which emphasizes how (mis)recognition shapes the development of inclusive communities (e.g., through minorities feeling they and their identities are valued members of the national community and that their voice is being heard in the political arena: Stevenson et al., 2015).

Fourth, the data set used in the study included responses from different ethnic minority groups and our results allowed us to examine the relationships between variables belonging to different ethnic groups simultaneously. We observed only minor differences between the experiences of the different groups (see Appendix A, B, C.1, C.2 and C.3). For example, only in the Surinamese-Dutch data was there a significant weak direct negative correlation between national and ethnic identification, but this was not case in the other groups. All in all, however, these differences were marginal, which points to the robustness of the presented overall model.

Fifth, in addition to misrecognition, our research tested the potential role of perceived discrimination. The results indicated that misrecognition and perceived discrimination are related but also separate constructs with unique predictive power for our outcome variables. Specifically, misrecognition was more related to low Dutch identification and low trust in authorities whereas perceived discrimination was a stronger predictor of participants' collective action tendencies. Why was there a difference between discrimination and misrecognition? We propose that discriminative acts by majority members are recognized more easily as injustices done to oneself or one's group and demand concrete changes (e.g., in terms of police practice, health provision, etc.) which can be pursued through collective action (e.g., petitions, demonstrations, etc.). In contrast, misrecognition involves a subtler and more diffuse set of social process where individuals get feedback that powerful others fail to represent them in terms that they recognize as self-defining (see also Blackwood et al., 2013; Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan et al., 2023). Put another way, misrecognition perceptions may be sufficient to encourage a psychological distancing from the nation and diminish trust in its institutions but less impactful for collective action tendencies (that typically focus on making concrete demands in relation to specific acts of discrimination – e.g., police violence). This makes the study of misrecognition particularly important: an exclusive focus on discrimination narrows our understanding of minority group experiences and their relevance for sustainable integration. Put another way there is more to minority group experience than the heavily-researched topic of discrimination: misrecognition matters and has societal implications. As noted in the introduction, this does not mean that misrecognition experiences cannot come to be judged as evidencing discrimination: to the degree there is social support that encourages such a categorization, this is possible (Xie et al., 2021). However, to narrow our range of

constructs to discrimination is to exclude socially relevant experiences that minorities may not necessarily come to define as discriminatory for all manner of reasons (Crosby, 1984, Crosby et al., 1986; Stangor et al., 2003).

Sixth, it is important to disentangle negative meta-stereotyping (as an antecedent) from the experience of misrecognition. Negative meta-stereotyping captures the negativity of the stereotype, whereas the misrecognition items capture a more general sense of the respondent feeling misunderstood (“I sometimes feel that native Dutch people have no idea what [ethnic group] people are really like”, “I sometimes feel that native Dutch people treat us as [ethnic group] even when we do not want to be”). This is why we consider negative stereotyping to be an antecedent of misrecognition: Negative stereotyping results in a sense of being misunderstood and seen in terms that are discrepant from what one knows about oneself.

With regards to the issue of misrecognition, it is also important to note that even apparently *positive* meta-stereotypes (e.g., associated with the idea that “Black people are athletic”, or that “Gypsies are musical”) can result in the *negative* experience of misrecognition. Specifically, members of minority groups may not want to be defined in those positive stereotypical terms (in terms of their athletic or musical skills), because it might not be in line with their own understanding of their identity and confirms their own lack of autonomy in defining their identity (Amer & Obradovic, 2022; Dobai & Hopkins, 2021).

As a practical observation, our study shows that misrecognition was related to negative consequences such as low trust in authorities and weak identification with Dutch identity, which implies a need to try and reduce the experience of misrecognition. One strategy could be to make majority group members more aware of the ways in which they can (potentially unwillingly) contribute to such negative experiences. For example, educational policies, including campaign or school programs, could target members of the majority group to make them aware of the significance minority group members may place on their ethnic identities and the importance of interactions in which minorities feel their various identifications are properly acknowledged according to the situation in which the interaction occurs (see Ryan et al., 2023). Moreover, it may be possible to develop interventions in which members of minority groups exchange their experiences of misrecognition (in all its forms) and offer advice as to how such experiences could be avoided. Such interventions may be especially important as majority group members likely overlook the significance of misrecognition compared to acts of discrimination. More generally, and at a wider societal level, it would be appropriate to reflect upon the ways in which minorities’ dual identifications are represented in such diverse media as television, the naming of streets, the erection of statues, etc. All of these are vehicles for communicating constructions of identity and can contribute to minorities experience of (mis)recognition (Hopkins, 2022).

Limitations and future perspectives

Despite these theoretical and practical implications, our research has clear limitations. Most obviously, our data are self-reported and analyzed in terms of their correlations (with the corollary that causal connections between variables cannot be established). For example, with the current data, we cannot confirm directional conclusions about the relationship between meta-stereotypes and misrecognition. Accordingly, studies with experimental designs are needed to explore causal relationships. Moreover, there are different ways of conceptualizing the relationship between participants’ ethnic and national identification e.g., as antecedents or outcome variables in the proposed model (e.g., Fleischmann et al., 2019). However, the theoretical approach and purposes of the study (i.e., explaining how ethnic minorities relate to the Netherlands, the country where they currently live) and the fit indices obtained with the alternative models tested support the positioning and testing of ethnic identification as an antecedent of misrecognition (alongside perceived discrimination), and national identification as an outcome variable. However, it is important to underline the point that the processes under consideration are necessarily cyclical and iterative in nature, and that such processes are best approached with longitudinal research designs suited to exploring the evolution of these processes and outcomes.

Second, there are issues regarding the questionnaire items used. In order to avoid social desirability issues in some of the variables (e.g., trust in authorities) there could be advantages in using more implicit measures. So too, although the single-item measures of collective action tendency, negative meta-stereotyping, and perceived discrimination, are widely used there are advantages in using multi-item measures. Such concerns are likely less applicable to the measures of Dutch identification, ethnic identification, and trust in Dutch authorities which are routinely measured with single items. More pressing is the need to develop more complex measures of misrecognition. Although misrecognition can take different forms (Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan et al., 2023) these can be hard to operationalize in a questionnaire format and we treated misrecognition as a single-factor scale. This is statistically defensible: despite relatively low fit indices, all items significantly loaded on the single factor with a high Cronbach’s alpha. However, given the developing social psychological interest in misrecognition, future studies focusing on misrecognition should develop more nuanced measurement methods.

Third, in our study, we first tested the fit of the measurement model, and then the fit of the structural model. Ideally, these currently separate analyses should have been tested in a single analysis. We chose this strategy because of the limited sample sizes of ethnic groups (i.e., sample sizes of the groups vary between 118–126 participants). Thus, in future studies, there should be enough participants in each group to warrant such a combination of measurement model and structural model analyses.

Fourth, future research would need to explore the different determinants of different forms of collective action. Some forms of collective action can be predicated on a strong national identification which gives one the confidence to state that one’s claims are legitimate and deserve respect because one’s ethnic community is recognized as an integral part of the national community and citizenry. Other forms may be predicated on the belief that one will never be listened to unless one challenges the ‘rules of the game’ (see Simon & Ruhs, 2008). As minorities’ collective action can take such different forms, future research could fruitfully explore in more detail the role of misrecognition and discrimination in prompting/inhibiting different forms of political engagement and collective action. Another issue for future research is to examine further the different types of misrecognition (Da Silva et al., 2022; Ryan

et al., 2023) and how these are related to the variables of interest in the present study. For example, it can be predicted that compared to the other three types of misrecognition, negative *content misrecognition* (the assumption that powerful others consider you have certain negative characteristics because of your social group) is more strongly related to negative meta-stereotyping, and could thereby result in more support for collective action to improve one's social group's status in society. This would be in line with previous work by Kamans et al. (2009) who showed that negative meta-stereotyping was related to more support for collective action on behalf of the group.

Conclusion

This study provides insight into some of the processes impacting identification with Dutch identity, trust in Dutch authorities, and willingness to exhibit collective action on behalf of three ethnic groups living in the Netherlands - Antillean, Chinese, and Surinamese people. Misrecognition and perceived discrimination significantly mediated the relationships of ethnic identification and negative meta-stereotyping with Dutch identification, trust in Dutch authorities, and collective action tendency. As a result, reducing both misrecognition and perceived discrimination in society may be important in supporting ethnic minority groups' feelings of belonging to the national community and trust in authorities, and may reduce their felt need to take collective actions on behalf of their ethnic groups. In sum, our study highlights the importance of considering perceptions of misrecognition as a distinctive predictor of factors important to sustainable integration alongside perceptions of discrimination.

Statements and declarations

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- The authors have no financial or non-financial interests to disclose.
- There is no material (e.g. figure, table) from other sources.
- The authors confirm that they have made a significant scientific contribution to the work and have assisted with the drafting or revising of the manuscript.
- The findings reported in the manuscript have not been previously published and the manuscript is not being submitted elsewhere simultaneously.
- Ethical approval was obtained from University of Amsterdam Ethical Review Board.
- Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants.
- The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Naomi R. van Bergen: Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Arin H. Ayanian:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Slieman Halabi:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Yaatsil Guevara:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Fatih Özdemir:** Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Bertjan Doosje:** Conceptualization, Data curation, Investigation, Methodology, Supervision, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Allard R. Feddes:** Conceptualization, Data curation, Investigation, Methodology, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **József Pántya:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Andreas Zick:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Stephen D. Reicher:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Nick Hopkins:** Conceptualization, Supervision, Writing – review & editing. **Anna Kende:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Tijana Karić:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Caroline Da Silva:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Judith C. de Jong:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing.

Appendix A. Supporting information

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found in the online version at [doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101938](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101938).

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