

DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

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Dealing with diversity: adolescents' support for civil liberties and immigrant rights

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DEALING WITH DIVERSITY:
Adolescents' support for civil liberties and
immigrant rights

OMGAAN MET DIVERSITEIT:
Steun voor burgerlijke vrijheden en rechten van immigranten
onder adolescenten
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In the Netherlands, in 2001 the imam Khalil El Moumni made the controversial statement that homosexuality is a contagious disease. This caused a lot of upheaval in the Dutch society, and the Dutch state tried to prosecute the imam for his statements. However, in 2002 the court ruled that he had the right to express his opinions. This verdict fueled debates about the position of Muslims in Dutch society and limits to freedom of expression.

In several countries, there have been debates about the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women. In September 2004, a law came into effect in France that banned wearing conspicuous religious symbols in public primary and secondary schools. Although the law did not specify a particular religion, many felt that this ban was specifically targeted at the wearing of headscarves. As a consequence, there was much debate about freedom of religion, and whether or not the ban was in conflict with this freedom. Although France is the only country to prohibit the headscarf in schools at the national level, other countries have also experienced headscarf controversies. For example, in the Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain, there have been specific cases of schools wanting to exclude students that were wearing a traditional Islamic veil.

In 2005, a Danish newspaper – Jyllands-Posten – published a dozen cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed, in an attempt to denounce blasphemy in Islam. Several of these cartoons were reprinted in newspapers in other European countries. The publications led to a worldwide dispute and to anti-western protests and demonstrations by Muslims. Within Western countries, there was strong disagreement as to whether the publication of these cartoons was acceptable or not. Jack Straw, Britain's foreign secretary, called the publication of the cartoons unnecessary, insensitive, disrespectful and wrong. Likewise, the American's State Department argued that it was "unacceptable" to incite religious hatred by publishing such pictures (Wilson & Sullivan, 2006). On the other hand, France's former interior minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, stated he preferred "an excess of caricature to an excess of censorship" (Gurrey, 2006).

In 2006, a Dutch high school fired one of its female teachers. The reason was that she started to refuse to shake hands with her male colleagues, fathers of students, or other males, because of her Muslim faith. The Commission for Equal Treatment [Commissie Gelijke Behandeling, CGB]

stated that the school could not oblige its teachers to shake hands with others. The commission stated that “striving for respectful social interaction with a uniform manner of greeting that is not considered respectful by all, is not an appropriate way to reach respectful social interactions” (CGB, 2006). The teacher protested her discharge through the legal system, seeking protection from unequal treatment based on her religious beliefs. The Central Council of Appeal [Centrale Raad van Beroep] finally ruled the discharge to be legitimate, stating that the schools’ interests of preventing segregation and stimulating clarity in a multicultural school outweighed the interests of the teacher in this particular case (Centrale Raad van Beroep, 2009).

In 2008, Geert Wilders, political leader of the Party for Freedom (PVV), released a short movie on the internet: *Fitna*. Putting the movie up for online viewing was preceded by heated political debates and a lot of media attention. Whereas the PVV politician made an appeal to freedom of expression, the Dutch government emphasized that the movie could pose a threat to public order, and to the safety of Dutch people abroad. The former Dutch prime minister, Balkenende, stated in an interview that “we [the Dutch government] guarantee freedom of expression and freedom of religion” but also that “freedom does not discharge anyone from responsibility” (Groen & Kranenberg, 2008).

These examples all illustrate the complexity of applying principles, such as freedom of speech or religion, to specific cases, and the conflict between different values and concerns that arises from such situations. Debates and conflicts about freedoms and rights are of all times, but these issues have increased in importance the last decades, due to growing international migration and the resulting religious, ethnic and cultural diversification of societies.

Islam has played a central role in debates and politics in many European countries and is at the heart of what is perceived as a ‘crisis of multiculturalism’ (Modood & Ahmad, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999). The aforementioned cases all revolve around Muslims and Islam, and are not just random examples. Rather, they serve as critical incidents: It is around these questions that the multicultural society is put to the test and ways of life can collide. Muslims in Europe are commonly perceived as a group that is not willing or able to integrate in the host societies, and whose religious practices are incompatible with Western liberal values. For instance, a recent survey in the Netherlands showed that 50 percent of the Dutch consider the Western and Muslim way of life as opposites that do not go together (Gijsberts, 2005). Since the 1990s, the Dutch majority population has become increasingly

negative about Muslims (Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2009; Jaspers, Van Londen, and Lubbers, 2009).

Recent research among native Dutch adolescents has also found high levels of prejudice and explicit negative opinions toward Muslims (e.g., Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). In June 2010, a few days before the actual parliamentary elections, a so-called ‘national pupils election’ was held. This election does not have any political consequences, but aims to make adolescents familiar with the democratic process and gives them an opportunity to voice their opinions. The far right Party for Freedom (PVV) received the most votes (Dutch Institute for Political Participation, 2010). Geert Wilders is the undisputed leader of this party, which has no official members other than himself. He is known for his fiercely negative position on Islam (against the ‘Islamization’ of the Netherlands), which he states, is a backward and fascist religion. Amongst others, Wilders has called for an immigration stop from Islamic countries, a prohibition of the building of new Mosques and a legal ban on the Koran. The popularity of this party in the ‘national pupils election’ indicates that many adolescents are negative about Islam in the Netherlands, in particular about the increasing number of Islamic schools, mosques, women that wear a headscarf, and other visible signs of Islam in Dutch society.

1.2 Research aim

Against this background of strained intergroup relations, the main aim of this project is to gain a better understanding of *adolescents’ support for civil liberties and minority rights within a multicultural society*. Within democratic societies, the development of adolescents’ judgments about issues such as free speech and minority rights is of particular importance. Central to all democratic systems is government by the people, and this is achieved through a variety of procedural mechanisms, such as direct democracy (majority rule) or by the election of representatives that make decision on behalf of the people. To sustain and promote democratic involvement, modern liberal democracies guarantee all their citizens specific rights, such as freedom of speech and association. The legal guarantee of these rights serves as a protection for minorities (whether these being ethnic, religious or other minority groups) from exploitation by majority rule or by a democratically-elected government. This also means that, within a democratic society, individuals have to be able to deal with diversity of beliefs, opinions and lifestyles, and to some extent, with conflict, disagreement, and difference (Helwig & Yang, forthcoming).

Therefore, the teaching of democratic values, including support for civil liberties and rights, is an important part of the socialization of youth. In the

Netherlands, since February 2006, schools have a legal obligation to advance “active citizenship and social integration”. They are expected to teach children the basic aspects of democracy and tolerance. In practice, however, schools differ considerably in their learning approach concerning democratic citizenship. A recent report of the Dutch Education Inspectorate (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2006) states that these teaching methods appear to be rather sketchy and not very elaborate. One of the key problems is that very little is known about children’s and adolescents’ thinking about civil liberties and rights, and their acceptance of diversity and belief discrepancy. Research that focuses on these issues can make a theoretical and empirical contribution to the literature and provide some ideas for the development of adequate teaching practices in promoting active citizenship.

In this dissertation, I will focus on the acceptance of out-group practices and the endorsement of civil liberties in relation to Muslims. With one exception, the different empirical studies report the attitudes of ethnic Dutch adolescents. We will examine adolescents’ conceptions of, and support for, civil liberties and rights in a range of situations that cover both the private and public domain. In doing so, the intergroup context will be explicitly taken into account. Rather than focusing on support for freedoms and rights in general, these situations concern concrete and controversial practices that involve multiple, often conflicting considerations, such as the limits of freedom of speech and the importance of public order.

1.3 Civil liberties and rights

Previous research on judgments of civil liberties and rights has shown that principles such as freedom of expression are widely endorsed and applied in many situations. At the same time, in concrete cases, individuals often see rights as subordinate to other considerations (McClosky & Brill, 1983). One important question that researchers have tried to answer is which individuals are more likely to endorse civil liberties across situations and groups; i.e., the question of political tolerance. Democratic societies require that citizens respect each others civil liberties, even if their opinions or behaviours are disapproved of or rejected. Tolerance, in this case, is conceptualized as forbearance; putting up with something that one disapproves of or is prejudiced against. In this conceptualization, not begrudging people their own ways is central. Political scientists have identified three primary sources of (in)tolerance (Gibson, 2006). First, those who feel more threatened by their political enemies are less likely to tolerate them (Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse & Wood, 1995). Second, tolerance is typically related to a general set of beliefs about democratic institutions and processes. Those who believe in the

basic institutions of majority rule, with institutionalized protections of minority rights, are more likely to be tolerant (McClosky & Brill, 1983). Related aspects such as political knowledge and education have been found to contribute to a tolerant attitude. Finally, psychological insecurity contributes to intolerance (Sniderman, 1975). Several personality factors, such as authoritarianism and dogmatism, which are linked to psychological insecurity, are in general negatively related to tolerance.

1.4 Intergroup relations

Not only are social scientists concerned with the question of which individuals are more likely to have a tolerant attitude, but also in which situations people are more likely to endorse civil liberties and rights. One source of variation is the actual group enacting these rights. As Nelson and Kinder state, “political tolerance, the willingness to extend constitutional protection to disagreeable speech and assembly, hinges on the reputation of the groups intent on carrying out these activities” (1996, p. 1056; see also Kuklinski, Riggle, Ottati, Schwarz, & Wyer, 1991; Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1982). Turiel also notes that, “even when people form understandings of moral concepts that they apply to some individuals and groups, it does not mean that these concepts will be applied consistently or across groups” (2007, p. 421). Political tolerance implies the support of freedoms and rights of others, and intergroup relations play an important role in this. For example, group-based threat perceptions have been found to have more powerful consequences for intolerance than individual-level threats (Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004). Intolerance increases not necessarily when people feel that their personal interests are at stake, but rather when they perceive a threat to the society or group of which they are a part.

Surprisingly, few studies actually examine the question of political tolerance from an intergroup perspective. The ways in which intergroup relations affect decisions on the endorsement of civil liberties and rights and the acceptance of out-group practices has been mostly ignored. Social psychologists studying intergroup relations have for the largest part focused on explaining prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping, rather than political tolerance. However, as noted by Vogt (1997), prejudices are hard to change and improving intergroup relations by means of reducing prejudice and stereotyping and by increasing positive beliefs about out-groups is quite difficult to achieve. In democratic societies it is not necessary that everyone likes each other. Rather, it is important that people, to some extent, accept different ways of life. Having negative attitudes towards a certain group does not imply denying that group’s members basic rights. Political tolerance,

therefore, is a minimal necessity for harmonious intergroup relations and the functioning of a civil society.

Social identification

In this dissertation, we will specifically employ an intergroup perspective for examining the endorsement of civil liberties and acceptance of practices of minority groups. The classic definition of intergroup settings comes from Sherif (1966a:12): ‘Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior.’ Group identification is central to the study of intergroup behavior. Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argues that individuals seek to belong to groups that provide them with a secure and positive sense of self and are motivated to maintain positive distinctiveness through intergroup comparisons. Establishing favorable evaluative distinctiveness of one’s group vis-à-vis other groups helps to achieve a positive social identity. Negative out-group evaluations are not the automatic result of intergroup differentiation, but are rather a function of the extent to which adolescents identify with their social group, the norms and beliefs held by the members of the individual’s social group, and the extent to which the out-group is perceived as threatening one’s own group in some way (Nesdale, 2008).

SIT interprets group identification in terms of individual differences in the degree to which psychologically central and valued group memberships develop. Some individuals are more attached to their group and are more likely to see themselves as a group member than others. Those who feel highly committed to their group are inclined to act in terms of their group membership. Compared to low identifiers, high in-group identifiers are more likely to be concerned about their group, especially when the position and value of the in-group is at stake. For example, high identifiers have been found to react more negatively toward an out-group under threat than do low identifiers (e.g., Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kentworthy, & Cairns, 2007). Under conditions where the norms, values and behaviors of the in-group are (perceived to be) threatened by an out-group, high identifiers will be less likely to accept out-group behavior. Hence, we will examine identification processes (i.e., national identification) and how these relate to judgments about freedoms and rights in specific situations and the acceptance of out-group practices.

Diversity ideologies

Individuals not only differ in the strength of their attachment to different social groups, but also in the extent to which they endorse and value diversity within a society. A multicultural ideology, for example, entails ‘the general and fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and for its individual members and that diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable way’ (Berry, 2006, p. 728). Experimental research has shown that participants who are exposed to a message that endorses a multicultural ideology show more positive out-group attitudes than those exposed to a message that supports an assimilationist perspective (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Furthermore, multiculturalism emphasizes that minorities should be recognized and valued in their group identity, and that there should be equal opportunities and rights (Velasco González et al., 2008; Van der Noll, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2009).

Although the Netherlands has traditionally endorsed more of a multicultural ideology, over the past few years there has been a shift toward an ideology of assimilation. Assimilation emphasizes that minority members should adapt to the majority culture and discard their group identity in public life (e.g., Joppke, 2004; Vasta, 2007). Assimilation may be endorsed for several reasons. For example, it can be considered to be beneficial for social cohesion and the social mobility of immigrants and minorities (e.g., Alba & Nee, 2003; Brubaker, 2001). However, although the professed goal of assimilation is equality, assimilationist thinking provides intellectual and moral justification for the dominant and unchanging character of the majority identity and culture (Fredrickson, 1999). Studies show that majority members have a stronger preference for assimilation compared to ethnic minority groups (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2007; Wolsko, Park & Judd, 2006; Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001).

In this dissertation, we focus on the role of diversity ideologies for the acceptance of minority group practices. In doing so, we also examine three factors that can be expected to be related to the endorsement of diversity ideology: intergroup contact, social dominance orientation and authoritarianism.

Intergroup contact

Numerous studies have examined the relationship between intergroup contact and out-group prejudice (see Brown & Hewstone 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). These studies typically show that contact reduces prejudice, not only among adults (e.g. Brown, Eller, Leeds, & Stace, 2007; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns 2007; Ward & Masgoret 2006) but also among

children and adolescents (see Tropp and Prenovost, 2008). One of the ways in which intergroup contact can alter attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minority groups is by affecting the diversity ideology that is favored or endorsed. According to the deprovincialization thesis (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998), intergroup contact contributes to the broadening of the majority members' cultural horizon by putting their taken-for-granted cultural standards into perspective. Limited contact experiences make that the dominant in-group is seen as the center of the world and that in-group norms and customs provide the self-evident and invariant standards for judgment. Intergroup contact can enrich people's views of the social world and make them use less in-group-centric and more pluralistic standards of judgment. There is empirical evidence for this process among native Dutch adolescents (Verkuyten, Thijs & Bekhuis, 2010). One implication of this process is that in-group norms, customs and lifestyles are no longer seen as the only or main way to manage the social world, hereby making an ideology of assimilation less acceptable. Hence, contact with members of ethnic minority groups is likely to be negatively related to the endorsement of assimilation.

Social dominance orientation

Social Dominance Theory argues that human societies are characterized by hierarchical power structures, and that dominant social groups are motivated to endorse ideologies that justify group hierarchies and social inequality. Social dominance orientation (SDO) is defined as "the degree to which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchy and the domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999: 48). High social dominance-oriented individuals tend to view the world as a competitive place in which groups are vying for dominance (Duckitt, 2006; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). Previous research has shown that SDO is associated with acts of discrimination and exclusion, and with opposition to minority rights (e.g., Amiot & Bourhis, 2005; Kimmelmeier, 2005; Parkins, Fishbein & Ritchey 2006; Sidanius et al, 2007). According to social dominance theory 'SDO orients people to find the most socially acceptable way of rationalizing inequality' (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 88). Using the concept of legitimizing myths, the theory outlines how SDO can contribute to a group based hierarchy. Specifically, those with high SDO can use the ideology of assimilation to legitimize existing social arrangements and to justify opposition to policies that benefit minority groups. Given that assimilation emphasizes the dominant status of the majority group, it can be expected that the endorsement of assimilation is influenced by adolescents' social dominance

orientation. Assimilation, in turn, is expected to be related to political tolerance.

Authoritarianism

Right-wing authoritarianism is conceptualized as a set of interrelated attitudes (Altemeyer, 1981) that refers to agreement with traditional societal norms (conventionalism), the tendency to obey authority figures who represent these norms (authoritarian submission), and the willingness to engage in authority-sanctioned aggression towards individuals that violate traditional norms (authoritarian aggression). In contrast to individuals with high SDO who see the world as a competitive jungle, authoritarians tend to see the social world as a dangerous place and they seek security in strong leaders, conformity, and social order (Duckitt, 2006). Immigration and the subsequent cultural and religious diversification put a strain on the cohesion within societies. In many European countries, Islam is seen as undermining traditional ways of life and threatening social cohesion (e.g., Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999). Therefore, individuals with higher levels of authoritarianism are likely to be more in favor of an ideology of assimilation, since this ideology emphasizes the need for cultural homogeneity and conformity as well as the importance of shared moral bonds as the basis for social cohesion.

1.5 Moral reasoning

Many of the studies on political tolerance have been conducted among adults, rather than children and adolescents. However, in the field of developmental psychology this is a topic of increasing interest. Research on the development of moral reasoning has examined, for example, children's and adolescents' endorsement of civil liberties and rights (see Helwig, 2006). Support for others' freedoms and rights often means that one subordinates personal antipathies (e.g., negative feelings) or social concerns (e.g., social cohesion) to abstract moral principles, such as freedom of speech. As such, political tolerance can be considered an outcome of a process of moral reasoning. Traditionally, research has taken a constructivist approach to the development of moral reasoning, proposing a progression through a sequence of global stages. For instance, reasoning based on rights and equality is considered to be more advanced than reasoning based on traditions and authority.

Best-known in this field is Kohlberg's (1969) theory of moral development. Based on analyses of children's reasoning about moral dilemmas, Kohlberg described moral development as moving through a series of stages. First, morality is defined in terms of punishment or obedience to authority (the

pre-conventional level, stages 1 and 2), and then moves to a conventional level in which individuals take the perspective of the legal system and uphold existing norms and rules (a concern with social conventions, stages 3 and 4). Finally, in adulthood, a principled level may be reached where individuals use abstract principles of justice and rights (stages 5 and 6). Hence, according to this approach (e.g., Enright, Lapsey, Franklin, & Streuck, 1984; Kohlberg, 1984), most early adolescents would be incapable of genuine tolerant judgments. Support for civil liberties and rights would require an advanced level of moral development (post conventional or principled morality) that is gradually acquired during adolescence (see Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, & Lieberman, 1983).

However, research on civil liberties and tolerance has failed to support this age difference. For instance, Siegelman and Toebben (1992) and also Verkuyten and Slooter (2007) found no consistent age effects on tolerance. Furthermore, Wainryb, Shaw, and Maianu (1998), reported that both children and adolescents showed substantial levels of tolerance, depending on when, whom, and what they were asked to tolerate. Moreover, much research has shown that individuals develop general or abstract concepts of civil liberties and rights at an early age and apply these concepts in many situations (Helwig, 1995, 1997; Turiel & Wainryb, 1998). Decisions regarding individuals' freedoms and rights often involve the coordination of different moral considerations (e.g., freedom versus avoiding harm) or moral and non-moral social considerations (e.g., freedoms versus community interests). The findings of these and other studies (see Helwig & Turiel, 2002; Neff & Helwig, 2002; Ruck, Abramovitch, & Keating, 1998) demonstrate the complex nature of adolescents' judgments and reasoning about civil liberties and rights. Tolerance judgments appear to be dependent on the context and the ways in which youngsters coordinate and weigh different sorts of information and knowledge.

The theoretical implication is that a social-cognitive domain perspective (see Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2002) is more appropriate for understanding reasoning about freedoms and rights. Social-cognitive domain theory (Turiel, 1983) argues that people use different domains of knowledge when thinking about the acceptance of actions and behaviors. Not only moral considerations, but also social-conventional and psychological ones, are applied to evaluations of a range of social issues and events. The theory has drawn on philosophical definitions and psychological research to define morality in terms of welfare (harm), fairness, and rights. Moral concepts are hypothesized to be obligatory, universally applicable, impersonal and binding. Social conventions on the other hand, have been defined as contextually specific but shared uniformities

and norms (like etiquette or manners). Conventions provide individuals with expectations regarding appropriate behavior in different social contexts. In addition, a personal domain is identified, that includes preferences and choices regarding issues such as control over one's body, privacy, and choice of friends and activities. Because personal issues pertain only to the actor and the private aspects of one's life, they are considered to be outside the realm of conventional regulation and moral concern (Smetana, 2006).

Cognitive domain theory further argues that the three domains of knowledge are applied in flexible ways in particular situations and contexts. Domain research emphasizes the contextual nature of children's and adolescents' reasoning, and shows that a systematic understanding of the role of the context is critical in successfully educating active citizenship (Nucci, 2006). Many empirical studies on different issues have supported the domain model's propositions (see Turiel, 2002; Smetana, 2006, for reviews). However, the domain model has also been criticized. For example, the distinction between the different domains has been argued to be cultural-specific (Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987). In addition, it has been stated that people often treat moral harms and injustices as merely conventional violations, and sometimes react with moral outrage to what look like harmless violations of conventions (Kelly, Stich, Haley, Eng, & Fessler, 2007). However, the domain theory claims that it is the personal/conventional/moral distinction that appears at a young age. Research has provided extensive cross-culture validation for this proposition (see Turiel, 1998; Wainryb, 2006). One of the implications, however, is that the meaning of particular practices or behaviors is not always self-evident. Hence, we take this into account and examine how adolescents perceive different out-group practices. Another criticism is that the moral domain, as specified by Turiel (1983) is not inclusive enough, and is actually about more than just harm and fairness (Haidt, 2008). However, the discussion on how to define morality is beyond the scope of our research.

1.6 Moral reasoning and intergroup relations

Some scholars have recently started to examine the development of moral reasoning in the context of intergroup relations. The work of Killen and colleagues, for example, has shown that ethnic and racial stereotypes enter into social reasoning about the wrongfulness of social exclusion (Killen, Margie & Sinno, 2006; Killen, Sinno & Margie, 2007). Verkuyten and Slioter (2007) revealed differences in Dutch adolescents' acceptance of civic rights (e.g., the right to demonstrate and protest) when these rights concerned Muslims as opposed to non-religious actors. These findings underline the need to incorporate an intergroup perspective in research on adolescents' conceptions

of freedoms and rights. The current project follows these international developments in the research on children's and adolescents reasoning about civil liberties and tolerance. An increasing number of scholars are involved in examining these issues from a social cognitive domain perspective. To date, little to no systematic attention has been paid to the role of the intergroup context in judgments about freedoms and rights. Recently, some attempts have been made to examine social and moral reasoning in the context of intergroup relations. These attempts try to bring together two theoretical perspectives: social cognitive domain theory and social identity theory (Neff & Helwig, 2002). Numerous studies have shown the importance of these theories separately, but studies that combine both perspectives are relatively scarce (see Killen, Margie & Sinno, 2006; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007a; 2007b). Hence, the current project aims to make a theoretical contribution in different ways. First, intergroup theories, such as social identity theory, can be extended by addressing questions of civil liberties. Namely, most studies within this perspective have examined intergroup bias and prejudice. Second, social cognitive domain theory can be critically examined and elaborated upon. This model predominantly focuses on interpersonal situations and it is unclear how intergroup relations affect the reasoning about civil liberties. Although the domain approach emphasizes the importance of the social context and children's experiences of social events, most studies in the field do not focus on group dynamics and group identity. However, as Killen and Rutland (2011) indicate, children recognize the importance of groups and group identity. Furthermore, they also show that conventional reasons pertaining to the functioning and cohesion of groups are important motivations for children to justify unfair or prejudiced behavior.

1.7 Research questions and outline of the dissertation

Based on domain theory and theories on intergroup relations, and on traditional explanations of political tolerance, the following research question was formulated: *To what extent do judgments about civil liberties and rights depend on the types of practices, types of arguments in favor or against these practices, types of migrants, and intergroup factors?* This broad question includes various factors and in the following paragraphs we will explain briefly the specific research questions that are addressed in the empirical chapters, and provide an outline of the dissertation as a whole.

Chapter 2: How do perceptions about the type of immigrant relate to endorsement of the right to cultural maintenance?

The central assumption in Chapter 2 is that the ways in which migrants are perceived can have important effects on the evaluation of their respective rights. In this chapter we will examine whether making a distinction between voluntary and involuntary immigrants has implications for adolescents' views on dealing with cultural diversity. The levels of personal choice and own responsibility that are attributed to migrants are likely to be affected by the reason to migrate. The extent to which claims about cultural recognition and rights by immigrant groups are accepted by members of the host society can differ depending on perceptions of voluntariness. Although the voluntary/involuntary distinction is a general one, and largely applies to refugees versus economic migrants, it is also relevant for Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. Moroccans and Turkish migrants, who together make up the largest part of Muslims in the Dutch society, originally entered the country as guest workers. This Dutch government and industry have played an active role in the recruitment of these guest workers. At the same time, these migrants had an economic incentive. Emphasizing either the active recruitment or the economic motives of these migrants is likely to influence attitudes towards cultural rights for these minority groups. However, the extent to which this is the case might differ as a function of national identification. High national identifiers are more concerned with the national culture and identity, and as a consequence might differentiate less between voluntary and involuntary migrants.

Chapter 3: To what extent does the acceptance of Muslim practices depend on the type of practice?

In chapter 3 we move to examining adolescents' acceptance of concrete behaviors by Muslim immigrants. Presenting adolescents with different practices that relate to the three domains identified by the cognitive domain theory is the most straightforward way to examine the central propositions of this theory. Some beliefs or behaviors may violate social norms and conventions, while others are considered moral transgressions. The latter can be expected to be rejected more strongly than the former. We focus on the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women, the founding of Islamic schools, not shaking hands with members of the opposite sex, and hateful speech geared to homosexuals by an imam. Given that the domain to which these different behaviors belong is not self-evident, we first explore how adolescents classify

these practices. In addition, we examine the relation between national identification and endorsement of multiculturalism and acceptance of Muslim practices, and whether these relationships differ as a function of the type of practices. If the assumption that moral transgressions are generally rejected by all individuals is right, identification and multiculturalism should have a weaker or no effect at all on acceptance of practices that are classified as such.

Chapter 4: To what extent does the acceptance of Muslim practices depend on whether arguments are presented in favor of or against these practices?

The complexity of tolerance judgments and the role of different domains of knowledge come to the fore when adolescents make considerations about whether or not to accept a particular practice or behavior. Disagreement on what is acceptable, and what is not, is inevitable, as there are always different perspectives possible. This chapter continues with examining adolescents' acceptance of specific Muslim practices. We examine adolescents' support for freedoms and rights by looking at how arguments from different domains are weighted to evaluate these practices. This is of key importance to understand adolescents' tolerance judgments. Studies on political tolerance show that there is an asymmetry in (in)tolerance (Gibson, 2006; Gibson & Gouws, 2003). Individuals with a more tolerant attitude are easier to persuade in the direction of intolerance, compared to persuading intolerant individuals to accept the practices and behaviors of disliked groups. Hence, we investigate whether considerations in favor or against acceptance differ in their relative importance. The additional question is how the effect of the different arguments varies as a function of national identification, and this again explored in chapter 4.

Chapter 5: What is the relation between intergroup contact and acceptance of Muslim practices?

This chapter builds upon the previous ones by including the role of the social context. Adolescents' attitudes do not develop in a social vacuum, but are influenced by the (direct) environment in which they live. For example, given the increasing diversity in society, it is likely that adolescents will come into contact, and develop friendships, with members of different ethnic or religious out-groups. There is extensive evidence for the prediction that intergroup contact reduces prejudice (e.g. Brown, Eller, Leeds, & Stace, 2007; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns 2007; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008; Ward & Masgoret 2006). There are several mechanisms that link contact to a more

positive attitude towards out-groups. One of the ways in which intergroup contact can improve the attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minority groups is by affecting the diversity ideology that is favored or endorsed. In this chapter we examine whether intergroup contact, in the form of friendships with out-group members and contact in classrooms, positively affects acceptance of out-group practices, because it reduces the endorsement of an assimilationist ideology. Thus, we will examine whether assimilation endorsement mediates the relationship between contact and acceptance of Muslim practices.

Chapter 6: What is the relation between social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, assimilation, and the endorsement of freedom of speech?

This chapter again focuses on the mediating role of the endorsement of assimilation, but in this case as a function of individual differences in social dominance orientation and authoritarianism. The role of these variables is examined in relation to freedom of speech in the context of a controversial case, namely the so-called Mohammed cartoon controversy. After a Danish newspaper published a dozen cartoons that depicted the prophet Mohammed, many debates and even violent protests ensued. Newspapers in other countries also published the cartoons, to show their endorsement of the right to free speech. Muslims in many European countries exercised their right to free speech, by protesting against the publication of the cartoons which they found offensive to their religion. In this chapter, we study adolescents' acceptance of free speech in the case of the newspapers and the Muslim protesters. This study is concerned with adolescents from 11 Western-European countries.

1.8 Age, education, gender

Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, attention is paid to age, education and gender differences in the acceptance of out-group practices and minority rights. Numerous studies have found differences between older and younger adolescents, higher and lower educated, and between boys and girls. However, the differences found do not offer a clear-cut conclusion about the role of age, education and gender. Although several studies have described a developmental progression from a generally intolerant attitude during the childhood years to increasingly tolerant judgments during adolescence (e.g., Enright & Lapsley, 1981; Enright, Lapsley, Franklin & Streuck, 1984; Bobo & Licardi, 1989), different aspects of tolerance and domains of dissenting beliefs and practices are not taken into account in this line of research. Studies that do examine these different aspects present a more complex picture of age

differences with tolerance and intolerance coexisting at all ages (e.g., Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa & Smith, 2001; Wainryb, Shaw & Maianu, 1998). In contrast to young children, (early) adolescents tend to make more context-sensitive judgments about freedoms and rights. Thus, with increasing age, concepts of rights and freedoms are more strongly evaluated in relation to other considerations and concerns, including the intergroup context (e.g., Helwig, 1995, 1997; Ruck, Abramovitch & Keating, 1998).

Chronological age is often used as an indicator for the level of cognitive and moral development. Age differences are typically interpreted in terms of increased cognitive skills and knowledge. The importance of these factors in explaining tolerance judgments is also suggested by the positive association between education and different forms of tolerance. In his review, Vogt (1997) concludes that there is clear and extensive evidence that education increases tolerance and reduces prejudice and stereotyping of out-groups. Both the number of years of education and the level of education contribute to this. What is more uncertain however, is how education actually encourages positive intergroup attitudes. There are a number of different explanations (Vogt, 1997). For example, education can influence tolerance directly, through means of civic education. That is, courses on civil liberties, moral and multicultural education can help students learn the principles of tolerance and can increase intergroup knowledge. Going to school also brings members of different social groups into contact with each other and in that way can teach people how to interact more harmoniously. In addition, education can also foster tolerance indirectly, by contributing to cognitive and personality development.

With respect to gender, there is quite some research reporting on a gender gap in political tolerance, with women generally being less tolerant (see Golebiowska, 1999). With respect to children and adolescents, several studies report differences between boys and girls in tolerant judgments. For example, Killen, Sinno, and Margie (2007) showed that boys more often found ethnic and racial exclusion acceptable. Verkuyten and Slooter (2007) also found an effect of gender, with male adolescent being less tolerant than females. However, other studies using cognitive domain theory have found few gender differences (Smetana, 2006), or no differences at all (e.g., Helwig, 1995, 1997; Sigelman & Toebben, 1992). Gender differences are attributed to different factors. For example, Gilligan (1982) argues that men and women reason from different perspectives. Whereas males would mainly focus on rights and justice, women would be more concerned with welfare and harm, and reason from a care perspective. Experiences with discrimination and exclusion can

also influence concerns with equality and fairness later on (Killen, 2007). Given that these experiences are often more frequent for women than for men, this could also contribute to gender differences in endorsement of civil liberties and rights in particular situations.

In sum, we take into account the role of age, education and gender in the different studies, and explore the relations between these factors and the acceptance of out-group practices.

1.9 Data

In this dissertation, we make use of different datasets. Some of these datasets have an experimental design, with within- and between-subjects variations. The experimental design is appropriate for examining systematically the different questions of the project. Furthermore, the design and the specific manipulations have been used previously in research (e.g. Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007, 2008). The type of practice (personal, conventional, moral), the underlying beliefs about immigrants, and the contrasting values involved in particular practices are systematically varied.

The datasets for the first three chapters used such an experimental design, and concern Dutch adolescents' tolerance towards (1) different types of Muslim practices, (2) different underlying beliefs about immigrants, and (3) contrasting values of a particular practice. Data for these studies has been collected by the authors of the chapters among more than 2000 respondents. For the fourth chapter, we used data from a large-scale survey on intergroup contact that included the same questions on acceptance of Muslim practices (Bekhuis, Ruiter & Coenders 2009). For the final empirical chapter, data was collected by ERCOMER (the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations) among more than 3000 majority group adolescents from a large number of western European countries.

Research on tolerance has been criticized for lacking relevance and logical validity. Studies have examined, for example the endorsement of abstract principles such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion. However, principle considerations can differ from (the lack of) support for practical implications and situations (Vogt, 1997). Most debates on tolerance and diversity are not about principles per se, but rather about whether a principle is appropriate for a specific case at hand and how exactly it should be interpreted. Furthermore, studies that do use concrete examples, for example in dilemmas and vignettes, tend to use rather unfamiliar and hypothetical scenarios. In the current project, we tried to maximize the relevance and validity of the research by using cases and situations that currently are, or

Chapter 1

recently were, debated in Dutch society, as well as a case that garnered attention around the world, namely the Mohammed cartoon controversy.

Chapter 2

Voluntary and involuntary immigrants and adolescents' endorsement of multiculturalism

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Voluntary and involuntary immigrants and adolescents' endorsement of multiculturalism

2.1 Introduction

Participant 1: "Yes, you are right, that's true. They themselves choose to come and live here so they should simply do like us"

Participant 2: "Yes, but the Netherlands has brought the Moroccans to this country, so I do not agree. We considered ourselves too good to become sewage cleaners or something and then they let the Moroccans do these jobs, so it is not their fault that they are here"

Participant 3: "And also, about these other people, like refugees and all, they don't want to leave their country to come and live here, they have to leave"

This extract is from a focus group discussion among young adolescents in the Netherlands. They are talking about whether immigrants 'simply' have to adapt to Dutch culture or should be allowed to maintain their cultural heritage. The extract indicates that the endorsement of cultural maintenance depends on the perceived voluntariness of migration. The first participant summarizes the preceding discussion that immigrants themselves have chosen to come to the Netherlands and therefore should 'simply do like us'. This interpretation predominated in the discussion and was further illustrated by arguing that when the participants themselves would decide to emigrate to another culture they also would have to 'do like them'. However, as shown in the extract it is possible to challenge the interpretation of voluntariness by arguing that the host country is responsible for the presence of immigrant groups (participant 2) or that immigrants do not have much of a choice but to flee their country or origin (participant 3).

Making a distinction between voluntary and involuntary immigrants might have implications for people's views on dealing with cultural diversity. By using an experimental questionnaire design, the present research examines whether the way in which migrants are defined has implications for adolescents' evaluation of cultural maintenance. We conducted two studies that focus on the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants. In Study 1, the endorsement of a cultural maintenance is examined in relation to the distinction between voluntary immigrants and immigrants that have been recruited as labor migrants by the national in-group. In Study 2, voluntary immigrants are contrasted with immigrants that are forced to leave their

country of origin and with emigrants. The key prediction in both studies is that support for cultural maintenance is lower in the case of voluntary migration than for involuntary migration. The focus is on native Dutch adolescents' attitudes and national identification, age and level of education are taken into account.

Personal choice and responsibility

Acculturation research is not only concerned with changes and strategies adopted by immigrants but also with policies and practices of the receiving society and the attitudes of majority group members of that society (e.g., Berry, 2005; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). According to Berry (2005) there are two basic issues in acculturation: the degree of cultural maintenance of immigrant groups and the degree of contacts and participation in the larger society. Research on majority group members' endorsement of multiculturalism has focused predominantly on the former issue (e.g., Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). This research has examined various correlates of the endorsement of cultural maintenance of migrant groups, such as perceived acculturation strategies of immigrants (e.g., Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006; Pfafferot & Brown, 2006), outgroup stereotypes (e.g., Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007), perceived threats (e.g., Ward & Masgoret, 2006), and the type of immigrant group (e.g., Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). Our research focuses on the distinction between voluntary and involuntary immigrants which has similarities to the distinction between 'push' and 'pull' factors in migration research (Lee, 1966).

In his influential book on 'Multicultural citizenship', the political philosopher Kymlicka (1995) makes such a distinction between voluntary and involuntary groups. He argues that not all minority groups can make equal moral claims. Cultural recognition and rights is an adequate demand for domestic groups that were the original inhabitants, such as Indians, native Hawaiians and the Inuit, or groups that have been historically wronged, such as descendents of African slaves. Immigrants, however, are at the other end of the moral spectrum. They would have waived their demands and rights by voluntarily leaving their country of origin. Self-determination implies a personal responsibility for one's situation and position. Choosing to leave would involve a responsibility to assimilate to the new society which is also in one's own interest.

The distinction between voluntary and involuntary is not uncommon and also used for social scientific purposes (e.g., Ogbu, 1993). However, Kymlicka's reasoning has been challenged (e.g., Parekh, 2000) and supposes a clear difference between personal choice and lack of choice which is often

difficult to make but which has clear social implications. Individualistic interpretations that stress people's personal choice and responsibility or rather situational interpretations that emphasize people's lack of choice are two common discourses used to define categories of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' in welfare debates and to account for health and illness, unemployment and poverty (see Feather, 1999). Deservingness is also a critical factor underlying opposition to racial policy decisions like affirmative action in the United States (Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2006). Furthermore, in the context of Germany, Appelbaum (2002) found that immigrant groups that were judged as more responsible for their need of public assistance were perceived to be less deserving of public support. Likewise, Quinn, Ross, and Esses (2001) showed that attributions of personal responsibility are linked to less support for affirmative action in relation to visible minorities in Canada.

An interview study in the Netherlands found that stressing the 'personal choice' of migrants was related to a rejection of cultural maintenance and an emphasis on assimilation (Verkuyten, 2005a). In contrast, a focus on 'lack of choice' was related to a positive evaluation of cultural maintenance and an emphasis on immigrant rights. These interpretations were used regardless of the particular immigrant groups that were being talked about (refugees and Turkish and Moroccan labor migrants).

In-group responsibility

The idea of 'personal choice' suggests that immigrants are responsible for their situation. However, the host society is relatively more responsible when the emphasis is on West European societies and industry recruiting labor migrants. In-group responsibility for the situation of the out-group is typically related to a sense of obligation towards the out-group and supportive out-group behavior (e.g., Cehajic, Brown & Gonzalez, 2009; Zebel, Doosje & Spears, 2009). Thus, cultural maintenance of immigrant groups is probably more acceptable when majority group members perceive their in-group as being responsible for the situation of immigrants. Therefore, it is expected that in Study 1 adolescents' will be more in favor of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants maintaining their own culture when the responsibility for migration is attributed to the Dutch government compared to when responsibility is attributed to the immigrant groups themselves. However, this expectation may need to be qualified depending on the level of national identification.

In general, national identification has been found to be negatively related to the endorsement of multiculturalism among majority group members (e.g., Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002).

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) emphasizes that individuals are motivated to perceive their group in a positive light and try to avoid in-group responsibility for actions that negatively affect another group (Zebel et al., 2009). High identifiers presented with reminders of in-group responsibility for negative actions try to morally disengage themselves from the implications of their group's behavior (Cehajic et al, 2009). Thus, high identifiers might be less likely to accept in-group responsibility and therefore their endorsement of cultural maintenance can be expected to be unaffected by the voluntariness of migration. In contrast, low identifiers have been found to be more willing to acknowledge in-group responsibility (e.g. Doosje, Branscombe, Spears & Manstead, 1998; Zebel et al, 2009) and therefore can be expected to show higher endorsement of cultural maintenance in relation to involuntary compared to voluntary immigrants.

Lack of choice

The recognition of in-group responsibility implies that group members are likely to feel an empathic concern and inner obligation to address the situation of immigrants. However, people can also be moved by immigrants when their in-group is not responsible, such as with refugees. There is quite a debate about categories of refugees in which a distinction between 'real refugees' and 'fortune seekers', 'economic refugees', or 'ethnic profiteers' is made. These terms are used in different ways and in different contexts, but a main distinction underlying these differences seems to be the one between, on the one hand, refugees who hardly have any other choice than to leave their home country, and, on the other hand, refugees who do have a clear choice and just give it a try (Lynn & Lea, 2003; Verkuyten, 2004). The use of these different labels to distinguish between categories of immigrants may affect people's evaluation. Augoustinos and Quinn (2003) showed that a group labeled as illegal immigrants is evaluated more negatively compared to one referred to as asylum seekers (see also Maio, Esses, & Bell, 1994; Maio, Bell & Esses, 1996). Furthermore, Dutch people are less willing to grant residency permits to economic migrants compared to migrants fleeing their country from fear of persecution (SCP, 2009).

In general, those who are considered to be "genuine" or "real" refugees are typically perceived as deserving of sympathy and support, whereas those labeled as fortune seekers are presented as taking advantage of the country's hospitality and therefore an understandable target of negative attitudes (see Verkuyten, 2004). The effect of this distinction on the endorsement of cultural maintenance will be examined in Study 2. Similar to Study 1, it is expected

that the endorsement of cultural maintenance is weaker in relation to voluntary versus involuntary immigrants.

To examine the generality of this prediction we did not only focus on immigrants coming to the Netherlands but also on Dutch emigrants that voluntary or involuntary leave the country. A similar effect for immigrants and for Dutch emigrants would provide additional support for our proposition that perceived voluntariness of migration per se has a negative impact on the endorsement of cultural maintenance of migrants. Furthermore, in Study 2 we also examined the role of national identification. In this study no Dutch in-group responsibility is defined for immigrants living in the Netherlands and therefore we did not expect the effect of our experimental manipulation to be moderated by group identification. In addition, personal choice implies individual level responsibility and does not raise concerns at the level of the national in-group. Therefore, group identification is probably not related to the endorsement of cultural maintenance when Dutch people are perceived to have decided voluntary to settle in another country. In contrast, involuntary emigration of co-nationals implies a threatening 'push' factor, and the more people identify with their in-group, the more likely they are to be concerned about in-group members (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Thus, higher compared to lower national identifiers will tend to sympathize more with involuntary Dutch emigrants. Therefore, identification is expected to be positively related to support for cultural maintenance in this particular case.

Age and educational level

Social expectations about cultural diversity have consequences for adolescents' attitudes (e.g., Levy, West, Bigler, Karafantis, Ramirez & Velilla, 2005). With age, adolescents become increasingly concerned with fitting into the group and with group functioning and group cohesion in general (see Killen, Sinno, & Margie, 2007). These group concerns can affect the reactions to newcomers. For example, research has found that with age, native Dutch adolescents are less accepting of cultural diversity because it would undermine social cohesion and the functioning of society (Gielsing, Thijs & Verkuyten, in press; Verkuyten & Slioter, 2007). Thus, it was expected that older compared to younger adolescents are less supportive of cultural maintenance. We had no reasons to expect that the effect for age will differ for the categories of voluntary and involuntary migrants.

Education is typically used as an indicator for cognitive and moral development. Higher education means higher cognitive and moral development which, in turn, is related to higher out-group tolerance. In his review, Vogt (1997) concludes that there is clear evidence that education

increases tolerance. Hence, we expected a positive relationship between adolescents' educational level and their support for cultural maintenance. There were no reasons to expect that this effect of education will differ for the categories of migrants.

2.2 Study 1

Study 1 was designed to examine whether the endorsement of cultural maintenance by immigrants depends on the distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' labor migrants to the Netherlands. In addition to a control condition (no frame), we presented the immigration of Turks and Moroccans as either the result of their own choice or the result of Dutch society and industry recruiting these people as labor migrants. In the former situation the main responsibility is with the immigrants and in the latter situation part of the responsibility is with the Dutch in-group. We expected the endorsement of cultural maintenance to be lower in the former than in the latter condition. In addition, we expected Dutch in-group identification to be negatively related to cultural maintenance, and to moderate the relation between voluntariness and cultural maintenance. More specifically, we expected that higher identifiers will express similar and relatively low levels of endorsement of cultural maintenance in the different conditions, as they are less likely to accept the in-group responsibility in the 'involuntary' condition. However, for the low identifiers we expected a higher level of endorsement in the 'involuntary' condition compared to the 'voluntary' condition.

2.2.1 Method

Participants

The sample included 843 participants between 13 and 17 years of age ($M = 15.10$, $SD = 0.95$). In total, 51% were males and 49% were females. Of the participants, 36.3% were in the lowest level of secondary education (junior vocational track), 34.5% in the middle level (higher vocational track), and 29.2% in the highest level of education (pre university track). At all three levels of education, all age groups participated. Thus, age and education were not confounded. Both parents of the participants were native Dutch ('white' majority). The pupils participated on a voluntary basis and the anonymous paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered in separate class sessions and under supervision.

Measures

In a between-subjects experimental design, participants received a story on the immigration of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands. In one version of the

story, the role of the Dutch government in bringing migrants to the Netherlands was emphasized. The other version focused on the personal choice of the migrants themselves. In addition, a third group of participants did not receive any story about immigration. The two stories were phrased as follows: “Most Turkish and Moroccan people have come to the Netherlands as guest workers. The Dutch factories needed cheap employees. Therefore, the Dutch government has brought Turkish and Moroccan guest workers to the Netherlands and has put them to work here [Therefore, the Dutch government has asked Turkish and Moroccan people to come and work in the Netherlands. Some people did that and they choose themselves to come here and earn a living].”

After reading these stories, participants were asked to respond to five items that were used to assess their support for Turkish and Moroccan immigrants maintaining their own culture and traditions. These items were adapted from the Dutch version of Berry and Kalin’s (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale as developed by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003). The items were: “Turks and Moroccans should be able to keep their own culture in the Netherlands”; “Dutch people should have more respect for the culture of Turks and Moroccans”; “Turks and Moroccans have the right to their own holidays”; “Turks and Moroccans simply have to adapt to the Dutch norms and values (reverse)”; “Turks and Moroccans should have more respect for the Dutch culture (reverse)”. Answers could range from ‘totally disagree’ (1) to ‘totally agree’ (5). Cronbach’s alpha for the five items was .75. A higher score indicates stronger support for cultural maintenance. Factor analysis showed that all items loaded on a single factor, explaining 55% of the variance. This is in line with the findings from previous research in the Netherlands, as the multicultural ideology scale has consistently been found to have a unifactorial structure (see Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Van de Vijver et al, 2008) with support for minority group cultural maintenance at one end and cultural adaptation at the other.

As an experimental manipulation check, participants responded to the following statement: “It is because of the Turks and Moroccans themselves that they live in the Netherlands”. Again, answers could range from ‘totally disagree’ (1) to ‘totally agree’ (5).

To measure in-group identification participants were asked for their agreement with five different statements that have been used in various studies in the Netherlands (see Verkuyten, 2005b). Two sample items are ‘My ethnic identity is an important part of myself’, and ‘I am proud of my ethnic background’. Answers could range from ‘totally disagree’ (1) to ‘totally agree’ (5). Cronbach’s alpha was .88 for the five items.

2.2.2 Results

Manipulation check

We first examined whether the framing affected adolescents' perception of Turks and Moroccans own responsibility for migrating to the Netherlands. We performed a one-way ANCOVA, with the experimental condition as a between-subjects factor, and national identification, age and educational level as covariates. As expected, a significant difference between the experimental conditions was found, $F(2, 837) = 22.80, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .05$. In the condition that emphasized personal choice, participants showed higher levels of agreement with the statement that Turks and Moroccans themselves are responsible for their migration ($M = 3.67, SD = .95$), than in either the 'Dutch government' condition ($M = 3.10, SD = .98$) or the control condition ($M = 3.23, SD = 1.19$). The difference between the latter two was not significant. This effect was found to be independent of identification, age, and educational level. Furthermore, no main effects for these variables were found. Hence, the level of responsibility attributed to immigrants in each of the three conditions did not differ between adolescents with high and low levels of national identification, older and younger adolescents, and participants with different levels of education.

Endorsement of cultural maintenance

To test the hypothesis that the support for cultural maintenance depends on the perceived migration responsibility, a one-way ANCOVA was performed. The experimental condition was a between-subjects factor, and age, educational level and identification were covariates. Support for cultural maintenance was the dependent variable. As expected, there was a significant main effect of experimental condition, $F(2, 837) = 22.34, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .07$. The post hoc analysis (LSD) showed that participants in the 'Dutch government' condition were the most supportive of cultural maintenance ($M = 2.85, SD = .91$). No difference was found between the 'personal choice' condition ($M = 2.34, SD = .96$) and the control condition ($M = 2.43, SD = .79$).

The analysis revealed a further significant main effect for national identification, $F(1, 837) = 34.88, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .04$. Identification was negatively related to cultural maintenance, as expected. However, contrary to our expectation, no significant interaction effect between identification and the experimental condition was found.

There was an additional significant main effect for age, $F(1, 837) = 4.99, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .01$. As expected, younger participants were more supportive of cultural maintenance than older participants. The interaction between age and experimental condition was not significant. Furthermore, a significant main

effect of education was found, $F(1, 837) = 44.67, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .05$. Educational level was positively related to support for cultural maintenance, but did not interact with the experimental condition. That is, the same effect of migration responsibility was found for participants enrolled in different levels of education.

2.2.3 Discussion

As expected, the endorsement of cultural maintenance was higher in the condition that stressed the responsibility of Dutch society and industry in recruiting labor migrants than in the condition in which the personal responsibility of immigrants was emphasized. This shows that the way in which the arrival of immigrants is framed has implications for the support for cultural maintenance by these immigrants. Furthermore, the mean score in the 'personal choice' condition was similar to the score in the control condition. This indicates that, in general, adolescents think that Turkish and Moroccan labor immigrants themselves have chosen to come to the Netherlands. As a result, when the role of the in-group is emphasized the endorsement of cultural maintenance becomes stronger. This suggests that in-group accountability rather than immigrant responsibility is responsible for the experimental effect.

There was no evidence for the expectation that the framing of immigrants' responsibility has a different effect on the endorsement of cultural maintenance among high and low national identifiers. Research has found that individuals with a relatively strong in-group attachment try to avoid in-group responsibility for actions that negatively affect an out-group (e.g., Cehajic et al., 2009; Doosje et al., 1998; Zebel et al., 2009). This research, however, is concerned with relatively strong negative behaviors that evoke feelings of collective guilt such as out-group injustices and deprivations, and not with migrant labor recruitment which is a relatively harmless action.

National identification did have a main effect, however, with high identifiers being less in favor of cultural maintenance than low identifiers. In addition, there were main effects for age and for education. With age, adolescents showed less support for cultural maintenance, whereas education was positively related to the endorsement of a multicultural ideology.

2.3 Study 2

Study 1 suggests that perceived in-group responsibility is behind the effect that was found for the framing conditions. In Study 2, we tried to focus more explicitly on attributed migrant responsibility by making a distinction between voluntary migrants, who themselves make the deliberate decision to migrate, and involuntary migrants, or those who have no other choice than to leave

their country, such as refugees. Thus, we examined the role of migrant voluntariness and excluded the interpretation of in-group responsibility. In doing so, we not only examined the endorsement of cultural maintenance in relation to immigrants in the Netherlands but also in relation to Dutch emigrants. It is expected that participants are less supportive of cultural maintenance of voluntary immigrants and emigrants compared to involuntary immigrants and emigrants.

Furthermore, we expected higher compared to lower national identifiers to sympathize more with involuntary emigrants and therefore to be more strongly in favor of these emigrants maintaining their Dutch culture. National identification was not expected to moderate the effects of framing condition on cultural maintenance for immigrants because no in-group responsibility was involved. National identification was also not expected to moderate the effect for voluntary emigrants who themselves are responsible for leaving the country and therefore do not raise in-group concerns.

2.3.1. Method

Participants

The sample included 108 ethnically Dutch participants between 12 and 16 years of age ($M = 14.05$, $SD = 1.75$). In total, 44% were males and 56% were females. Of the participants, 10% were in the lowest level of secondary education (junior vocational track), 18% in the middle level (higher vocational track), and 42% in the highest level of education (pre university track). An additional 30% of the participants were in a mixed middle/higher level track. The pupils participated on a voluntary basis and the anonymous paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered during regular class hours and under supervision.

Measures

Participants were presented with two questions on cultural maintenance with the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants in a within-subjects design. In addition, in a between-subjects experimental design, participants received these four questions for two different groups of migrants. For one group, the questions were in relation to migrants coming to the Netherlands: “Foreigners who themselves decide to come and live in the Netherlands [should be allowed to maintain their own culture as much as possible / just have to adapt to the Dutch culture (reverse)]”. Cronbach’s alpha for these two items was .71. In the no-choice condition the questions were “Foreigners who do not decide themselves to come and live in the Netherlands, like refugees [should be allowed to maintain their own culture as much as

possible / just have to adapt to the Dutch culture (reverse)]”, with a Cronbach’s alpha of .72. The other half of the participants was presented with the situation of Dutch emigrants: “Dutch people who themselves decide to go and live in another country [should be allowed to maintain the Dutch culture as much as possible / just have to adapt to the culture of that country (reverse)]”, and “Dutch people who do not decide themselves to go and live in another country, just like refugees [they are allowed to maintain the Dutch culture / just have to adapt to the culture of that country (reverse)]”. Cronbach’s alphas were respectively .68 and .76.

To measure in-group identification participants were asked for their agreement with the same five statements as in Study 1. Cronbach’s alpha for the items was .84, and a higher score indicates stronger in-group identification.

2.3.2 Results

We expected that the level of support for maintaining one’s own culture would be greater for involuntary than for voluntary migrants. In addition, we examined the difference in support for the two target groups (Dutch emigrants, immigrants to the Netherlands), as well as the effects of age and education. Thus, a 2 (choice) x 2 (target group) repeated-measures ANCOVA was performed, with choice (voluntary-involuntary) as the repeated measure, and age, and educational level as covariates.

A main effect of choice was found: $F(1, 92) = 3.93, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .04$. As expected, participants were less supportive of cultural maintenance by voluntary migrants ($M = 2.42, SD = .89$) than by involuntary migrants ($M = 2.89, SD = 1.01$). However, participants did not differ in their support for cultural maintenance by the two target groups, nor did the analysis reveal an interaction between choice and target group. Thus, the level of support for cultural maintenance was the same for immigrants and Dutch emigrants, and the effect of voluntariness was similar for both groups.

There was a main effect of age, $F(1, 92) = 6.16, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .06$. Similar to Study 1, younger adolescents more strongly endorsed cultural maintenance than older adolescents. No higher order interaction effects for age were found. In addition there were no main or interaction effects for educational level.

In a second analysis, Dutch identification was added as a covariate to the repeated-measures ANOVA. No main effect of identification was found. Hence, overall the level of identification was not related to the level of support for cultural maintenance. However, the analysis did reveal the expected three-way interaction between choice, identification and target group, $F(1, 90) = 12.89, p < .01, \eta^2_p = .13$. To further investigate this interaction we dichotomized

national identification and compared students with scale scores equal or above the median (3.70) on identification to students scoring below the median. Means for both groups and for each category of migrants are presented in Figure 2.1. As expected, both participants with high and low levels of national identification more strongly endorse cultural maintenance by involuntary immigrants than by voluntary immigrants (respectively $M_{\text{involuntary}} = 2.56, 3.14, SD = 0.97, 1.03$, and $M_{\text{voluntary}} = 2.16, 2.64, SD = 0.87, 1.01$). This is true for both emigrants and immigrants. However, high compared to low Dutch identifiers tend to be more strongly in favor of allowing involuntary emigrants to maintain their Dutch culture (respectively, $M_{\text{involuntary}} = 3.17, 2.80, SD = 1.03, 0.95$; $M_{\text{voluntary}} = 2.33, 2.65, SD = 0.72, 0.89$).

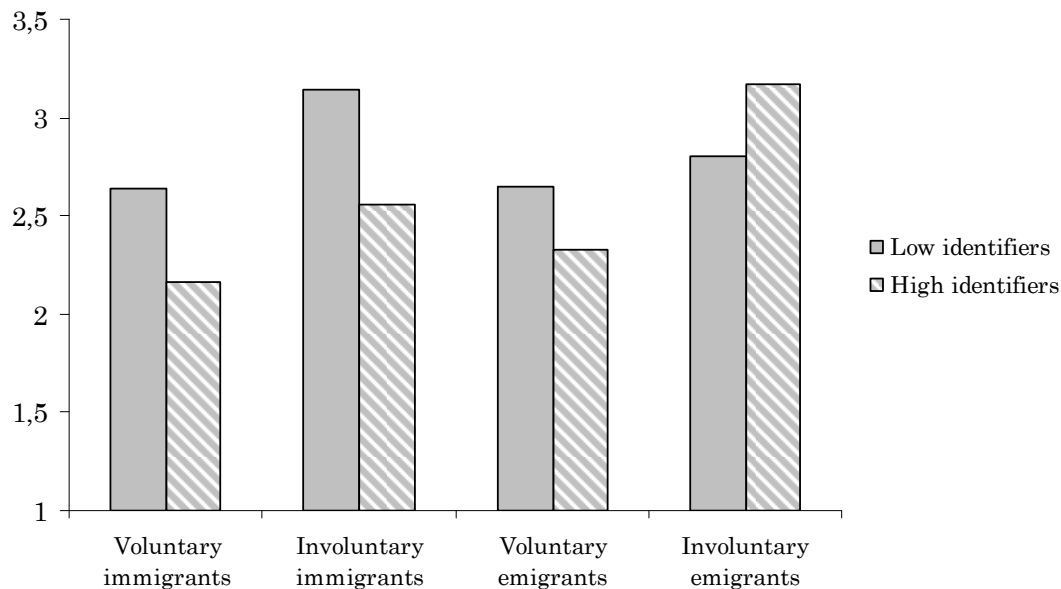


Figure 2.1

Support for cultural maintenance for different categories of migrants by national identification (median split), Study 2

2.3.3. Discussion

In Study 2, the focus was explicitly on the level of migrants' voluntariness, independent of in-group responsibility. The results show that the endorsement of cultural maintenance is stronger in relation to involuntary than voluntary migrants. This was found for immigrants coming to the Netherlands as well as for Dutch emigrants. The similar effect for immigrants and emigrants underlines the importance of perceived voluntariness for adolescents' reactions towards cultural maintenance of migrant groups in the host society.

As expected, the level of national identification of the participants did not moderate the relation between perceived voluntariness and support for

cultural maintenance of immigrants and of voluntary Dutch emigrants. Compared to lower identifiers, however, adolescents with a higher level of national identification were more in favor of cultural maintenance by involuntary than by voluntary Dutch emigrants.

2.4 General discussion

Acculturation research has shown that the majority group's acceptance of immigrants maintaining their heritage culture is a key issue in the acculturation process (e.g., Berry, 2005; Bourhis et al., 1997; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Rohmann et al., 2006; Van de Vijver et al., 2008). We examined whether the ways in which immigrants are defined has implications for majority adolescents' evaluation of cultural maintenance. The focus was on the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants. In two different studies, we used an experimental design to test the consequences of this distinction for adolescents' endorsements of cultural maintenance by immigrant groups. In line with previous findings in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 2004, 2005a) it was found that when migrants are defined as having left their country on a voluntary basis, the endorsement of cultural maintenance was lower than when migration was presented as being less voluntary. This was found when voluntary immigrants were contrasted with immigrants that have been recruited as labor migrants by the national in-group (Study 1), and also when voluntary immigrants were contrasted with immigrants that have to flee their country of origin (Study 2). Furthermore, in Study 2 similar effects were found for immigrants to the Netherlands and for Dutch emigrants. Thus, perceived voluntariness of migration appears to matter for the endorsement of cultural maintenance, regardless of the groups under consideration.

The results show that the way that migrants were defined affected the support for cultural maintenance. Responsibilities and rights are interpreted differently depending on whether migrants are considered to have taken a personal decision as free agents or rather to have been recruited (Study 1) or have had little choice but to leave their home country (Study 2). In the former situation migrants themselves are typically held responsible for their situation whereas in the latter situation responsibility tends to be attributed to others or to particular circumstances. Personal choice means personal responsibility which according to Kymlicka (1995) makes cultural recognition and rights an inadequate demand. In contrast, the presumption of lack of choice makes cultural maintenance more acceptable.

The relevance of migrants' personal choice and responsibility for the acceptance of cultural maintenance was clearly shown in Study 2. In Study 1 it

was found that, in general, adolescents tend to think that Turkish and Moroccan migrant laborers have chosen themselves to come to the Netherlands: the acceptance of cultural maintenance did not differ between the 'personal choice' condition and the control condition. However, it turned out that perceived in-group responsibility had an effect on cultural maintenance. The acceptance of cultural maintenance was higher in the condition in which Dutch society and industry were defined as being responsible for the presence of migrant laborers in the Netherlands. This finding is in agreement with research that has shown that the recognition of in-group responsibility is associated with a sense of obligation towards and support for the out-group (e.g., Cehajic et al., 2009; Doosje et al., 1998; Zebel et al., 2009). However, in contrast to this research we did not find in Study 1 that individuals with a relatively strong national attachment are less willing to accept cultural maintenance of immigrant groups in the condition that emphasizes in-group responsibility. High identifiers who are reminded of their in-group's responsibility often try to morally disengage themselves from the implications of their group's behavior. This disengagement has been predominantly found for strongly negative in-group behavior (e.g., Cehajic et al., 2009; Doosje et al., 1998; Zebel et al., 2009) whereas Study 1 is concerned with the in-group's responsibility for the recruitment of labor migrants. This might explain why we did not find that the effect of migration voluntariness differed for higher and lower identifiers.

In Study 2 the role of national identification was examined in relation to immigrants and emigrants. Similar to Study 1, it turned out that higher compared to lower national identifiers were less in favor of cultural maintenance of voluntary and involuntary immigrants. The effect of national identification was similar for voluntary Dutch emigrants in which the emphasis is on people's individual responsibility and in-group concerns are not raised. However, for involuntary emigrants higher identifiers were more in favor of cultural maintenance than low identifiers. Higher identifiers tend to sympathize more with their in-group, especially when the in-group is harmed or threatened by others, for example, by having to leave the country of origin (see Riek, et al., 2006).

An important part of the public debate on immigration and immigrants turns on issues of deservingness and entitlement. Responsibilities and rights are defined differently depending on whether immigrants themselves are perceived to be responsible for their situation. The current findings indicate that the interpretations of 'personal choice' and 'lack of choice' provide different frameworks to define and argue about positions, responsibilities and questions of cultural diversity. Although the endorsement of cultural

maintenance was assessed in a slightly different manner in the two studies, the central question on whether or not immigrants should be allowed to maintain their culture was the focus in both studies. The acceptance of cultural maintenance was lowest in the condition in which immigrants themselves were stated as being responsible for their situation. This effect was found independently of adolescents' age, level of education, and national identification (Study 1), and for labor migrants and refugees, and immigrants and emigrants. Thus, there is relatively robust evidence for the proposition that the issue of choice and responsibility determines the support for cultural maintenance. Furthermore, variants of these discourses are used in many different situations, and by different groups, including ethnic minorities (Verkuyten, 2005a). The distinction features also in social scientific analyses of situations of 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' minority populations (Ogbu, 1993), and in thinking about minority rights in political philosophy (e.g., Kymlicka, 1995).

The pathways through which perceived voluntariness of migration is related to support for cultural maintenance can be different however, as is apparent in the current research. For example, because in-group responsibility was not an issue in Study 2, other mechanisms such as empathy for or sympathy with the out-group are more likely to have come into play in the 'involuntary' condition. Research has shown that an emphasis on forced migration can increase feelings of sympathy for refugees and in turn support for policies aimed at aiding these groups (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005a). In addition, expectations of involuntary migrants returning to the home country can affect people's support for cultural maintenance by these migrants. That is, refugees might be expected to leave the host country when the reasons for fleeing (e.g., a civil war, famine) are no longer there. As a result, expecting them to give up their culture is unnecessary. However, previous research has shown that the distinction between involuntary and voluntary migrants not only affects demands for cultural adaptation by these groups, but also support for immigrant rights, such as access to education and health care (Verkuyten, 2004). Thus, not only does perceived voluntariness affects demands made on immigrants (i.e., to assimilate) but also the investments made by the majority group (e.g., health care and education). If expectations of return would be the main mechanism driving the effect of voluntariness on support for cultural maintenance, support for such investments on behalf of the host country would also be less likely to be positively affected.

Future studies could expand on the present research by investigating perceived in-group responsibility and the responsibility attributed to immigrants, as well as the judgments of deservingness and justice (e.g.,

Appelbaum 2001; Reyna, et al, 2006). Furthermore, research can examine the emotional reactions that people have towards immigrants like sympathy, empathy, anger and fear, and which may have an impact on support for various immigration and integration policies (Verkuyten, 2004). In addition, future studies could also focus on other issues that are discussed in relation to immigrants and immigration, like debates on family reunification, on government restrictions to immigration, and on procedures used for evaluating refugee-status claims. It should also be noted that studies investigating the role of perceived responsibility and support for rights of specific groups (e.g., immigrants, the poor) have been conducted primarily in Western countries and among majority group members. Future studies could examine the generality of the distinction in perceived and attributed responsibility by conducting studies in non-Western societies in which, in general, the emphasis is less on individual responsibilities and more on situational circumstances (Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002), and among immigrants and ethnic minority groups. These studies could also adopt a more qualitative approach to investigate in depth to what extent the Western concept of individual responsibility underlies the current effects.

To summarize, we have tried to demonstrate that the level of responsibility attributed to immigrants for coming to one's country affects the support for cultural maintenance by these immigrant groups. Issues of immigration and immigrants are represented in different ways by media and politicians, and in schools. The present findings suggest that people's pre-existing images can be challenged by using different representations, and this can have important implications for views on whether immigrants are entitled to maintain their culture of origin. Hence, it should not come as a surprise that right-wing politicians in particular tend to define and manipulate categories of immigrants to gain public support in elections. The fact, however, that immigrants can be defined in various ways also offers the possibility that more favorable and supportive attitudes will develop. Schools, for example, should be sensitive to the fact that the way in which immigration is discussed and the use of different representations of immigrants, can affect adolescents' views on how much support immigrants deserve or are entitled to.

Chapter 3

Tolerance of practices by Muslim actors: an integrative social-developmental perspective

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Tolerance of practices by Muslim actors: an integrative social-developmental perspective

3.1 Introduction

Islam has moved to the center of debates and politics in European countries and is at the heart of what is perceived as a ‘crisis of multiculturalism’ (Modood & Ahmad, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999). The hotly debated issues are about concrete actions and behaviors. Should the practice of forced marriages among some Muslim groups be accepted; should it be accepted that Muslim teachers refuse to shake hands with children’s parents of the opposite sex; should it be allowed that civil servants wear a headscarf and that students wear a burqa or a niqab. It is around these concrete questions that multiculturalism is put to the test and ways of life can collide. Studies on political thinking and behavior show that individuals tend to support democratic rights in the abstract but often do not endorse the same rights in concrete circumstances (see Vogt, 1997). It is one thing to endorse the freedom of speech and another thing to apply this freedom to, for example, an imam calling homosexuals inferior people.

The present article reports on two studies examining ethnic majority Dutch adolescents’ tolerance of negatively evaluated practices by Muslim actors. Theoretically, the research aims to bring together social-cognitive domain theory (see Killen, Margie & Sinno, 2005; Smetana, 1995; Turiel, 2002) and intergroup theories (see Nesdale, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). We examined tolerance judgments related to practices that evoke personal, social conventional and moral considerations and we studied the role of in-group identification and the endorsement of multiculturalism. Thus, we employed an integrative social-developmental perspective that considers social-psychological processes together with developments in cognitive knowledge and reasoning (Killen & McKown, 2005; Levy, West, & Ramirez, 2005; Pomerantz & Newman, 2000).

We conducted our research with ethnic majority Dutch participants between 12 and 17 years of age and we also examined the effects of age, gender and level of education. In the Netherlands the level of prejudice towards Muslims is relatively high among the general population and also among adolescents (Pew Global Project, 2005; Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). According to some commentators there is an ongoing ‘Dutch–Muslim’ cultural war and a related culture of fear (Scroggins 2005; Vasta,

2007). Leading politicians have taken a fiercely negative position on Islam which is defined as a backward religion that seriously threatens Dutch society, and national identity and culture (Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). Thus, our research examines tolerance in a rather negative intergroup setting.

Diversity and Diversity

There are different kinds of diversity and some are more problematic than others. For instance, when people differ in their moral beliefs it is difficult to build a cohesive community. Take the example of the acceptance of homosexuality. The acceptance of homosexuality is a matter of personal opinion when one accepts it oneself but does not expect others to do so. It becomes conventionally regulated when one argues that everyone in one's own group or society should accept it but people in other groups or societies need not. But if one sees the acceptance of homosexuality as a moral issue one thinks that everyone else in all communities should support it, for example, as a basic human right. In that case it becomes difficult to tolerate that others think differently.

This distinction is similar to the one proposed in social-cognitive domain theory (Killen et al., 2006; Smetena, 1995; Turiel, 2002). The social-cognitive domain model emphasized that children and adolescents apply different domains of knowledge in their social reasoning and judgments. Not only moral considerations (fairness, welfare, rights) but also social-conventional (group norms, traditions) and personal ones (individual autonomy) are applied to a range of social events. Studies on children's social reasoning indicate that these domains emerge independently and simultaneously in early development (Kim & Turiel, 1996; Laupa & Turiel, 1993; Nucci, 2001). Children distinguish between them and react differently to personal considerations, conventional norms, and moral norms.

The distinction between these domains has been criticized because it would be cultural-specific (Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987). In addition, it has been argued that people often treat moral harms and injustices as merely conventional violations, and sometimes react with moral outrage to what look like harmless violations of conventions (Kelly, Stich, Haley, Eng, & Fessler, 2007). However, the domain theory claims that it is the personal/conventional/moral distinction that appears at a young age and research has provided extensive cross-culture validation (see Turiel, 1998; Wainryb, 2006). Furthermore, because moral actions have intrinsic consequences for others' rights and welfare it is claimed that there is substantial cross-cultural agreement about what is moral, whereas there is more cultural variation in the content of conventional and personal issues. One

implication is that the meaning of particular practices or behaviors is not always self-evident. The different interpretations of homosexuality mentioned earlier, is an example. Thus, to understand adolescents' differential judgments about various Muslim practices it should first be examined whether they make a distinction between these practices in terms of the personal, the conventional and the moral domain.

Study 1 sets out to do this. We used four concrete cases of specific practices that are not illegal but that are hotly debated in Dutch society: the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women, the refusal to shake hands with males by a female Muslim teacher, the founding of separate Islamic schools, and the public expression of the view that homosexuals are inferior people by an imam. These cases can reflect considerations that pertain to different domains at the same time, and in that respect can be thought of as mixed-domain or multifaceted issues (Turiel, 1983, 1998). However, in comparison to each other they are expected to differ in the relative salience of a particular type of domain that they evoke. For example, calling homosexuals inferior people can cause psychological harm to others because it is viewed as an attack on their way of being. This reflects moral considerations and could therefore be considered primarily a 'moral' issue. No research has examined how individuals examine the wearing of a headscarf by a Muslim. The latter may be more likely to be considered a personal choice of the female herself given the apparent absence of harm to others or denial of resources (however, being denied the right to wear a headscarf may be viewed as 'moral'). Not shaking hands with people from the opposite sex and the founding of Islamic schools, were expected to be evaluated using predominantly social conventional reasoning, as both deal with societal expectations. Thus, in Study 1 we predicted that adolescents will make a distinction between the four cases in terms of concerns predominantly raised by the three domains.

Subsequently, in Study 2 we examined whether tolerance judgments differ for the three domains. Specifically, following domain theory we expected adolescents to be less tolerant of practices that are perceived to violate a moral norm compared to social conventional violations. In addition, practices that are evaluated negatively but considered as 'personal' should be tolerated the most.

Practices and Social Support

Accepting that people hold dissenting beliefs does not have to imply that one tolerates the public expression of such beliefs or the actual practices based on such beliefs (Vogt, 1997). These dimensions of tolerance can trigger different levels of endorsement. In their study, Wainryb, Shaw and Maianu (1998) found, for example, that European American children and early adolescents

were more tolerant of dissenting speech than practices (see also Witenberg, 2002). Verkuyten and Slooter (2007) found that Dutch adolescents were more tolerant of Muslim parents publicly arguing for differential gender treatment or for a very light form of female circumcision than for the actual acts themselves. This higher acceptance of the public expression of the dissenting beliefs is consistent with the idea of free speech. It can be seen as stimulating debate which is important for the democratic process and as causing less direct harm or injustice than the actual acts. This means that it could be expected that adolescents are relatively more tolerant of public expressions of Muslim beliefs than of the actual practices based upon these beliefs.

However, this might depend on the intergroup context and the aim of the public expression. Specifically, Muslims trying to persuade co-believers to engage in a dissenting practice can be perceived as a threat to the Dutch in-group. Ethnic majority Dutch adults and adolescents tend to see Muslims as threatening the Dutch way of life and this has been found to lead to strong negative and intolerant reactions (Van der Noll, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2009; Velasco González et al., 2008). Further, the Dutch majority tends to reject particular practices of Muslims and a recent nation wide survey showed that 50% of the Dutch consider the western and Muslim way of life as opposites that do not go together (Gijsberts, 2005). In Study 2, the focus is not only on the participants' tolerance of the different practices but also on their acceptance of people trying to mobilize fellow Muslims. Participants were asked whether it should be allowed that the different Muslim actors campaign in order to try to convince others to do the same thing. This social mobilization of Muslims is typically seen as threatening to Dutch identity and culture (Velasco Ganzalez et al., 2008; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007) and therefore the adolescents were expected to be less tolerant of Muslims campaigning for in-group support for the particular practice than of the actual practice itself.

In-Group Identification

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argues that individuals seek to belong to groups that provide them with a secure and positive social identity and are motivated to maintain positive distinctiveness through intergroup comparisons. Establishing favorable evaluative distinctiveness of one's group vis-à-vis other groups helps to achieve a positive group identity. However, negative out-group evaluation is by no means an automatic product of group distinctions, but a function, for example, of the extent to which children identify with their social group, the norms and beliefs held by the members of the child's social group, and the extent to which the out-group is perceived as threatening one's group in some way (Nesdale, 2008).

SIT interprets group identification in terms of individual differences in the degree to which psychologically central and valued group memberships develop. Some children are more inclined than others to see themselves as an ethnic group member and to value their ethnic group membership. Children who feel highly committed to their group are inclined to act in terms of their group membership. The theory argues that group identification interacts with out-group threat to predict out-group evaluation and tolerance of minority practices. The idea is that perceived threat has different effects depending on in-group identification because the motivational meanings of perceived threat are different. Compared to low identifiers those with high in-group identification are more likely to be concerned about their group, especially when the position and value of the group identity is at stake. For example, high identifiers have been found to react more negatively towards the out-group under threat than do low identifiers (e.g., Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kentworthy, & Cairns, 2007). Thus, we expected that Dutch adolescents who feel strongly committed to their group will be less tolerant of Muslim practices compared to adolescents with relatively low in-group identification. In addition, we examined whether group identification equally affects tolerance judgments in the personal, the conventional and the moral domain. Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell and Pelletier (2008) found that children who identified more with their group showed in-group favoritism for conventional-based judgments but less so for morality-based judgments. Moral criteria are general and apply to in-group and to out-group behavior. Therefore, they should not be affected strongly by in-group identification. Thus, in Study 2, we expected higher in-group identifiers to be less tolerant of the practices and of social mobilization than lower identifiers, for acts that are considered more personal and social conventional, but not for acts that raise moral concerns.

Multiculturalism

Individuals differ in the extent to which they endorse and value diversity within a society. A multicultural ideology entails 'the general and fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and for its individual members and that diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable way' (Berry, 2006, p. 728). Experimental research has shown that participants exposed to a message that endorses multicultural recognition show more positive out-group attitudes than those exposed to a message that supports a color-blind or assimilationist perspective (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Furthermore, and in relation to Muslims in the Netherlands, multiculturalism seems to provide a general ideological view

about the importance of cultural diversity that reduces a sense of group threat. It also emphasizes that minorities should be recognized and valued in their group identity, and that there should be equal opportunities and rights (Velasco González et al., 2008; Van der Noll et al., 2009). Therefore, we expected in Study 2 a positive association between the endorsement of multiculturalism and tolerance. In addition, we expected this association for the practices in the personal and the social conventional domain, but, again, not in the moral domain. The endorsement of cultural diversity is much more difficult when it concerns issues of harm, justice and fairness.

Age, Education and Gender

Although several studies have described a developmental progression from a generally intolerant attitude during the childhood years to increasingly tolerant judgments during adolescence (e.g., Enright & Lapsley, 1981; Enright, Lapsley, Franklin & Streuck, 1984; Bobo & Licardi, 1989), different aspects of tolerance and domains of dissenting beliefs and practices are not taken into account in this research. Studies that do examine these different aspects present a more complex picture of age differences with tolerance and intolerance coexisting at all ages (e.g., Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa & Smith, 2001; Wainryb, Shaw & Maianu, 1998). In contrast to young children, (early) adolescents tend to make more context-sensitive judgments about freedoms and rights. Thus, with age, concepts of rights and freedoms are increasingly evaluated in relation to other considerations and concerns, including the intergroup context (e.g., Helwig, 1995, 1997; Ruck, Abramovitch & Keating, 1998). For Study 2, this might mean that older adolescents are less tolerant because they are more aware of the public debate about the Islamization of Dutch society. Lesser tolerance among older adolescents should exist for the social conventional domain in particular, but not as clearly for the moral domain.

Chronological age is often used as an indicator for the level of cognitive and moral development. Age differences are typically interpreted in terms of increased cognitive skills and knowledge. The importance of these factors in explaining tolerance judgments is also suggested by the positive association between education and different forms of tolerance. In his review, Vogt (1997) concludes that there is clear evidence that education increases tolerance. Both the number of years of education and the level of education seem to contribute to this. In Study 2, and in addition to age, we examined the level of education. It was expected that a higher level of education has a positive effect on tolerance, but, again, less so for tolerance in the moral domain.

Several studies have found gender differences in tolerant judgments. For example, Killen, Sinno, and Margie (2007) showed that boys compared to girls more often found ethnic and racial exclusion acceptable. Verkuyten and Slooter (2007) also reported gender differences, with male adolescent being less tolerant than females. However, other studies using cognitive domain theory have found few gender differences (Smetana, 2006), or no differences at all (e.g., Helwig, 1995, 1997; Sigelman & Toebben, 1992). In Study 2, we explored possible gender differences in tolerance of Muslim practices.

To Summarize

The main purpose of this research was to examine tolerance of practices by Muslim actors among Dutch adolescents by applying social cognitive domain theory to an intergroup context as has been done in prior research (Abrams, et al., 2008; Killen, et al., 2007). The novel approach taken in this study is to examine social reasoning together with group identity and the endorsement of multiculturalism in the Dutch-Muslim context, and to focus on aspects of tolerance regarding societally controversial Muslim practices. We focused on concrete cases that are debated in Dutch society and reflect different aspects of tolerance. In Study 1, we first examined empirically whether these cases can be distinguished in referring predominantly to personal, social conventional, and moral concerns and considerations. In Study 2, we examined tolerance judgments in relation to these three domains and to in-group identification and the endorsement of multiculturalism.

3.2 Study 1

The purpose of the first study was to examine the type of concerns and considerations that are evoked by the different Muslim practices. Based on national public debates in the media, we first developed eight short descriptions of controversial cases involving Muslim actors. In a small pilot study these eight cases were discussed with ten adolescents. Four of the eight cases were found to be evaluated rather negatively and thus raised questions of tolerance (Vogt, 1997). These four cases reflected aspects of each social domain: the personal, the social conventional and the moral. Thus, we used these four cases and examined among a larger sample whether these cases did indeed indicate the three domains.

3.2.1 Method

Participants

The sample included 180 ethnically Dutch participants ('white' majority and non-Muslim) between 12 and 17 years of age ($M = 14.12$, $SD = 1.73$). In total,

43% were males and 57% were females. Of the participants, 11.7% were in the lowest level of secondary education (junior vocational track), 18.3% in the middle level (higher vocational track), and 33.3% in the highest level of education (pre university track). An additional 30% of the participants were in a mixed middle/higher level track. The pupils participated on a voluntary basis and the anonymous paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered during regular class hours and under supervision.

Measures

The participants were asked to judge four different cases. The four cases involved: 1) the wearing of a headscarf ('Imagine that a group of students in your school wears a headscarf which covers a small part of the face'), 2) not shaking hands with someone of the opposite sex ('Recently, there has been a discussion about a female Muslim teacher who does not want to shake hands with men, such as colleagues and fathers of students'), 3) the founding of separate Muslim schools ('Some parents are founding Islamic schools where only Muslim children are accepted'), and 4) the voicing of harmful opinions about homosexuals ('Recently, an imam held a speech in a mosque in which he calls homosexuals inferior people'). The first case was expected to be predominantly considered a personal matter, the second and third one were expected to mainly raise social conventional concerns, and the fourth one was expected to be considered a violation of a moral norm.

Modifications of standard social domain assessments were applied in this study to measure participants' interpretation of each case (see Smetana, 2006, for standard assessments). We investigated the type of judgments along three dimensions each reflecting a different aspect of the conventional, the personal, and the moral domain, respectively. The first dimension entailed the extent to which the act is regarded as unconventional, and the second assessed whether the act is under personal jurisdiction of the actor (a criterion for the personal domain). The third dimension involved intrinsic harmful consequences for others, which is a justification category for using the moral domain (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 1983). In addition, we included a question on the perceived wrongness of the act. Wrongness and domain type are conceptually independent, but moral transgressions tend to be perceived as more wrong than social conventional violations (Smetana, 2006; Tisak & Turiel, 1988). Hence, wrongness ratings may be used to obtain additional support for the notion that an act elicits moral concerns.

For each case, the questions had the same response format. With respect to the issue of the headscarf, for example, students had to answer the following four questions: 'Is it inappropriate to wear headscarves in Dutch

schools?' (unconventional), 'Is it a personal decision to wear a headscarf?' (personal), 'Are other people in school in any way harmed by it?' (harmful consequences), and 'Is it wrong to wear a headscarf?' (wrongness). The harmful consequences measure had a 5-point scale with answers ranging from -2 ('not at all') to 2 ('very much'). The other measures were 7-point scales ranging from -3 ('No') to 3 ('Yes').

3.2.2 Results

Both relative and absolute criteria were used to examine whether students assessed the four cases differently. First, for each separate judgment and for each case, we calculated the percentages of agreeing and disagreeing participants, and we conducted t-tests to examine whether mean scores exceeded the neutral scale mid-point. Next, to test whether the scores on each of the dimensions differed between the practices, we conducted four separate repeated-measures ANOVA's, with the type of practice as the repeated-measures factor. Results are shown in Table 3.1.

The absolute criteria revealed that all cases were generally considered as non-conventional. The mean scores on the non-conventional dimension were significantly higher than zero, and the majority of participants selected answers on the positive side of the scale. Yet, the ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of type of practice which indicated that some cases were considered more non-conventional than others, $F(3, 483) = 50.769, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .24$. Pairwise comparison (LSD) showed that this was most strongly the case for the refusal to shake hands with someone of the opposite sex, followed by the imam's speech. The founding of Islamic schools and the wearing of a headscarf scored the lowest on the non-conventional dimension.

Mean scores and (dis)agreement percentages for the personal dimension revealed that the wearing of a headscarf was clearly considered a matter of personal choice, whereas the founding of Islamic schools and the voicing of harmful opinions about homosexuals were clearly not. Students were 'undecided' about the refusal to shake hands. ANOVA results were consistent with this pattern, $F(3, 486) = 23.79, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .13$.

For the dimension of 'harmful consequences' the mean scores suggest a distinction between the cases of the headscarf and school founding, on the one hand, and the cases of the hand shaking and the imam's speech, on the other. The former cases were generally perceived as rather inconsequential, but the latter were considered to have a clear negative impact on others. However, this result is qualified by the (dis)agreement percentages and the ANOVA results $F(3, 477) = 116.47, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .42$. Although the score for the shaking of hands is above the scale midpoint, a minority of the respondents agreed that

this practice has harmful consequences for others. Moreover, the mean score was significantly lower than that for the imam's speech ($p < .01$).

The results for 'wrongness' indicate that participants clearly considered the speech against homosexuals as wrong, and the wearing of a headscarf as not wrong. Participants had a relatively neutral position in relation to the founding of Islamic schools and for the not shaking of hands. This pattern was confirmed by the ANOVA result, $F(3, 486) = 93.10, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .37$.

To examine whether the scores for the dimensions were related to or qualified by age, education and gender, we performed the same four ANOVA's with age included as a covariate and education and gender as factors. No significant main or interaction effects for these variables were found.

Tolerance of Muslim practices: a social-developmental perspective

Table 3.1
Mean Scores and Percentage Agreement for Judgment Dimensions by Case: Study 1

| Dimension | Headscarf | School | Hand | Speech |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Non-Conventional | | | | |
| M (SD) | 0.62 (1.88)* _a | 0.93 (1.68)* _a | 2.33 (1.13)* _c | 2.01 (1.56)* _b |
| % agree | 53.5 | 59.2 | 91.0 | 81.0 |
| % disagree | 22.9 | 20.7 | 1.8 | 6.7 |
| Personal | | | | |
| M (SD) | 1.01 (2.02)* _a | -0.51 (2.01)* _c | 0.15 (2.11) _b | -0.46 (2.25)† _c |
| % agree | 62.8 | 29.3 | 41.2 | 31.3 |
| % disagree | 26.2 | 55.7 | 42.9 | 54.6 |
| Harmful Consequences | | | | |
| M (SD) | -0.34 (1.26)* _a | -0.45 (1.06)* _a | 0.22 (1.27)† _b | 1.43 (0.82)* _c |
| % agree | 31.6 | 16.3 | 47.2 | 88.2 |
| % disagree | 45.0 | 43.0 | 24.5 | 1.9 |
| Wrongness | | | | |
| M (SD) | -1.27 (1.79)* _a | -0.14 (2.05) _b | -0.11 (2.17) _b | 1.83 (1.68)* _c |
| % agree | 14.6 | 37.4 | 46.1 | 79.1 |
| % disagree | 62.6 | 42.0 | 38.9 | 9.8 |

Note. Means in the same row with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .01$ by the Fisher least significant difference test. † value larger than 0 at $p < .05$. * value larger than 0 at $p < .01$

3.2.3 Discussion

The results of Study 1 revealed that participants differentiated between the four cases in terms of their ratings and responses, which reflected aspects of the personal, social conventional and moral domain. It is important to note that all practices were considered as non-conventional in the Netherlands. However, this does not mean that they exclusively evoked social conventional concerns. As expected, the wearing of a headscarf was predominantly seen as an individual decision and a matter of personal choice. It was clearly not regarded as wrong or harmful for others. Both the not-shaking of hands and the founding of Islamic schools were expected to be predominantly considered as social conventional issues. The findings support this proposition. The majority of participants indicated that both practices were inappropriate in the Netherlands, whereas they did *not* judge them as being up to the actors, as having harmful consequences, or as being plainly wrong. Finally, the findings strongly support the idea that the imam's speech was predominantly considered a violation of moral norms. The majority of participants considered it wrong and harmful to make derogatory comments about homosexuals, and they clearly thought of it as a non-personal matter. Together, the findings provide support for the notion that these four cases tend to differ in the salience of the type of domains of sociomoral reasoning they evoke. To better understand participants' conceptualizations of these events further analyses are required. In Study 2 we used these cases to examine tolerant judgments for the three domains and to test our hypotheses.

3.3 Study 2

The second study aimed to test four different hypotheses. First, participants were expected to be the least tolerant of the practice that for adolescents most strongly violates a moral norm (speech about homosexuals), followed by practices that predominantly violate conventional norms (the not-shaking of hands and the founding of Islamic schools), and the most tolerant of the practice that relates most clearly to personal autonomy (the wearing of the headscarf). Next, it was expected that participants will be less tolerant of campaigns for the social support of fellow Muslims than of the actual practices themselves. Third, higher in-group identification was expected to be associated with less tolerance, whereas stronger endorsement of multiculturalism was expected to be associated with more tolerance. These two relationships were predicted for the practices that evoke personal and social conventional considerations, but not for the practice that is considered a moral transgression. Finally, we expected older adolescents to be less tolerant than younger ones, and we expected higher educated participants to be more

tolerant. Again, these associations for age and education were expected to be weaker for the moral domain. In addition to testing these hypotheses, we explored the role of gender.

3.3.1 Method

Participants

This sample included 970 participants between 13 and 17 years of age ($M = 15.10$, $SD = 0.95$). In total, 51% were males and 49% were females. Of the participants, 36.3% were in the lowest level of secondary education (junior vocational track), 34.5% in the middle level (higher vocational track), and 29.2% in the highest level of education (pre university track). At all three levels of education, all age groups participated. Thus, age and education were not confounded. Table 3.2 contains a breakdown of the sample by age, educational level, and gender. Both parents of the participants were ethnically Dutch ('white' majority and non-Muslim). The pupils participated on a voluntary basis and the anonymous paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered in separate class sessions and under supervision.

Table 3.2

Number of Respondents by Age, Educational Level, and Gender

| Age Group | Educational Level | Boys | Girls |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 13-14 | Low | 75 (7.7%) | 52 (5.4%) |
| | Middle | 21 (2.2%) | 24 (2.5%) |
| | | 28 (2.9%) | 30 (3.1%) |
| | High | | |
| 15 | Low | 66 (6.8%) | 54 (5.6%) |
| | Middle | 58 (6.0%) | 87 (9.0%) |
| | | 85 (8.8%) | 88 (9.1%) |
| | High | | |
| 16-17 | Low | 49 (5.1%) | 56 (5.8%) |
| | Middle | 86 (8.9%) | 59 (6.1%) |
| | | 27 (2.8%) | 25 (2.6%) |
| | High | | |

Measures

The overall purpose of this study was to examine the contextual nature of adolescents' judgments about practices by Muslims. Therefore, two types of tolerance questions were used and because these two types of tolerance judgments have been found to be relatively independent (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007), the measures were not counterbalanced but given in a fixed order. In order to measure the tolerance towards Muslim practices, the participants were asked to judge the four cases that were presented as follows: 'Some parents are founding Islamic schools where only Muslim children are accepted. What should the government do about such schools?', 'Imagine that a group of students in your school wears a headscarf which covers a small part of the face. What do you think the school should do?', 'Recently, there has been a discussion about a female Muslim teacher who does not want to shake hands with men, such as colleagues and fathers of students. What do you think the school should do?', and 'Recently, an imam held a speech in a mosque in which he calls homosexuals inferior people. What do you think the mosque committee should do?'

In each case there were four response categories: 'Do nothing and allow it' (1), 'Try to convince them [not to found those schools, not to wear a headscarf, to shake hands, to convince the imam to apologize], but allow it if they do not agree' (2), 'Try to convince them not to do it, but forbid it if they do not agree' (3), 'simply not allow it' (4). Items were recoded such that a higher score reflects a more tolerant attitude. In addition, to measure social support, the participants were asked if it should be allowed that the actors (i.e., the parents, students, teacher, imam) persuade other Muslims to engage in the same practice. Answers categories ranged from 'definitely not allow it' (1), to 'definitely allow it' (5). For each case, participants were also asked to rate their feelings towards the actors on a 7-point scale, ranging from 'negative' (-3) to 'positive' (3).

To measure *in-group identification* participants were asked for their agreement with six different statements that have been used in various studies in the Netherlands (see Verkuyten, 2005). Three sample items are, 'My ethnic identity is an important part of myself', 'I strongly identify with my ethnic group', and 'I am proud of my ethnic background'. Answers could range from 'totally disagree' (1) to 'totally agree' (5). Cronbach's alpha for the six items is .86. A higher score indicates stronger in-group identification.

The *endorsement of multiculturalism* was measured with eight items taken from Berry and Kalin's (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale. These items have been used in previous research in the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2006). Three sample items are: 'The more cultures

there are, the better it is for the Netherlands', 'Immigrants in the Netherlands should forget their cultural background as soon as possible'(reverse scored), and 'Migrants should be supported in their attempts to preserve their own cultural heritage in the Netherlands'. Answers were given on 5-point rating scales: 'strongly disagree' (1) to 'strongly agree' (5). Cronbach's alpha is 0.81 and a higher score indicates a stronger endorsement of multiculturalism.

Analyses

The results are presented in three sections. The first section focuses on the tolerance judgments for the four cases, and the role of age, educational level, and gender. The second part describes differences for the two types of tolerance judgments, i.e. tolerance of the practice itself and tolerance of the attempt to persuade others. The last section focuses on the effects of in-group identification and multiculturalism.

The concept of tolerance as we use it here implies forbearance or the putting up with something that one disapproves of or is prejudiced against (Vogt, 1997). Thus, in a preliminary analysis we first examined whether participants in general felt negative about the four practices. This turned out to be the case. Across the four cases, the average score lies well below the neutral midpoint (zero) of the 7-point scales. One-sample t-tests indicated that for each practice, the scores were significantly below zero, $p_s < .001$, and even below -1, $p_s < .001$. Thus, there were very few participants who indicated to have positive feelings and in general most participants in this sample were negative about the practices of the Muslim actors.

3.3.2 Results

Practices, age, Education, and Gender

Tolerance judgments were expected to be dependent on the particular domain. We hypothesized that participants will be most tolerant of behavior that concerned mostly the personal choices of actors, and the least tolerant of moral violations. To examine these hypotheses, we first performed repeated-measures analyses of variance (ANOVA) with type of practice as repeated measure. Next, we examined whether the pattern of tolerance judgments depended on students' educational level, gender, and age, by conducting 4 (type of practice) x 2 (gender) x 3 (educational level) repeated measures ANOVA's including age as a covariate, and type of practice again as the repeated measure. These analyses were conducted separately for tolerance of the actual practices and for tolerance of persuading fellow Muslims.

Tolerance of practices

The first ANOVA yielded a significant effect for type of practice, $F(3, 486) = 93.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .37$. In agreement with expectations and the findings of Study 1, pairwise comparison (LSD) indicated that the level of tolerance was highest for the wearing of a headscarf ($M = 2.33$, $SD = .98$), and lowest for the imam's speech in which homosexuals are called inferior people ($M = 1.99$, $SD = .85$). In between these two were the social conventional cases of the schools ($M = 2.16$, $SD = .94$) and the shaking of hands ($M = 2.20$, $SD = .95$). No significant differences between these latter two practices were found. Thus, tolerance was highest for the practice generally perceived as a personal decision, followed by the predominantly nonconventional practices, and lowest for the practice that was most clearly considered to be morally wrong. However, the second ANOVA revealed that the overall pattern was qualified by significant interactions with educational level, $F(6, 2856) = 3.92$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .01$; gender, $F(3, 2856) = 13.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .01$; and age, $F(3, 2856) = 2.75$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_p = .003$. These variables had significant main effects as well, $F(2, 952) = 7.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .02$; $F(1, 952) = 11.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .01$; and $F(1, 952) = 16.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, respectively.

Results for age indicated that older adolescents were generally less tolerant than younger adolescents. However, further inspection of each separate practice showed that the negative linear effect of age was strongest in case of the schools and non-significant in case of the hand-shaking. For ease of presentation, means are presented for three different age groups in Table 3.3.

As expected, for education we found that students in the highest level of education were more tolerant of Muslim practices than students in the lowest level (Table 3.3). However, post hoc analyses showed that for the imam's speech no difference in acceptance existed between the educational levels. Finally, there were differences between boys and girls for all cases, but the direction of the relation between gender and tolerance was not the same for each case (Table 3.3). Girls were more tolerant than boys with the exception of the imam's speech. For this particular case, boys were significantly more tolerant than girls.

Table 3.3

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations (Between Brackets) for Tolerance of the Four Types of Practices by Educational Level, Gender, and Age; Study 2

| | Headscarf | School | Hand | Speech | Total |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Educational level | | | | | |
| Low | 2.16 (1.01) | 2.12 (1.03) | 2.11 (.98) | 2.01 (.94) | 2.10 (.70) |
| Middle | 2.32 (.96) | 2.11 (.88) | 2.20 (.91) | 1.96 (.86) | 2.15 (.62) |
| High | 2.56 (.92) | 2.26 (.90) | 2.31 (.89) | 1.98 (.73) | 2.27 (.57) |
| Gender | | | | | |
| Boy | 2.23 (.97) | 2.03 (.99) | 2.08 (.95) | 2.05 (.97) | 2.10 (.67) |
| Girl | 2.44 (.99) | 2.29 (.87) | 2.32 (.91) | 1.91 (.70) | 2.24 (.60) |
| Age | | | | | |
| 13-14 | 2.42 (.99) | 2.35 (.97) | 2.23 (.94) | 2.09 (.92) | 2.29 (.66) |
| 15 | 2.39 (.99) | 2.18 (.94) | 2.22 (.91) | 1.97 (.83) | 2.19 (.65) |
| 16-17 | 2.18 (.94) | 1.98 (.90) | 2.14 (.95) | 1.90 (.82) | 2.05 (.60) |

Note. 4-point scale (1 to 4).

Tolerance of persuasion.

The first ANOVA with tolerance of persuading fellow Muslims as the dependent repeated-measures variable yielded a significant effect for the type of practice, $F(3, 2898) = 162.32, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .16$. Pairwise comparison showed, again, that the least tolerant judgments were given with respect to the imam persuading others ($M = 1.81, SD = .95$), followed by the female Muslim teacher ($M = 2.08, SD = .99$), and the students wearing a headscarf ($M = 2.34, SD = 1.10$). Unexpectedly, however, the level of tolerance was highest with respect to the Islamic schools ($M = 2.52, SD = 1.09$).

The second ANOVA showed that there was a significant main effect of age, $F(1, 960) = 4.33, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .004$, and significant interactions between type of practice, and educational level and gender, respectively, $F(6, 2880) = 2.85, p < .01, \eta^2_p = .01$, and $F(3, 2880) = 5.65, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .01$. Table 3.4 shows mean levels of tolerance by educational level, gender, and age. Again, and as expected, older participants were less likely to give tolerant judgments. Next,

educational level had only an effect for the case of the imam's speech: the higher educated were even less tolerant of the imam trying to persuade other Muslims. Boys and girls differed from each other in their level of tolerance of a Muslim teacher persuading others not to shake hands with men, and in the case of the imam. In the former, girls were found to be more tolerant than boys, in the latter it was the other way around. Hence, these results are comparable to the previous analysis on the tolerance of the practice itself. It is important to note that, although differences exist for tolerance of the imam's speech between boys and girls, and between students in higher and lower levels of education, all participants tended to have an intolerant attitude towards this type of behavior. The scores lie well below the neutral midpoint (3) of the scale.

Table 3.4
Mean Scores and Standard Deviations (Between Brackets) for Tolerance of the Persuasion of Other Muslims by Educational Level, Gender, and Age

| | Headscarf | School | Hand | Speech | Total |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Educational level | | | | | |
| Low | 2.32 (1.17) | 2.48 (1.11) | 2.08 (1.02) | 1.92 (.98) | 2.20 (.80) |
| Middle | 2.30 (1.04) | 2.53 (1.12) | 2.10 (1.00) | 1.77 (.95) | 2.17 (.82) |
| High | 2.42 (1.07) | 2.56 (1.01) | 2.05 (.93) | 1.72 (.92) | 2.19 (.77) |
| Gender | | | | | |
| Boy | 2.32 (1.13) | 2.48 (1.16) | 2.01 (1.02) | 1.88 (1.05) | 2.17 (.82) |
| Girl | 2.37 (1.05) | 2.56 (1.00) | 2.14 (.95) | 1.73 (.85) | 2.20 (.77) |
| Age | | | | | |
| 13-14 | 2.40 (1.09) | 2.53 (1.06) | 2.15 (1.04) | 1.88 (.92) | 2.24 (.77) |
| 15 | 2.37 (1.08) | 2.57 (1.09) | 2.07 (.95) | 1.78 (.97) | 2.20 (.80) |
| 16-17 | 2.26 (1.21) | 2.44 (1.10) | 2.03 (1.00) | 1.79 (.96) | 2.13 (.81) |

Note. 5-point scale (1 to 5).

Tolerating Practices Versus Tolerating Persuasion

Next, we examined the difference between the two types of tolerance judgments. For tolerance of the practice itself, answer categories ranged from 1 to 4 with no neutral midpoint. In contrast, tolerance of the public expression in order to persuade others had a scale ranging from 1 to 5 with a neutral midpoint. Therefore, we rescaled the items of both types of questions with the

following formula: $(item-1)/(number\ of\ answer\ categories-1)$. In addition, we examined the frequencies of the answers given in order to draw meaningful conclusions.

We tested the difference in the two types of tolerance judgments by performing for each of the four cases a simple repeated measures ANOVA, with the type of tolerance as the repeated measure. For the case about the school, the two tolerance scores did not significantly differ. However, and as expected, for the other practices the level of tolerance of the public expression was lower than for the practice itself ($p_s < .001$). Additional analyses showed that this pattern was consistent across age, educational level, and gender. Furthermore, for all four cases there were clear differences in percentages of tolerant versus intolerant responses. For the wearing of a headscarf, we found that 43% of the participants thought that this should be accepted. However, trying to persuade other Muslims to wear a headscarf was considered acceptable by only 15% (with an additional 26% answering 'neutral'). For the other three cases we obtained similar results. For the founding of Islamic schools, 35% of the participants thought that this should be accepted but only 18% found it acceptable that people try to persuade other Muslims to found Islamic schools (32% answers neutral). Furthermore, 43% thought that the decision of a female teacher not to shake hands with men should be accepted. However, for the persuasion of others, this percentage was only 10% (19% answers neutral). The percentages for the imam's speech were respectively 21% and 6% (neutral: 15%). These percentages indicate that the participants were less tolerant of attempts to persuade other Muslims than of the practices themselves.

In-Group Identification and Multiculturalism

In-group identification and the endorsement of multiculturalism were negatively associated, $r = -.40$, $p < .01$. We examined whether these two measures were associated with tolerance of the Muslims practices and of the campaigning for social support of fellow Muslims. For both types of tolerance judgments, we conducted a 4 (type of practice) x 2 (gender) x 3 (school level) repeated-measures ANOVA, with type of practice as repeated measure, and with age, in-group identification, and multiculturalism as covariates.

Tolerance of practices. For tolerance of the Muslim practices, the between-subjects results indicate a significant effect for the continuous variable multiculturalism, $F(1, 950) = 225.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .19$. As hypothesized, students who more strongly endorsed a multicultural ideology were more tolerant of Muslim practices. This effect was qualified by an interaction with the type of practice $F(3, 2868) = 24.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .03$.

Simple main effects analyses showed that although multiculturalism was significantly associated with tolerance for all practices, the strength of the relationship differed between the practices. As expected, estimates of the effect size indicated that the effect was much weaker for the imam's speech ($\eta^2_p = .03$) and strongest in the case of the headscarf ($\eta^2_p = .13$). The cases of the schools ($\eta^2_p = .10$) and the shaking of hands ($\eta^2_p = .11$) were in between.

We also examined the extent to which students endorsing high versus low levels of multiculturalism differentiated between the four different practices. That is to say, we compared students with scale scores equal or above the median (2.75) to students scoring below the median. Means and standard-deviations for both groups are given in Table 3.5. Post-hoc tests (LSD) showed that participants who scored high on multiculturalism showed the overall differentiation pattern (highest tolerance for headscarf, lowest tolerance for the imam's speech, with tolerance for schools and hand-shaking in between) Yet, participants scoring low on multiculturalism only differentiated between the case of the headscarf on the one hand, and the school, hand shaking, and speech cases on the other hand.

The repeated measures ANOVA did not reveal a main effect for in-group identification or an interaction effect with the type of practice. However, given the considerable association between in-group identification and the endorsement of multiculturalism ($r = -.40$) we also explored the results of an ANOVA without the multiculturalism measure. This analysis yielded the expected main effect for identification, $F(1, 957) = 37.47, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .04$, but no significant interaction effect with the type of practice, $p > .05$. Those identifying strongly as Dutch were less tolerant than those with a low level of identification.

Tolerance of persuasion. The same analyses were repeated with tolerance of the persuasion of fellow Muslims as the dependent variable. As expected, there were significant main effects for both multiculturalism, $F(1, 958) = 86.63, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .08$, and for ethnic identification, $F(1, 960) = 3.89, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .004$. Participants who endorsed multiculturalism relatively strong were more tolerant than those who were less in favor of multiculturalism. Furthermore, those identifying strongly as Dutch made less tolerant judgments compared to those with low levels of in-group identification.

As expected, the association between multiculturalism and tolerance was further qualified by an interaction effect with type of practice, $F(3, 2874) = 10.15, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .01$. Simple main effect analyses showed that the effect of multiculturalism was significantly smaller in the case of the imam's speech. Estimates of the effect size were comparable in the cases of the headscarf ($\eta^2_p = .06$), schools ($\eta^2_p = .06$) and shaking hands ($\eta^2_p = .07$) and especially low with

respect to the imam's speech ($\eta^2_p = .01$). For in-group identification, no interaction with the type of behavior was found, also not when multiculturalism was excluded from the analyses.

Separate post-hoc tests (LSD) for students with a weak versus a strong endorsement of multiculturalism (median split; see Table 3.5) showed that both groups had the same differentiation pattern with the highest tolerance for persuasion in case of the school, followed by the headscarf and the handshaking, and the lowest tolerance for the imam's speech. However, participants who endorsed multiculturalism relatively strongly made clearer differentiations than those who were less in favor of multiculturalism.

Table 3.5

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations (Between Brackets) for Tolerance of Practices and Persuasion by Multiculturalism (Median Splits)

| | Headscarf | School | Hand | Speech |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Tolerance of Practices ^a | | | | |
| Multiculturalism Low | 1.96 (.89) | 1.85 (.93) | 1.87 (.88) | 1.88 (.89) |
| Multiculturalism High | 2.70 (.93) | 2.45 (.86) | 2.52 (.87) | 2.08 (.80) |
| Tolerance of Persuasion ^b | | | | |
| Multiculturalism Low | 2.09 (1.10) | 2.26 (1.15) | 1.84 (.95) | 1.73 (.95) |
| Multiculturalism High | 2.59 (1.03) | 2.78 (.96) | 2.31 (.97) | 1.89 (.96) |

Note.^a4-point scale (1 to 4). ^b5-point scale (1 to 5)

3.4 General discussion

This research examined ethnically Dutch adolescents' tolerance of specific practices by Muslim actors. In trying to maximize the relevance and ecological validity of the research, we used realistic and currently debated issues instead of unfamiliar and fictitious scenarios. In culturally diverse societies, controversies and conflicts are typically about concrete practices and actions, and, at least in Europe, predominantly relate to Muslims (Modood & Ahmad, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999).

In general, we found that adolescents were rather negative towards Muslim actors and expressed moderate to low levels of tolerance. However, in

agreement with social cognitive domain theory and previous research findings (e.g., Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; 2008), it turned out that the acceptance of different types of behavior depended on both content and context. Using domain theory (Turiel, 1983), we expected that the tolerance of Muslim practices depends on the domain that the practices predominantly evoke. According to the theory, people make a distinction between the personal, the conventional and the moral domain but what content-wise is considered to belong to each of these domains is not self-evident, particularly not in relation to the personal and the social conventional. Therefore, in Study 1 we first examined whether Dutch adolescents make an empirical distinction between the three domains for the different Muslim practices. We presented the participants with four different cases: Muslim students wearing a headscarf, parents founding separate Islamic schools, a female Muslim teacher refusing to shake hands with men, and an imam who publicly calls homosexuals inferior people. The findings of Study 1 indicate that, although these cases are multi-faceted, they do differ in the salience of the particular domain they evoked, with the first case predominantly involving the personal domain, the second and third one triggering more social conventional concerns, and the fourth case raising moral issues. The distinction between the three domains was found independently of age, educational level and gender.

Study 2 examined two types of tolerance judgments: tolerance of the particular practices and of campaigns for public support of co-Muslims for these practices. In agreement with the domain theory it turned out that tolerance was highest in the personal domain and lowest in the moral domain, with the social conventional domain in between. Thus, the participants were found to be most tolerant of Muslim students wearing a headscarf and least tolerant of the imam's speech. The cases of the Islamic school and the refusal to shake hands, both mainly social conventional matters, fell in between. This difference was found for both types of tolerance: for the actual practices and for Muslims trying to persuade others to engage in the same practices. The one exception was that campaigning for separate Islamic schools was accepted more than trying to persuade other Muslims to wear a headscarf.

There was a clear difference in both types of tolerance. Previous studies have found that people tend to be more tolerant of campaigns for public support for a dissenting belief than of the practice based on that belief (e.g., Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Wainryb et al, 1998; 2001). Not only is the higher acceptance of the public expression of dissenting beliefs consistent with the idea of free speech, it can be seen as stimulating debate and as causing less direct harm or injustice than the actual act. However, the current findings clearly show that the adolescents were less tolerant of persuading fellow

Muslims than of the practice itself. Campaigning for support and persuading others implies mobilizing Muslims, for example, to start wearing a headscarf, to stop shaking hands with people of the opposite sex, and to found more Islamic schools. Politicians and the media tend to present these practices as 'backward' and as threatening Dutch identity and culture (see Scroggins, 2005; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). They would undermine the secular and Christian traditions of the Netherlands. Trying to persuade fellow Muslims to act similarly is likely to be seen as contributing to the 'Islamization of Dutch society' and therefore leads to lower acceptance compared to the act itself. Perceived threat is considered the most important predictor of intolerance (see Gibson, 2006), but it should be noted that we did not measure feelings of threat. However, in a previous study it was found that these feelings underlie Dutch adolescents' intolerance of Muslims (Van der Noll et al., 2009).

The importance of intergroup factors for understanding tolerance judgments was also found in relation to in-group identification and the endorsement of multiculturalism. Using social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), we predicted that participants identifying strongly as Dutch would be less tolerant. This turned out to be the case for the practice itself (in the analysis without multiculturalism) and for the persuasion of fellow Muslims to act similarly. However, the findings for the endorsement of multiculturalism were stronger than for in-group identification and a similar result has been found in another study on Dutch adolescents' tolerance of Muslims (Van der Noll et al., 2009). One reason is that in-group identification is typically associated with in-group evaluation and not necessarily with the evaluation of out-groups, whereas, in the European context, multiculturalism is predominantly seen as focusing on out-groups (Verkuyten, 2006). In addition, compared to group identification, multicultural ideology is more closely related to questions of how to deal with dissenting beliefs and practices. Thus, multiculturalism seems to provide a general ideological view about the importance of cultural diversity that emphasizes that people should be recognized and valued in their group identity, and that there should be social equality and equal opportunities. This result is in agreement with research that has shown that beliefs about democratic processes and the protection of minority rights is a primary source of political tolerance (McClosky & Brill, 1983; Sullivan & Transue, 1999).

However, these results indicate that adolescents' tolerance judgments of out-group behaviors are not only driven by intergroup factors but also by moral concerns. Participants high on multiculturalism tended to tolerate practices that raise mainly personal and conventional considerations but were less

accepting of the practice that was predominantly perceived as a moral transgression. The endorsement of the value of cultural diversity appears not to be unlimited. Multiculturalism does not imply moral relativism in which all practices and ideas are judged equally right and acceptable (Lukes, 2008). Respecting other cultural communities and their practices is difficult when concerns and considerations of others' welfare and fairness are involved. Already at the age of five, children have been shown to think that some beliefs are relative and others not, and that their judgments of relativism differ from their tolerant judgments of divergent beliefs (Wainryb, Shaw, Langley, Cottam, & Lewis, 2004).

We also examined the development of tolerance by focusing on the effects of age, education, and gender. In contrast to the idea of an age-related progression from less to more principled reasoning and thus a more tolerant attitude (e.g. Enright & Lapsey, 1981; Enright et al., 1984), our results actually show the opposite. Older participants were found to be less tolerant across the range of practices and of both the practice itself and the persuasion of others. These results are in line with findings of a previous study that found among Dutch adolescents a negative association between age and the acceptance of Muslims founding separate schools (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007). As argued by Killen and Stangor (2001), with age children become increasingly concerned about the nature of social groups and about group norms and expectations (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). It is thus likely that the older participants are more concerned about the functioning of the Dutch society and tend to see the Muslim practices as threatening the norms and values of their in-group. Hence, similar to research that has examined tolerance and children's and adolescents' reasoning about civil liberties (e.g., Helwig, 1995, 1997; Ruck, Abramovitch & Keating, 1998; Wainryb et al., 1998, 2001), the current findings do not support a global stage interpretation. Rather, the findings suggest that with age adolescents tend to evaluate concepts of rights and freedoms increasingly in relation to other considerations and concerns, including the intergroup context.

In agreement with previous findings (see Vogt, 1997; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007), the level of education of the participants was significantly and positively associated with tolerance. However, this effect differed between the types of practices that the participants were asked to evaluate (Wainryb et al., 1998). Educational differences were largest in the case of the headscarf and almost absent in relation to the moral issue of the imam's speech. Compared to participants in the lower levels of education those in the higher levels differentiated more between the different types of practices. Chong (1993) found that in discussing group rights higher educated students tended to focus

on the right itself, whereas the lower educated tended to focus on the group. For our research this might mean that adolescents in the lowest level of education were predominantly concerned about the out-group of Muslims whereas the higher educated tended to evaluate the nature of the practices. This interpretation implies that a focus on the actual practices rather than on the group itself does not lead to higher tolerance of persuading fellow Muslims, on the contrary.

Girls were found to be more tolerant than boys in the cases of the headscarf, the school, and the shaking of hands. However, for the imam's speech the picture was reversed, with girls being somewhat less tolerant than boys. It could be argued that females are more likely to reason from a care or welfare perspective (Gilligan, 1982) which makes them more sensitive to the potential (psychological) harm that is inflicted upon homosexuals by the imam's speech. However, systematic research has shown that gender does not explain variability in moral reasoning development (see Walker, 2006). Furthermore, the care perspective does not explain why female adolescents were actually more tolerant than male adolescents in the three other cases that involved freedoms and rights. In two of these three cases, the actors were women and this could have made the female participants' gender identity salient. As a result, their responses might have been influenced by their shared gender identity with the Muslim females in the scenarios. Furthermore, children know that males are considered of higher status than females and the female participants' higher tolerance for these two practices might be a reaction to the lower status and power of women (see Powlishta, 2004). It is also possible that females are more sensitive to issues of rights and freedoms because they have more experiences with gender discrimination and exclusion (e.g., Theimer, Killen & Stangor, 2001). Future studies could test these different interpretations, for example, by presenting the participants with various practices that were carried out by both male and female Muslims.

Questions on the acceptance of minority practices and minority rights can involve many different situations and issues, and tolerance might also depend on the national context. Islam has moved to the center of debates in most European countries and the retreat of multicultural policies is not restricted to the Netherlands (Joppke, 2004; Zolberg & Long, 1999). Muslims are typically perceived as threatening and they are evaluated rather negatively by majority group populations across Europe (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). There are strong debates about the acceptance and accommodation of Islamic practices within most liberal states. So, it is likely that our findings apply to other national contexts. Perhaps the mean level of tolerance for the various practices differs across contexts but the differentiation between the

different domains, as proposed by socio-cognitive domain theory, and the role of the endorsement of multiculturalism and in-group identification, as proposed by intergroup approaches, are likely to be similar. Future studies should examine this generality issue more closely and these studies could also examine the judgments of Muslim adolescents (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2008).

In this research we used questions with pre-coded answer categories and we did not ask participants to give their reasons for tolerating or not tolerating particular practices. But children and adolescents form judgments on the basis of various concerns and considerations that are evaluated and assessed in relation to each other and the situation to which these apply (Turiel, 2002). That means that there is flexibility of thought and that the same practice can raise very different concerns. For example, the wearing of a headscarf does not only have to be considered a personal choice, but can also raise social conventional concerns and moral issues of gender equality. Similarly, the practice of founding Muslim schools can raise important conventional concerns but typically also involves matters of equal rights. But the fact that different interpretations and justifications are possible does not mean that socially shared or dominant interpretations do not exist. Both of our studies show that, in general and from the perspective of adolescents, some practices more than others raise moral, or conventional, or rather personal concerns. Calling homosexuals inferior people is typically considered harmful and rejected by the great majority of our participants, whereas the wearing of a headscarf is seen more as a personal decision. Thus, we focused on the distinctions made by adolescents themselves and we examined their tolerance judgments in relation to this. However, it would be useful to study adolescents' social reasoning about these topics and to examine the ways in which they weigh and coordinate various considerations in making judgments.

In conclusion, we drew on social cognitive domain theory and social identity theory for understanding adolescents' tolerance of practices by Muslims actors, and we demonstrated the fruitful outcome for combining these theoretical frameworks. In studying out-group evaluations and behaviors, an increasing number of studies use an integrated framework by drawing on both developmental and social psychological theories (see Killen et al., 2006). Previous research, for example, has studied the role of group identity and stereotypic expectations in children's reasoning about peer inclusion and exclusion (e.g., Abrams et al., 2008; Killen & Stangor, 2001). We have tried to make a contribution to this literature by focusing on aspects of tolerance regarding concrete Muslim practices that are, or recently were, debated in the Dutch context. Adolescents were found to make a distinction between practices that they evaluated negatively but regarded mainly a personal matter,

practices that predominantly violate conventional norms, and practices that violate moral norms. The level of tolerance differs between these domains and intergroup factors appear to be less important for the acceptance of out-group practices that evoke moral concerns. Our findings indicate the importance of using an integrative social-developmental perspective. By combining cognitive domain theory and social identity theory we were able to formulate specific predictions and improve our understanding of adolescents' tolerance of dissenting practices.

This understanding might be of use for developing adequate interventions to improve tolerance, which is foundational for equality and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. Most lines of thinking argue that the reduction of stereotypes and prejudice is necessary for these kinds of relationships to develop. However, our knowledge and ability to reduce stereotypes and prejudice remains limited. Generalized perceptions and negative beliefs and feelings do not appear to be easy to change or to reject. The importance of tolerance is that it keeps these beliefs and feelings from becoming negative actions thereby forming the first crucial step towards civility or the last barrier to conflict (Vogt, 1997). Tolerance also does not imply relativism in which it is argued that one should refrain from value judgments in assessing other groups (Lukes, 2008). Tolerance always has limits and does not imply a full acceptance and valuing of all social practices of other groups, such as potentially harmful activities, illiberal internal rules, and inequalities. A decision of whether a particular practice should be tolerated always involves a variety of considerations and the results show that adolescents evaluate different practices differently. This means, for example, that effective civics education has to focus on the related questions of what should and what should not be tolerated and why. Furthermore, our findings suggest that an educational emphasis on cultural diversity and multicultural recognition is a promising avenue for improving majority group adolescents' tolerance of Muslims. Participants who endorse multiculturalism more strongly appear to be more tolerant, but much less so when it comes to the imam's harmful speech. Thus, it seems important to stimulate multicultural recognition but without the relativism that is found in some forms of multiculturalism that tend to celebrate diversity unconditionally.

Chapter 4

Dutch adolescents' tolerance of practices by Muslim actors: The effect of issue framing

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Dutch adolescents' tolerance of practices by Muslim actors: The effect of issue framing

4.1 Introduction

Throughout Europe, Islam has moved to the centre of debates and politics and is at the heart of what is perceived as a 'crisis of multiculturalism' (Modood & Ahmad, 2007). In the Netherlands, where the current study was conducted, the level of prejudice toward Muslims is high among the general population (Pew Global Project, 2005), as well as among adolescents with over 50 % expressing negative opinions (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). In the so-called 'national pupils election' in which adolescents (i.e., those not eligible to vote) vote for one of the political parties, organized a few days before the parliamentary elections in June 2010, the far right Party for Freedom (PVV) received the most votes (Dutch Institute for Political Participation, 2010). Geert Wilders is the undisputed leader of this party and he is known for his fiercely negative position on Islam, which he states, is a backward and fascist ideology. Wilders has called for an immigration stop from Islamic countries, a prohibition of the building of new Mosques, a closing of Islamic schools and a legal ban on the Koran. He has called the prophet Mohammed a barbarian, compared the Koran to Hitler's 'Mein Kampf', and proposed a special tax for wearing a headscarf because the 'polluter pays'.

The popularity of this party indicates that many native adolescents are negative about Islam in the Netherlands, in particular about the increasing number of Islamic schools, mosques, women that wear a headscarf, and other visible signs of Islam in Dutch society. It is around these concrete practices and behaviors that cultural and religious diversity is put to the test and ways of life can collide (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Therefore, it is important to focus on native adolescents' acceptance of these kinds of practices that mark and symbolize Muslim identity in Western societies. It is particularly important to understand the contextual factors that increase or decrease the level of acceptance of these practices.

The main question in the present study is whether adolescents' tolerance of practices by Muslim actors is affected by issue framing, i.e. the type of considerations that are emphasized when asked whether these practices should be accepted or not. We focused on four issues that in recent years have been widely debated in the Netherlands: the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women, the founding of Islamic schools, female Muslim teachers not shaking hands with the opposite sex, and imams publicly calling

homosexuals inferior people. Using vignettes and an experimental questionnaire design we set out to investigate the effects of arguing either for acceptance or for rejection of these practices.

In addition, individual differences can affect the extent to which people's attitudes are influenced by different types of considerations (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Druckman, 2001). Some native adolescents are more inclined than others to see themselves as a national group member and to value their national group membership. Previous studies have shown that Dutch national identification is an important factor in tolerance of Muslim immigrants (e.g., Gieling, Thijs & Verkuyten, 2010; Van der Noll, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2010). We examined whether national identification influences the effect of different considerations on adolescents' acceptance of the Muslim practices. Furthermore, we examined the role of age and education.

Framing

Research on framing effects has shown that acceptance of particular issues does not only depend on people's interests, group sentiments or political beliefs, but also on the way in which issues are presented by political elites and the mass media (e.g., Nelson, 2004; Nelson & Kinder, 1996). The central assumption in framing research is that most people are sensitive and responsive to different, often contradictory, considerations about an issue, making their opinion dependent on the way that the issue is presented (Chong, 1993; Nelson & Kinder, 1996). By framing an issue in a particular way, attention is directed towards positive or negative considerations that affect people's views about, for example, affirmative action, welfare policies, and civil liberties (e.g., Brewer & Gross, 2005; Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). For example, in an experimental study on media frames, Nelson and colleagues (1997) showed that tolerance of a Ku Klux Klan rally was higher when a newspaper article emphasized the Klan's right to free speech, than when the article focused on the rally's disruption of public order.

One way in which native Dutch adolescents' tolerance of Muslim practices might be increased, is by framing these acts in terms of Muslim's civil liberties. Freedom of speech, for example, clearly relates to an imam's speech on homosexuality, and freedom of religion is an important argument in favor of allowing Muslim women to wear a headscarf and not to shake hands with men. Further, in the Netherlands the constitution protects the right to establish religious schools. Thus, we expected higher levels of acceptance of Muslim practices when these freedoms are emphasized, compared to the situation in which no arguments or considerations for the specific practices are provided.

Questions of tolerance are multi-faceted and typically evoke oppositional arguments as well. In the study of Nelson and colleagues (1997), a focus on the potential disruption of public order by a rally of the Ku Klux Klan increased the importance people attached to values of public order and safety, and subsequently decreased their acceptance of such a rally. In the current study, an imam's public speech does not only involve the right to free speech, but can also be considered harmful and offensive to homosexual people. And Islamic schools can be seen as fostering segregation and thereby hindering the integration of Muslim children in Dutch society. Furthermore, both the wearing of a headscarf and not shaking hands with the opposite sex are unconventional in Dutch society, and can be seen as preventing an open and respectful communication. When compared to the situation in which no considerations are given, emphasizing the importance of these considerations can be expected to lead to less tolerant attitudes.

An additional question is whether considerations in favor or against acceptance differ in their relative importance. Research on tolerance has focused on its asymmetry: it is often easier to convince people to become less tolerant, than the other way around (Gibson, 2006; Gibson & Gouws, 2003). As Gibson (2006, p. 29) notes, 'intolerance is an attitude more strongly held, with fewer sources of internal discord'. It is easier to maintain an intolerant attitude, because the negative attitude towards a group is in agreement with rejecting the practices of this group. Being tolerant, on the other hand, is more contradictory because it implies putting up with the actions and practices of a disliked group. Therefore, emphasizing considerations in favor of an intolerant attitude is expected to have a stronger effect because these are more easily activated than considerations associated with a tolerant, accepting attitude.

In many (political) contexts, people are not just exposed to a single set of considerations about an issue or problem, but rather, to competing sets (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). A number of studies have argued that the impact of any given interpretative frame on individuals' opinions is neutralized by the introduction of a competing frame that rebuts the first (e.g., Brewer 2003; Brewer & Gross, 2005; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). For example, a recent survey experiment in the Netherlands indicated that the level of rejection of ethnic-specific school policies increased when these policies were framed in terms of the cost for the Dutch population, in comparison to when no frame was used (Van Londen, Coenders, & Scheepers, 2010). However, when the emphasis on costs was combined with an argument about the positive implications of educating ethnic minorities, the level of rejection of the policies was not different than in the condition in which no arguments were given. Thus, the effect of the one consideration appeared to be

neutralized by introducing a countering consideration. However, this assumes that the opposing considerations are equally important. Given the negative attitude that Dutch adolescents tend to have towards Muslims (Van der Noll et al., 2010; Velasco Gonzalez, 2008) and given the asymmetry of (in)tolerance (Gibson, 2006), it can be expected that a pro-acceptance frame (e.g., civil liberties) carries less weight than a contra-acceptance frame (e.g., social conventions). Thus, we hypothesized that a contra-acceptance frame will predominate and that adolescents' tolerance in a dual frame condition is similar to the condition in which only the negative considerations are presented.

National identification

Several framing studies indicate that people may actively deliberate about and sometimes resist the considerations presented (e.g., Chong, 1996; Nelson, et al., 1997). Research has shown that perceived threat is an important predictor of intolerance (Gibson, 2006; Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1982). For example, adolescents who feel that the Dutch society and identity are threatened by Muslim immigrants are less tolerant of Muslims (Van der Noll et al., 2010). These threat perceptions are closely linked to national identity (Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008) and individuals differ in their degree of national identification. Some adolescents are more inclined than others to see themselves as a national group member and to value their national group membership. Compared to lower identifiers those with higher national identification are more likely to be concerned about their national group, especially when the position and value of the group identity is at stake. For the present study, this means that higher identifiers are not only less likely to accept Muslim practices than lower identifiers, but they also might be less responsive to the arguments presented in the different frames. That is, given the threat that Muslims are perceived to pose to Dutch culture and identity (Vasta, 2007), adolescents who have relatively high national identification can be expected not to change their (in)tolerance of the Muslim practices as a result of framing. Lower identifiers, on the other hand, should be more affected by the different interpretative frames, as they are less concerned with the Dutch national identity and culture. Therefore, we expect the predicted framing effects to differ between adolescents with lower and higher national identification.

Age and education

Research has found that with age, native Dutch adolescents are less accepting of cultural diversity because it is seen as undermining social cohesion and the

functioning of society (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007). Further, Vogt (1997) concludes in his review that there is clear evidence that education increases tolerance. The current question, however, is how age and education affect the impact of pro and contra arguments on adolescents' tolerance of Muslim practices. Chong and Druckman (2007) argue that framing will have a greater effect on more knowledgeable individuals, and both age and educational level can be considered proxies for knowledge. More knowledgeable individuals are more likely to be aware of and informed about the different considerations involved in a particular issue. Therefore, these considerations (either in favor of accepting or rejecting a practice) are more easily activated by an issue, than when these considerations are not already known (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This proposition is supported by several studies (e.g., Druckman & Nelson, 2003). However, it can also be argued that older adolescents and adolescents enrolled in higher levels of education are actually less likely to be affected by the ways in which issue are presented. Sniderman and Theriault (2004), for example, found stronger framing effects for those individuals who were less informed about a public rally by an extremist group. And Kinder and Sanders (1990) argue and show that individuals who are more knowledgeable about an issue are more likely to have an informed opinion and thus will be less likely to be affected by the considerations presented. Given these different findings, we will explore whether the impact of the issue frames (pro, contra, and dual frames) on acceptance of Muslim practices differs for older and younger adolescents, and for adolescents in different levels of education.

Overview

The present study focuses on the ways in which tolerance issues are framed, either by emphasizing considerations in favor of acceptance (i.e. civil liberties) or of rejection of Muslim practices (e.g., social conventions). It is expected that native Dutch adolescents' tolerance of the practices will be positively affected by the presence of pro-acceptance considerations, whereas lower levels of tolerance are expected when contra-acceptance considerations are emphasized. Furthermore, following the asymmetry of tolerance, we hypothesize that the relative impact of contra-acceptance considerations will be stronger than that of pro-acceptance considerations. Additionally, it is expected that adolescents are not equally susceptible to the different considerations, and the impact is expected to be stronger for lower national identifiers than for higher identifiers. Finally, the effects of age and educational level are taken into account, and the interactions between these variables and the different interpretative frames are explored.

4.2 Method

Participants

The sample included 970 participants between 13 and 17 years of age ($M = 15.10$, $SD = 0.95$). In total, 51% were males. Of the participants, 36.3% were in the lowest level of secondary education (junior vocational track), 34.5% in the middle level (higher vocational track), and 29.2% in the highest level of education (pre-university track). At the three levels of education, all age groups participated. Thus, age and education were not confounded. Both parents of the participants were native Dutch ('white' majority and non-Muslim). The pupils participated on a voluntary basis and the anonymous paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered in separate class sessions and under supervision.

Measures

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of issue framing on adolescents' tolerant judgments about practices by Muslims. For this, and following Verkuyten and Slooter (2007, 2008), we used short vignettes that were not counterbalanced but given in a fixed order. For the different considerations a random design was used. The participants were asked to judge four different cases. Every case was preceded by a statement containing either a consideration pro-acceptance, contra acceptance, or both considerations simultaneously. In addition, the majority of framing studies compares different conditions without using an unframed condition. This, however, makes it difficult to establish whether a difference between conditions is caused by only one of the frames, or that both pro and contra frames affect people's reactions (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Therefore, we also included an unframed, control condition in which no considerations were given. This allows us to better investigate the relative impact of the different types of considerations. Thus, four versions of the questionnaire were randomly allocated among the participants. The four cases and considerations were presented as follows, with the order of the types of considerations equal to their order in the dual condition:

1. [Freedom of education is very important in our society (pro). It is very important that children can integrate in society and this is best achieved with mixed schools (contra).] 'Some parents are founding Islamic schools where only Muslim children are accepted. What should the government do about these schools?'

2. [In our society, it is very important that people can communicate with each other in a respectful and open way (contra). In our society, a very important value is that people are free to choose their own way of dressing

(pro).] ‘Imagine that a group of students in your school wears a headscarf which covers a small part of the face. What do you think the school should do?’

3. [In our society, it is very important that people treat each other in a commonly accepted and respectful manner (contra). In our society, freedom of religion and the right to behave according to the rules of your religion is very important (pro).] ‘Recently, there has been a discussion about a female Muslim teacher who does not want to shake hands with men, such as colleagues and fathers of students. What do you think the school should do?’

4. [Freedom of speech is a very important value in our society (pro). In our society, it is very important not to unnecessarily harm or insult people (contra)]. ‘Recently, an imam held a speech in a mosque in which he calls homosexuals inferior people. What do you think the mosque committee should do?’

In each case there were four response categories (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007, 2008): ‘Do nothing and allow it’ (1), ‘Try to convince them [not to found those schools, not to wear a headscarf, to shake hands, to convince the imam to apologize], but allow it if they do not agree’ (2), ‘Try to convince them not to do it, but forbid it if they do not agree’ (3), ‘simply not allow it’ (4). Items were recoded such that a higher score reflects a more tolerant attitude. Exploratory factor analysis showed that the four items formed a single factor, with factor loadings all higher than .55. Cronbach’s alpha was acceptable at .63. The mean score was low ($M = 2.17$, $SD = .64$) and also positively skewed (.148). Therefore, the standardized mean of the four items was used as the score for tolerance of the practices.

To measure *national identification* participants were asked for their agreement with six statements that have been used in various studies in the Netherlands (see Verkuyten, 2005). Three sample items are, ‘My national identity is an important part of myself’, ‘I strongly identify with my national group’, and ‘I am proud of my national background’. Answers could range from ‘totally disagree’ (1) to ‘totally agree’ (5). Cronbach’s alpha for the six items is .86. A higher score indicates stronger national identification.

Analyses

The concept of tolerance as we use it here implies forbearance or the putting up with something that one disapproves of or is prejudiced against (Sullivan & Transue, 1999). Therefore, we first examined whether participants in general felt negative towards the Muslim actors. For each case, participants were asked to rate their feelings towards the actors on a 7-point scale, ranging from ‘negative’ (-3) to ‘positive’ (3). Across the four cases, the average score was well below the neutral midpoint (zero) of the 7-point scales ($M = -1.50$, $SD = 1.03$).

One-sample t-tests indicated that for each practice, the scores were significantly below zero ($p_s < .001$), and even below -1 ($p_s < .001$). Thus, there were very few participants who indicated to have positive feelings (ranging from 4-8% across the practices) and in general most participants in this sample were negative about the practices of the Muslim actors.

4.3 Results

Tolerance of practices

We performed a multivariate regression analysis, estimating the effects of the three issue frames in comparison to the unframed, control condition while taking the effects of age, education, gender, and national identification into account. By comparing the effects of the different conditions to the unframed condition rather than to each other, we can examine the relative impact of pro- and contra-acceptance frames. The results are presented in Table 4.1. Compared to the unframed condition, adolescents were expected to show higher tolerance when a pro-acceptance argument is given, and lower tolerance when a contra-acceptance argument is presented.

In general, acceptance was relatively low in all conditions, and contrary to our expectations, no difference was found between the pro-acceptance and the unframed condition. Adolescents in both conditions displayed similar levels of tolerance. However, as expected, participants were more negative in the contra-acceptance condition compared to the unframed condition. Thus, when presented with a consideration against acceptance, adolescents were less tolerant towards Muslim practices. As expected, this was also the case in the dual frame condition where the pro and contra arguments were presented simultaneously. Participants in this condition were significantly less accepting than those in the unframed condition. Thus, when presented simultaneously the contra argument had more impact than the pro argument.

The analysis further shows that those with a stronger national identification were less accepting of Muslim practices. In addition, older adolescents showed lower levels of acceptance than younger adolescents and pupils in the lowest level of education were less accepting than pupils in the highest level. Furthermore, boys were more negative than girls.

Table 4.1

Standard regression analyses predicting acceptance of Muslim practices: Unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

| Predictors | Tolerance of Muslim practices |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Constant | 3.006 (.556)*** |
| Two-fold argument | -.193 (.098)* |
| Pro argument | -.026 (.097) |
| Contra argument | -.202 (.098)* |
| Age | -.170 (.034)*** |
| Gender (male = ref) | .198 (.062)** |
| Educational level (low = ref) | |
| Middle | .132 (.077) |
| High | .234 (.082)** |
| Ethnic identification | -.214 (.039)*** |
| R ² (R ² adjusted) | .084 (.077) |

Note: 'no argument' is the contrasting control condition for the three issue frames

Interactions between issue frames and individual level factors

In the next step, we examined whether the relation between the issue frames and tolerance differed for adolescents with different levels of national identification, age, educational level, and gender. For this, interactions between the issue frames and these variables were added to the regression model. No significant interactions between age and issue frame, between educational level and issue frame, and between gender and issue frame were found.

For national identification too, no significant differences between adolescents with different levels of national identification were found between the unframed condition and the three framing conditions (pro, contra, and dual). However, the results did show that the effect of identification on acceptance of the practices significantly differed between the contra and the pro framing conditions ($b = .179$, $SE = .105$, $p < .10$), and between the dual and the pro framing conditions ($b = .266$, $SE = .108$, $p < .05$).

To examine if, as predicted, higher identifiers are less responsive to the issue frames than lower identifiers, we performed a simple-slope analysis (see Aiken & West, 1991). We estimated the effects of the issue frames for different levels of national identification (i.e., high and low), while controlling for age, education and gender. Given the interaction effects between identification and

issue frame, the reference category is the pro frame rather than the unframed condition. As shown in Figure 4.1, the analysis indicates that for individuals with a higher level of identification (one standard deviation above the mean), the issue frames do not have an effect: no significant differences between the conditions are found. However, for adolescents with lower national identification (one standard deviation below average) there are significant differences between the dual frame and the contra frame conditions, on the one hand, and the pro frame condition, on the other hand ($b = -.39$, $SE = .122$, $p < .01$, and $b = -.31$, $SE = .118$, $p < .01$, respectively). Thus, adolescents with a relatively low level of identification become less tolerant when an argument against the practices is presented compared to when only a pro argument is given. These low-identifying adolescents also become more negative in the dual frame condition in which the contra argument is presented together with an argument in favor of acceptance.

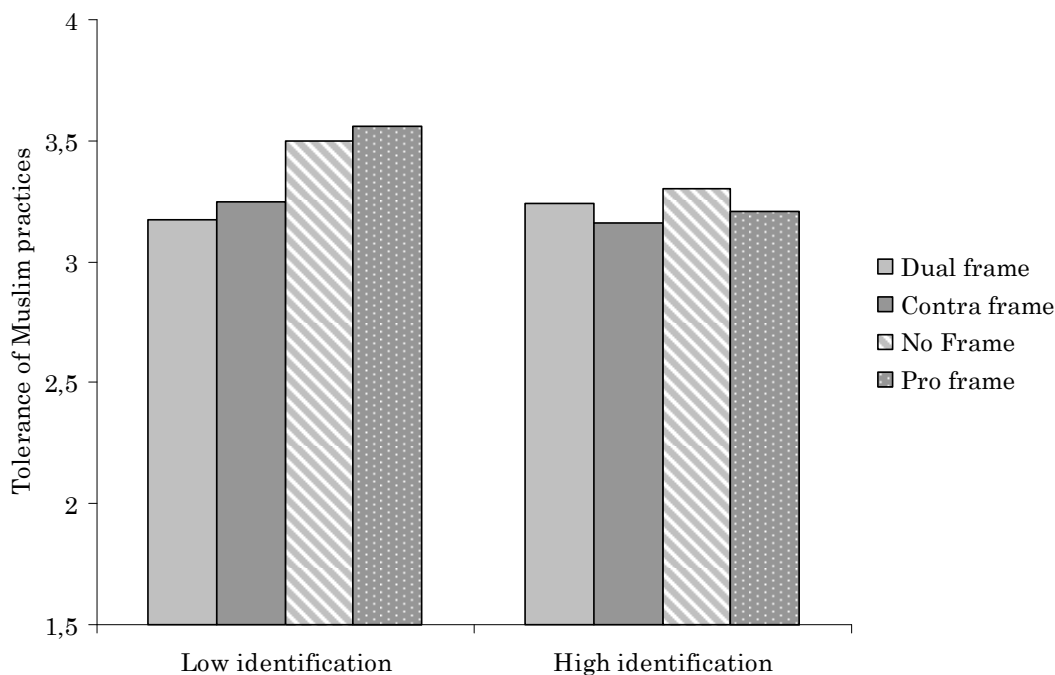


Figure 4.1

The main effect of issue framing on tolerance of Muslim practices under conditions of low identification (one standard deviation below the mean) and high identification (one standard deviation above the mean).

4.4 Discussion

The presence of an increasing number of Muslims in West European countries has given a renewed urgency to the idea of tolerance as a mechanism to deal with religious diversity. The development of tolerance toward Muslims is a particularly important issue among young people. In democratic societies

teaching youth tolerant reactions to dissenting others is an important socialization goal. Adolescence is a critical period for the learning of political and other forms of tolerance (e.g., Avery, 1989; Berti, 2005). This learning takes place within the interpretations and representations circulating in the society in which youngsters live (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007).

We examined the effects of issue framing on native Dutch adolescents' tolerance of specific practices by Muslim actors: the founding of Islamic schools, the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women, a female Muslim teacher refusing to shake hands with men, and an imam calling homosexuals inferior people in a public speech. These are examples of concrete cases that are, and have been, debated in Dutch society and it is around these types of issues that cultural and religious diversity is put to the test and ways of life can collide.

In general, we found that native adolescents were rather negative towards Muslim actors and expressed moderate to low levels of tolerance. However, their acceptance of the practices was affected by the way in which the different issues were framed. Based upon previous research on framing effects (e.g., Brewer & Gross, 2005; Nelson, et al, 1997) we expected adolescents' to show higher levels of acceptance when considerations were emphasized that favor a tolerant attitude towards Muslim practices, compared to the situation in which no considerations were presented. This was not found to be the case. An emphasis on freedoms and civil liberties did not affect adolescents' tolerance. Rather, adolescents became less tolerant when considerations of social conventions and immigrant integration were emphasized. Interestingly, this was also the case when contra and pro acceptance arguments were presented simultaneously (dual frame). Although some research suggests that these different arguments cancel each other out, or 'neutralize' each other (e.g., Sniderman & Theriault, 2004), the findings of the present study indicate that this is not always the case. The hypothesis that opposing arguments neutralize each others impact assumes that the arguments carry equal weight and that individuals are equally likely to be persuaded by them. However, studies on political tolerance show that there is an asymmetry in (in)tolerance (Gibson,2006; Gibson & Gouws, 2003). Individuals with a more tolerant attitude are easier to persuade in the direction of intolerance, compared to persuading intolerant individuals to accept the practices and behaviors of disliked groups. The outcomes of the present research are in line with this asymmetry. The pro acceptance frame did not affect adolescents' attitude when presented exclusively, nor did it neutralize the effect of the contra acceptance frame when these were presented simultaneously. Thus, the pro acceptance frame did not have an impact on

adolescents' tolerance of Muslim practices. In contrast, the argument against the acceptance of the practices by Muslim actors made the adolescents less tolerant.

The asymmetry of (in)tolerance is further indicated by the findings for national identification. In general, Dutch adolescents with a stronger sense of national identity are more concerned about Islam undermining Dutch culture and identity (Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008). Therefore, these adolescents were expected to be less accepting of Muslim practices and to be unresponsive to the considerations presented in the different cases. Low-identifiers, on the other hand, are less concerned about Dutch culture and identity and therefore should be more strongly affected by the different considerations presented. This difference between higher and lower identifiers was indeed found. Importantly, however, it turned out that lower identifiers became more intolerant when contra arguments were presented, while they did not become more tolerant in the pro acceptance condition. This result too, is in agreement with the idea that it is easier to convince people to become more intolerant than it is to persuade them to become more tolerant. Furthermore, this result suggests that also lower national identifiers can be politically mobilized against Muslim immigrants when specific arguments are presented (see Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2010).

The knowledge that one has about an issue can affect the impact that different considerations and arguments have on one's opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007). However, studies that investigated this proposition report mixed findings. Whereas some show that knowledgeable individuals are more responsive to issue framing (e.g., Druckman & Nelson, 2003), others find less responsiveness (e.g., Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). The present study did not find an interaction effect between adolescents' age and issue frame, or between educational level and issue frame. One possible explanation for this is that both age and education are not the most reliable indicators of the knowledge that adolescents have about the issues under consideration. Furthermore, given the intense public debate on Muslims in the Netherlands (Vasta, 2007), even younger and lower educated adolescents are likely to be informed about these issues. Future studies should include questions on whether or not adolescents have frequently and recently discussed these cases. More information about and familiarity with the cases presented and with the considerations involved in acceptance or rejection of particular practices could improve our understanding of when and why knowledge has an impact on the relationship between issue framing and adolescents' tolerance.

A related limitation of our study concerns the framing used. Although several differences were found in the acceptance of Muslim practices across

issue frames, it should be noted that the explanatory power of the framing was modest. The small effects can partially be explained by the fact that the issues we used are frequently discussed and adolescents are probably already familiar with the different types of arguments. In addition, Dutch adolescents tend to have quite negative feelings towards Muslims (Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008) and framing effects are less likely and less clear when people have strong opinions and attitudes (Chong, 1993; Nelson & Kinder, 1996). Furthermore, the experimental manipulation in the vignettes was small because only one short sentence containing an argument was used. Other studies (e.g. Nelson, et al, 1997) have used, for example, (fabricated) newspaper articles or videos which are more elaborate and vivid ways of issue framing. Hence, it is likely that the use of more vivid framing techniques will be even more effective in shaping adolescents' tolerance. However, in spite of the minor manipulation, our research does find an effect of the frames and in the expected direction. Arguably this makes the current findings even more relevant, because it suggests that the media, politicians, and policymakers can influence adolescents' opinion about Muslim immigrants with minimal means. Future studies should examine the effects of different types of framing manipulations on adolescents' tolerance of Muslims. In doing so, the role of parents, peers, schools, political leaders and the media can also be examined. Framing a particular issue does not only involve specific arguments and consideration but can also relate to sources of information and the context in which the behavior should be tolerated (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Furthermore, future studies could examine framing effects in relation to, for example, adolescents' own political beliefs and moral development (Vogt, 1997).

An additional limitation concerns the design of the questionnaire, in which the order of the four cases was the same for all participants. Previous research, however, has shown that the different tolerant judgments are not strongly correlated which suggests that it is unlikely that the fixed order in which the cases were presented did affect the findings (see Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007, 2009; Wainryb, Shaw, & Maianu, 1998). Furthermore, additional analyses showed that the effects of the different considerations were similar for the different cases.

The current research was conducted in the Netherlands and among native Dutch adolescents. This raises the question whether the results can be generalized to other countries and other ethnic groups. Islam has moved to the centre of debates and politics throughout Europe and is typically seen as a threat to the national identity and culture (Modood & Ahmad, 2007). Given the similarity in the position of Muslims in the different European countries, we

would expect similar findings in these countries. In addition, attitudes towards Muslims have become more negative in the US as well, especially after the 9/11 attacks (Esposito & Mogahed, 2007), and framing research has shown that hostility toward Muslims depends on, for example, the activation of egalitarian concepts (Butz, Plant, & Doerr, 2007). Furthermore, the current findings for issues framing and the asymmetry of tolerance are mostly in line with results from previous research, conducted in different contexts and with different disliked groups. However, future studies should examine the generalizability of the current findings further. In doing so, it is also important to investigate adolescents from ethnic minority groups and Muslim adolescents in particular. A previous study in the Netherlands has found differences and similarities between native and Muslim adolescents' reasoning about free speech and minority rights (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2008). A better understanding of these differences and similarities is important for improving intergroup relations in Western countries.

Conclusion

Political tolerance is a fundamental condition for increasingly diverse modern societies. Tolerance does not imply that people like each other, but rather that they 'put up with' dissenting beliefs and practices without interference (Sullivan & Transue, 1999). Similar to other studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Van der Noll et al., 2010; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007, 2008), our findings show that native adolescents are quite negative and intolerant towards practices that mark Muslim identity in Dutch society. Furthermore, the way in which these practices are presented affects adolescents' acceptance. Importantly, the particular framing moved adolescents in the direction of higher intolerance, but did not make them more tolerant. This indicates that changing the negative opinions of adolescents is a difficult task. When presented with considerations of freedoms and civil liberties that favor a tolerant attitude, adolescents did not become more accepting of Muslim practices and behaviors. Rather, they became even less tolerant when they were presented with arguments against these practices, like existing social conventions and the integration of Muslim immigrants. In addition, the adolescents who were the most responsive to this argument were those with lower levels of national identification. This indicates that Dutch adolescents who, in general, are not strongly concerned about Muslims undermining Dutch identity and culture can also be made more intolerant.

These are socially important and troubling findings that should be examined further in future studies in other countries and by using other experimental manipulations and other research methods. Future studies

should examine the factors and processes involved in changes in the direction of tolerant and intolerant reactions. This is important for developing adequate interventions for improving adolescents' tolerance of Muslim immigrants who want to practice their religion and culture within the legal framework of the country.

Chapter 5

Dutch adolescents' tolerance of Muslim immigrants: The role of assimilation ideology, intergroup contact and national identification

This chapter is co-authored by Jochem Thijs and Maykel Verkuyten and is currently under review at an international journal.

Dutch adolescents' tolerance of Muslim immigrants: The role of assimilation ideology, intergroup contact and national identification.

5.1 Introduction

In social psychology there is a large body of work on out-group attitudes. Many studies have examined stereotypes, evaluations and feelings towards ethnic and racial out-groups (see Brown, 2010). What is examined much less is people's tolerance of concrete practices and actions of religious out-group members. Islam has moved to the center of debates and politics in European countries and is at the heart of what is perceived as a 'crisis of multiculturalism' (Modood & Ahmad, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999). The hotly debated issues are about concrete actions and behaviors. Should it be accepted that Muslim teachers refuse to shake hands with children's parents of the opposite sex; should it be allowed that civil servants wear a headscarf and that students wear a burqa or a niqab; should it be allowed to have separate Islamic schools. It is around these concrete questions that multiculturalism is put to the test and ways of life can collide (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Therefore, it is important to focus on acceptance of these kinds of practices that publicly mark and symbolize Muslim identity in western societies. Tolerance can be conceptualized as the 'putting up' with dissenting groups, actions, or beliefs that one disapproves of or is prejudiced against. Historically, this conceptualization of tolerance evolved in order to deal with the harmful and violent consequences of religious conflicts (Sullivan & Transue, 1999). The presence of an increasing number of Muslims in West European countries has given a renewed urgency to the idea of tolerance as a mechanism to deal with cultural diversity (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007).

The present study examines tolerance towards Muslims in the Netherlands by using concrete practices and focusing on adolescents. An important socialization goal in democratic societies is to teach youth tolerant reactions to dissenting others. Adolescence is a critical period for the learning of political and other forms of tolerance (e.g., Avery, 1989; Berti, 2005). Recent research among native adolescents in the Netherlands has found high levels of prejudice and explicit negative opinions towards Muslims (e.g., Gieling, Thijs & Verkuyten, 2010; Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). This mirrors findings from surveys among the general population (e.g., Pew Global Project, 2005). Leading politicians have taken a fiercely negative

position on Islam which is defined as a backward religion that seriously threatens Dutch society, and national identity and culture (Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). An example is Geert Wilders, the leader of the far right Party for Freedom (PVV) which is currently one of the largest political parties in the Netherlands and the most popular one among adolescents (Dutch Institute for Political Participation, 2010). Wilders has called for an immigration stop from Islamic countries, a special tax for wearing a headscarf because 'the polluter pays', and the closing of Islamic schools. In general, migrants in the Netherlands are being blamed for not integrating enough and for practicing 'backward religions' (Vasta, 2007).

Political (in)tolerance is explained in different ways and many studies focus on factors like authoritarianism, conservatism, personal interests, and beliefs in democratic values (Sullivan & Transue, 1999). The present study examines tolerance towards Muslims in relation to three social psychological factors that have not received much attention in political tolerance research but that are important for reactions towards immigrants: diversity ideologies, national identification, and intergroup contact. First, in the Netherlands there has been a clear shift from a multicultural ideology to an emphasis on assimilation in which minority members are expected to adapt to the Dutch culture and discard their group identity in public life (Joppke, 2004). Assimilation emphasises cultural homogeneity and conformity. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are 'expected to shed their previous markers of group identity and adopt those of the social whole' (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005, p. 227). Assimilation ideology affirms the identity of the native majority and provides intellectual and moral justification for the dominant culture. Therefore, we examined the relationship between assimilation and tolerance towards Muslims.

This relationship, however, might differ as a function of group identification. Previous studies among adolescents have indicated that national identification is an important factor in tolerance of Muslim immigrants with higher identifiers being less tolerant than lower identifiers (e.g., Gieling et al, 2010; Van der Noll, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2010). Hence, as a second aspect, we examined to what extent national identification moderates the expected relationship between assimilation and tolerance.

Third, adolescents' acceptance of cultural and religious diversity does not develop in a social vacuum. Given the increasing ethnic diversity in Dutch society, it is likely that native adolescents will come into contact and develop friendships with ethnic minority peers, for example through interaction within the school context. The number of studies on intergroup contact and prejudice has greatly increased during the past decade (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

However, these studies mainly focus on out-group evaluations and stereotyping, rather than on diversity ideologies and tolerance. The question that is addressed in the current research is whether having contact with peers of ethnic minority groups affects Dutch adolescents' support for assimilation and their tolerance of Muslims. We conducted our research with 1139 native Dutch adolescents from 77 classes in 10 schools. In trying to maximize the relevance and ecological validity of the research, we focused on real-life events that are much debated in Dutch society, instead of general questions of tolerance, or unfamiliar and fictitious scenarios. These events are the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women, the founding of Islamic schools, female Muslim teachers not shaking hands with the opposite sex, and imams publicly calling homosexuals inferior people. Furthermore, the focus is not only on adolescents' tolerance of these practices but also on whether it should be allowed that the different Muslim actors try to convince other Muslims to do the same thing. This social mobilization of Muslims is typically seen as threatening the Dutch identity and culture (Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007) and, therefore, might trigger different levels of acceptance than the practices themselves.

Assimilation and tolerance

Tolerance involves issues of civil liberties and rights whereas diversity ideologies refer to the assumed 'best way' that immigrants and minority groups should relate to the host society (Berry, 2001). Assimilation as an ideology emphasizes that minority group members should adapt to the majority culture and discard their own culture and group identity. Assimilation might be endorsed because people genuinely believe that it is beneficial for social cohesion, the functioning of society, and the social mobility of immigrants and minorities (e.g., Alba & Nee, 2003; Brubaker, 2001). However, although the professed goal of assimilation is equality, assimilationist thinking provides intellectual and moral justification for the dominant and unchanging character of the native identity and culture (Fredrickson, 1999). Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) argues that human societies are characterized by hierarchical power structures, and that dominant social groups are motivated to endorse ideologies that justify intergroup hierarchies and social inequality. The ideology of assimilation underlines the dominant status of the majority group, and by demanding immigrants to adapt to the mainstream culture, majority group members are able to maintain their dominant position in society. Studies show a stronger preference for assimilation among natives compared to ethnic minority group members (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2007; Van

Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998; Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park & Judd, 2006; Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). In addition, natives' endorsement of assimilation is related to higher prejudice towards immigrants and ethnic minorities, and assimilation can function as a justification for discriminatory behavior and opposition to policies that benefit immigrant and minority groups (e.g. Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Furthermore, natives tend to express more prejudice towards immigrants who want to maintain their cultural identity than towards immigrants who want to assimilate (see Maisonroue & Testé, 2007; Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998; Zick et al., 2001).

We expected the endorsement of assimilation among native Dutch adolescents to be related to the rejection of Muslim practices and of Muslims trying to persuade co-believers to engage in these practices. However, the extent to which assimilation is related to intolerance of Muslims might differ between individuals. From a social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it can be argued that individuals with a higher level of in-group identification will respond more strongly in terms of their group membership than those who are less committed to their group. The reason is that compared to lower identifiers those with higher in-group identification are more likely to be concerned about their group, especially when the position and value of the group identity is at stake (see Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Therefore, we expected that for individuals who are strongly attached to their Dutch identity, assimilation ideology and tolerance would be negatively related. For lower identifiers this association was expected to be weaker.

Intergroup contact and tolerance

Numerous studies have examined the relationship between intergroup contact and out-group prejudice (see Brown & Hewstone 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). These studies typically show that contact reduces prejudice, not only among adults (e.g. Brown, Eller, Leeds, & Stace, 2007; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns 2007; Ward & Masgoret 2006) but also among children and adolescents (see Tropp and Prenovost, 2008). The 'acquaintance potential' (Cook, 1978) of contact makes that people develop more positive attitudes towards minority groups. To our knowledge, no study on intergroup contact has addressed the question of tolerance of immigrant groups. However, considering the general and generalized positive effects of contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) it is likely that more contact is related to higher tolerance. Thus, we expected that intergroup contact is positively related to the acceptance of Muslim practices and of Muslims trying to persuade co-believers.

One of the ways in which intergroup contact can improve the attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minority groups is that contact has an effect on the diversity ideology that is favored or endorsed. According to the deprovincialization thesis (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998), intergroup contact contributes to the broadening of the majority members' cultural horizon by putting their taken-for-granted cultural standards into perspective. Limited experiences make that the dominant in-group is seen as the center of the world and that in-group norms and customs provide the self-evident and invariant standards for judgment. Intergroup contact can enrich people's views of the social world making them use less in-group-centric and more pluralistic standards of judgment. There is empirical evidence for this process among native Dutch adolescents (Verkuyten, Thijs & Bekhuis, 2010). One implication of this process is that in-group norms, customs and lifestyles are no longer seen as the only or main way to manage the social world, making an ideology of assimilation less acceptable. Hence, we expected that contact with members of ethnic minority groups would be negatively related to the endorsement of assimilation, and that assimilation would mediate (in part) the relation between contact and tolerance.

Allport's (1954) original contact hypothesis identified four conditions for contact to reduce prejudice: equal status of the groups in the situation, cooperation rather than competition, common goals, and authority support. Intergroup friendships are likely to meet several of these conditions. Research has repeatedly shown that friendship is negatively related to prejudice (e.g., Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006; Levin, van Laar & Sidanius, 2003). However, the causal direction of the relationship between intergroup friendship and prejudice is difficult to assess because prejudiced people are more likely to avoid intergroup contact. Although research finds that the positive effect of out-group friendship on prejudice is larger than vice versa (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), this is not always the case. For example, Pettigrew (1997) reports that in a Dutch national sample both paths are equally strong. By focusing on situations in which contact might be more involuntary, problems of causality are easier to overcome (Dekker & Van der Noll, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Adolescents cannot easily avoid inter-ethnic contacts in their class. Classrooms are relatively small (as opposed, for example, to neighborhoods), and cooperation between pupils is often required. Hence, in the present study, we do not only focus on intergroup friendships, but also on the frequency of contact in the classroom. We expected that both forms of contact would be positively related to higher levels of tolerance towards Muslims, and that part of this relationship will be mediated by the

endorsement of assimilation. Contacts with out-group classmates and intergroup friendships are expected to be negatively related to assimilation.

Dimensions of tolerance

The sense in which people are asked to be tolerant may differ and subsequently trigger different levels of acceptance. That is to say, accepting that people hold dissenting ideas and beliefs does not have to imply that one tolerates the actual practices or behaviors based on these beliefs (Vogt, 1997). For example, Wainryb, Shaw and Maianu (1998) found that European American children and early adolescents were more tolerant of dissenting speech than practices (see also Witenberg, 2002). Because the public expression of the dissenting beliefs is consistent with the idea of free speech, it can be seen as stimulating debate which is important for the democratic process and as causing less direct harm or injustice than the actual acts. However, a recent study by Gieling and colleagues (2010) found that Dutch adolescents were less tolerant of Muslims trying to convince other Muslims to engage in dissenting practices than of these practices itself (see also Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007). Trying to persuade others to engage in Islamic practices can contribute to the rise of Islam in society and is typically seen as threatening to Dutch identity and culture (Velasco Gonzalez et al, 2008; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Therefore, it can lead to lower tolerance as compared to the actual behaviors. The present study focuses on the acceptance of the actual practices and of Muslims trying to persuade co-believers. We will examine the level of acceptance for these two dimensions of tolerance, and, in addition, explore whether there are differences in the relationships with the endorsement of assimilation, in-group identification, and intergroup contact.

In summary and as shown in Figure 5.1, it is predicted that support for assimilation is negatively related to tolerance, and that intergroup contact is positively related to tolerance. Furthermore, assimilation is assumed to partially mediate the relationship between contact and tolerance. In addition, we expected the relation between assimilation and tolerance to be stronger for individuals with higher compared to lower levels of national identification.

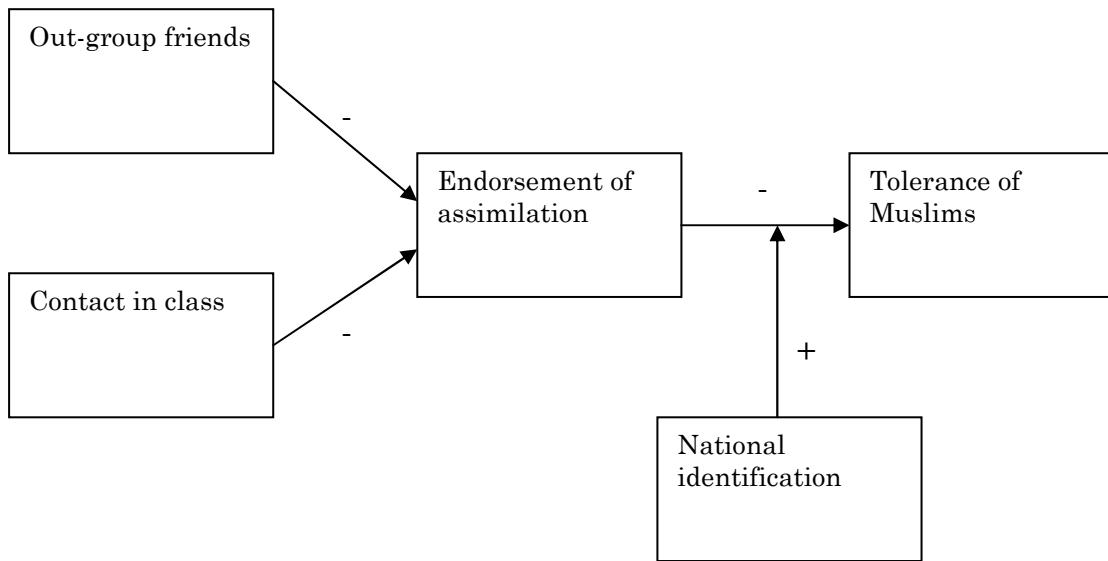


Figure 5.1

The predicted relations between intergroup contact, assimilation, identification and tolerance

5.2 Method

Participants

The sample included 1139 students ($M_{age} = 15.86$, $SD = 0.62$) from 77 classes in 10 schools in a medium sized town in the east of the Netherlands. In total 46.8% of the sample was female. All the participants were in the fourth grade, of which 37.1% were in the lowest level educational track (junior vocational track), 38.8% in the middle level (higher vocational track), and 24.1% in the highest level of education (pre university track). All participants indicated that both their parents were Dutch by birth. Adolescents completed a questionnaire in their classrooms (Bekhuis, Ruiter & Coenders, 2009). Participation was voluntary and anonymity was guaranteed, and all adolescents agreed to participate.

Measures

In this study, two dimensions of tolerance were assessed: tolerance of Muslim practices and tolerance of Muslim actors trying to persuade other Muslims to engage in these practices. *Tolerance of Muslim practices* was measured with four items that have been used in previous research (Gieling et al, 2010) and that reflect realistic and hotly debated issues in Dutch society. The questions were: (1) ‘Some parents are founding Islamic schools where only Muslim children are accepted. What should the government do about such schools?’; (2) ‘Imagine that a group of students in your school wears a headscarf which covers a small part of the face. What do you think the school should do?’; (3)

‘Recently, there has been a discussion about a female Muslim teacher who does not want to shake hands with men, such as colleagues and fathers of students. What do you think the school should do?’; (4) ‘Recently, an imam held a speech in a mosque in which he calls homosexuals inferior people. What do you think the mosque committee should do?’ In each case there were four response categories: ‘Do nothing and allow it’ (1), ‘Try to convince them [not to found those schools, not to wear a headscarf, to shake hands, to convince the imam to apologize], but allow it if they do not agree’ (2), ‘Try to convince them not to do it, but forbid it if they do not agree’ (3), ‘Simply not allow it’ (4). Items were recoded such that a higher score reflects a more tolerant attitude. The Cronbach’s alpha was acceptable at .63. Because the mean score was positively skewed, the standardized mean of the four items was taken as the tolerance score. To measure *tolerance of Muslims persuading others*, the participants were asked for each of the four issues whether it should be allowed that the actors (i.e., the parents, students, teacher, and imam) try to convince other Muslims to engage in the same practice. Answers categories ranged from ‘definitely not allow it’ (1), to ‘definitely allow it’ (5). Cronbach’s alpha for the four items was .77. The standardized mean of the four items was subsequently taken as the tolerance score of Muslims convincing others.

The concept of tolerance as we use it here implies forbearance or the putting up with something that one disapproves of or is prejudiced against (Vogt, 1997). Therefore, we also examined whether participants in general *felt negative* towards the Muslim actors. For each of the four issues, participants were asked to rate their feelings towards the actors on a 5-point scale, ranging from ‘very negative’ (1) to ‘very positive’ (5).

To examine whether the two tolerance scales (i.e., practices and persuasion) corresponded to separate but related dimensions, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed in AMOS version 16.0.01. In this analysis, we included the four items of each scale, as well as the four items of the feeling scale. We specified three (correlated) factors for practice, persuasion, and feeling, and we also included four (unrelated) factors to control for the variance attributed to each issue (i.e. school founding, non-shaking of hands, speech, and headscarf). This means that we tested a multi-trait-multi-method (MTMM) model in which each issue was considered as a ‘method’ (see Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Dumenci, 2000). No cross-loadings were allowed in this model. An acceptable model fit was reached after a correlation was allowed between the error terms of two persuasion items: $\chi^2(38, n = 1139) = 192.026, p < .01$; CFI = .978; RMSEA = .060; SRMR = .040 (see Hu & Bentler, 1999). Thus, there was empirical support for examining the acceptance of practices and of persuasion as two separate dimensions of tolerance.

The endorsement of assimilation was measured with four items, taken from Berry and Kalin's (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale. These items have been used in previous research in the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2006). Answers were on a 5-point scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). Two sample items are: 'For the Netherlands it is best if immigrants give up their own culture as soon as possible', and 'Immigrants must assimilate to the Dutch culture as much as possible'. The response scale ranged from 1 ('completely disagree') to 5 ('completely agree'). Cronbach's alpha was .76 for these items.

*The frequency of contact in class*¹ was measured by asking the respondents how often they cooperated in the classroom with fellow students of, respectively, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and other ethnic minority backgrounds. Response scales varied from 1 ('never') to 4 ('often'). Cronbach's alpha for these five items was .81.

The number of *out-group friends* was measured by asking the respondents to indicate the number of peers they consider themselves friends with from respectively Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and other ethnic minority backgrounds. The sum of these items, for which Cronbach's alpha was .81, was taken. All scores that amounted to a number of out-group friends over 15 were lumped together in a single category (>15).

National identification was assessed with three items. These items were taken from previous studies in the Netherlands (see Verkuyten, 2005) and measure the importance attached to one's ethnic group membership (e.g., 'I'm proud of my ethnic background'). The response scale ranged from 1 ('completely disagree') to 7 ('completely agree'), and Cronbach's alpha was 0.67.

Data analysis

The data had a three-level structure with students nested within classes that were nested within schools. Therefore, multilevel analysis was performed, as this analysis corrects for dependencies between observations nested within the same units (e.g., classes). We tested multilevel regression models with MLwiN version 2.0 (Rasbash, Browne, Healy, Cameron, and Charlton 2004) using the Iterative Generalized Least Squares algorithm. In MLwiN 2.0 multivariate

¹ Because our predictions relate to the process of deprovincialization, intergroup contact was operationalized as contact with all ethnic out-groups, rather than with Muslim out-groups (i.e., Turks and Moroccans) only. However, conducting the analyses with a measure of contact with Muslim out-groups did not yield different results from analyses that used a contact measure that included all out-groups.

models can be specified by including an additional level (Level 0) representing the different dependent variables nested within individual respondents (Level 1; see Goldstein 1995; Snijders and Bosker 1999). Hence, we can simultaneously examine acceptance of Muslim practices and acceptance of Muslims trying to persuade others as two dimensions of tolerance, and investigate whether both measures are similarly related to the independent variables. Model improvement was assessed by comparing the fit (deviance) of nested models. Differences between these statistics follow a Chi-square distribution with degrees of freedom given by the difference in parameters (Snijders and Bosker, 1999).

Two intercept-only models were tested to examine the variance components of assimilation and tolerance at the individual, class and school level (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Because the three-level models had better fit than the two- and one-level models ($p < .001$), the former were analyzed further. For assimilation, 66.7% of the variance was at the individual level (Level 1), 2.5% at the class level (Level 2), and 31.9% at the school level (Level 3). For tolerance of the practices, these percentages were 65%, 15%, and 20%, respectively. For tolerance of persuasion, 84% of the variance was found at Level 1, and 16% at Level 3, but there was no variance at level 2. These findings show that most of the variance in these measures exists between students attending the same classroom, but there are also substantive differences between schools in the endorsement of assimilation and tolerance.

5.3 Results

Mean scores and intercorrelations

Means and intercorrelations of all variables are shown in Table 5.1. Both dimensions of tolerance were found to be substantially and positively related to the reported intergroup contact in the classroom and the number of out-group friends. Both forms of contact were also negatively related to the endorsement of assimilation. The average score on assimilation endorsement was around the neutral mid-point of the scale. The respondents displayed a high level of in-group identification, significantly above the mid-point of the scale, $t(1134) = 86.54$, $p < .001$.

Table 5.1
Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard-Deviations

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | M | SD | Range |
|----------------------------|---------|--------|---------|---------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1. Friends | | | | | | 4.7 | 5.2 | 1-15 |
| 2. Contact class | .47*** | | | | | 1.63 | 0.65 | 1-4 |
| 3. Assimilation | -.16*** | -.10** | | | | 3.11 | 0.84 | 1-5 |
| 4. Identification | -.12*** | -.06* | .39*** | | | 6.01 | 0.99 | 1-7 |
| 5. Tolerance of practices | .15*** | .18*** | -.54*** | -.25*** | | 2.42 | 0.76 | 1-4 |
| 6. Tolerance of persuasion | .13*** | .15*** | -.45*** | -.26*** | .63*** | 2.18 | 0.80 | 1-5 |

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

Tolerance

Across the four issues, the average feeling score towards the Muslim actors was well below the neutral midpoint (3) of the 5-point scales ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 0.66$). One-sample t-tests indicated that for each issue, the scores were significantly below the midpoint, $p_s < .001$. Thus, there were very few participants who indicated to have positive feelings (ranging from 2-8% across the practices). These negative feelings indicate the relevance of examining tolerance.

As shown in Table 5.1, adolescents expressed a moderate level of tolerance of Muslim practices. The scale did not have a neutral midpoint, but the mean score was in between 'try to convince them not to do it, but allow/do not allow it when they do not agree'. Tolerance of Muslims persuading others was measured on a different scale, but the level of tolerance seems to be lower for this dimension. The mean score was significantly below the neutral midpoint of the scale, $t(1134) = -33.78$, $p < .001$. Because the response scales differed for the two dimensions, we examined the frequencies of the answers given, in order to draw meaningful conclusions. For all four issues there were clear differences in percentages of tolerant versus intolerant responses. For the wearing of a headscarf, 60% of the participants thought that this should be accepted. However, trying to persuade other Muslims to wear a headscarf was considered acceptable by only 11% (with an additional 36% answering 'neutral'). With respect to the other three issues we obtained similar results.

50% of the participants thought that the founding of Islamic schools should be accepted, but only 16% found it acceptable that people try to persuade other Muslims to found Islamic schools (39% answering neutral). Furthermore, 51% thought that the decision of a female teacher not to shake hands with men should be accepted. However, this percentage was only 7% for the persuasion of others (23.5% answering neutral). The percentages for the imam's speech were respectively 30% and 5% (neutral: 19.5%). These percentages indicate that the participants were less tolerant of attempts to persuade other Muslims than of the practices themselves.

Explaining tolerance

To test whether the relationship between contact and tolerance is mediated by the endorsement of assimilation, we analyzed three different multilevel regression models. The results are shown in Table 5.2. In the first two models, the endorsement of assimilation and tolerance were regressed on quantity of intergroup contact in class and having out-group friends, controlling for gender and educational level. Both forms of contact (cooperation in class and friends) were associated with less endorsement of assimilation and with higher tolerance. No differences were found between the two dimensions of tolerance in the strength of the effects of contact on tolerance. Males and adolescents in the lower educational tracks were more supportive of assimilation and displayed lower levels of tolerance compared to females and adolescents in higher levels of education.

In the third model, we tested our prediction that assimilation mediates the effect of contact on tolerance. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), the critical test for mediation is that the link between the independent variables (intergroup contact in class, out-group friends) and the dependent variable (tolerance) must be significantly reduced when the mediator variable (assimilation) is controlled for. To conduct this test, we included assimilation as an additional predictor of tolerance. Controlling for all other variables, assimilation was associated with lower levels of tolerance. Furthermore, the effect of having out-group friends on tolerance was no longer significant after including assimilation. The Sobel test for mediation confirmed that the meditational path was reliably greater than zero for tolerance of the practices, $z = 5.15, p < .001$, and for tolerance of persuasion, $z = 5.02, p < .001$. Although the effect of contact in class remained significant after including the endorsement of assimilation in the model, this effect did become smaller. The Sobel test confirmed that assimilation partially mediates the effect of contact in class on tolerance of the practices, $z = 4.08, p < .001$, and tolerance of persuasion, $z = 2.67, p < .01$.

We also examined whether there is evidence for alternative mediation by investigating whether the two indicators of contact mediate the effect of assimilation on tolerance of the practices and of persuasion. The Sobel test showed that both for tolerance of the practices and tolerance of persuasion, out-group friendships did not mediate the effect of assimilation (respectively $z = -0.86$, $p > .05$ and $z = -0.49$, $p > .05$), nor did contact in class (respectively $z = -1.79$, $p > .05$ and $z = -1.57$, $p > .05$).

National identification

We hypothesized that the relationship between endorsement of assimilation and tolerance differs for native adolescents with higher and lower levels of national identification. More specifically, we predicted that the relation would be weaker for lower national identifiers compared to higher identifiers. To test this prediction, identification was added to the final model (Model 3) as an independent variable (centered score), as well as in interaction with assimilation. Identification was not found to have an independent main effect on tolerance of Muslim practices, but it was negatively related to tolerance of Muslims persuading others. Furthermore, as expected the interaction effect between identification and assimilation was significant for practices and for persuasion.

To examine this interaction, we performed simple-slope analysis (see Aiken & West, 1991) and estimated the effects of assimilation under different levels of national identification (i.e., one standard deviation above and below the mean), while controlling for all other variables in the model. Although the relationship between the endorsement of assimilation and tolerance is strong for both higher and lower identifiers, there is, as expected, a stronger relation for individuals with higher levels of national identification (for tolerance of the practices and of persuasion respectively $b = -.65$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$ and $b = -.59$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$), than for individuals with relatively lower levels of identification (respectively $b = -.50$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$ and $b = -.42$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$).

Table 5.2

Multilevel Regression Models for the Prediction of Endorsement of Assimilation and Tolerance

| Predictors | Model 1 | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Assimilation | Practices | Persuasion | Practices | Persuasion |
| Out-group friends | -0.03*** | 0.02*** a | 0.02*** a | 0.00 a | 0.00 a |
| Contact in class | -0.13** | 0.21*** a | 0.17***a | 0.15*** a | 0.11** a |
| Assimilation | | | | -0.59*** a | -0.55*** a |
| Identification | | | | -0.02 | -0.10** |
| Assimilation * Identification | | | | -0.07* | -0.09** |
| Gender (female = ref.) | 0.47*** | -0.35*** a | -0.11 b | -0.12* a | -0.11 b |
| Education: Low | 0.80*** | -0.39*** a | -0.28** a | 0.02 a | 0.10 a |
| Education: Middle | 0.37*** | -0.15 ^a | -0.13 ^a | 0.04 ^a | 0.05 ^a |
| Variance | | | | | |
| Level 1 | 0.61 | 0.63 | 0.81 | 0.54 | 0.70 |
| Level 2 | 0.05 | 0.17 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.00 |
| Level 3 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.10 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| Deviance | 2625.99 | | 5288.23 | | 4829.47 |
| Model improvement | | | | | |
| χ^2 (df) | 477.68 (6)*** | | 769.22 (12)*** | | 458.76 (2)*** |
| Reference model | Intercept-only | | Intercept-only | | Model 2 |

Note. For each row in the same model, effects with similar superscripts are similar at $p > 0.05$, and effects with different superscripts are different at $p < 0.05$. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

5.4 Discussion

This research examined native Dutch adolescents' tolerance of specific practices by Muslim actors and of these actors trying to convince other Muslims to engage in the same practices. In an attempt to maximize the relevance and ecological validity of the research, realistic and currently debated issues were used rather than unfamiliar and fictitious scenarios. In culturally diverse societies, controversies and conflicts are typically about concrete practices and actions that, at least in Europe, are predominantly discussed in relation to Muslims (Modood & Ahmad, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999).

We focused on four different issues that were evaluated negatively by the great majority of the participants, making the question of tolerance important. In general, a moderate level of tolerance for the practices was found with about half of the adolescents in favor of accepting the practices. Tolerance of Muslims trying to convince co-believers to engage in the same practices was accepted less. This is in line with the findings of previous research among Dutch adolescents (Gieling et al, 2010). Campaigning for support and persuading co-believers implies that more Muslims might start, for example, to wear a headscarf and to refuse to shake hands with people of the opposite sex. Politicians and the media tend to present these practices as 'backward' and as threatening Dutch identity and culture (see Scroggins, 2005; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). They would undermine the secular and Christian traditions of the Netherlands. Trying to persuade fellow Muslims to act in a similar way is likely to be seen as contributing to the 'Islamization of Dutch society' and therefore could lead to lower acceptance compared to the act itself. This is an interesting finding because it indicates that the freedom to express dissenting beliefs is not necessarily more accepted than the actual dissenting acts. However, both forms of tolerance had similar relationships with the endorsement of assimilation and intergroup contact.

Previous research has shown that diversity ideologies affect out-group attitudes (e.g. Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko et al, 2000; Zick et al, 2001). In particular, assimilation has been found to be related to higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants and minority groups. We predicted that the endorsement of assimilation is related to lower levels of acceptance of Muslim practices and of Muslims trying to persuade co-believers. The findings support this prediction and therefore indicate that assimilation can function as a justification for intolerant behavior or opposition to the cultural or religious practices of immigrant and minority groups.

In addition, using social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), we predicted and found that the relationship between the endorsement of

assimilation and tolerance is stronger for adolescents with higher compared to lower national identification. Individuals with higher levels of in-group identification are more likely to be concerned about the continuity and value of their in-group (see Riek et al., 2006). It should be noted that also for lower identifiers the relationship between assimilation and tolerance was quite strong. The likely reason is that the level of identification was generally very high. Even those adolescents with lower national identification still scored above the neutral mid-point of the scale. It is likely that when identification is low in absolute terms, the relationship between assimilation and tolerance of Muslim practices and of Muslims persuading others is much weaker. Future studies should examine this possibility among other samples or by using an experimental design in which the level of identification is manipulated.

We also found that the endorsement of assimilation was affected by intergroup contact, and that assimilation partially mediated the relation between intergroup contact and tolerance. Research on intergroup contact has generally shown that contact reduces prejudice towards out-groups (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Prenovost, 2007). The results of our study show that intergroup contact is related to higher levels of acceptance of Muslim practices and of Muslims trying to convince co-believers to engage in the same practices. Two indicators of intergroup contact were used: intergroup friendship and out-group contact in the context of the classroom. The latter was positively related to tolerance both directly and also indirectly via the endorsement of assimilation. The relationship between intergroup friendship and tolerance was fully mediated by assimilation. These findings suggest that intergroup contact increases tolerance because it reduces the emphasis on assimilation of immigrants. This is in agreement with the deprovincialization thesis (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998), which argues that intergroup contact can enrich people's views of the social world, making them use less in-group-centric and more pluralistic standards of judgment. Thus, friendship and contacts with peers from ethnic minority groups seems to lead to a lower endorsement of assimilation, probably because the in-group norms, customs and lifestyles are not longer seen as the only or main way to manage the world (see Verkuyten et al., 2010).

However, in addition to deprovincialization, other processes through which contact changes out-group attitudes are possible (see Pettigrew, 2008). For example, intergroup contact can lead to more positive out-group attitudes by reducing feelings of intergroup anxiety and out-group threat. Future studies could focus on these processes as well. Furthermore, although intergroup friendship is likely to be a form of positive contact, we did not focus on the quality of intergroup contact in the classroom. That is, some of these

encounters might entail negative contact experiences and these experiences might increase the endorsement of assimilation. In future research, the quality of contact in class should be examined in addition to the quantity of contact.

One other limitation of the present study is the issue of causality. Because a cross-sectional design was used, the direction of the effects between contact, endorsement of assimilation, and tolerance cannot be established. For example, it is possible that individuals who more strongly endorse assimilation and are less tolerant towards Muslims are less likely to have close contacts with ethnic minority peers. However, we did not find statistical evidence for reversed mediation, which indicates that the proposed direction of effects (see Figure 1) fits the data best. Furthermore, by using contact in the context of classroom in addition to intergroup friendship, we tried to overcome part of the causality problem. Contact with out-group classmates is more difficult to avoid, even for those with generally intolerant attitudes, and it might be a first step to developing out-group friendships.

Questions on the acceptance of minority practices and minority rights involve many different situations and issues, and tolerance might depend on the national context. The retreat of multicultural policies is not restricted to the Netherlands (Joppke, 2004; Zolberg & Long, 1999) and Muslims are evaluated rather negatively by majority group populations across Europe (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). There are strong debates about the acceptance and accommodation of Islamic practices within most liberal states. Hence, it is likely that our findings apply to other national contexts but future studies should examine this.

The current findings might be of use for developing adequate interventions to improve tolerance, which is foundational for equality and the development of harmonious intergroup relations. Social psychologists tend to argue that the reduction of stereotypes and prejudice is necessary for these kinds of relationships to develop. However, our knowledge and ability to reduce stereotypes and prejudice remains limited (Brown, 2010). Generalized perceptions and negative beliefs and feelings appear to be difficult to change or to reject. The importance of tolerance is that it keeps these beliefs and feelings from becoming negative actions thereby forming the first crucial step towards civility or the last barrier to conflict (Vogt, 1997). Similar to other studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Van der Noll et al., 2010; Verkuyten & Slioter, 2007, 2008), our findings show that native adolescents are quite negative and intolerant towards practices that symbolize and mark Muslim identity in Dutch society. Our findings also indicate that tolerance is closely tied to the ideology of assimilation. The more adolescents endorse assimilation, the less likely they are to accept Muslim practices. Both assimilation and tolerance

were found to be affected by intergroup contact. Intergroup contact is related to less endorsement of assimilation and to higher levels of tolerance among Dutch adolescents. Although out-group friendships are hard to enforce, cooperation with out-group peers in the context of the classroom is a form of less voluntary contact. The fact that the latter had an effect on tolerance even when intergroup friendships were taken into account is a positive finding and offers some prospects for intervention.

Finally, the findings show that there are substantial school and classroom differences in the level of tolerance. This indicates that schools can make a difference in the development of tolerance of Muslim immigrants. Future studies should focus on identifying the specific school characteristics that have an impact on tolerance. For example, a focus on class climate, multicultural education, and ways in which intergroup contact in schools and the class is structured can provide additional insights in adolescents' tolerance.

Chapter 6

Adolescents' endorsement of freedom of expression in the Mohammed cartoon controversy: A study in eleven western European countries

This chapter was co-authored by Jochem Thijs, Maykel Verkuyten and Edwin Poppe and is currently under review at an international journal.

Adolescents' endorsement of freedom of expression in the Mohammed cartoon controversy: A study in eleven western European countries

6.1 Introduction

Teaching youth tolerant reactions to dissenting others and respect for different ideas, opinions and lifestyles is an important socialization goal in democratic societies. Adolescence is a critical developmental period for the learning of social and political tolerance and for developing an understanding of civil liberties and rights (e.g., Avery, 1989; Berti, 2005; Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008). However, relatively few studies have examined adolescent's thinking about civil rights like freedom of speech and the freedom to demonstrate (see Helwig, 2006). Furthermore, very few studies have examined the endorsement of these rights in relation to controversial issues raised by immigration and cultural diversity. This is unfortunate because adolescents are increasingly growing up in culturally diverse societies in which there are strong public and political debates about immigration and integration.

In recent years, there have been a number of controversies that pose a challenge to cultural diverse societies and particularly to the principle of freedom of expression. One of these controversies is the focus of the present paper. In 2005, a Danish newspaper published a dozen cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed and these cartoons were also published in newspapers in other European countries. Within Western countries, there was strong disagreement whether or not the publication of these cartoons was acceptable and in most countries there were heated public debates about the freedom of expression. This debate did not only involve freedom of the press but also the right of people to assemble and to protest. Whereas violent demonstrations in Muslim countries received most media attention, in many Western-European countries Muslims peacefully protested against the publication of the cartoons.

The present study conducted among adolescents (13-18 years) from eleven Western European countries focuses on the cartoon controversy and examines the endorsement of freedom of expression in relation to the publication of the cartoons and the ensuing demonstrations by European Muslims. The question is whether this endorsement is related to adolescents' cultural diversity beliefs (Plaut, 2010). Furthermore, two key predictors of assimilation, namely authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, will be examined. These individual differences variables are closely related to

issues of group differences and the position of ethnic and religious groups in society. The aim of the study is to show that adolescent's assessment of the cartoon controversy is related to their endorsement of assimilation, which, in turn, depends on their social dominance orientation and authoritarianism. In so doing, we want to make a contribution to our understanding of the ways in which adolescents evaluate controversial issues in culturally diverse societies.

Freedom of expression

Throughout Europe, Islam has moved to the center of public debates (Zolberg & Long, 1999) and forms a 'bright boundary' that separates Muslim immigrants from the host majority. The cartoon controversy highlighted the tensions between majority members and Muslim immigrants and served as a critical example for the management of cultural diversity. Previous research on the evaluation of civil liberties has shown that the principle of freedom of expression is widely endorsed in the abstract, but that adolescents and adults are less willing to accept specific behavior and practices that they dislike (Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2003). In concrete situations, freedom of expression is not always strongly supported because it can conflict with other concerns. For example, research has shown that support for civil liberties can be reduced by stressing the importance of public order and safety. In an experimental study, Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) contrasted the right to free speech with the potential disruption of public order that a rally by the Ku Klux Klan posed. They showed that emphasizing the importance of social order decreased people's acceptance of such a rally. In another experimental study among students in the Netherlands it was found that concerns with social order and safety predicted lower acceptance of a public demonstration by Islamic groups (Zilli Ramirez & Verkuyten, 2011). Social order and safety may be relevant values that lower the endorsement of freedom of expression of Muslim protestors and of the newspapers' publishing the cartoons. Media in several countries published the cartoons to express their commitment to the right to free speech. However, given the eruptions of violence in demonstrations and attacks on embassies, the publication of the cartoons not only raised concerns about free speech but also about social order and cohesion in society.

Assimilation ideology

Diversity ideologies refer to the assumed 'best way' that immigrants and minority groups should relate to the host society (Berry, 2001; Plaut, 2010). In many European countries, there has been a shift from a multicultural ideology, which recognizes the right to cultural and religious difference, to an ideology of assimilation, which emphasizes that minority members should adapt to the

majority culture and discard their group identity in public life (e.g., Joppke, 2004; Vasta, 2007). Assimilation might be endorsed because it is beneficial for social cohesion, the functioning of society, and the social mobility of immigrants and minorities (e.g., Alba & Nee, 2003; Brubaker, 2001). However, although the professed goal of assimilation is equality, assimilationist thinking provides intellectual and moral justification for the dominant and unchanging character of the majority identity and culture (Fredrickson, 1999). Studies show a stronger preference for assimilation among majority members compared to ethnic minority groups (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2007; Wolsko, Park & Judd, 2006; Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). In addition, the endorsement of assimilation has been found to be related to prejudice and intolerance toward immigrants and ethnic minorities (Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2010; Verkuyten, 2011). Therefore, we predicted that stronger endorsement of assimilation will be related to lower acceptance of Muslims demonstrating against the publication of the cartoons.

Assimilation not only refers to the ways in which minority members should integrate, but also underlines the dominant status of the majority group. Assimilation justifies the norms and values of the majority group. By demanding immigrants to adapt to the mainstream culture, majority group members are able to maintain their self-defining liberal values in society. Therefore, we also predicted a positive relation between the support for assimilation and the acceptance of newspapers publishing the cartoons.

Social dominance orientation

Two approaches that explain a wide range of political and intergroup phenomena are social dominance theory and authoritarian personality approaches (Altemeyer, 1988; 1998; McFarland, 1998; McFarland & Adelson, 1996; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). These two approaches explain prejudice and intolerance through different pathways. Social Dominance Theory argues that human societies are characterized by hierarchical power structures, and that dominant social groups are motivated to endorse ideologies that justify intergroup hierarchies and social inequality. Social dominance orientation (SDO) is defined as "the degree to which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchy and the domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999: 48). High social dominance-oriented individuals support a hierarchically structured social system and believe in inequality among groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). They tend to view the world as a competitive place in which groups are vying for dominance (Duckitt, 2006; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). Previous research has shown that SDO is associated with acts of discrimination and exclusion, and

opposition to minority rights (e.g., Amiot & Bourhis, 2005; Kemmelmeier, 2005; Parkins, Fishbein & Ritchey 2006; Sidanius, Haley, Molino & Pratto, 2007). The publications of the cartoons confirmed the liberal values of the European host majorities and challenged the position of Muslim immigrants. Therefore, SDO can be expected to be associated with higher acceptance of the newspapers publishing the cartoons. In contrast, European Muslims protesting against the cartoons challenged the dominant position and liberal values of the host majority. This means that it can be expected that higher SDO is related to less acceptance of the right of Muslims to protest.

According to social dominance theory 'SDO orients people to find the most socially acceptable way of rationalizing inequality' (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 88). Using the concept of legitimizing myths, the theory outlines how SDO can contribute to a group based hierarchy. Specifically, those with high SDO can use assimilation as an ideological notion to support existing social arrangements and to justify opposition to policies that benefit minority groups. Given that assimilation emphasizes the dominance status of the majority group, it can be expected that the endorsement of assimilation is influenced by adolescents' social dominance orientation. Therefore, we predicted that assimilation ideology will serve as a 'legitimizing myth' that mediates the positive relationship between SDO and the acceptance of newspapers publishing the cartoons, as well as the negative relationship between SDO and the endorsement of Muslims protesting against it.

Authoritarianism

Right-wing authoritarianism is conceptualized as a set of interrelated attitudes (Altemeyer, 1981) that refers to agreement with traditional societal norms (conventionalism), the tendency to obey authority figures who represent these norms (authoritarian submission), and the willingness to engage in authority-sanctioned aggression towards individuals that violate traditional norms (authoritarian aggression). In contrast to individuals with high SDO who see the world as a competitive jungle, authoritarians tend to see the social world as a dangerous place and they seek security in strong leaders, conformity, and social order (Duckitt, 2006). Therefore, we expected higher authoritarianism to be related to weaker endorsement of the right of Muslims to protest against the cartoons. Furthermore, given that the publication of the cartoons led to tensions, protests and conflicts between groups, we also expected higher authoritarians to show *less* acceptance of newspapers publishing the cartoons. We further expected that authoritarianism would be related to the endorsement of the freedom of expression (publication and demonstrations) indirectly, through assimilation. Immigration and the

subsequent cultural and religious diversification puts a strain on the cohesion of societies. In many European countries, Islam is seen as undermining traditional ways of life and threatening social cohesion (e.g., Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007; Zolberg & Long, 1999). Therefore, we predicted higher authoritarianism to be more in favor of an ideology of assimilation, which emphasizes the need for cultural homogeneity and conformity and the importance of shared moral bonds as the basis for social cohesion. Thus, assimilation was expected to mediate the negative relationships between authoritarianism and the support for the newspapers publishing the cartoons and Muslims demonstrating against it.

Background variables

Previous research has examined support for civil liberties in relation to education (Vogt, 1997) religion (Eisenstein, 2006) and demographic characteristics such as age, gender and social status (Sullivan & Transue, 1999; Wilson, 1985). In general, it has been found that a higher level of education, a higher socioeconomic status and being non-religious positively predict support for civil liberties such as freedom of expression. The present study considers the role of political knowledge and interest, socioeconomic status and religion. Furthermore, research among adolescents has shown varying effects of gender (e.g., Gieling et al., 2010; Killen, Margie & Sinno, 2007; Helwig, 1995, 1997) and age (e.g., Thalhammer, Wood, Bird, Avery, & Sullivan, 1994; Wainryb, 1991, 1993; Witenberg, 2002) on political attitudes and tolerance. Therefore, the relation between age and gender and the acceptance of the publication of the cartoons and Muslim demonstrations will be explored.

Cross-national differences

Given the worldwide controversy about the cartoons and the tensions between majority members and Muslim immigrants throughout Europe, the present study examines adolescents' attitudes cross-nationally. The sample includes participants from eleven Western European countries and in all of these countries, with the exception of Luxembourg, there were newspapers that published the controversial cartoons. We will explore whether the factors explaining support for publication of the cartoons and for Muslims demonstrating against it are similar across national contexts and whether the strength of the relationships are comparable in these contexts. Although the participating adolescents are not representative for their country, limiting the possibilities to explain country-level differences, the national diversity of the sample can serve to validate our predictions and findings for the relations

between the endorsement of freedom of expression (publications and demonstrations), assimilation, social dominance orientation and authoritarianism.

6.2 Method

Questionnaire and participants

The study was conducted in 2008 and the sample included 3181 participants from eleven Western European countries. They completed the 'Europroject ERCOMER Questionnaire', which was developed in collaboration between the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations and the Europroject network 'Education without frontiers'. The Europroject network consists of secondary schools in various European countries. Countries included in the current study are Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Germany, Denmark, Great-Britain, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Finland. The number of respondents is between 240 and 400 in most countries, the minimum being 134 in Sweden. Only respondents belonging to the respective national majority group are included in the study. The average age was 15.93 (SD = 1.19), and the percentage of females in the sample was 53.4%.

Measures

Support for newspapers publishing the cartoons was measured with two items: 'Newspapers had the right to publish the cartoons because of the freedom of speech', and 'Newspapers should not have published the cartoons because it threatens social order'.

Support for Muslims demonstrating was also measured with two items: 'The government should have prevented Muslims from demonstrating in order to maintain social order', and 'the government did not have the right to prevent Muslims from demonstrating because of the freedom of speech'. Answer categories for all items ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Principal component analysis with rotated solutions showed that the four items loaded on two separate factors, together explaining 75% of the total variance: support for publication and support for demonstrations. Factor loadings were .87 and .84 for the two items on 'publication' and .86 and .89 for the two items on 'demonstrations'. The two factors were found to be orthogonal. The items referring to the demonstrations were recoded and the mean score for each of the two items was taken as the indicator of acceptance of each issue (newspapers and demonstration).

Social Dominance Orientation was measured with 8 items taken from the scale developed by Sidanius and Pratto (1999). This scale is successfully used in many different countries and in the current study the items form a

reliable scale with Cronbach's alpha = 0.81. Example items are 'Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups', and 'It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom'. Answer categories range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Authoritarianism was measured with six items taken from the well-known and cross-nationally validated scale developed by Altemeyer (1998). Example items are 'A strong leader serves the nation better than democracy', or 'it is better to live in an orderly society in which the laws are vigorously enforced than to give people too much freedom'. Cronbach's alpha for these items was 0.65, and answer categories range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Assimilation ideology was measured by 10 items that form a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = 0.86). These items were taken from Berry and Kalin's (1995) Multicultural Ideology Scale and two sample items are, 'It is best for [participant's country] if immigrants quickly give up (forget) their cultural background', and 'Our own national way of life needs protection from foreign influences'. Answer could again be given on a scale from 1 to 7.

We also included a number of control variables: *Age*, *gender*, being *religious* ('no' versus 'yes'; no Muslims were included), *subjective socioeconomic status* ('compared with other families in your country, how wealthy do you think your family is?', on a scale from 1 'very poor' to 7 'very wealthy'), *interest in and knowledge about politics* (six items: e.g., 'how interested are you in national/European/world politics', 'how much do you know about national/European/world politics', on a scale from 1 very little to 7 very much, alpha = 0.91)

Analysis

The data had a two-level structure, with adolescents nested in different countries. Therefore, multilevel analysis was performed, as this analysis corrects for dependencies between observations nested within the same units (e.g., classes). We tested multilevel regression models with MLwiN version 2.0 (Rasbash, Browne, Healy, Cameron, and Charlton 2004) using the Iterative Generalized Least Squares algorithm. In MLwiN 2.0 multivariate models can be specified by including an additional level (Level 0) representing the different dependent variables nested within individual respondents (see Goldstein 1995; Snijders and Bosker 1999). Hence, we can simultaneously examine support for the newspapers publishing the cartoons and support for Muslims demonstrating as two dimensions of endorsement of freedom of expression, and investigate whether both measures are similarly related to the independent variables in the model. Model improvement was assessed by

comparing the fit (deviance) of nested models. Differences between these statistics follow a Chi-square distribution with degrees of freedom given by the difference in parameters (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). First, two intercept-only models were compared to examine the variance components of assimilation and the endorsement of freedom of expression at the individual and the country level (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Because the two-level models had better fit than one-level model ($p < .001$), the former were analyzed further. For assimilation, 88.6 % of the variance was at the individual level (Level 1) and 11.4 % at the country level (Level 2). For support for the newspapers, these percentages were 96 %, and 4 %, respectively, and for Muslim demonstrations, 97.7 % of the variance was found at Level 1, and 2.3 % at Level 2. These findings show that most of the variance in these measures exists between adolescents in the same country, but there are also minor differences between countries.

6.3 Results

Mean scores and intercorrelations

Means and intercorrelations of our main predictors and dependent variables are presented in Table 6.1. Support for newspapers publishing the cartoons appears to be slightly stronger than for Muslim demonstrating, and a paired sample t-test shows this difference to be significant, $t(3172) = 6.98$, $p < .001$. Both scores are significantly above the neutral midpoint ($p < .001$), indicating that the adolescents are generally supportive of freedom of expression. There is only a very weak correlation between the two dependent variables. Thus, endorsement of publication of the cartoons was only marginally related to support for Muslim demonstrations. This indicates that the endorsement of freedom of expression is dependent on the specific case and is not necessarily consistently applied across situations.

Assimilation is positively related to support for newspapers publishing the cartoons and shows a strong negative correlation with support for Muslim demonstrations. Social dominance orientation and authoritarianism are, as expected, positively related to the endorsement of assimilation. Furthermore, social dominance orientation is related to both the publication of the cartoons (positively) and the acceptance of demonstrations (negatively). Authoritarianism is negatively related to support for Muslim demonstrations and unrelated to support for the newspapers. Finally, participants with a strong SDO are also significantly more likely to score high on authoritarianism.

Table 6.1
Mean scores and intercorrelations

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | M | SD |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------|------|
| 1. SDO | | | | | 2.61 | 1.13 |
| 2. Authoritarianism | .38*** | | | | 3.24 | 1.04 |
| 3. Assimilation | .39** | .28*** | | | 4.04 | 1.16 |
| 4. Freedom newspapers | .15*** | -.02 | .16*** | | 4.45 | 1.61 |
| 5. Freedom demonstrating | -.26*** | -.22*** | -.38*** | -.07*** | 4.16 | 1.52 |

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

Explaining the endorsement of freedom of expression

In the next step we assessed the effects of SDO, authoritarianism and assimilation on the endorsement of the freedoms of expression in a multilevel multivariate regression model. Because we expected the effects of SDO and authoritarianism to be mediated by the endorsement of assimilation we analyzed three different multilevel regression models. The results are shown in Table 6.2. In the first two models, the endorsement of assimilation and support for freedom of expression were regressed on SDO and authoritarianism, controlling for age, gender, being religious, political interest and SES. In line with our expectations, both SDO and authoritarianism were associated with assimilation. Adolescents with a relatively strong social dominance orientation and high authoritarianism endorsed assimilation more strongly. Furthermore, without controlling for assimilation, SDO was related to higher support for the newspapers publishing the cartoons and less support for Muslims demonstrating against the publications. Authoritarianism was negatively related to both freedoms of expression.

In the third model, we tested our expectation that assimilation mediates the effects of SDO and authoritarianism on the support for the two freedoms of expression. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), the critical test for mediation is that the link between the independent variables (SDO, authoritarianism) and the dependent variable (freedoms of expression) must be significantly reduced when the mediator variable (assimilation) is controlled for. To conduct this test, we included assimilation as an additional predictor of the support of freedom of expression (Table 6.2, Model 3). Controlling for all other variables, assimilation was associated with stronger support for newspapers publishing the cartoons and less support for Muslims demonstrating against it. Furthermore and as predicted, the effect of SDO on both dependent variables (one in a positive direction, the other negative) was

reduced after including assimilation. The Sobel test for mediation confirmed that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero for support for the newspapers, $z = 8.77$, $p < .001$, and for the Muslims demonstrators, $z = -15.53$, $p < .001$. Also the negative relation between authoritarianism and support for Muslims demonstrating was significantly reduced, $z = -9.70$, $p < .001$. However, the negative relationship between authoritarianism and support for publication of the cartoons was not mediated by assimilation.

For the various background variables it turned out that females were less in favor of assimilation and less supportive of the publication than males, whereas they supported the Muslim demonstrations more strongly. Furthermore, the religious adolescents were more in favor of assimilation and supported both freedoms of expression less than the adolescents who were not religious. Higher political interest was related to lower endorsement of assimilation and stronger support for Muslim demonstrations. In addition, older compared to younger adolescents were more in favor of assimilation and less supportive of the publication of the cartoons.

Table 6.2

Multilevel Regression Models for the Prediction of Endorsement of Assimilation and Endorsement of Freedom of Expression for the Newspapers and the Demonstrators

| Predictors | Model 1 | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Assimilation | Support freedom newspapers | Support freedom Muslim demonstrators | Support freedom newspapers | Support freedom Muslim demonstrators |
| Intercept | 4.02 *** | 4.92 *** | 4.25 *** | 4.92 *** | 4.25 *** |
| SDO | 0.33 *** | 0.22 *** | -0.32 *** | 0.13 *** | -0.15 *** |
| Authoritarianism | 0.19 *** | -0.06 * | -0.17 *** | -0.11 ** | -0.06 ** |
| Assimilation ideology | | | | 0.27 *** | -0.53 *** |
| Age | 0.05 ** | -0.12 *** | -0.01 | -0.11 *** | 0.03 |
| Female | -0.20 *** | -0.40 *** | 0.16 ** | -0.35 *** | 0.05 |
| Religiosity | 0.16 *** | -0.39 *** | -0.25 ** | -0.42 *** | -0.17 ** |
| Political interest | -0.04* | 0.03 | 0.07 ** | 0.04 | 0.05 * |
| Subjective SES | 0.02 | -0.01 | -0.02 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| Variance | | | | | |
| Level 1 (% explained) | 0.91 (22.9%) | 2.31 (6.9%) | 1.99 (11.2%) | 2.24 (9.7%) | 1.74 (22.3%) |
| Level 2 (% explained) | 0.12 (25%) | 0.09 (18.1%) | 0.04 (2%) | 0.12 (-) | 0.07 (-) |
| Deviance | 8751.31 | 22867.08 | | 22343.01 | |
| Model improvement | | | | | |
| χ^2 (df) | 844.20 (5) *** | 635.95 (16) *** | | 524.07 (2) *** | |
| Reference model | Intercept-only | Intercept-only 23503.75 | | Model 2 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are unstandardized. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Country level

We examined the average level of support for newspapers' publishing the cartoons and Muslim demonstrating, and tested whether the effects of our main predictors (assimilation, SDO and authoritarianism) were similar across the eleven countries. Support for the publication of the cartoons was lowest in Greece, with a score around the neutral midpoint, and highest in Spain (see Table 6.3). The average level of support was comparable across the other countries, with scores between 4.38 and 4.72. For Muslim demonstrations, support was highest in Germany and Portugal, and lowest in the UK. By adding random slopes of assimilation, SDO and authoritarianism to the specified multilevel regression model (Table 6.2, Model 3), we are able to test whether the effects of these variables vary between countries. Random slopes were entered one at a time. The effects of SDO and authoritarianism were not found to differ between the countries. Only for assimilation did we find a significant difference between the model with and without a random slope, $\chi^2(2) = 66.17, p < .01$. In the next step, we performed a regression analysis separately for each country to assess the effect of assimilation in these countries, while controlling for all other variables in the model. For the Muslim demonstrations, it turned out that although the effect of assimilation differs in magnitude between countries, it has a strong effect in the expected negative direction across countries. Interestingly, the effect appears to be the strongest in Denmark where the cartoons were originally published. For support for the newspapers' publishing the cartoons we find the expected positive relation in the majority of countries (although there are some differences in effect size). Only in Greece, Portugal and Spain is assimilation unrelated to support for newspapers publishing the cartoons. Hence, on the whole, the factors predicting support for freedom of expression in the cartoon controversy were similar across adolescent samples in the eleven Western European countries.

Table 6.3

Regression coefficient for assimilation and mean level of support for freedom of expression across countries

| Country | Regression coefficient assimilation | | Mean level of support (SD) | |
|-------------|--|----------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| | Newspapers | Demonstrations | Newspapers | Demonstrations |
| Belgium | 0.48 *** | -0.63 *** | 4.72 (1.59) | 4.02 (1.43) |
| Netherlands | 0.46 *** | -0.53 *** | 4.67 (1.39) | 3.93 (1.34) |
| Luxemburg | 0.22 ** | -0.33 *** | 4.40 (1.63) | 4.21 (1.48) |
| Germany | 0.29 *** | -0.63 *** | 4.41 (1.56) | 4.52 (1.45) |
| Denmark | 0.40 *** | -0.81 *** | 4.67 (1.73) | 4.21 (1.89) |
| U. K. | 0.49 *** | -0.58 *** | 4.42 (1.53) | 3.68 (1.57) |
| Greece | 0.18 | -0.39 *** | 3.47 (1.62) | 4.18 (1.59) |
| Portugal | 0.05 | -0.40 *** | 4.38 (1.52) | 4.55 (1.39) |
| Spain | 0.06 | -0.61 *** | 4.89 (1.52) | 4.01 (1.59) |
| Sweden | 0.47 *** | -0.31 ** | 4.42 (1.68) | 4.26 (1.41) |
| Finland | 0.07 | -0.45 *** | 4.40 (1.59) | 3.99 (1.37) |

Note. Regression coefficients for assimilation are unstandardized. The coefficients are obtained in a model that controlled for SDO, authoritarianism, age, gender, religiosity and political knowledge. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

6.4 Discussion

In this paper we have examined adolescents' attitudes towards a controversial issue on freedom of expression that has received worldwide attention. Throughout Europe, questions of immigration and cultural diversity have been at the centre of debates and the cartoon controversy is a critical example that highlighted the tensions between host country members and Muslim immigrants (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Our goal was to investigate and explain adolescent's support of newspapers publishing the cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed as well as their support for European Muslims demonstrating against the publications. This means that we considered the freedom of expression of both 'sides'. In doing so, we wanted to make a contribution to our understanding of adolescent's evaluation of politicized cultural diversity issues.

A first conclusion is that the adolescents in the different European countries were relatively supportive of both freedoms but that the freedom of the newspapers publishing the cartoons was endorsed somewhat stronger than the freedom of Muslim to demonstrate against the publications. In addition,

the endorsements of both freedoms of expression were weakly related. This is an important finding that indicates that the endorsement of freedom of expression depends on the particular aspect of the controversy. Adolescents who endorsed freedom of expression in the case of the publication not necessarily did so in the case of the Muslim protesters, and vice versa. This is in line with findings of research on political tolerance that highlights the contextual nature of tolerance. Tolerance appears to depend on whom, what and when adolescents are asked to tolerate dissenting beliefs and practices. For example, Sigelman and Toebben (1992) found that no single construct of tolerance emerged after context and content were taken into account (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Wainryb, Shaw, & Maianu, 1998). Adolescents apply different considerations in their evaluations and social reasoning and different situations of freedom of expression are judged differently. This indicates that the proposition of a single global construct of political tolerance is probably not very adequate for understanding adolescents' judgments.

A second conclusion is that beliefs about cultural diversity and the need of immigrants to assimilate to the host society play an important role in the way in which adolescents evaluate the controversy. The publications of the cartoons did put multiculturalism to the test in identifying diversity as a potential threat to liberal principles of free speech. We predicted that the endorsement of assimilation would be related to weaker support for Muslim demonstrations. Assimilation underlines the dominant status of the majority group and the maintenance of their culture and identity. The endorsement of assimilation was indeed strongly related to lower support for Muslims demonstrating against the publications of the cartoons. This was found across the different countries included in our sample, although the strength of this relation differed slightly between the countries. Assimilation emphasizes that minority group members should adapt to the majority culture and discard their own culture and group identity. As an ideology it can function as an intellectual and moral justification of the dominant liberal culture in which free speech and freedom of the press are highly valued. Therefore, we predicted that higher assimilation also will be related to stronger support for the publication of the cartoons by the newspapers. In most of the countries this was found to be the case.

A third conclusion is that social dominance orientation and authoritarianism were related to the endorsement of the freedom of expression via assimilation. This further supports the important role of assimilation ideology for the evaluation of controversies related to immigration and cultural diversity. One reason why assimilation might be endorsed is that it is beneficial for social cohesion and the functioning of society (e.g., Alba & Nee,

2003; Brubaker, 2001). It emphasizes that migrants should conform to the values and ways of life of the majority group. Individuals who are more authoritarian are more concerned with conformity and cohesion of society. Hence, it was expected that these adolescents would endorse assimilation more strongly than those who score lower on authoritarianism. In addition, because assimilationist thinking provides a justification for the dominant position of the majority group it was predicted that higher social dominance orientation would be related to stronger support for assimilation. The results showed that both authoritarianism and social dominance orientation were positively related to the endorsement of assimilation. Furthermore, assimilation partly mediated the effects of SDO and authoritarianism on freedom of expression in the case of the newspapers publishing the cartoons and of Muslim demonstrating against it.

However, SDO and authoritarianism also had a direct statistical effect on the support of the freedoms of expression. Higher SDO was associated with higher acceptance of the publication of the cartoons and lower acceptance of Muslim demonstrations. This pattern of acceptance is functional for maintaining the existing group based hierarchy between the native majority and Muslim minorities. In contrast, authoritarianism had a negative relationship with both issues. In general, authoritarians tend to see the social world as a dangerous place and they seek security in strong leaders, conformity, and social order (Duckitt, 2006). Both the publication of the cartoons and the subsequent demonstrations of Muslims pose a threat to social stability and order. Therefore, more authoritarian adolescents endorsed both freedoms of expression less than low authoritarians. This pattern of findings leads to a fourth conclusion, namely that SDO and authoritarianism can have different implications for adolescents' assessment of politicized controversies about cultural diversity.

The results further show that, compared to males, female adolescents less strongly endorsed assimilation and the newspapers publishing the cartoons, whereas they were more supportive of Muslims demonstrating against it. This is in agreement with studies that show that female adolescents tend to be more tolerant than male peers (e.g., Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle, & White, 1994; Sotelo, 1999) and that women tend to be more liberal on political issues (Atkenson & Rapoport, 2003).

Older adolescents endorsed assimilation more strongly than younger adolescents but they were less in favor of the publication of the cartoons. This suggests that older adolescents are less tolerant than younger ones, which has also been found in other studies (e.g., Gieling et al, 2010, Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007). A likely reason is that older adolescents become increasingly concerned

about the nature of social groups and about group norms and expectations (Abrams & Rutland, 2008) and are more thus concerned about group differences and threats to the functioning of society.

Religiousness was related to higher endorsement of assimilation but lower support for the two freedoms of expression. This pattern of research suggests that the religious adolescents are more concerned with conformity and social order. The lives of observant believers are organized around their religious beliefs, values and practices and often involve religious ethnocentrism, dogmatic thinking and conservatism (Altemeyer, 2002, 2003).

Political interest had a negative relationship with the endorsement of assimilation and was related to stronger support for Muslims demonstrating against the publications of the cartoons. This is in agreement with the finding that political interest and support for democratic processes is one of the main predictors of tolerance (Gibson, 2006).

There are some limitations to this research. First, although we made use of a cross-national dataset, the focus of our study was not on country-level differences. One reason is the limited number of countries that does not allow an adequate multilevel analysis. Another reason is that the adolescent samples are not representative for their country. Although this is a drawback, the results show that for attitudes towards the publication of the cartoons and the Muslim demonstrations, only a very limited amount of variance existed at the country level (respectively, four and two percent). Hence, most of the differences in the endorsement of the freedoms in the cartoon controversy can be found between individuals, rather than between the Western European countries. Future research could improve on our research by including more countries, using representative national samples, and including country level predictors like the number of Muslim immigrants in a country and national policies on the integration of immigrants.

Another way in which future research could extend the findings of this study is by including a different operationalization of the dependent variable. In our study, when asking about the acceptance of publication and demonstration, we contrasted social order with freedom of expression. Given the riots and protests that followed the publications, this is a relevant contrast. However, other values might be important as well. For example, the consideration of unnecessarily harming or offending other people and respecting people's religious beliefs can be important. When freedom of expression is contrasted with these considerations, the mean levels of support might be different. Furthermore, it would be interesting to include measures of how important adolescents consider the values of freedom of expression, social order, and not offending others (e.g., Nelson et al, 1997; Zilli Ramirez &

Verkuyten, 2011). One final recommendation is to include minority group adolescents and adolescents with a Muslim background in particular (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2008). Our findings apply to majority group adolescents and the cartoon controversy was related to Muslims. Focusing on the attitudes of minority adolescents could further improve our understanding about the ways in which adolescents react toward similar controversial issues, such as civil servants wearing a headscarf and students wearing a burqa or a niqab, Muslim teachers who refuse to shake hands with children's parents of the opposite sex, the banning of images of pigs from pictures in public offices because these might offend Muslims' feelings, and the building of new Mosques.

In conclusion, this research tried to offer an understanding of adolescent's evaluation of a controversial free speech issue that causes a lot of uproar worldwide. Although it is only one issue that was examined, it is an important example in different ways. It involved different parties that exercised their right to freedom of expression: newspapers that published the controversial cartoons and Muslims protesting the publication of these cartoons. Importantly, it appears that the endorsement of these rights do not have to correspond. Furthermore, the cartoon controversy highlighted intergroup tensions in Western European countries and served as a concrete example of the issues and questions that diverse societies have to deal with. Muslims are evaluated rather negatively by majority group populations across Europe (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008) and there are strong debates about the acceptance and accommodation of Islamic practices within most liberal states. It is around concrete issues that ways of life can collide. It is one thing to endorse the freedom of speech and demonstration in general, and another thing to apply these freedoms to, for example, Muslim immigrants living in a Western society. Therefore, it is not only important to ask adolescents about their general political attitudes or diversity beliefs but also to examine how they evaluate and assess specific controversies that put multiculturalism to the test. This makes it possible to develop a more in-depth understanding about the ways in which adolescents think about cultural diversity.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and discussion

Conclusion and discussion

7.1 Introduction

Against a background of social and political debates on the position of Islam in the Netherlands, and recent incidents such as the Mohammed cartoon controversy, the main aim of this project was to gain a better understanding of adolescents' support for civil liberties and minority rights within a multicultural society. Although relations between Dutch natives and Muslim immigrant groups have been characterized by tensions and negative perceptions, acceptance of other people's civil liberties and tolerance of differences in opinions, beliefs and ways of life are important prerequisites for the functioning of a democratic society. Therefore, in this dissertation we examined adolescents' conceptions of and support for civil liberties and rights in relation to Muslims. The different empirical studies specifically employed an intergroup perspective and covered a range of situations. In this concluding chapter we will provide an overview of the research findings of the five empirical chapters. Subsequently, we will focus on the contributions and limitations of this research and discuss the theoretical and societal implications of the findings.

7.2 Overview of the findings

In general, it was found that adolescents were rather negative toward Muslims and expressed moderate to low levels of tolerance. Muslims acting on their beliefs, for example by wearing a headscarf, or by founding Islamic schools, were generally evaluated negatively and only a small majority of the adolescents thought these Muslim practices should be accepted. However, as expected, the acceptance of Muslim practices and minority rights was dependent on a number of factors.

Types of immigrants

The first question, which was addressed in Chapter 2, was *how the type of immigrant relates to endorsement of the right to cultural maintenance*. An important part of the public debate on immigration and immigrants turns on issues of deservingness and entitlement. Responsibilities and rights are defined differently depending on whether immigrants themselves are perceived to be responsible for their situation. We found that, when migrants are perceived as having left their country on a voluntary basis, the endorsement of the right to cultural maintenance is lower than when

migration was presented as being less voluntary. This effect was found in different situations, for example when refugees were contrasted with economic migrants, and for both immigrants and Dutch emigrants. In addition, perceptions of voluntariness also made a difference in relation to the same group. Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands originally arrived as guest workers. Emphasizing their own choice versus emphasizing the role of the Dutch government and industry recruiting guest workers had a clear effect on the acceptance of cultural maintenance by these groups. The presumption that immigrants had little choice made their cultural maintenance more acceptable. This is important, since issues of immigration and immigrants are represented in different ways by media and politicians, and in schools. These findings suggest that pre-existing conceptions regarding reasons for migration can be challenged by using different representations, which can have important implications.

Types of practices and situations

Whereas our first research question related to a general acceptance of cultural diversity, our second question focused on the specific behaviors and practices. *To what extent does the acceptance of Muslim practices depend on the type of practice?* In Chapter 3, we presented the participants with four different cases: Muslim students wearing a headscarf, Muslim parents founding separate Islamic schools, a female Muslim teacher refusing to shake hands with men, and an imam who publicly calls homosexuals inferior people. Although these cases are multi-faceted, in line with predictions of social cognitive domain theory (Turiel, 1983), they were found to differ in the particular domains they evoked. Whereas the wearing of a headscarf was seen predominantly as a personal choice, both the founding of Islamic schools and not shaking hands triggered more social conventional concerns. Finally, the case of the imam mainly raised moral issues. Furthermore, as expected this distinction between domains was related to tolerance of the practices, with the moral issue gaining the lowest level of acceptance.

That acceptance depends on the type of practice adolescents' are asked also came to the fore in another way. We examined two types of tolerance judgments: tolerance of the four mentioned practices and of campaigns for public support of co-Muslims for these practices. There was a clear difference in levels of tolerance concerning these two issues with adolescents displaying lower levels of acceptance in relation to the persuasion of others. This was not only found in Chapter 3, but also in Chapters 4 and 5. These findings are not directly in line with previous studies, which found that people tend to be more tolerant of campaigns for public support for a dissenting belief than of the

actual practice based on that belief (e.g., Wainryb et al, 1998; 2001). We argued however, that Muslims who mobilize other Muslims to engage in certain religious practices (e.g.. start wearing a headscarf) are typically seen as threatening Dutch identity and culture (see Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005) and contributing to the ‘Islamization of Dutch society’. Because of this increased threat, this mobilization leads to lower acceptance compared to the act itself.

Finally, although this was not the major focus, the findings of Chapter 6 also show that adolescents can evaluate rights differently depending on the specific situation. We examined adolescents’ attitudes towards a controversial issue on freedom of expression, namely the Mohammed cartoon controversy. It was found that the endorsement of freedom of expression in the case of newspapers publishing the cartoons was only weakly related to support for the freedom of Muslims to publicly demonstrate against the publications. Adolescents who endorsed freedom of expression in the case of the publication not necessarily did so in the case of the Muslim protesters, and vice versa. This shows that general principles are not always applied consistently across situations or groups.

Types of arguments

The complexity of tolerance judgments is highlighted by the different considerations to accept or not to accept a particular practice or behavior. The question we addressed in Chapter 4 was: *To what extent does the acceptance of Muslim practices depend on whether arguments are presented in favor of or against these practices?* One empirical conclusion that could be drawn is that it is easier to convince people to become more intolerant than the other way around. It was initially expected that adolescents would show higher levels of acceptance when considerations were emphasized that favor a tolerant attitude towards Muslim practices, compared to the situation in which no considerations were presented. This was not found to be the case. An emphasis on freedoms and civil liberties did not affect adolescents’ tolerance. Rather, adolescents became less tolerant when considerations of social conventions and immigrant integration were emphasized. Studies on political tolerance show that there is an asymmetry in (in)tolerance (Gibson, 2006; Gibson & Gouws, 2003). Individuals with a more tolerant attitude are easier to persuade in the direction of intolerance, compared to persuading intolerant individuals to accept the practices and behaviors of disliked groups. Because the negative attitude toward a group is in agreement with rejecting the practices of this group, it is easier – more consistent - to maintain an intolerant attitude. Being tolerant, on the other hand, is more difficult because it implies putting up with

the actions and practices of a disliked group. The outcomes of the present research also indicate that an asymmetry exists.

Intergroup factors

Since one of the major aims of this project was to approach the question of political tolerance and acceptance of minority rights from an intergroup perspective, one of our main questions was: *To what extent do judgments about civil liberties and rights depend on intergroup factors?* Throughout the different chapters, we focused on two factors in particular: National identification and the endorsement of diversity ideologies.

National identification

Derived from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), one of our general predictions was that a stronger identification with the Netherlands would relate to lower levels of acceptance of cultural diversity and specific out-group practices. Overall, this was indeed found to be the case. National identification was considered in Chapters 2 through 5, and every study showed a negative effect of identification on the endorsement of the right to cultural maintenance (Chapter 2) and on the acceptance of Muslim practices (Chapters 3-5). However, the role of identification extended beyond a simple direct relationship and interacted with other variables to predict acceptance of out-group practices. For example, in Chapter 4, framing effects were found to differ between adolescents with low and high levels of Dutch identification. For lower identifiers, intolerance increased when arguments against accepting the practices were presented. Tolerance did not increase in the pro acceptance condition for these individuals. Higher identifiers, on the other hand, already showed low levels of acceptance and were not affected by any of the considerations (positive nor negative). Chapter 5 also shows a moderating role of identification. Although in general, adolescents who thought that migrants should adapt to the Dutch society displayed lower levels of acceptance of Muslim practices, this relationship was stronger for high identifiers.

What these results indicate, is that compared to lower identifiers, high identifiers are more likely to evaluate minority group practices through a group-lens. For these individuals, the functioning of the in-group and the continuity of group values and identity are important. As a result, minority group practices are accepted less because these can be perceived as threatening to the position of the national in-group.

Diversity ideologies

One of the most robust findings of this dissertation concerns the role of diversity ideologies. Throughout the different studies, the endorsement of particular diversity ideologies (either assimilation or multiculturalism) was found to relate significantly and strongly to the acceptance or rejection of out-group practices. Overall, the role of diversity ideologies appears to be stronger than the role of in-group identification. One reason for this finding is that in-group identification is typically associated with in-group attitudes and not necessarily with the evaluation of out-groups, whereas, in the European context, diversity ideologies are predominantly seen as focusing on out-groups (Verkuyten, 2006). Compared to group identification, diversity ideologies are closely related to questions of how to deal with dissenting beliefs and practices. Assimilation underlines the dominant status of the majority group and the maintenance of their culture and identity. Multiculturalism on the other hand provides an ideological view about the importance of cultural diversity, which emphasizes that people should be recognized and valued in their group identity, and that there should be social equality and equal opportunities. Our results are in agreement with research that has shown that general beliefs about the protection of minority rights are a primary source of political tolerance (McClosky & Brill, 1983; Sullivan & Transue, 1999).

However, the endorsement of the value of cultural diversity appears not to be unlimited. Multiculturalism does not simply imply moral relativism in which all practices and ideas are judged equally right and acceptable (Lukes, 2008). Rather, the findings of Chapter 3 showed that adolescents who strongly endorsed a multicultural ideology clearly distinguished between practices. They tended to tolerate practices that raised mainly personal and conventional considerations but were less accepting of the practice that was predominantly perceived as a moral transgression.

In addition to these findings, the endorsement of assimilation served as a mediator in the relation between intergroup contact and the acceptance of Muslim practices. It also served as a mediator in the relation between social dominance orientation and authoritarianism, on the one hand, and the support for free speech in the Mohammed cartoon controversy, on the other hand. We will discuss these relations below.

Intergroup contact

Although the findings of the first three empirical chapters showed the importance of the framing context in the acceptance of out-group practices, there is another way in which the context can be taken into account. Adolescents do not develop their opinions and beliefs in isolation, and

intergroup relations within their direct environment can play an important role. Therefore, the question we formulated in Chapter 5 was: *What is the relationship between intergroup contact and acceptance of Muslim practices?* Research on intergroup contact has generally shown that contact reduces prejudice towards out-groups (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Prenovost, 2007). The results of our study show that intergroup contact is indeed related to higher levels of acceptance of Muslim practices. Both intergroup friendships in general and contact with out-group peers within the classroom contributed to a more accepting attitude. However, as indicated above, these relations were (partly) mediated by the endorsement of assimilation. This suggests that intergroup contact increases tolerance partly because it reduces the emphasis on assimilation of immigrants, which is in agreement with the deprovincialization thesis (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998). Deprovincialization implies that intergroup contact can enrich people's views of the social world, leading to less in-group-centric and more pluralistic standards of judgment. Thus, friendship and contacts with peers from ethnic minority groups may lead to lower endorsement of assimilation, because the in-group norms, customs and lifestyles are not longer seen as the only or main way to manage the world (see also Verkuyten et al., 2010).

Social dominance orientation and authoritarianism

In our final empirical chapter, we posed the following question: *What is the relation between social dominance orientation (SDO), authoritarianism, assimilation and the endorsement of freedom of speech?* The role of these variables was examined in different European countries and in relation to the so-called Mohammed cartoon controversy. SDO and authoritarianism were found to be directly related to the support of the freedoms of expression. Higher SDO was associated with more acceptance of the publication of the cartoons and less acceptance of Muslims demonstrating against the publications. This asymmetrical pattern of acceptance is functional for maintaining the existing group based hierarchy between the native majority and Muslim minorities. In contrast, authoritarianism was associated negatively with both issues. In general, authoritarians tend to see the social world as a dangerous place and they seek security in strong leaders, conformity, and social order (Duckitt, 2006). Both the publication of the cartoons and the subsequent demonstrations of Muslims pose a threat to social stability and order. Therefore, more authoritarian adolescents endorsed both freedoms of expression less strongly than low authoritarians. Thus, SDO and authoritarianism can have different implications for adolescents' assessment of politicized controversies about cultural diversity.

Parts of the relations between social dominance orientation and authoritarianism and the endorsement of the freedom of expression were mediated by assimilation. This further supports the important role of assimilation ideology for the evaluation of controversies related to immigration and cultural diversity. One reason why assimilation might be endorsed is that it is beneficial for social cohesion and the functioning of society (e.g., Alba & Nee, 2003; Brubaker, 2001). It emphasizes that migrants should conform to the values and ways of life of the majority group. Individuals who are more authoritarian are more concerned with conformity and cohesion of society. Hence, it was expected that these adolescents would endorse assimilation more strongly than those who score lower on authoritarianism. In addition, because assimilationist thinking provides a justification for the dominant position of the majority group it was predicted that higher social dominance orientation would be related to stronger support for assimilation. Our results were in line with these predictions.

Age, education, and gender

Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, attention was paid to age, education and gender differences in the acceptance of out-group practices and minority rights. In contrast to the idea of an age-related progression from less to more principled reasoning and thus a more tolerant attitude (e.g. Enright & Lapsey, 1981; Enright et al., 1984), our results actually showed the opposite. Across the different studies, older participants were generally found to be less tolerant. The results also indicated that they more strongly endorsed assimilation compared to younger adolescents. As argued by Killen and Stangor (2001), with age children become increasingly concerned about the nature of social groups and about group norms and expectations. It is thus likely that the older participants are more concerned about the functioning of the Dutch society and tend to see Muslim practices as threatening the norms and values of their in-group. Hence, the findings suggest that with age adolescents tend to evaluate concepts of rights and freedoms increasingly in relation to other considerations and concerns, particularly the intergroup context.

In agreement with previous findings (see Vogt, 1997; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007), the level of education of the participants was found to be positively associated with tolerance. In addition, adolescents enrolled in higher levels of education showed lower endorsement of assimilation. This implies that generally, education is linked to more openness to diversity in society. However, the actual mechanisms through which education increases tolerance and acceptance of diversity remain to be studied systematically (Vogt, 1997).

Regarding gender, there is quite some research reporting a gender gap in political tolerance, with women generally being less tolerant (see Golebiowska, 1999). In all of our empirical studies, gender differences were found, but the findings do not indicate a clear direction. Girls, compared to boys, were less supportive of an assimilationist ideology. Overall, they were also found to be more tolerant of minority group practices, which goes against the general finding of lower tolerance amongst women. However, when examined more closely, gender differences were dependent on the situation. For example, girls were found to be less tolerant than boys in the case of the imam's speech against homosexuals. With respect to freedom of expression in the case of the cartoons, girls were actually less supportive of the publication of the cartoons, but on the other hand more supportive of the Muslim demonstrators' right to freedom of expression. Hence, based on these results no simple conclusion can be drawn with respect to gender differences. Whether adolescent males and females assess issues of civil liberties and minority rights differently, depends on the issue at hand and the intergroup context.

7.3 Contributions

The current project aimed to make a contribution to the existing literature in different ways. Questions on adolescents' judgments about civil liberties and minority rights are of great importance in times of growing international migration and the resulting religious, ethnic and cultural diversification of societies. Intergroup theories, such as social identity theory, typically do not address these questions, and little systematic attention has been paid to the role of the intergroup context in judgments about freedoms and rights. Furthermore, research using a social cognitive domain approach has predominantly focused on interpersonal situations and it is relatively unclear how intergroup relations affect the reasoning about civil liberties. Although the domain approach emphasizes the importance of the social context and children's experiences of social events, most studies in the field do not focus on group dynamics and group identity. Recently, scholars have started to examine the development of moral reasoning in the context of intergroup relations. For example, the work of Killen and colleagues has shown that ethnic and racial stereotypes enter into the social reasoning about the wrongfulness of social exclusion (Killen, Margie & Sinno, 2006; Killen, Sinno & Margie, 2007) and that children recognize the importance of groups and group identity (Killen & Rutland, 2011).

This dissertation has followed these recent developments by focusing on children's and adolescents' reasoning about civil liberties and tolerance. In particular, our research complements previous studies by examining the role of

group dynamics and group identity across a number of different outcomes. Instead of social exclusion, we look at the endorsement of the right to cultural maintenance, the acceptance of out-group practices, and the endorsement of freedom of expression. In addition, we show the importance of the intergroup context in several ways, for example by including adolescents' general beliefs about the value of diversity in society and the level of contact with peers from different ethnic groups. What these findings underline is that intergroup factors are not only directly related to tolerance, but can also influence the way in which situations are assessed and information is weighed. This is of particular importance, since it implies that intergroup factors play an important role in the evaluation of civil liberties and minority rights.

7.4 Practical implications

In addition to the theoretical contributions, the current research can be of practical relevance. In the Netherlands, since February 2006, schools have a legal obligation to advance "active citizenship and social integration". They are expected to teach children the basic aspects of democracy and tolerance. Although this research did not directly set out to design or evaluate a curriculum, there are some findings that educators and policy makers may find of use for the development of adequate civic education.

First, the contextual nature of judgments about civil liberties and minority rights should be taken into account. Although a general understanding of the concepts of civic rights are an important basis of many educational programs, the findings of our research indicate that adolescents' acceptance of diverging beliefs and practices depends on the specific situation under consideration. What this implies is that a focus on abstract principles might have little relevance for real life problems, social issues, and conflicts. Making a clear connection between civil liberties in general and how these apply to concrete situations might be more meaningful to students. In addition, the way in which information is processed should be considered. One important finding of this research is that not all information carries equal weight. Arguments that favored rejection of Muslim practices had a stronger effect than arguments that emphasized the acceptance of these practices. Hence, trying to 'teach' students to be tolerant seems to be more complex than simply presenting them with arguments why they should be tolerant. These arguments might have little meaning to adolescents. For example, in this dissertation it was found that for adolescents who identify strongly with the national group, the type of information presented had little effect. In addition, high identifying individuals are less accepting of diversity in general and of minority group practices in particular, and are more inclined to view situations

through a group lens. Educators should therefore be careful when focusing on groups and be aware of how and when group-based thinking can come into play when discussing issues of civil liberties and rights.

Second, our findings suggest that an educational emphasis on cultural diversity and multicultural recognition is a promising avenue for improving majority group adolescents' tolerance of minority group practices. Participants who endorse multiculturalism more strongly appear to be more tolerant. At the same time, when concerns and considerations of others' welfare and fairness are involved, respecting dissenting beliefs and behaviors becomes more difficult. The findings of our study indicate that in these situations, multiculturalism has only limited effects on acceptance of minority group practices. Thus, it seems important to stimulate multicultural recognition but without the relativism found in some forms of multiculturalism which tend to celebrate diversity unconditionally.

Finally, our findings indicate that tolerance is closely tied to the ideology of multiculturalism, and that both tolerance and the endorsement of a multicultural ideology can be affected by intergroup contact. Although friendships with members from different ethnic groups are hard to enforce, it is possible to stimulate cooperation with out-group peers in the context of the classroom. These interactions might enrich adolescents' views of the social world, making them less in-group-centric. When the in-group norms, customs and lifestyles are no longer seen as the only or main way to manage the world, adolescents may become more accepting of minority group practices.

7.5 Limitations and directions for future research

Despite its contributions, this dissertation also has some limitations. A first limitation lies in the combination of developmental psychological and social psychological approaches. Although hypotheses were derived from a theoretical framework within the field of developmental psychology, i.e. social cognitive domain theory, the current research predominantly had a social-psychological approach. The reason for this was that we wanted to show the importance of an intergroup perspective in examining adolescents' judgments of civil liberties and minority group practices. Age related developments in cognitive processes and moral reasoning were not examined. However, we found interesting age effects, not in line with theories which argue that support for civil liberties and rights becomes stronger with adolescents acquiring more advanced levels of moral development. What exactly drives these age differences and what kinds of changes occur during adolescence are important topics for future studies. By employing a longitudinal design, age related differences in the endorsement of civil liberties and rights and in group

identification can be investigated. Furthermore, taking into account variables related to knowledge and cognitive sophistication could improve our understanding of these age differences. In addition, future research could benefit from an approach that systematically focuses on adolescents' actual reasoning about questions of cultural diversity and minority rights.

A second limitation relates to the generalizability of the findings. In this dissertation, we focused on the perspective of adolescents belonging to the dominant majority group. However, adolescents' reasoning about civil liberties can be expected to differ between majority and ethnic minority groups. For example, research has shown that in relation to group position in society, majority group members tend to favor the status quo whereas minorities seek to improve their group's position. Related to civil liberties this means that majorities might emphasize the rights of their own group and the duties of minority groups whereas ethnic minorities focus more on minority rights. How Muslim adolescents in the Netherlands reason about civil liberties and rights is of importance because commentators and politicians, for example, often argue that freedoms and rights characterize Western democratic societies and are of minimal concern to Muslims, or even contradictory to Islam. The freedom and rights-based morality of Western societies would differ from the authority and duty-based morality of Islam. But how do Muslim adolescents reason about freedoms and democratic procedures? And how (in)compatible are their views with the views of native Dutch adolescents? Furthermore, it would be worthwhile to examine whether the findings from the different studies can be replicated in other countries. In Chapter 6, in relation to the evaluation of the Mohammed cartoons we found few differences between the various European countries. However, civil liberties and rights issues may differ per country, and there may be additional country differences, which influence the ways in which adolescents evaluate and reason about civil liberties and rights.

Finally, given the relevance of this research for educational purposes, one venue for future work is the translation of theory and research findings into good educational practice. In order to do this, one could start by examining what kinds of programs already exist. How effective are these programs in teaching adolescents 'active citizenship' and to be good democratic citizens? Specifically, how do these programs integrate findings from empirical studies on adolescents' reasoning about civil liberties and minority rights? Researchers should address these questions in order to contribute to the development of the civic education curriculum.

7.6 General conclusion

The main aim of this project was to increase our understanding of adolescents' support for civil liberties and minority rights. Within democratic societies, this topic is of great importance. To ensure that all citizens can participate and to sustain democratic involvement, modern, liberal democracies guarantee all their citizens' specific rights, such as freedom of speech and association. As a consequence, individuals have to be able to deal with diversity of beliefs, opinions and lifestyles, and to some extent with conflict, disagreement, and difference (Helwig & Yuang, forthcoming). In the Netherlands, but also in other European countries, social and political debates center on Muslim immigrant groups. Muslims in Europe are often perceived as a group whose religious practices are incompatible with Western liberal values. In addition, research findings indicate that among adolescents high levels of prejudice and explicit negative opinions toward Muslims exist (e.g., Velasco Gonzalez, et al., 2008). Tolerance is a minimal necessity for harmonious intergroup relations and the functioning of a civil society. The findings of this dissertation indicate that acceptance of minority group practices and the endorsement of civil liberties depends on what adolescents are actually asked to accept. In addition, the findings of this study underline the need to take the intergroup situation into account. Adolescents' attachment to their national group affects not only the extent to which they accept cultural diversity – both in general and in specific situations – but also the way in which they evaluate situations. Furthermore, general beliefs about the degree to which diversity in society should be accommodated play an important role in the acceptance of minority group practices.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Inleiding

In 2001 stelde imam Khalil El Moumni dat homoseksualiteit een besmettelijke ziekte is. De Nederlandse staat probeerde de imam te vervolgen voor deze controversiële uitspraak, maar de rechter oordeelde uiteindelijk dat de uitspraak viel onder de vrijheid van meningsuiting. Dit leverde een verhit debat op over de positie van de Islam in de Nederlandse samenleving en de grenzen aan vrijheid van meningsuiting en vrijheid van religie. In veel Europese landen draaien (politieke) debatten over de multiculturele samenleving met name om de positie van Moslims. Over het algemeen wordt deze groep gezien als niet bereid of niet in staat om te integreren in het land van migratie en in de ogen van velen botsen Islamitische religieuze praktijken met westerse liberale waarden.

In de laatste jaren hebben zich in West-Europese landen diverse andere voorvallen voorgedaan die de discussies over de positie van Moslims aanwakkerden. Zogenaamde “hoofddoekjesdiscussies”, met onder andere in Nederland, België en Groot-Brittannië specifieke gevallen van scholen die leerlingen met een hoofddoek wilde weren. De wereldwijde controverse rond de publicatie van cartoons van de Profeet Mohammed in de Deense krant *Jyllands-Posten*. Het ontslaan van een Islamitische docente op een middelbare school omdat ze vanwege haar Islamitische geloofsovertuiging weigerde handen te schudden met mannelijke collega's, vaders van leerlingen en andere mannen. Het debat rondom het uitbrengen van de korte film *Fitna* door PVV leider Geert Wilders.

De bovengenoemde voorbeelden illustreren hoe moeilijk het kan zijn om principes, zoals de vrijheid van meningsuiting en van religie, te hanteren wanneer deze in conflict komen met andere waarden en belangen. Diverse onderzoeken laten zien dat een groot deel van de Nederlanders vindt dat de westerse en Islamitische manier van leven niet samengaan en dat zowel jongeren als volwassenen een negatieve houding hebben ten aanzien van Moslims. Met name de PVV kan onder adolescenten op veel steun rekenen.

Doelstelling van het onderzoek

Het doel van het huidige onderzoek was om onder adolescenten de steun voor burgerlijke vrijheden en rechten van minderheden binnen een multiculturele samenleving te onderzoeken. In een democratische maatschappij is de ontwikkeling van acceptatie van rechten en vrijheden van cruciaal belang. Om

een democratie te laten functioneren is de participatie van burgers centraal en om dit te garanderen beschikken burgers over specifieke rechten, zoals de vrijheid van meningsuiting en van samenkomst en protest. Dit betekent echter ook dat men in staat moet zijn om met een veelheid aan meningen, geloofsovertuigingen en levensstijlen om te gaan en daardoor, tot op zekere hoogte, ook met meningsverschillen, conflicten, en onenigheden.

Sinds februari 2006 zijn scholen verplicht actief burgerschap en sociale integratie te stimuleren. Zij worden verwacht hun leerlingen de basiskennmerken van de democratie en van politieke tolerantie te onderwijzen. In de praktijk blijkt dat scholen hierbij zeer verschillende onderwijsprogramma's hanteren en dat deze programma's over het algemeen willekeurig en matig uitgewerkt zijn. Een probleem is dat tot nu toe weinig bekend is over hoe jongeren eigenlijk denken over burgerlijke rechten en vrijheden en de mate waarin zij diversiteit in meningen en overtuigingen accepteren. Onderzoek dat zich richt op deze zaken kan daarmee een theoretische en empirische bijdrage leveren aan de bestaande kennis op dit gebied en daarmee ideeën genereren voor de ontwikkeling van onderwijsprogramma's met betrekking tot actief burgerschap en sociale integratie.

In dit proefschrift ligt de focus daarom op de acceptatie van religieuze en culturele praktijken en de steun voor burgerlijke vrijheden in relatie tot Moslims. Hierbij gaat het om de houding van autochtone Nederlandse adolescenten, met uitzondering van het laatste empirische hoofdstuk, waarin naast Nederlandse jongeren ook jongeren uit diverse andere Europese landen zijn ondervraagd. Alle uitkomsten zijn gebaseerd op kwantitatief onderzoek, waarbij onder een groot aantal jongeren enquêtes zijn afgenomen. Hierin is deels een experimentele opzet gehanteerd.

Bevindingen

Over het algemeen laten de verschillende empirische onderzoeken zien dat adolescenten een negatieve houding hebben ten aanzien van Moslims en een gemiddeld tot lage mate van tolerantie met betrekking tot religieuze praktijken van deze groep. Slechts een klein deel van de adolescenten accepteerde bijvoorbeeld het oprichten van Islamitische scholen en het niet schudden van handen met iemand van het andere geslacht. De acceptatie van deze praktijken hing echter, zoals verwacht, af van een aantal factoren. Ik zal de belangrijkste bevindingen hieronder kort toelichten.

Het type immigrant

In hoofdstuk 2 onderzochten we of de mate waarin cultuurbehoud door immigranten wordt geaccepteerd afhangt van het type migrant. Het publieke debat over immigratie gaat voor een groot deel over welke claims op cultuurbehoud migranten kunnen maken, dan wel ‘verdienen’, wanneer zij zich in een ander land vestigen. De mate waarin een aanspraak op cultuurbehoud wordt geaccepteerd is niet voor alle migranten gelijk. Zo vonden wij in ons onderzoek dat wanneer migranten zich op vrijwillige basis in een ander land vestigen, bijvoorbeeld met werkgelegenheid als motief, het behoud van eigen cultuur minder werd geaccepteerd dan wanneer migratie als minder vrijwillig werd gezien, zoals in het geval van vluchtelingen. Ook in het geval van een en dezelfde groep werd een dergelijk verschil waargenomen. Turken en Marokkanen hebben zich in eerste instantie als gastarbeiders in Nederland gevestigd. Wanneer de actieve rol van de overheid en de industriële sector om deze arbeiders hierheen te halen werd benadrukt, vond men cultuurbehoud acceptabeler dan wanneer de nadruk lag op de eigen keuze van de gastarbeiders.

De situatie

Of de religieuze praktijken van Moslims worden geaccepteerd hangt ook af van de specifieke situatie. Hoofdstuk 3 liet zien dat het dragen van een hoofddoek eerder wordt geaccepteerd dan het oprichten van Islamitische scholen en het niet schudden van handen. Door vrijwel geen van de adolescenten werd het acceptabel gevonden dat een imam in zijn toespraak homoseksuelen minderwaardige mensen noemt. Deze verschillen hangen samen met de mate waarin de gedraging of religieuze praktijk als een persoonlijke zaak wordt gezien, in gaat tegen de sociale norm, of als morele transgressie wordt bestempeld. In dat laatste geval is de mate van tolerantie het laagst, terwijl zaken die als persoonlijk worden gezien door de meeste jongeren worden geaccepteerd.

Een verschil in tolerantie werd ook gevonden wanneer onderscheid werd gemaakt tussen de gedraging of praktijk op zichzelf (bijvoorbeeld het dragen van een hoofddoekje) en het proberen te overtuigen van anderen (om ook een hoofddoekje te dragen). Het overtuigen van anderen kon daarbij op de minste steun rekenen. Dit zou te verklaren kunnen zijn doordat het overtuigen van anderen bijdraagt aan de “Islamisering van de Nederlandse samenleving” en meer nog dan de gedraging zelf als bedreigend wordt ervaren.

Tot slot laten de bevindingen in hoofdstuk 6 zien dat de vrijheid van meningsuiting van de kranten die de controversiële Mohammed cartoons publiceerden meer door adolescenten wordt geaccepteerd dan de vrijheid van

meningsuiting van Moslims om te protesteren tegen de publicatie van de cartoons. Dit laat zien aan dat jongeren niet altijd hetzelfde principe consistent toepassen in verschillende situaties of ten aanzien van verschillende groepen.

Het type argument

In welke mate hangt de acceptatie van een gedraging of van een religieuze praktijk af van de voor- of tegenargumenten die op tafel worden gebracht? Een van de conclusies die wordt getrokken in hoofdstuk 4 is dat het makkelijker is om mensen te overtuigen om iets niet te accepteren dan om ze toleranter te maken. Het benadrukken van het recht op vrije meningsuiting of vrijheid van religie leidde niet tot een tolerante houding ten aanzien van Islamitische praktijken. Echter, wanneer overwegingen werden aangedragen om deze praktijken niet te accepteren, bijvoorbeeld vanwege het belang van heldere sociale normen en de integratie van immigranten, werden jongeren nog minder tolerant ten aanzien van Moslims. Dit was ook het geval wanneer zowel voor- als tegenargumenten werden gepresenteerd. Deze gevonden asymmetrie is in lijn met eerder onderzoek naar politieke tolerantie.

Intergroepsfactoren

Een van de doelen van dit onderzoek was om de rol van de intergroepscontext te onderzoeken. In de verschillende onderzoeken zijn twee factoren meegenomen: de mate van identificatie met Nederland en de rol van opvattingen over diversiteit. Met betrekking tot nationale identificatie laten hoofdstuk 2 t/m 5 zien dat naarmate adolescenten zich sterker identificeren met Nederland zij het recht op cultuurbehoud (hoofdstuk 2) en religieuze praktijken van Moslims (hoofdstuk 3-5) minder accepteren. In het onderzoek naar de rol van argumenten werd verder gevonden dat jongeren met een lage mate van nationale identificatie zich minder tolerant toonden wanneer argumenten tegen acceptatie werden gepresenteerd. Adolescenten met een hoge mate van identificatie met Nederland bleken voor zowel voor- als tegenargumenten niet ontvankelijk.

Wat deze resultaten laten zien is dat voor jongeren met een hoge mate van identificatie, het functioneren van de groep en het belang van de eigenheid en waarden van die groep een belangrijke rol speelt bij de afwijzing van de rechten en vrijheden van Moslims en minderheden in het algemeen. Omdat cultuurbehoud door minderheden als bedreigend kan worden gezien voor de nationale identiteit, wordt dit minder snel geaccepteerd.

Een van de meest robuuste bevindingen van dit proefschrift heeft betrekking op de rol van opvattingen over diversiteit. Van origine kent de Nederlandse samenleving een multiculturele ideologie, in welke diversiteit als

waardevol voor de samenleving wordt gezien en alle groepen het recht hebben op behoud van hun eigen cultuur. De laatste jaren is de roep om assimilatie van immigranten echter steeds luider geworden. Assimilatie benadrukt dat immigranten zich moeten aanpassen aan de cultuur van het gastland en hun eigen cultuur, in ieder geval in het openbare leven, moeten opgeven. Assimilatie onderschrijft en behoud daarmee de dominante status van de autochtone bevolking. De mate waarin multiculturalisme dan wel assimilatie wordt gesteund blijkt zeer sterk samen te hangen met de acceptatie van specifieke gedragingen en religieuze praktijken van Moslims. Dit impliceert echter niet dat voorstanders van multiculturalisme alles zomaar accepteren. Het onderzoek in hoofdstuk 3 liet bijvoorbeeld zien dat deze voorstanders wel positiever zijn ten opzichte van praktijken die ingaan tegen de heersende sociale conventies, maar niet wanneer iets als moreel fout wordt bestempeld, zoals in het geval van de imam die homoseksuelen minderwaardig noemt.

Contact tussen groepen

Naast identificatie en opvattingen over diversiteit is in hoofdstuk 5 ook de mate van contact met minderheden meegenomen in het onderzoek. Eerder onderzoek laat zien dat contact vooroordelen tegenover een groep kan verminderen. Ook het huidige onderzoek toont aan dat contact met jongeren met een andere etnische achtergrond positief samenhangt met de acceptatie van Moslims. Dit geldt voor zowel vriendschappen als simpelweg contact in de schoolklas. Adolescenten die meer vrienden hadden van een andere etniciteit (Turks, Marokkaans, Surinaams of Antilliaans), of in de klas meer contact hadden met deze leerlingen, steunden in mindere mate een ideologie van assimilatie en waren, deels daardoor, toleranter ten aanzien van Moslims.

Leeftijd, opleidingsniveau en sekse

In het huidige onderzoek is ook gekeken naar verschillen tussen leeftijdsgroepen, opleidingsniveaus en geslacht. Hoewel onderzoekers eerder stelden dat jongeren toleranter worden naarmate ze richting de volwassen leeftijd gaan, laten onze resultaten het tegenovergestelde zien. Over het algemeen waren de oudere adolescenten minder tolerant ten aanzien van Islamitische gedragingen en praktijken en hingen ze sterker een assimilatie ideologie aan dan jongere adolescenten. Dit kan deels komen doordat het belang van de eigen groep en groepsidentiteit steeds belangrijker wordt naarmate men ouder wordt, maar meer onderzoek is nodig om leeftijdseffecten op dit gebied te verklaren. Dit geldt ook voor de relatie tussen opleidingsniveau en tolerantie. In overeenstemming met eerder onderzoek vonden we dat hoger opgeleide jongeren (HAVO, VWO) over het algemeen

toleranter waren dan jongeren met een lager opleidingsniveau (VMBO). Welke verklaring aan deze relatie ten grondslag ligt, is niet onderzocht.

Tot slot kwamen ook sekseverschillen aan het licht. Over het algemeen waren meisjes positiever ten aanzien van diversiteit in de samenleving dan jongens. In sommige gevallen, zoals bij de toespraak van de imam over homoseksuelen, waren zij echter minder tolerant dan jongens. Ook in het onderzoek naar de cartoon controversie (hoofdstuk 6) vonden we dat enerzijds meisjes vrijheid van meningsuiting meer steunden (als het ging om de protesten door Moslims) en anderzijds minder (wanneer het ging om de kranten die de cartoons publiceerden). De voorlopige conclusie is dan ook dat sekseverschillen sterk contextgebonden zijn.

Conclusie

Samenvattend laat dit proefschrift zien dat de steun voor burgerlijke vrijheden en de rechten van immigranten sterk afhankelijk is van de specifieke context. Welke gedrag wordt beoordeeld? Welke argumenten zijn er voor of tegen in te brengen? Over welke groep gaat het eigenlijk en hoe wordt die groep in het brede debat neergezet? Ook individuele factoren spelen een rol: hoe belangrijk is de nationale identiteit voor een persoon? Wat is de houding ten aanzien van diversiteit, multiculturalisme en assimilatie? In welke mate heeft men contact met jongeren met een andere etnische achtergrond? Daarnaast hangen ook de leeftijd, het opleidingsniveau en sekse van de persoon samen met de acceptatie van specifieke rechten en vrijheden. De resultaten van dit proefschrift dragen bij aan de kennis over hoe jongeren denken en oordelen over culturele en religieuze diversiteit in de samenleving en biedt diverse aanknopingspunten voor vervolgonderzoek. Daarnaast kunnen de bevindingen mogelijk een bijdrage leveren aan de ontwikkeling van onderwijsprogramma's op het gebied van burgerschapsvorming en sociale integratie.

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