

# Interminority Attitudes: The Roles of Ethnic and National Identification, Contact, and Multiculturalism

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## Abstract

*This study examined interminority attitudes among a large sample (N = 1,987) of two minority groups (of Turkish and Moroccan origin) in the Netherlands. The focus is on their attitudes toward each other, toward a third ethnic minority group, and toward the native majority group. The aim is to simultaneously test theoretical predictions related to group categorization and group identification, intergroup contacts, and endorsement of multiculturalism. More social distance was reported toward the less-similar ethnic outgroup than the more-similar Muslim one. More contact with a particular outgroup was associated with less social distance toward that outgroup. There was evidence for secondary transfer effects of contact in relation to other ethnic minority outgroups, but not in relation to the native majority group. Stronger national identification and stronger endorsement of multiculturalism were both associated with less social distance toward all ethnic outgroups.*

## Keywords

social identification, superordinate identification, secondary transfer effects of contact, multicultural endorsement

There are numerous studies on the causes and correlates of prejudices and discrimination toward minority members (see Brown 2010). There is also a good amount of research on attitudes of minority members toward the majority group (e.g., Doosje, Ellemers, and Spears 1995). Few scholars, however, have considered relations among ethnic minority groups (e.g., Al Ramiah and Hewstone 2012; Craig and Richeson 2011; Philip, Mahalingam, and Sellers 2010; Verkuyten, Hagedoorn, and Masson 1996; White, Schmitt, and Langer 2006); this is unfortunate for two reasons. First, there are many cities,

neighborhoods, and institutions (e.g., schools) that are predominantly comprised of different ethnic minority groups, and where interminority relations can be rather negative. Second, investigating relations between minority groups is theoretically interesting because it allows us to examine existing theories in

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a different context and to test contrasting predictions.

Research examining intergroup relations among migrants and minorities considers three theoretical perspectives: categorization, intergroup contact, and acculturation processes. Studies tend to examine theoretical predictions related to these three perspectives separately, while our aim is to test predictions simultaneously in order to examine their relative importance for understanding interminority relations. Specifically we focus on group differentiation and identifications (categorizations), intergroup contacts, and the endorsement of multiculturalism (acculturation preferences).

Empirically, we focus on the two minority groups that are numerically greatest and socially most prominent in the Netherlands: people of Turkish (2.3 percent of the population) and Moroccan (2.1 percent) origins. Both groups have a history of labor migration dating back to the 1970s. In most cases, men arrived first and their families followed later. Most Turks and Moroccans self-identify as Muslim (e.g. Maliepaard, Lubbers, and Gijssberts 2010; Maliepaard and Phalet 2012). They tend to live in similar urban neighborhoods (e.g. neighborhoods in the four largest cities of the Netherlands, in which more than half of the inhabitants are of non-Western origin) and occupy low status positions in Dutch society. We examine interminority relations in terms of how Turks and Moroccans evaluate each other. Furthermore, we will investigate how they evaluate the Surinamese/Antilleans, another important minority group in the Netherlands. People of Surinamese and Antillean origin make up 2.1 and 0.8 percent of the population, respectively. Members of these groups emigrated from former Dutch colonies in South America and the Caribbean, and were generally Dutch citizens and spoke the Dutch language upon

arrival in the Netherlands. In comparison to Turks and Moroccans, the Surinamese and Antilleans have a much more favorable structural and social position in Dutch society (Gijssberts and Dagevos 2009). Finally, we consider the attitudes of Turks and Moroccans toward the majority group of native Dutch (80.1 percent of the population) because this allows us to examine contrasting hypotheses more fully.

## THEORIES

### *Social Identity Perspective*

Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979) proposes that intergroup differentiation results from the quest to establish a distinct and positive identity and it argues that group members strive to differentiate their ingroup from relevant outgroups. One implication is that threats to intergroup distinctiveness instigate attempts to maintain or restore a separate identity, for example, by ingroup bias in which the ingroup is evaluated more positively than other groups. The “reactive distinctiveness hypothesis” states that the more similar a relevant outgroup is to the ingroup, the stronger the distinctiveness threat and the stronger the tendency for intergroup differentiation (Jetten, Spears, and Postmes 2004). We thus expect that Turkish and Moroccan minority members have more negative attitudes toward each other than toward other ethnic minority groups (Hypothesis 1a). After all, Turks and Moroccans are both Muslim groups, share a similar history of labor migration, and have an equally low status in Dutch society. These factors set them apart from other migrant groups in the Netherlands and make them more similar to one another.

Differentiation as a reaction to threatened group distinctiveness is particularly likely among individuals who identify strongly with their ingroup (Ellemers,

Spears, and Doosje 1999). Those who are strongly committed to their group will more easily perceive low intergroup distinctiveness as threatening and therefore be motivated to restore distinctiveness through increased differentiation. This means that specifically Turkish and Moroccan minority members who identify more greatly with their ethnic background (higher ethnic identifiers) will have more negative attitudes toward the Turkish or Moroccan outgroup. It also means that identification is less strongly related to the attitude toward the dissimilar outgroup of Surinamese/Antilleans.

Differentiation might also occur when groups are clearly distinct rather than relatively similar. The competing "reflective distinctiveness hypothesis" (Jetten et al. 2004) states that high distinctiveness defines the ingroup more clearly and increases the salience of group boundaries. According to self-categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987), group salience and the prominence of group boundaries form the basis of subsequent differentiation. This means that large differences between groups stand in the way of positive intergroup relations, whereas more similar groups are evaluated more positively. This reasoning is similar to predictions derived from belief-congruency theory and the homophily principle on interpersonal relations. The former proposes that low distinctiveness with others leads to increased attraction because of similar values and beliefs (Byrne 1971). The latter states that people have the tendency to associate with others who share similar backgrounds (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). In their meta-analysis, Jetten et al. (2004) found that reflective distinctiveness processes emerge mainly on attitudinal measures such as the social distance questions we used in the present study and are more pronounced for those less strongly committed to their group (e.g.,

lower identifiers). The competing hypothesis that follows is that Turks and Moroccans will have more positive attitudes toward each other than toward the other minorities (Hypothesis 1b). This attitude difference should be stronger for those who identify less with their own ethnicity.

### **Shared Identity**

According to the common ingroup identity model, ingroup bias can be reduced when members of different groups conceive of themselves as belonging to a shared, inclusive superordinate category (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000). The processes that lead to favoritism toward ingroup members would then be directed at former outgroup members. There is clear support for the model (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000), but to our knowledge the relationship between identification with a superordinate category and attitudes toward minority and majority outgroups has not been tested before.

First, we consider being Muslim as a religious superordinate identity. When individuals identify more strongly with their religious group, they can be expected to regard those who have the same faith more strongly as ingroup members. In the Netherlands, nearly all Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, including the second generation, define themselves as Muslim and identify with their Muslim ingroup (e.g., Maliepaard et al. 2010; Maliepaard and Phaet 2012). Following the common ingroup identity model, this could mean that for the Turkish and Moroccan participants higher religiosity is related to a more positive attitude toward each other and a less positive attitude toward the non-Muslim outgroups of Surinamese/Antilleans and native Dutch (Hypothesis 2).

Second, Dutch society might serve as a superordinate identity for ethnic minorities. Research on the common ingroup

identity model has shown that negative outgroup feelings can be reduced when outgroup members become fellow national ingroup members (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000). This could mean that Turkish and Moroccan participants who identify more strongly with Dutch society (e.g. participants for whom the Dutch identity is a more important part of their self-identity, and who feel more strongly connected to the Dutch society) will have more positive attitudes toward all outgroups, including the majority group of native Dutch (Hypothesis 3a).

There is also a competing hypothesis possible: national identification leads to more positive feelings toward the majority group but not toward other minorities. Following realistic conflict theory (Sherif 1966), one possible reason for this is competition and conflicts of interest in which the gains of another minority group are at the expense of one's own minority ingroup. Stronger national identifiers experience more competition and conflicts of interest. Another reason is that societal stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes toward minorities might be transferred to minority groups who are seeking acceptance from the majority group. Lewin (1948) argues that members of minority groups can assimilate to the majority group, resulting in negative attitudes toward other minority groups. There is some empirical evidence for this (Philip et al. 2010). For instance, the more Basque people identify with Spaniards, the more negatively they view Catalans as a subgroup that seeks autonomy (Martinovic, Verkuyten, and Weesie 2011). For the Turkish and Moroccan participants this reasoning leads to the contrasting prediction that higher (host) national identification is associated with a more negative attitude toward other ethnic minority groups and a more positive attitude toward the native Dutch (Hypothesis 3b).

### **Intergroup Contact**

A great number of studies has shown that positive outgroup contact leads to more favorable outgroup attitudes (e.g., Binder et al. 2009; Brown et al. 2007; Swart et al. 2011). Research also indicates, however, that the effect of contact is asymmetrical in the sense that it is stronger for the outgroup attitudes of majority members than for minority members' attitudes toward the majority (see Tropp and Pettigrew 2005). Very little research has examined intergroup attitudes and contact between minority groups. An exception is the study by Tsukashima and Montero (1976) that showed that equal-status contact reduced prejudice of blacks toward Jews. More recently, Van Laar et al. (2005) found that having Asian American roommates did not reduce prejudice among black college students, whereas for Asian students having black roommates was associated with more favorable attitudes toward blacks (see also Bikmen 2011). Following contact theory, we expect that Turkish and Moroccan participants who have more personal contact with members of a particular minority outgroup will have a more positive attitude toward that group (Hypothesis 4).

Recent studies suggest that the prejudice-reducing effect of contact with a particular outgroup can extend to another group that is not directly involved in the contact (Pettigrew 2009). Evidence for this so-called secondary transfer effect was found in different studies (e.g., Eller and Abrams 2004; Van Laar et al. 2005). For example, in four studies, Tausch and colleagues (2010) found supporting evidence for the secondary transfer effect in different national contexts. Contact with a primary outgroup predicted attitudes toward secondary outgroups, "over and above contact with the secondary outgroup, social desirable responding, and prior attitudes" (Tausch et al. 2010:282).

The main explanation for the secondary transfer effect is the mechanism of attitude generalization (Pettigrew 2009), a process by which attitudes toward one object generalize to other, linked objects (Walther 2002). Indeed, Tausch et al. (2010) found attitude generalization to mediate the relationship between primary outgroup contact and the attitude toward the secondary outgroup. At the level of social groups this means that the improved outgroup attitude that results from contact with one group can lead to improved attitudes toward similar outgroups. Ethnic minority groups share their minority position in society and therefore are more similar to each other than to the dominant majority group (Craig and Richeson 2011). Thus, we expect secondary transfer effects of contact to other minority groups, but not to the native Dutch. Specifically, we expect contact with a primary ethnic minority outgroup to be positively related to attitudes toward a secondary minority outgroup (Hypothesis 5). This relationship should hold while controlling for contact with that secondary outgroup.

### **Multiculturalism**

Cultural diversity beliefs represent ideologies that suggest how groups should accommodate one another and how best to organize a diverse society (Plaut 2010). Two cultural ideologies dominate the Dutch discourse of diversity: multiculturalism and assimilation (Vasta 2007). Both are strongly and negatively correlated, with the one typically considered to be an alternative to the other (Berry 1997). The endorsement of multiculturalism appears to have positive effects on intergroup relations because it prompts—in contrast to assimilation—an outward focus away from the ingroup and toward learning about and from ethnic outgroups (for reviews, see Deaux and Verkuyten 2013;

Rattan and Ambady 2013). Multicultural recognition can provide confidence, trust, and security among everyone living in plural societies (Berry 1997). This leads to the prediction that the more Turkish and Moroccan participants endorse cultural diversity, the more positive their attitudes are toward other ethnic minority groups as well as toward the majority group (Hypothesis 6a).

It is also possible, however, that the endorsement of cultural diversity is positively associated with the attitudes toward other minority groups but not toward the majority group. The native Dutch tend to prefer assimilation and often consider multiculturalism as threatening to their ingroup because it requires them to relinquish some of their power and status. In the Netherlands, multiculturalism is typically seen as identity supporting for ethnic minority groups (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, and Buunk 1998). In agreement with this, ethnic minority members consistently endorse multiculturalism more strongly than the native Dutch (see Verkuyten 2006). This could mean that a stronger endorsement of cultural diversity is associated with more positive attitudes toward other ethnic minority groups but not toward the dominant majority group (Hypothesis 6b).

### **Hypotheses Overview and Social Distance**

Table 1 provides an overview of the different (contrasting) hypotheses we formulated above. In examining ethnic attitudes we focused on social distance: the extent to which people wish to avoid contact with members of ethnic outgroups (Bogardus 1925). Social distance questions have been used in many studies, including research on interminority relations (e.g., Verkuyten et al. 1996), and constitute reliable and valid measures of ethnic attitudes. In addition to outgroup

**Table 1.** Hypotheses Overview**Hypothesis 1a: Reactive distinctiveness hypothesis**

Turks and Moroccans have more negative attitudes toward each other than toward other ethnic minorities. This is particularly the case for high ethnic identifiers.

**Hypothesis 1b: Reflective distinctiveness hypothesis**

Turks and Moroccans have more positive attitudes toward each other than toward the more different ethnic minorities. This is particularly the case for low ethnic identifiers.

**Hypothesis 2: Superordinate religious identification**

The more religious Turks and Moroccans are, the more positive they are toward each other and the less positive they are toward non-Muslim outgroups.

**Hypothesis 3a: Superordinate national identification**

The more Turks and Moroccans identify with Dutch society, the more positive their attitude is toward other ethnic minority groups and toward the majority group.

**Hypothesis 3b: Superordinate majority identification**

The more Turks and Moroccans identify with Dutch society, the more positive their attitude is toward the majority group, but the more negative their attitude toward other minorities.

**Hypothesis 4: Contact hypothesis**

The more Turks and Moroccans have personal contacts with members of another minority group, the more positive their attitude is toward this group.

**Hypothesis 5: Secondary transfer effect of contact**

The more Turks and Moroccans have personal contact with a primary minority outgroup, the more positive their attitude is toward a secondary minority outgroup, but not toward the majority group.

**Hypothesis 6a: General multicultural endorsement**

The more Turks and Moroccans endorse multiculturalism, the more positive they are toward other minority groups and toward the majority group

**Hypothesis 6b: Minority multicultural endorsement**

The more Turks and Moroccans endorse multiculturalism, the more positive they are toward other ethnic minorities but not toward the majority group.

attitudes we focus in the analysis also on ingroup bias as a measure of the differential evaluation of the ingroup and outgroup. A difference score in ingroup and outgroup attitudes corresponds to the theoretical idea of positive group differentiation and has the advantage of taking the effects of some response biases into account, such as the tendency to give positive responses. In addition, focusing on both outgroup attitudes and ingroup bias allows us to develop a more detailed understanding of interminority relations.

## METHOD

### Sample

We used the Nederlandse Levensloopstudie (The Netherlands' Life Course Survey) (De Graaf et al. 2010), which contains a large sample of Turkish and

Moroccan minority members in the Netherlands between the ages of 14 and 49 years ( $M = 30.95$ ,  $SD = 8.97$ ). The survey employed a two-stage stratified sample: a quasi-random sample of municipalities by region and urbanization, followed by a second stage in which respondents were randomly selected from the population registry, based on age, country of birth of the respondents, and country of birth of parents. People of Moroccan and Turkish origin were oversampled to facilitate comparisons between groups. The survey was administered in Dutch. Respondents received incentives to maximize the response rate, up to 35 euros (depending on the stage of fieldwork and the nonresponse category). The questionnaire was pretested and the data were collected in 2009–2010 by means of self-completion questionnaires. The overall

response rate was 52 percent, which is similar to other Dutch surveys (De Graaf et al. 2010; Stoop 2005). In total, 25 respondents were excluded from the analyses because they did not answer either any of the dependent or any of the independent variables. The resulting data set contains information of 1,987 respondents of Moroccan (50 percent) and Turkish origin (50 percent) from the urban regions in the Netherlands. Most respondents (64 percent) are first-generation immigrants (who on average were 15 years old when they migrated to the Netherlands, with  $SD = 9.46$ ), and 36 percent are second-generation immigrants. Most of the respondents self-identified as Muslims (88 percent), and just over half of the sample is female (53 percent).

### Measures

*Social distance* was measured with respect to the ingroup and three ethnic outgroups: toward a Muslim outgroup (Turkish or Moroccan), toward another minority outgroup (Surinamese/Antillean), and toward the majority outgroup (native Dutch). For each outgroup, respondents were asked to what extent they would be bothered by having someone from that group as their: (a) boss at work, (b) neighbor, and (c) son/daughter-in-law. Participants could answer each question on a 3-point scale, with 1 = not at all problematic, 2 = not so problematic, and 3 = problematic.

We examined three measurement models using maximum-likelihood estimation in Mplus (Muthén and Muthén 2010). The first model considered three correlated latent variables: social distance toward the Muslim outgroup, toward the other minority group, and toward the majority group. Each of these latent variables was predicted by the respective three items (e.g., Dutch boss, Dutch neighbor, Dutch in-law). That model did not fit the data,

$\chi^2(24, N = 1,986) = 3,224.5$ , Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .793, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .260. We then used an adaptation of the multi-trait-multimethod (MTMM) approach. We used the same model but added three additional latent variables (boss, neighbor, and in-law) that were predicted by three items each (e.g., Muslim boss, minority boss, majority boss). This model takes respondents' general resistance to having outgroup bosses, neighbors, and in-laws into account (see Figure 1). The resulting model had a good fit,  $\chi^2(16, N = 1,987) = 56.5$ , CFI = .997, RMSEA = .036. To investigate if the respondents made an empirical distinction between the three outgroups we tested a third model, also using the MTMM approach, that estimated a single latent construct of outgroup attitude. This model did not fit the data,  $\chi^2(19, N = 1,987) = 3,308.6$ , CFI = .787, RMSEA = .305. This indicates that a meaningful empirical distinction between the attitudes toward the three outgroups can be made.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>We also conducted a measurement invariance test to examine whether the items of the latent variables assessed the same constructs among the two groups of Turkish and Moroccan respondents. We fitted the construct for the two groups separately in an unconstrained model and subsequently compared this to a model in which loadings and intercepts were constrained to be equal. The results show that the model fit of the equal loadings model is significantly worse ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 33.41$ ,  $\Delta df = 9$ ,  $p < .005$ ) compared to the unconstrained model. However, the overall model fit of the equal loadings model is acceptable,  $\chi^2(47, N_{Moroccans} = 995, N_{Turks} = 993) = 219.615$ , Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .989, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .983, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .061, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .058. Furthermore, the decrease in model fit was due to only two items (Muslim neighbor and majority boss) that, however, had similar associations with outgroup attitudes among the Turkish and Moroccan participants. Thus, there is partial measurement invariance whereby at least two items have similar factor loadings for each outgroup measure.

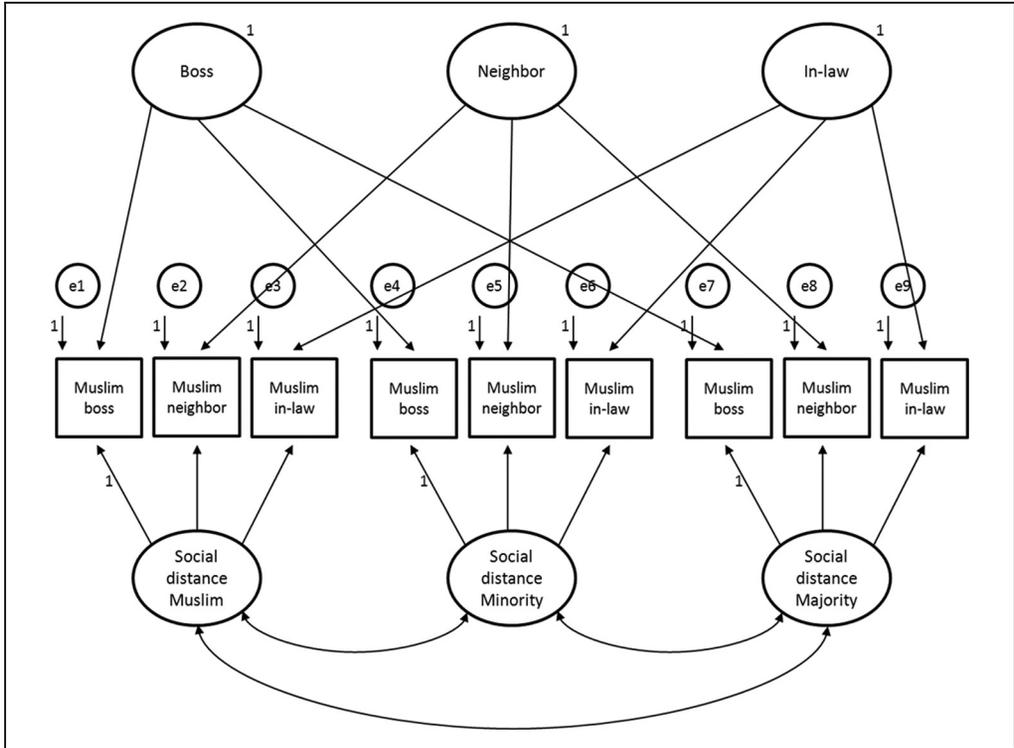


Figure 1. The Multitrait–Multimethod Model

Cronbach’s alphas for Muslim, minority, and majority outgroups are .80, .75, .69, respectively. In addition to three outgroup attitude scores, we also computed three ingroup bias scores by subtracting the social distance score toward each outgroup target from the social distance score toward the ingroup so that a higher score means more ingroup bias.

*Ethnic identification* was measured by four statements that have been used in previous research in the Netherlands (see Verkuyten 2006): “I am proud of my ethnic background,” “I strongly identify with my ethnic group,” “I really feel connected to my ethnic group,” and “My ethnic identity is an important part of myself” (5-point scales: 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Cronbach’s alpha for these four items is .91.

*National identification* was measured by four similar statements and using the

same scales. The statements were: “I feel at home in the Dutch society,” “I identify strongly with the Netherlands,” “I really feel connected to the Netherlands,” and “My Dutch identity is an important part of myself.” Cronbach’s alpha for these four items is .87.

We analyzed two distinct aspects of *religiosity*, religious salience and religious practices. Religious salience was measured with the question, “How important is your faith to you personally?” (1 = not important at all, 5 = very important). Because Islam is a religion in which orthopraxis (action or activity) is central (Williams 1994), adherence to religious practices was measured with five items. Respondents were first asked whether or not in the last three months they had read the Qur’an and had prayed. Subsequently they were asked whether they tend to fast (e.g., during Ramadan), drink

alcohol (reversed scored), and eat pork (reversed scored).

For measuring *intergroup contact*, participants were asked to indicate (1 = never, 7 = daily) for each ethnic group how often they have had personal contact in three different settings: in the neighborhood, at work/school, in an association or club. Additionally, respondents were asked whether they have one or more good friends with the following ethnic backgrounds: Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese/Antillean, Dutch (yes, no).

*Multicultural endorsement* was measured by asking participants to what extent they agreed (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree) with the following two statements: "It is better for a country when everyone has the same customs and traditions" and "It is better for a country when everyone has the same religion" (both reversed). These questions have been used in previous Dutch studies and tap into whether a person believes cultural diversity is desirable for society (Verkuyten 2006). A higher score indicates stronger endorsement of multiculturalism.

*Ethnicity* was defined by the self-reported country of birth of the participant and both parents (value 0 for Moroccan, value 1 for Turkish). In accordance with the classification of Statistics Netherlands a participant was classified as first generation (value 0) when the person and one or two parents were born outside the Netherlands and as second generation (value 1) if the person was born in the Netherlands but at least one parent was born outside this country.

### Analyses

To test our hypotheses we used multiple analysis of variance (for Hypotheses 1a and 1b) and structural equation modeling (for the other hypotheses). Using latent

variables, effect sizes and standard errors are estimated more precisely in a structural equation modeling (SEM) compared to ordinary regression analysis, yielding more reliable results.<sup>2</sup> Using SEM also allows us to estimate a single model with multiple independent variables predicting multiple dependent variables, rather than running separate analyses for each of our three dependent variables (Muslim outgroup, minority outgroup, majority outgroup). This means that we can directly compare the effect sizes and significance levels of the predictors for the three outgroups.

To the specified measurement model (Figure 1) we added other latent variables as predictors (e.g., national identification). Gender and age did not show any significant relationships and therefore were not further considered in the analyses. Generational status and educational level (highest diploma obtained) were included as controls in the analyses.<sup>3</sup>

## RESULTS

### Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics of all measures and for the two ethnic groups are presented in Table 2, and Table 3 shows the

<sup>2</sup>One could construct an "ethnic identification" scale by summing the respondents' scores on each of the items. Structural equation modeling (SEM), however, regresses the response on each item onto a latent variable "ethnic identification." Effectively, the latent variable is predicted by the observed variables and predicts an outcome variable. By doing so SEM retains all variance and makes much better use of the information in the data.

<sup>3</sup>We also included length of stay in the Netherlands in the analyses (for the first generation: age at migration, for the second generation: age at time of interview). Results showed very small effect sizes of length of stay and no changes in the effects of the other predictors. Therefore, length of stay is not further discussed in this paper.

**Table 2.** Descriptive Statistics by Ethnic Group

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	N	Overall Sample		Moroccans			Turks			Mean Difference between Moroccans and Turks $\Delta M$
				M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	
Social distance toward ingroup	1	3	1,982	1.41	0.51	992	1.38	0.49	990	1.45	0.52	-.07**
Social distance Muslim outgroup	1	3	1,978	1.76	0.58	992	1.62	0.53	986	1.90	0.59	-.27**
Social distance minority outgroup	1	3	1,976	1.87	0.55	992	1.78	0.54	984	1.96	0.56	-.18**
Social distance majority outgroup	1	3	1,978	1.68	0.49	990	1.64	0.49	988	1.72	0.49	-.08**
Ethnic identification	1	5	1,944	4.15	0.78	971	4.16	0.75	973	4.13	0.80	-.03**
National identification	1	5	1,981	3.71	0.75	994	3.79	0.76	987	3.63	0.72	-.16**
Religion important	1	5	1,988	4.46	0.89	996	4.61	0.77	992	4.31	0.98	-.29**
Contact Muslim outgroup	1	7	1,972	3.43	1.78	989	3.51	1.79	983	3.34	1.76	-.17**
Contact minority outgroup	1	7	1,972	3.01	1.77	988	3.13	1.84	984	2.89	1.68	-.24**
Contact majority outgroup	1	7	1,983	4.77	1.54	995	4.76	1.57	988	4.79	1.51	-.04**
Multicultural endorsement	2	5	1,982	3.56	0.77	995	3.60	0.78	987	3.51	0.76	-.10**
Religious practices (categorical)	0	1	1,987	0.69	0.34	995	0.76	0.30	992	0.61	0.36	-.15**

Note: To compute these statistics, scales were constructed by summing the items and dividing them by the number of items. These statistics therefore differ from the latent variables estimated in the structural equation modeling (SEM) models of this article.  
 \*\*t-test significant at  $p < .01$ , two-tailed.

**Table 3.** Intercorrelations Between the Different Measures: Moroccans Above the Diagonal and Turks Below the Diagonal

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Ethnic identification		-.02**	-.36**	-.30**	-.08**	-.02**	-.03**	-.03**
2 National identification	-.06**		-.06**	-.03**	-.05**	-.06**	-.12**	-.13**
3 Religious importance	-.43**	-.00**		-.59**	-.10**	-.05**	-.04**	-.03**
4 Religious practices	-.36**	-.08**	-.60**		-.13**	-.06**	-.03**	-.01**
5 Contact Muslim	-.09**	-.09**	-.12**	-.15**		-.73**	-.58**	-.03**
6 Contact minority	-.01**	-.11**	-.04**	-.05**	-.74**		-.54**	-.04**
7 Contact majority	-.03**	-.17**	-.06**	-.06**	-.57**	-.52**		-.09**
8 Multiculturalism	-.06**	-.09**	-.04**	-.03**	-.00**	-.00**	-.08**	

\*\*Bivariate correlation significant at  $p < .01$ , two-tailed.

associations between the various measures and for the two groups. Compared to Moroccans, Turkish respondents reported more social distance across the board. This is in line with previous research showing that the Turkish minority group is more cohesive and closed and has relatively little contact with outgroup members (Gijberts and Dagevos 2009). Respondents of both groups report the least social distance toward the ingroup and the most social distance toward the minority outgroup. Turkish respondents follow the expected pattern of ethnic hierarchy (Verkuyten 2006) by reporting the least social distance toward the ingroup, followed by the majority group, and then by the remaining minority outgroups. Moroccan respondents hardly differentiate in their evaluation of the Muslim and majority outgroup.

For the predictor variables, a one sample  $t$ -test showed that the overall mean score for religious importance is clearly above the neutral midpoint of the scale:  $t(1,986) = 73.11$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, religion is important to most respondents, but more so for Moroccans than for Turks (see Table 2). Ethnic identification is also relatively high (very similar for both groups of respondents) and significantly stronger than host national identification, with  $t(1,938) = 1.72$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Table 2 shows that Moroccans endorse multiculturalism a bit stronger than Turks do. A one sample  $t$ -test showed that respondents on average endorsed multiculturalism as the overall mean score is significantly above the midpoint of the scale,  $t(1,980) = 32.20$ ,  $p < .001$ . Moroccan respondents report higher levels of contact with the minority outgroup, and Turks and Moroccans report about equal levels of contact with the majority group (see Table 2). Paired  $t$ -tests show that on average, contact with the other minority group (Surinamese/Antilleans) is lower than contact with the Muslim outgroup,  $t(1,953) = 14.14$ ,  $p < .001$ , and also lower than contact with the Dutch majority outgroup,  $t(1,959) = 50.78$ ,  $p < .001$ . Paired  $t$ -tests also show that contact with the Dutch majority outgroup is higher than contact with the Muslim outgroup,  $t(1,958) = 40.48$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### Types of Outgroups and Identification

Our first contrasting hypotheses were on the difference in social distance toward the two minority outgroups. We expected Turks and Moroccans to have either more negative (Hypothesis 1a) or more positive (Hypothesis 1b) attitudes toward each other, compared to the minority

**Table 4.** Unstandardized Regression Coefficients of the Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) on Social Distance Toward the Three Outgroups

Variable Name	Muslim	Minority	Majority
Religious salience	.03*	.04**	.04**
Religious practices	-.02**	.00**	.01**
National identification	-.11**	-.13**	-.12**
Contact with Muslim group	-.05**	-.05**	-.01**
Contact with minority	-.05**	-.06**	-.01**
Contact with majority	-.06**	-.09**	-.03**
Multicultural endorsement	-.43**	-.49**	-.30**
Ethnic identification	-.05**	-.06**	-.09**
Ethnicity (reference is Moroccan)	.26**	.19**	.08**
Generation (reference is first)	-.12**	-.13**	-.10**
Education	-.01**	-.01**	.00*
Explained variance ( $R^2$ )	.27*	.30*	.15*

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$  (two-tailed).

group of Surinamese/Antilleans. Because in SEM group means are considered relative to one another, we performed a multivariate repeated measures analysis (general linear model) for testing these competing hypotheses. Ethnic group was a between-subjects factor and ethnic identification a continuous centered variable.<sup>4</sup> The results indicate that respondents reported significantly more social distance toward the minority outgroup than toward the Muslim outgroup (Wilks's  $\lambda = .93$ ,  $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .07$ ; also see Table 2 for the means). Furthermore, the effects of ethnic group and ethnic identification on the within-subjects factor were not significant ( $ps > .11$ ), nor

was there a significant interaction term with ethnic group and ethnic identification (Wilks's  $\lambda = .999$ ,  $p = .16$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .001$ ). Thus, the results support the reflective distinctiveness hypothesis (Hypothesis 1b) among both the Turks and Moroccans, but the differential evaluation of the minority outgroups was not more pronounced for those less committed to their ethnic group.

### Group Identification

The SEM analyses indicated that the model explains 27 percent of the variance in social distance toward the Muslim outgroup, 30 percent of the variance toward the minority outgroup, and accounts for 15 percent of the variance in social distance toward the majority group. The results shown in Tables 4 and 5 demonstrate that higher ethnic identification was associated with *less* social distance toward the non-Muslim minority outgroup and toward the majority group and with *greater* ingroup bias toward all three outgroups. This indicates that stronger ethnic identification was related

<sup>4</sup>The results showed that the observed covariance matrices of the independent variable ethnic group were not equal across groups (Box's  $M = 18.59$ ,  $F = 6.19$ ,  $p$ -value  $< .01$ ). This is not a serious problem because the sample sizes of both groups are equal and the total sample size is large (Stevens 1986). Because Levene's test indicated that the error variance of the dependent variables is not equal across groups, we used a more conservative alpha level ( $p$ -value  $< .01$ ) for determining significance.

**Table 5.** Unstandardized Regression Coefficients Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) on Ingroup Bias (Outgroup Social Distance – Ingroup Social Distance) in Relation to the Three Outgroups

Variable Name	Muslim	Minority	Majority
Religious salience	.02**	.03*	.04**
Religious practices	.03*	.05**	.06**
National identification	-.06**	-.08**	-.07**
Contact with Muslim group	-.03**	-.02*	.02*
Contact with minority	-.03**	-.04**	.00
Contact with majority	-.05**	-.07**	-.02
Multicultural endorsement	-.14**	-.22**	.00
Ethnic identification	.15**	.14**	.10**
Ethnicity (reference is Moroccan)	.17**	.11**	.00
Generation (reference is first)	-.03	-.04	-.01
Education	-.01**	-.01**	.00
Explained variance ( $R^2$ )	.12	.13	.07

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$  (two-tailed).

to lower ingroup social distance rather than higher outgroup distance.<sup>5</sup>

We expected that more religious respondents would be more positive toward the Muslim outgroup and less positive toward the non-Muslim outgroups (Hypothesis 2). Table 4 shows that the more importance respondents attached to their religion, the more social distance they indeed report toward the non-Muslim minority group and the majority group. Religious salience, however, was unrelated to social distance toward the Muslim outgroup. In addition, participants who adhered more to religious practices did not report more or less social distance toward the three outgroups (see Table 5). This pattern of findings provides partial support for Hypothesis 2.

<sup>5</sup>Using Wald tests for parameter constraints, we tested if the parameters were equal across the Turkish and Moroccan respondent groups. No significant differences were found for the analyses on outgroup attitudes. For the analyses on ingroup bias scores there were only two differences between Turks and Moroccans, and both concerned the estimates of multiculturalism: in relation to the minority outgroup (Wald = 3.97 with  $p$ -value = .046) and the majority group (Wald = 9.24 with  $p$ -value < .01). All other estimates were similar across groups.

Hypothesis 3a on superordinate national identification was clearly supported by our data. Greater national identification was related to less social distance toward all three outgroups and also to lower ingroup bias in relation to these groups (see Tables 4 and 5). Conversely, the competing Hypothesis 3b on superordinate majority identification was not supported.<sup>6</sup>

### Intergroup Contact

The analyses show that increased contact with members of a particular minority group (Muslim or Surinamese/Antillean) is associated with less social distance and bias toward that group (Tables 4 and 5).

<sup>6</sup>The common ingroup identity model suggests that a dual identity might be particularly beneficial for minority members' intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner, and Saguy 2009). Although we did not have a direct measure of dual identity, it was possible to examine the statistical interaction effect of ethnic and national identification. Additional regression analyses showed no significant interaction effects: in predicting social distance toward the Muslim outgroup the interaction between ethnic and national identification was  $\beta = -.02$  with  $p = .358$ ; in predicting social distance toward the minority outgroup,  $\beta = -.02$  with  $p = .289$ ; in predicting social distance toward the majority outgroup,  $\beta = .03$  with  $p = .175$ .

This confirms the standard contact hypothesis (Hypothesis 4). Interestingly, more contact with majority group members did not affect the social distance (or bias) respondents reported toward the Dutch majority.<sup>7</sup>

The findings also confirm the expectation of secondary transfer effects of contact (Hypothesis 5). The more contact respondents had with a primary minority outgroup, the more positive their attitude was toward a secondary minority group (Table 4). These secondary transfer effects of contact exist while controlling for the effect of contact with the secondary minority group itself, and were also found for ingroup bias (see Table 5).<sup>8</sup> In addition,

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<sup>7</sup>The common ingroup identity model argues that intergroup contact can lead to higher superordinate (i.e., national) identification, which in turn affects intergroup attitudes (Dovidio et al. 2009). In additional analyses we found no statistical evidence for this mediation reasoning, nor for the possibility that the effect of intergroup contact depended on the level of ethnic or host national identification. All interaction effects were nonsignificant.

<sup>8</sup>The transfer effect implies that intergroup contact with a primary outgroup affects the attitude toward that primary outgroup, which in turn affects the attitude of a secondary outgroup. Due to our analytical strategy (multitrait-multimethod [MTMM]) we were unable to model this mediating mechanism. The MTMM approach (as displayed in Figure 1) estimates the three dependent latent variables simultaneously while controlling for a general resistance against having bosses, neighbors, and in-laws from different ethnic backgrounds. This simultaneous estimation allows for direct comparisons of social distance toward various ethnic groups and hence for a simultaneous test of the theories used. As one can deduce from Figure 1, however, the model specifies that the three dependent latent variables need to covary. This means that the dependent variables cannot be used as predictors for one another. The alternatives (either running separate analyses for each dependent variable or developing a dynamic model) all involve letting go of the MTMM approach, which would hamper the comparability of the findings. Instead we examined whether more contact with a primary outgroup was associated with less social distance toward a secondary outgroup while controlling for the effects of direct contact with that secondary group.

more contact with the majority group was associated with lower social distance toward the minority groups, whereas more minority group contact was not related to social distance toward the majority group. Finally, more contact with a Muslim outgroup was associated with greater ingroup bias in relation to the native Dutch (Table 5).

### ***Endorsement of Multiculturalism***

Support for the positive role of multiculturalism was consistent across the three outgroups. It was the strongest predictor in the models (Table 4 and 5), with higher endorsement of cultural diversity being associated with lower outgroup social distance. It was also associated with lower ingroup bias, except in relation to the native Dutch.<sup>9</sup> This pattern of findings is in line with the general multicultural hypothesis (Hypothesis 6a).

## **DISCUSSION**

This study is among the few to investigate interminority relations among immigrant groups (e.g., Philip et al. 2010; Verkuyten et al. 1996). With a large sample in the Netherlands and using advanced statistical modeling, we examined the social distance that Turkish and Moroccan minority members have toward each other and toward the minority group of Surinamese/Antilleans. We examined the relative importance of three elements that

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<sup>9</sup>We conducted an additional multigroup analysis to investigate if the parameters were equal across the Moroccan and Turkish groups. These results are not reported in the text as only two effects were statistically different. Moroccans reported less social distance toward the minority outgroup when they strongly endorsed multiculturalism, relative to their ingroup (e.g., bias scores). For Turks, the same effect was statistically insignificant. Toward the majority group, higher multicultural endorsement was associated with higher social distance bias for Turks, whereas it was statistically insignificant for Moroccans.

affect intergroup relations by simultaneously testing theoretical predictions related to group differentiation and group identifications (categorization), intergroup contact, and the endorsement of multiculturalism (acculturation preferences).

A first finding is that participants indicated less social distance toward the Muslim outgroup compared to the Surinamese/Antilleans. This is in line with the "reflective distinctiveness hypothesis" (Hypothesis 1b) derived from self-categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987), stating that stronger group differences increase the salience of group boundaries, which form the basis for intergroup attitudes. Turks and Moroccans are much more similar to each other compared to the Surinamese/Antilleans. This suggests that larger differences between groups stand in the way of positive intergroup relations, whereas more similar groups are evaluated more positively (see also Byrne 1971; McPherson et al. 2001). A meta-analysis (Jetten et al. 2004) has shown that reflective distinctiveness is typically found for attitudinal measures such as the social distance questions that were used in the present research. This meta-analysis, however, also indicates that for behavioral measures, reactive distinctiveness implying stronger negativity toward more similar outgroups is more likely. This could mean that the Turkish and Moroccan participants show less positive behavior toward each other than toward the Surinamese/Antilleans. Future studies should examine this possibility and could also include measures of identity distinctiveness threat to examine the processes of reflective and reactive distinctiveness more closely.

Jetten et al.'s (2004) meta-analysis further showed that reflective distinctiveness is particularly likely for lower group identifiers, whereas reactive distinctiveness is more typical for higher group identifiers. In the present study, ethnic

identification was generally high and was not associated with attitudinal differentiation between the two minority outgroups. Thus, higher compared to lower identifiers did not make a stronger or weaker differentiation between the Muslim and the non-Muslim minority outgroups. Greater ethnic identification was however related to *more* ingroup bias for all three outgroups. This pattern of findings indicates that stronger ethnic minority identification does not necessarily result in a more negative attitude toward outgroups. As higher identifiers tend to have a more favorable attitude toward their ingroup (Brown 2010), it does imply, however, stronger differentiation in favor of one's ethnic ingroup. This pattern of results demonstrates the importance of examining outgroup attitudes as well as ingroup bias. Stronger ethnic minority identity might imply a more secure, stable, or achieved sense of ethnic self that provides the basis for acceptance and openness to other groups and cultures (Phinney, Jacoby, and Silva 2007). Yet it can also lead to a higher tendency to favor the ingroup above outgroups, which might have real consequences in everyday life, for example, when people are asked to choose one group over the other.

In the context of interminority relations, ethnic identity relates to group boundaries and group differences. In contrast, religious and national identities can encompass different ethnic groups and thereby act as a shared, common category. The common ingroup identity model argues that (former) outgroup members will be evaluated more positively when they are seen as part of a shared category (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000). We examined this model in terms of Muslim group identification and national identification. For Muslim identity we found that the more importance participants attached to their religion, the more social distance they reported toward the minority and

majority outgroups. Yet, toward the Muslim outgroup we did not find a significant association. In addition, stronger adherence to religious practices was associated with more ingroup bias in relation to all three outgroups. This pattern of results does not suggest that a stronger Muslim identity acts like a superordinate category in which Muslim minority members feel more positive toward co-believers with a different ethnic minority background (in contrast to Hypothesis 2). One reason might be that there is a strong association between ethnic and religious group identification. What it means to be a Muslim is strongly related to what it means to be Turkish or to be Moroccan. There is evidence for this from several studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Phalet and Güngör 2004; Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007). Furthermore, and in line with the social identity complexity model (Roccas and Brewer 2002), there is also evidence that the strong intersection of both identities goes together with negative outgroup attitudes (Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012). Another reason might be that the diversity of Muslims prevents the perception of belonging to a superordinate category. Like most Muslims in Northern Africa, Moroccan Sunni Muslims tend to follow the Maliki school of Fiqh. Turkish Sunni Muslims tend to follow the Hanafi school of Fiqh, which is more prominent in the Middle East and Western Asia. Each school prescribes rules a good Muslim must adhere to, and while there is a large overlap, there are differences for example in rules concerning prayer, food, marriage, hygiene and dress code. It might be that Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands focus more on these differences than on their shared religion.

In contrast to religious identity and in agreement with Hypothesis 3a and the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000), it turned out that higher national identification was

associated with a more positive attitude toward the two ethnic minority outgroups and the majority group. This demonstrates that a sense of national belonging has a more generic positive meaning for the way in which minority members perceive ethnic (majority and minority) outgroups. As such, it supports the proposition of various scholars, including proponents of multiculturalism (Modood 2007; Parekh 2000), that a well-functioning society needs a sense of commitment and common belonging to foster mutual acceptance and tolerance.

Many studies have demonstrated that more favorable outgroup attitudes result from positive intergroup contact (e.g., Binder et al. 2009; Brown et al. 2007; Swart et al. 2011). The current findings show that more contact with the majority group was not associated with less social distance toward this group. Yet, going beyond most of the previous contact research, we found that increased contact was associated with more positive interminority attitudes. In support of Hypothesis 4, Turkish (or Moroccan) participants who had more contacts with Moroccans (Turks) indicated less social distance toward this minority outgroup, and the same was found in relation to the Surinamese/Antilleans.

A number of scholars have investigated the “ironic” effects of intergroup contact by showing that it can not only lead to more positive attitudes toward the majority group but also to reduced support for actions designed to challenge discrimination and other social injustices (see Dixon et al. 2012). Because contact improves attitudes toward the majority, it would decrease perceptions of injustice, undermine support for minority rights and policies, and reduce solidarity between minority groups (Glasford and Calcagno 2012). In contrast, our findings show that more contact with the native Dutch was not associated with less social

distance toward them but rather with lower social distance toward the minority groups. Furthermore, intergroup contact was positively related only to interminority attitudes. More positive attitudes and feelings of closeness toward other minority groups can form the basis for a sense of commonality, solidarity, and commitment. Such a sense is important for the development of minority coalitions that can challenge existing inequalities and injustices in the host society (Craig and Richeson 2011). Thus, our findings indicate that the “ironic” effects of intergroup contact should not be overstated and are probably more important in some situations (i.e., deeply divided and unjust societies) than in others (i.e., Dutch welfare state). It is important that future studies examine more closely the types of contexts in which intergroup contact reduces minority support for collective actions that challenge inequalities and social injustices.

The results further provide evidence for Hypothesis 5 that relates to the so-called secondary transfer effect of contact (Pettigrew 2009). Because of attitude generalization, positive attitudes from contact with a primary outgroup can spread to similar outgroups. We were not able to test the transfer effect directly (i.e., the mediating role of primary outgroup attitude; see note 8), but we did find that more contact with one particular minority outgroup (e.g., Moroccans) was associated with less social distance toward another minority group (e.g., Surinamese/Antilleans), over and above the effects of direct contact with that other group (see Tausch et al. 2010; Van Laar et al. 2005). Interestingly, secondary transfer effects of contact were not found for the social distance toward the majority group. This supports the idea that attitude generalization depends on outgroup similarity (Tausch et al. 2010). In the Netherlands, with its large native Dutch population, a strong and pervasive

distinction is made between the majority group of *autochthons* (“born from the soil”) and the minority groups of *allochthons* (“from somewhere else”).

The findings do show, however, a positive secondary transfer effect of contact with the native Dutch for the attitude toward the two minority groups. Together with the result for national identification, this indicates that there was no evidence for the proposition (Hypothesis 3b) that minority members with a stronger majority group orientation adopt the social stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes of the dominant society (Lewin 1948; Philip et al. 2010). Rather, stronger national identification and more contacts with majority members were associated with less social distance toward the two ethnic minority groups. This further supports the importance of social and psychological integration in the host society for intergroup relations.

The strongest associations were found for the endorsement of multicultural recognition. The more minority members supported cultural and religious diversity in society, the less social distance they reported toward all ethnic outgroups. This finding is in support of the general multicultural endorsement hypothesis (Hypothesis 6a). Together with other findings (e.g., Velasco González et al. 2008; Ward and Masgoret 2006), they are in line with Berry’s (1997) argument that multicultural recognition can provide confidence, trust, and security among everyone living in plural societies. The associations were stronger, however, for the attitude toward the minority groups, and ingroup bias in relation to the majority group was not associated with multiculturalism. This indicates that also minority members tend to consider multiculturalism as identity supporting for ethnic minority groups rather than for the native Dutch (Van Oudenhoven et al. 1998; Verkuyten 2006).

### Limitations

There are several limitations of the present work that offer opportunities for future research. First, we examined correlations and cannot draw any firm conclusions about causality. Yet, our predictions were theoretically derived and there are several experimental and longitudinal studies that showed, for example, that intergroup contact (e.g., Binder et al. 2009; Brown et al. 2007) and multiculturalism (e.g., Richeson and Nussbaum 2004; Verkuyten 2006) have causal effects on outgroup attitudes. Future studies, however, should use panel data to examine the direction of the associations.

Second, we have focused on two ethnic minority groups that are the least accepted in Dutch society (Gijssberts and Dagevos 2009). Research on horizontal hostility indicates that interminority attitudes can differ between groups that are either less or more similar to the majority population (White et al. 2006). This could mean, for example, that the culturally and religiously more similar Surinamese and Antilleans might show a different pattern of interminority attitudes. Yet, this does not have to mean that the roles of national identification, intergroup contact, and multiculturalism for these attitudes operate differently. A mean difference in the level of social distance does not necessarily imply different relations with the various predictors: the mechanisms might operate similarly.

Third, although the response rate of 52 percent is typical for Dutch surveys, it does imply some form of selectivity. Furthermore, there often is a tradeoff between the advantage of using data from large-scale minority samples and the measurement of constructs. These data are typically collected for different purposes by a multidisciplinary team of researchers, which has implications for the number of questions that can be asked

for the different constructs. For example, the endorsement of cultural diversity was measured with two items and intergroup contact with only four. More extensive measures of multiculturalism might result in even stronger relations with outgroup attitudes, and a more comprehensive measure of the nature and quality of contact might show additional effects.

### CONCLUSION

This is one of the first studies that has examined interminority relations among a large sample and two ethnic minority groups. The findings demonstrate that a relatively large part of the variance in social distance (up to 30 percent) could be accounted for and that different theoretical constructs are uniquely related to interminority attitudes. Thus, various forms of group identification, intergroup contact, and the endorsement of multiculturalism are important factors to consider in understanding these attitudes. In our increasingly diverse societies, interminority relations are becoming more prevalent and important for understanding group relations in national, regional, local, and institutional settings. Therefore, the factors and processes involved in these relations deserve greater social scientific attention. This is also important for theoretical reasons, as it allows us to examine existing theories in an interminority context and to test alternative predictions. We have tried to show that group differentiation and group identifications, intergroup contacts, and the endorsement of cultural diversity are separate and important factors to consider for explaining interminority relations.

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