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How Normative Multiculturalism Relates to Immigrant Well-Being

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Objectives: In this study we examine the relationship between contextual factors, that is, perceived multicultural norms, and immigrant well-being. Specifically, we test a model whereby each of the three dimensions of normative multiculturalism, perceived Multicultural Ideology, Multicultural Policies and Practices, and Multicultural Contact, positively predicts immigrant well-being both directly and indirectly via belongingness. ***Method:*** Korean immigrants in New Zealand (N = 306, 56% female) participated in the research. Their average age was 31.17 (SD = 10.46), and the average length of residence was 10.04 years (SD = 7.21). Participants completed a survey that included the Normative Multiculturalism Scale along with measures of belonging and well-being (flourishing, life satisfaction, and positive affect). ***Results:*** Structural equation modeling showed that perceived normative Multicultural Policies and Practices exerted a direct positive effect on well-being and an indirect positive effect via belongingness; Multicultural Ideology exerted only an indirect effect; and Multicultural Contact did not significantly relate to belongingness or subjective well-being. ***Implications:*** The results are discussed in terms of everyday experiences of intercultural encounters, social norms and the contextual influences of diversity climates, as well as the importance of distinguishing the defining features of multiculturalism in diversity science research. We also propose that multicultural norm setting and norms marketing may lead to positive social and psychological outcomes for immigrants.

Public Significance Statement
Findings indicate that the extent to which immigrants perceive widespread appreciation of cultural diversity and policies and practices to ensure cultural maintenance and equitable participation, is conducive to immigrants' sense of belongingness and psychological well-being.

Keywords: multiculturalism, norms, immigrants, well-being, Koreans

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Global mobility is increasing at an unprecedented rate. The worldwide number of immigrants now stands at 258 million, making up 3.4% of the global population (United Nations, 2017). Mounting immigration flows and growing cultural diversity within national borders have prompted calls to identify new ways to maximize the benefits and minimize the risks of these social and demographic changes. Not only does this mean addressing the challenges of social cohesion in culturally plural societies, but also ensuring positive outcomes for immigrants.

Along with economic security, achieving and maintaining social and psychological well-being are among the most important of these outcomes (Berry & Sam, 2016; Boski, 2013); however, many of the circumstances associated with migration put immigrants at risk (Ward & Szabó, 2019). Learning a new language and acquiring the necessary skills to obtain employment in the destination country can be challenging and a significant source of distress, especially for recent and older immigrants (Raffaelli & Wiley, 2013; Torres & Rollock, 2004). Navigating competing cultural demands from family, friends, and the wider community and across public and private domains is inherently stressful and can compromise psychological well-being (Rodriguez, Flores, Flores, Myers, & Vriesema, 2015; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Confronting

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The data are available at https://osf.io/qz8jb/.
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prejudice and discrimination is particularly detrimental to mental health as are loneliness, homesickness, and feelings of cultural isolation (Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Moreover, the negative impact of these factors is often exacerbated by lack of adequate support networks to ensure immigrants' sense of belonging and social connectedness (Jibeen & Khalid, 2010; Kiang, Grzywacz, Marín, Arcury, & Quandt, 2010).

While there is now a vast psychological literature on immigration, research on the role of environmental factors in determining immigrant adaptation has been relatively scarce (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). More recently, however, increased emphasis has been placed on contextual factors, particularly the relationship between a multicultural climate and immigrant health and well-being (Stuart & Ward, 2015; Vedder, van de Vijver, & Liebkind, 2006; Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010). Multicultural societies provide environments conducive to immigrants' integration by ensuring cultural continuity and equitable participation for all ethno-cultural groups (Berry, 2005). Such environments are achieved by meeting three core criteria: (a) the presence of culturally diverse groups that are in contact with one another, (b) a widespread valuing and appreciation of cultural diversity, and (c) policies and practices that support and accommodate that diversity. Evidence suggests that each of these three conditions can foster immigrant well-being (Berry & Sam, 2014; Berry & Ward, 2016).

Social, political, and economic participation in heterogeneous societies requires exposure to and interaction with culturally diverse groups. If groups lead parallel, but separate lives, societies are segregated rather than multicultural, and this can have harmful consequences for subjective well-being. Research has shown that immigrants who live in neighborhoods with a high concentration of people from the same ethnic group experience a greater sense of social and cultural disengagement from the wider society (Miller et al., 2009) and that contact with the mainstream culture is associated with greater self-esteem and well-being (Tip, Brown, Morrice, Collyer, & Easterbrook, 2019; Tonsing, 2014). However, it is not only interaction with members of the majority culture that is associated with psychological benefits; for those born overseas contact with individuals from other ethnic and national backgrounds predicts better psychological adjustment (Kashima & Loh, 2006).

Widespread valuing of cultural diversity opens up a space for members of all groups to feel welcomed and included. It predicts lower levels of prejudice, stronger motivation for social change, greater support for minority rights and prominority policies, and more positive attitudes toward immigrants in the general population (Hutchison, Chihade, & Puiu, 2018; Urbiola, Willis, Ruiz-Romero, Moya, & Esses, 2017; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Multicultural ideologies are associated with greater tolerance and cultural security and with less perceived discrimination in both majority and minority group members (Au, Hui, & Chen, 2016; Neto & Neto, 2016). This is particularly important for immigrants because perceived discrimination has been identified as a major threat to immigrant well-being (Miller et al., 2011; Vedder et al., 2006). It is therefore not surprising that negative national attitudes toward immigrants predict lower levels of life satisfaction in immigrant youth (Ward, Szabo, & Stuart, 2016).

Multicultural policies support cultural maintenance for immigrants and promote their equitable participation in the wider society. International comparative research has shown that countries with more inclusive, multicultural policies have smaller native-immigrant gaps in depression and more positive indicators of well-being in immigrant children (Malmusi, Palència, Ikram, Kunst, & Borrell, 2017; Marks, McKenna, & Garcia Coll, 2018). National multicultural policies have also been linked to better school adjustment and fewer behavioral problems in immigrant youth (Vedder et al., 2006) and to higher levels of life satisfaction in European Muslims and ethnic minorities (Jackson & Doerschler, 2016).

In sum, a multicultural climate can positively impact immigrant adaptation. Multicountry studies, assessing objective national level data on diversity (e.g., percentage of immigrants, ethnic fractionalization), ideology (e.g., the International Social Survey) and policy (e.g., MIPEX, the Multicultural Policy Index) and relating these factors to national or individual level indicators of well-being have provided compelling evidence for positive outcomes of multiculturalism (e.g., Jackson & Doerschler, 2016; Vedder et al., 2006). However, this approach neglects the experience of "everyday multiculturalism," that is, how individuals observe, understand, and interpret their mundane intercultural encounters. This omission is problematic for two reasons. First, citizens are not always aware of national policies, and opinion polls have shown that diversity estimates often conflict with population data (Transatlantic Trends, 2014). Second, these everyday perceptions and experiences of multiculturalism are often more powerful and proximal predictors of important outcomes, including intergroup relations and immigrant adaptation, than objective policy indicators (Guimond et al., 2013; Vedder et al., 2006).

To address this gap Stuart and Ward (2019) introduced the construct of normative multiculturalism, referring to the extent to which one perceives interactions among culturally diverse groups, diversity-valuing ideologies, and multicultural policies and practices to be common or normative in one's society. Normative perceptions are related to objective indicators of these phenomena; for example, comparative research has shown that perceptions of multicultural norms accurately reflect national differences in multicultural policies (Guimond et al., 2013). However, perceived norms are not perfect representations of objective reality as they are also shaped by individual experiences, including one's social networks and exposure to media (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005; Morris, Hong, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). Norms are important because they define accepted standards of behavior and function as a major source of social influence; they act as social guides and provide the context for judging what is commonplace or rare, right or wrong, just or unjust. Moreover, ample evidence from experimental and longitudinal research suggests that diversity and inclusion norms affect intercultural experiences and outcomes (Nesdale, Griffith, Durkin, & Maass, 2005; Tropp et al., 2016; Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014).

Along these lines Stuart and Ward (2019) extended work by Guimond et al. (2013) on perceived diversity norms, constructing and validating a three-factor measure of normative multiculturalism: (a) Multicultural Contact (MC), (b) Multicultural Ideology (MI), and (c) Multicultural Policies and Practices (MPP). They also demonstrated that each aspect of perceived normative multiculturalism was related to greater social cohesion, defined in terms of trust, national attachment and diminished perceptions of threat. The present study further extends this line of research by examining the relationships among

normative multiculturalism, belonging and well-being in South Korean immigrants in New Zealand.[1]

The New Zealand Context

Historically, New Zealand has been viewed as a bicultural country, built on the British colonization of and subsequent partnership with indigenous Māori tribes. However, changes to immigration policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to dramatic shifts in the country's demographic makeup with an influx of skilled immigrants from Asia. One in four residents in New Zealand is now overseas-born. At the time of the 2013 census the composition of the 4.2 million population was 74% New Zealanders of European descent, 15% Māori, 12% Asian and 7% Pacific peoples, with Asians being the most rapidly growing ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a).[2]

Among Asian peoples, Chinese and Indians are the largest groups, followed by Filipinos and Koreans, neither of whom make up more than 1% of the New Zealand population. Unlike Chinese and Indians who have a long but sporadic history of migration to New Zealand, Koreans, like other Asian groups, are more recent immigrants with 89% born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b). As such, they are less likely to be received into a long established and integrated coethnic community. Moreover, unlike recent immigrants from the Philippines, English language proficiency has been identified as a major barrier to successful settlement outcomes for Korean newcomers (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006; Park & Anglem, 2012). Despite being a young and well-educated population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b), inadequate language skills present significant challenges for integration into the wider New Zealand society. Moreover, Koreans have one of the highest rates of unemployment and lowest median levels of personal income among New Zealand's ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b).

As a result of these factors, concern has been expressed about experiences of alienation, loss, and social isolation among members of the New Zealand Korean community (Kim, Hocking, McKenzie-Green, & Nayar, 2016; Park, Morgan, Wiles, & Gott, 2018). Nevertheless, many New Zealand Koreans maintain significant transnational ties in terms of personal networks and media consumption, fostered by South Korea's position at the vanguard of information and communication technologies, and local Korean Christian churches serve as prominent focal points for the community (Butcher & Wieland, 2013; Epstein, 2007; Park & Anglem, 2012). A range of informal Korean community groups also function as cultural buffers and provide sources of emotional support (Kang, Harington, & Park, 2015). These characteristics make the Korean community in New Zealand an appropriate choice for a study about multiculturalism, belonging, and well-being.

How are immigrants received in New Zealand? Despite the recent terror attack in Christchurch, the country is generally characterized by good ethnic relations with a low level of conflict and relatively positive attitudes toward immigrants (Ward & Liu, 2012). A national survey indicated that New Zealanders favor integration and reject assimilation, and they have a stronger multicultural ideology than Australians and citizens of the European Union (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Moreover, expectations of race-based rejections are atypical, and intergroup perceptions are generally warm (Sibley & Ward, 2013), including perceptions of Koreans (Colmar Brunton, 2012). Although New Zealand has evolved into a multicultural nation with a generally high level of acceptance of cultural diversity, issues of racism and discrimination remain. Compared to Māori, Pacific peoples and New Zealanders of European descent, Asians report the greatest frequency of recent racist experiences (Harris, Stanley, & Cormack, 2018), and Korean youth perceive more discrimination than their Chinese and Indian peers (Ward, 2009).

The Present Study

To date most research on multicultural norms has explored their relationship to intergroup perceptions and relations. These investigations, though occasionally conducted at the national (e.g., Guimond et al., 2013), regional, district, and neighborhood levels (e.g., Christ et al., 2014), most frequently occur in schools and classrooms (Schachner, Brenick, Noack, van de Vijver, & Heizmann, 2015; Schwarzenthal, Schachner, van de Vijver, & Juang, 2018; Titzmann, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015). Across these diverse studies results converge to link multicultural norms to more favorable intergroup outcomes.

Research examining associations between multicultural norms and well-being is rare and has been exclusively situated in educational contexts. These studies indicate that multicultural norms reflecting contact among diverse groups (e.g., teachers encourage students from different backgrounds to work together on group projects), ideological valuing of diversity (e.g., teachers show they value racial harmony), and multicultural practices (e.g., students from different races and cultures are chosen to participate in school activities) predict life satisfaction and subjective happiness; however, these associations are mediated by relational variables such as empathy and school belonging (Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009; Schachner, Schwarzenthal, van de Vijver, & Noack, 2019). Following this line of research, we test a model whereby perceived normative MC, MI, and MPP predict well-being, exerting both direct effects and indirect effects through belongingness.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under the delegated authority of Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee. Korean immigrants in New Zealand were recruited by a coethnic field assistant to complete an anonymous survey through personal, community (e.g., Korean newspapers, church congregations), and social media contacts. Participation was voluntary and required informed consent. We aimed for inclusive recruitment of participants, inviting immigrants from a wide age range, as social integration and well-being are known to be relevant to all age groups, and the experiences of older immigrants have been largely overlooked in the literature (Amit & Litwin, 2010).

[1] Henceforth referred to as Koreans.

[2] The New Zealand census permits respondents to select more than one ethnic identity; therefore, the total percentage exceeds 100%.

We initially received survey responses from 376 ethnic Koreans living in New Zealand. We removed participants who were not born in South Korea, did not respond correctly to the attention check items (e.g., if you are paying attention, mark 5), had response times of less than one second per item on measures with a reversed item, self-reported a poor level of English proficiency, gave identical responses to all items on the Normative Multiculturalism or General Belongingness scales, or did not complete the online version of the survey. The final sample was composed of 306 Koreans (56% female) whose ages ranged from 16–67 years (M = 31.17, SD = 10.46). All participants were first-generation immigrants and had a mean length of residence in New Zealand of 10.04 years (SD = 7.21). On average, respondents were well educated, with two thirds (68.63%) having at least an undergraduate degree.

As a token of appreciation for participating in the research, survey respondents were invited to enter a draw to win food or petrol vouchers. Contact information was collected in a way that names could not be matched to survey responses.

Measures

In addition to demographic information (age, gender, education, country of birth, and length of residence in New Zealand), the survey included measures of self-reported English language proficiency (1 = *poor* to 5 = *excellent*), perceived multicultural norms, belongingness, and well-being. The survey and accompanying documents (i.e., information sheet and debriefing statement) were in English (see online supplemental materials).

Normative multiculturalism. The 17-item Normative Multiculturalism Scale (NMS) by Stuart and Ward (2019) was used to assess perceived normative MI (e.g., Most people think it is a good thing to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country.), MPP (e.g., Ethnic minorities are supported to preserve their cultures and customs.), and MC (e.g., Interacting with people from different cultures is unavoidable.). The measure is prefaced by "in New Zealand," and participants, who act as cultural informants about national norms, indicate their agreement-disagreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores reflect perceptions of stronger multicultural norms. In calculating the Cronbach alphas for the Normative Multiculturalism subscales, we examined the item total correlations, which suggested the deletion of one MI item (We are more able to tackle new problems as they occur because we have a variety of cultural groups.) and one MPP item (There are few ethnic minorities in leadership positions.). With these modifications, the Cronbach alphas were .64 for MC and .65 for MI and MPP.

Sense of belongingness. The 12-item General Belongingness Scale by Malone, Pillow, and Osman (2012) was adapted to measure a sense of belongingness. Sample items include "I feel connected with others" and "I feel as if people do not care about me" (reversed item). Some items were reworded slightly for the sample (e.g., for colloquialisms: "a place at the table with others" was changed to "a place among others"). In line with our emphasis on the national context, participants were instructed to think about their relationships with "all New Zealanders who make up the multicultural nation" and rate their agreement with each item on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) so that higher scores reflect a stronger sense of belonging. In the current study, the scale achieved good internal consistency (α = .89).

Psychological well-being. Flourishing, life satisfaction, and positive affect were used to construct a latent variable for psychological well-being. Flourishing and life satisfaction were gauged respectively by the eight-item Flourishing scale by Diener et al. (2009) and the five-item Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985). Sample items include "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" (SWLS), and "In most ways I lead a purposeful and meaningful life" (Flourishing). Participants were asked to report how they feel about themselves after reading each item on a 7-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree* so that higher scores reflect greater flourishing and life satisfaction. In the current study, measures of flourishing and life satisfaction yielded Cronbach alphas of .89 and .88, respectively.

Positive affect was measured by a five-item version of the Positive subscale (interested, alert, enthusiastic, active, proud) of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule originally developed by Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988). Participants were asked to read each item and indicate the extent to which they felt this way during the past four weeks using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) so that higher scores indicated more positive affect. In calculating the reliability for the positive affect subscale, the item total correlation suggested the exclusion of one item ("alert"). This modification yielded a satisfactory Cronbach's alpha (.78) for the positive affect scale.

Results

We used R (Version 3.5.3; R Core Team, 2019) to conduct all the analyses. Userfriendlyscience package (Version 0.7.2; Peters, 2018) was used to calculate Cronbach alphas, and Lavaan (Version 0.6–3; Yves, 2012) was used for structural equation modeling (SEM) with a full maximum likelihood estimator retaining missing values. SemTools (Version 0.5–1) was used for parceling items with random allocation and calculating Monte Carlo confidence intervals of the indirect effects (Jorgensen, Pornprasertmanit, Schoemann, & Rosseel, 2018). We report all data used in the analysis and analytic script on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/qz8jb/?view_only=f3ffb27027be40588feb360e828f60fc).

Psychometric Analyses and Intercorrelations

We conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the 15-item version of the NMS to validate its three-factor structure for Korean immigrants in New Zealand. The analysis indicated: $\chi^2(84) = 195.987$, $p < .001$; root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .066, 90% CI [.054, .078]; comparative fit index (CFI) = .854; standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR) = .076. We then retested the model by randomly assigning the subscale items to three parcels for the MI subscale and two parcels for the MC and the MPP subscales (Blunch, 2016; Hayduk

& Littvay, 2012).[3] The results demonstrated an acceptable fit: $\chi^2(11) = 33.241$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .076, 90% CI [.043, .110]; CFI = .938; SRMR = .048. We also conducted a second-order CFA to construct a latent psychological well-being variable with measures of flourishing, life satisfaction, and positive affect. We found a good fit for this model, corroborating the construct validity of the latent variable: $\chi^2(116) = 296.476$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .071, 90% CI [.061, .081]; CFI = .936; SRMR = .050.

Table 1 shows the intercorrelations among the observed variables, means, standard deviations, and reliabilities. As expected, bivariate correlations demonstrated significant interrelationships among the NMS subscales (rs = .14, p = .015, to .28, $p < .001$), and each subscale was positively and significantly related to belongingness (rs = .18, p = .002, to .41, $p < .001$). MI and MPP were significantly associated with each of the three indicators of well-being in the expected direction (rs = .16, p = .006, to .26, $p < .001$), while MC was significantly correlated only with flourishing, r = .17, p = .002 and positive affect, r = .12, p = .034. When significant, the NMS well-being relationships demonstrated small effect sizes (rs = .12, p = .034, to .26, $p < .001$).

Testing for Direct and Indirect Effects

Using ordinary bootstrapping with 5,000 samples, we conducted two separate SEM analyses: without and with belongingness. First, we fitted a model in which psychological well-being was predicted by the three NMS subscales, including gender, age, and length of residence as covariates. The model showed a good fit to the data: $\chi^2(12) = 23.950$, p = .021; RMSEA = .057, 90% CI [.022, .090]; CFI = .973; SRMR = .025. Psychological well-being was significantly predicted by perceived normative MI (β = .21, p = .007) and MPP (β = .20, p = .002), but not by MC. We then fitted a second model in which belongingness was added as a mediator between the NMS subscales and psychological well-being. The full model showed a good fit to the data: $\chi^2(14) = 32.288$, p = .004; RMSEA = .065, 90% CI [.036, .095]; CFI = .970; SRMR = .026. We found perceived normative MI (β = .39, $p < .001$) and MPP (β = .14, p = .019), but not MC, positively predicted belongingness, and both normative MPP (β = .11, p = .029) and belongingness (β = .56, $p < .001$) had significant direct effects on psychological well-being.

The full model and standardized path coefficients are reported in Figure 1. The indirect effects are presented in Table 2, which includes the Monte Carlo confidence intervals computed with 20,000 bootstraps to control for Type I error (for recent recommendations, see Tofighi & MacKinnon, 2016; Yzerbyt, Muller, Batailler, & Judd, 2018). Both perceived normative MI (β = .22, $p < .001$) and MPP (β = .08, p = .021) had significant indirect effects on psychological well-being through sense of belongingness.

To address the issue of directionality in the prediction of psychological well-being, we tested a competing model in which belongingness was the exogenous variable and the three components of normative multiculturalism were positioned as intervening variables. Using the same procedures described above and including gender, age, and length of residence as covariates, the competing model did not meet the criteria for an acceptable fit to the data: $\chi^2(17) = 59.837$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .091, 90% CI [.066, .116]; CFI = .937; SRMR = .042. Furthermore, there were no significant indirect effects of belongingness on psychological well-being through the NMS facets. These results provide empirical support for the directionality of the relationships proposed in our original model.

Discussion

The study set out to examine the relationship between perceived multicultural norms and subjective well-being of Korean immigrants in New Zealand. More specifically, it was proposed that MPP, MI, and MC exerted positive effects on well-being both directly and indirectly through a sense of belongingness. The proposed model received partial support. In terms of perceived norms, MPP positively predicted well-being directly and indirectly, MI predicted subjective well-being via belongingness, but MC was not significantly related to belongingness or subjective well-being.

The findings on perceived normative MI and MPP are largely consistent with studies about diversity climates in educational settings. Perceptions of a culturally plural climate, characterized by multicultural practices that reflect an acknowledgment and appreciation of cultural diversity, have been shown to predict greater life satisfaction, happiness, psychological adaptation and socioemotional adjustment in immigrant and minority students (e.g., Brand, Felner, Shim, Seitsinger, & Dumas, 2003) with the effects often mediated by relational variables (Le et al., 2009), including connectedness (Bethel, Szabo, & Ward, 2016) and a sense of belonging (Schachner et al., 2019). Here we show that the perceptions of both normative MI and normative MPP exert indirect effects on subjective well-being through belongingness.

Beyond school-based research, cross-cultural studies examining national diversity policies have likewise demonstrated links to immigrants' psychological and social well-being. These investigations have shown that multicultural policies are associated with a range of positive psychosocial outcomes for immigrant groups, including higher levels of trust, lower levels of discrimination (Wright & Bloemraad, 2012), more positive mental health outcomes (Malmusi et al., 2017; Marks et al., 2018), greater life satisfaction and feelings of safety (Jackson & Doerschler, 2016), and better sociocultural adaptation (Vedder et al., 2006). However, these studies have only been concerned with direct effects and have not investigated potential intervening variables. Our research not only corroborates the association between perceived multicultural policies and immigrant well-being, but also demonstrates the significant role of belongingness in this relationship. There is no doubt that inclusion, belongingness, and connectedness are important for immigrant well-being in the wider community (Herrero, Fuente, & Gracia, 2011). Moreover, these phenomena form the

[3] The CFI did not meet Hu and Bentler's (1999) criteria for an acceptable fit (RMSEA $\leq$ 0.08, CFI $\geq$ 0.9, SRMR $\leq$ 0.08). However, as the CFI declines slightly with an increasing number of variables (Kenny & McCoach, 2003), and as parcels are known to have higher reliability than single items (Little, Rhemtulla, Gibson, & Schoemann, 2013), we deemed parceling appropriate in this case. In line with recommendations by Sterba and MacCallum (2010) we conducted the random allocation to parcels 100 times and then averaged the results through the parcel Allocation function of the semTools package. Further information about this parceling technique can be found at: https://www.rdocumentation.org/packages/semTools/versions/0.5-0/topics/parcelAllocation.

Table 1
Psychometric Properties of the Measurement Scales and Their Intercorrelations

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	*M*	*SD*	α
1. Gender										1.56	0.50	
2. Age	−.18**									31.17	10.46	
3. LoR	−.13*	.36***								10.04	7.21	
4. MI	−.04	.09	.05							3.63	0.60	.65
5. MPP	.09	.13*	.01	.17**						3.24	0.66	.65
6. MC	.09	−.07	.25***	.28***	.14*					4.08	0.70	.64
7. GBS	.13*	.04	.06	.41***	.23***	.18**				5.07	1.00	.89
8. Flourishing	.09	.08	.01	.26***	.25***	.17**	.58***			5.45	0.96	.89
9. SWLS	.12*	.10	−.05	.19***	.23***	.01	.48***	.75***		4.81	1.25	.88
10. PA	−.02	.11*	.05	.16**	.16**	.12*	.27***	.61***	.50***	3.65	0.78	.78

Note. Gender (1 = male, 2 = female). LoR = length of residence; MI = Multicultural Ideology; MPP = Multicultural Policies and Practices; MC = Multicultural Contact; GBS = General Belongingness Scale; SWLS = Satisfaction With Life Scale; PA = positive affect.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

foundations of social capital, a principal driver of both individual and community happiness and a critical component of social cohesion (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990; Chan, Ho-Pong, & Chan, 2006; Portela, Neira, & Salinas-Jiménez, 2013; Rodríguez-Pose & von Berlepsch, 2014). Taken together, these studies provide compelling evidence of the many positive outcomes of multicultural policies.

In contrast to the findings on perceived normative MI and MPP, and contrary to the specifications of our model, MC neither significantly predicted immigrants' sense of belonging nor psychological well-being. We suggest two possibilities that could account for these findings, both specific to the Korean community in New Zealand. These are: (a) nonnormative levels of multicultural contact among New Zealand Koreans, and (b) suboptimal conditions of multicultural contact.

Kim et al. (2016) noted that together with cultural differences, language issues have limited Korean immigrants' participation in social activities and in the creation of relationships with New Zealand neighbors (Chang et al., 2006). Indeed, an earlier study by the New Zealand Immigration Service (2004) found that 18 months after arrival in New Zealand more than half of Korean immigrants had no friends outside their own ethnic group. Koreans were also the least likely immigrant group to join social organizations or sports clubs. These trends, coupled with exclusion from the workforce, suggest that the perceived national norms for multicultural contact may not accurately reflect the Korean experience. Accordingly, it may be normative coethnic, rather than multicultural, contact that fosters a sense of belongingness and well-being.

There is also the possibility that the conditions of New Zealand Koreans' multicultural contact are not in keeping with positive contact norms and a cultural diversity climate of equality and inclusion (Schachner, Noack, van de Vijver, & Eckstein, 2016; Schachner et al., 2019). For immigrant and minority groups who typically have lower status and less power than the mainstream majority, normative multicultural contact sometimes involves encountering prejudice and discrimination. This is known to inhibit

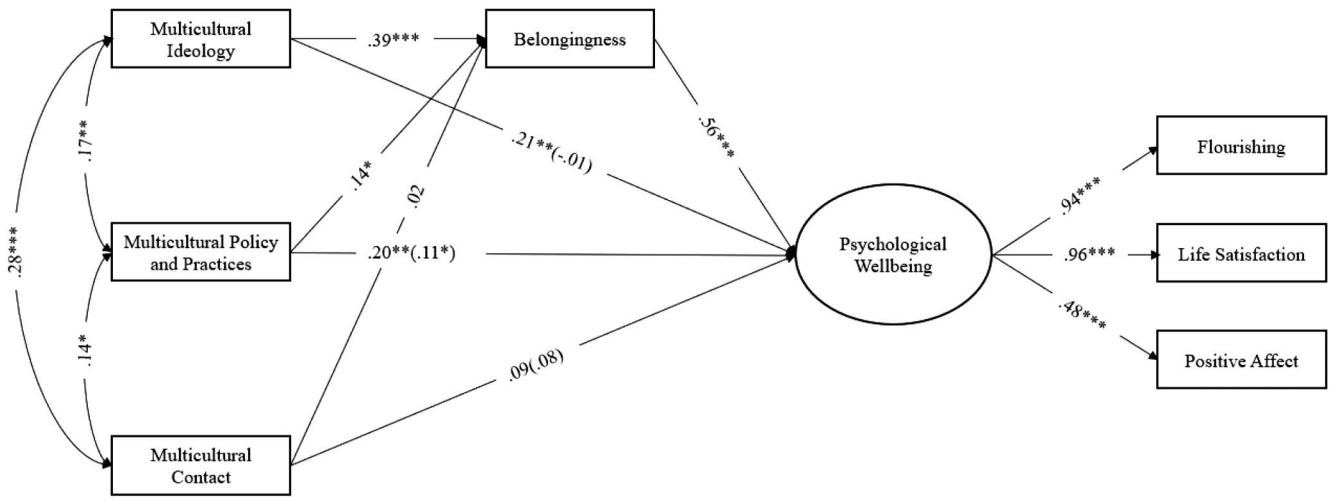

Figure 1. Structural model of normative multiculturalism, belongingness, and psychological well-being. Values are standardized estimate coefficients. The values in the parenthesis indicate standardized estimate coefficients when the mediator was included. Gender, age, and length of residence were included as covariates.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2
Indirect Effects of Normative Multiculturalism on Psychological Well-Being Through Sense of Belongingness

				95% MC CI	
NMS	*B*	*SE B*	β	LL	UL
MI	.46	.10	.22***	.28	.68
MPP	.15	.07	.08*	.02	.29
MC	.02	.06	.01	−.10	.15

Note. NMS = Normative Multiculturalism Scale; MI = Multicultural Ideology; MPP = Multicultural Policies and Practices; MC = Multicultural Contact; MC CI = Monte Carlo confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit.
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

positive outcomes of contact, including feelings of interracial closeness (Tropp, 2007) and a sense of welcomeness among immigrants (Tropp, Okamoto, Marrow, & Jones-Correa, 2018). As national surveys conducted in New Zealand show that immigrants perceive more discrimination than native-borns (Statistics New Zealand, 2012) and that Asians perceive more racial discrimination than those from Māori, Pacific, and European backgrounds (Harris et al., 2018), these issues should be explored in future research.

Our study offers further theoretical insights into the factors related to immigrant well-being and has practical applications as immigrant-receiving societies become increasingly diverse. First, the research highlights the importance of context, suggesting that perceived norms set operating parameters that may shape individuals' experiences and interpretations of their intercultural encounters and impact their psychological well-being. Second, the study demonstrates that beyond classroom, school (Schachner et al., 2015, 2016, 2019; Schwarzenthal et al., 2018; Titzmann et al., 2015), neighborhood, and regional (Christ et al., 2014) norms, perceived national norms are also related to immigrant experiences, despite appearing further removed from everyday activities. Third, the research advances a sound theoretical framework for conceptualizing multiculturalism (see Ward, Gale, Staerklé, & Stuart, 2018), which is often misconstrued in popular discourse (Berry & Ward, 2016) and has been the subject of extensive and sometimes acrimonious debate in the social science literature (e.g., Kymlicka, 2012; Malik, 2015). With its tri-dimensional conceptualization the framework has the particular advantage of disentangling the effects of ideology and policy, which have often been conflated in generic measurements of multiculturalism in diversity science research (e.g., Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Moreover, these and related research findings show that each dimension of perceived normative multiculturalism, MC, MI, and MPP, independently contributes to positive social and psychological outcomes (Stuart & Ward, 2019; Watters, Ward, & Stuart, 2018).

In terms of applications, research suggests that norm-setting may provide the means to achieve multicultural goals (Nyborg et al., 2016); however, developing, implementing and enforcing multicultural policies at the national level as a basis for normative practices is a lengthy process. Norm setting can be more readily achieved within organizations and educational institutions. In contrast, public and political discourse on immigration-related topics in the national arena can foster more rapid changes in norms. Pervasive anti-immigrant rhetoric, along with the rise of nationalism in many Western countries, points to an increasingly negative ideological shift in diversity norms. Opposing this rhetoric with public and political discourse highlighting the benefits that immigration brings may erode these recent trends, if not garner more positive normative appreciation of and support for diversity.

While changing norms can change behaviors, norm-setting is just one part of the larger picture (Nyborg et al., 2016). Marketing social norms is a well-known intervention technique used to disseminate accurate information about norms (Miller & Prentice, 2016). Evidence suggests marketing may be required to ensure that immigrants are aware of and well-informed about New Zealand's multicultural norms as these norms can support successful settlement outcomes. For example, integration, that is, maintaining traditional heritage culture while also adopting the national culture, is associated with psychological well-being in immigrant and minority groups (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). A New Zealand national survey revealed that the general population is not only highly receptive to cultural diversity, but also strongly endorses the multicultural principle of integration; however, immigrants largely underestimate normative support for these values (Ward, 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

This is not to suggest that norm-setting and marketing are simple enterprises or that these endeavors would bring immediate benefits to Korean immigrants in New Zealand. First, social norms differ in many ways between South Korea and New Zealand (e.g., Gelfand et al., 2011), including the understandings of and reactions to multiculturalism (Kim, 2015; Stuart & Ward, 2019). Second, South Korea is one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries in the world, and managing diversity is a relatively new concern. With its immigrant population at 3%, the focus of multiculturalism in South Korea, particularly with respect to policies, has centered on immigrant wives and multicultural families (Kim, 2015; Olneck, 2011). In New Zealand, by contrast, 25% of residents are overseas-born, and addressing the multicultural principles of cultural maintenance and equitable participation has a longer, though not uniformly successful, history, including efforts to define the relationship between indigenous peoples and later arrivals (Ward & Liu, 2012). Nevertheless, despite different understandings and experiences of multiculturalism in South Korea and New Zealand, when Korean immigrants perceive that cultural diversity is normatively valued and accommodated by policies and practices in New Zealand, they experience a stronger sense of belongingness and greater psychological well-being. Therefore, norm setting and marketing are worthy of further consideration.

Despite the theoretical advances and their potential for application, this study has notable limitations. First, this is the first time that the English version of the NMS has been used with a sample composed entirely of nonnative English speakers. In this instance the Cronbach alphas as measures of internal consistency were lower than in previous studies and slightly less than the conventional criterion (Stuart & Ward, 2019; Watters et al., 2018). Even though those with poor English

language skills were excluded from the study, a back-translated Korean version of the instrument may have been preferable. Second, the research is based on a cross-sectional survey with a convenience sample of a single immigrant group in one national context. A multinational study, adopting a multilevel modeling approach that incorporates both objective macrolevel data on multiculturalism and perceived multicultural norms, would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between multiculturalism and immigrant well-being. Not only would this address issues of external validity, but it could also encourage exploration of a wider range of potential benefits of multiculturalism in culturally plural societies. Longitudinal research is also recommended to corroborate the temporal relationships proposed in our model.

Finally, research on normative multiculturalism is in its infancy. To date, only markers of social cohesion (e.g., trust, threat and national attachment) and psychological well-being have been examined as outcomes of perceived normative MC, MI, and MPP. Future studies should include both majority and minority groups and explore a wider range of variables, such as civic participation, national identity, feelings of safety, and perceived discrimination, that might moderate or mediate the impact of normative multiculturalism on intercultural relations and psychological well-being.

In conclusion, this study has offered a new perspective on how a multicultural diversity climate might be conceptualized and operationalized. It has highlighted the key components of multiculturalism, the significance of contextual factors, and the role of perceived social norms in predicting immigrant well-being. We believe this perspective complements current theory and research on multiculturalism and expands the ways in which we can identify the risks and benefits of multiculturalism in culturally plural societies.

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