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## Review

## Longing for one's home country: National nostalgia and acculturation among immigrants and natives

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Scientists and commentators have claimed that there is a “crisis of home” in the West, and that we are living in a “homesick world” (see e.g., Duyvendak, 2011; Matt, 2012; Rapport & Dawson, 1998). Indeed, the Ipsos Global Trends Survey of 2016 showed that feeling nostalgic for one's country of the past is a widespread sentiment in many countries across the world (Ipsos Mori, 2016). Scholars argue that the rapid transformation of societies as a result of the increased mobility of people and goods is changing people's understanding of the world and their place in it, often causing feelings of disorientation, displacement and alienation (Morley & Robbins, 1995). Specifically, mass migration to Western Europe since the 1960s has led to a diversification of the populations of these societies resulting in greater plurality of lifestyles and religions. As a result of these trends, both immigrants and natives need to adapt to life in a changed multicultural context. In these changing contexts, both newcomers and natives may experience a sense of homelessness and nostalgia for their “old” homes, albeit for different homes that have been lost. For natives, a rapidly changing context may trigger feelings of nostalgia for their national “homes of the past”. For immigrants, feelings of nostalgia are more likely to be triggered by being separated from their homeland in both space and time.

In the psychological literature, this temporal versus spatial separation from home is seen as an important difference between nostalgia (time) and homesickness (space) (e.g., Batcho, 2013; Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006). While nostalgia is typically defined as a longing for the past resulting from separation in time, homesickness is understood as the longing for home that results from the separation from home in space (Stroebe, Schut, & Nauta, 2015). Another difference between the two emotions is that nostalgia is considered to result in predominantly positive consequences for individual well-being whereas homesickness is associated with psychological discomfort and distress (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, Arndt, & Zhou, 2009). For these reasons, these two emotions are considered to be distinct psychological phenomena and research examining these two emotions has developed relatively independently and separately from each other.

The current research seeks to integrate and advance these separate strands of literature in several ways. First, while both nostalgia and homesickness have mainly been studied at the individual level of analysis, we propose that these emotions also hold relevance at the group level. This proposition is in line with Intergroup Emotions Theory (see Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009) which states that, aside from emotions experienced as an individual, people may also feel collective emotions — emotions that are related to the groups that they belong to. More specifically, when individuals think of themselves in terms of a particular social identity the group becomes part of their self and hereby acquires emotional significance. Emotions that are experienced because of this group membership may subsequently become important drivers of intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Applying this reasoning to the national context, we propose that the country to which people belong is often an important part of their social identity. Previous research has shown that people can experience a wide range of collective emotions on the basis of their national identity, such as guilt or shame (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Lickel, Steele, & Schmader, 2011), as well as nostalgia (Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2015). Homesickness has so far only been studied at the individual level of analysis, but just as collective nostalgia, can also be experienced as a collective emotion when it concerns a longing for one's original home country (albeit due to a separation in space instead of time) based on one's national identity. Although recent studies on national nostalgia have focused on the perspective of natives, there are

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no empirical studies in social psychology that have examined nostalgia and homesickness among immigrants. We predict that in contexts where national identities become psychologically salient, such as in culturally diverse societies, both homesickness and nostalgia related to these social identities can be considered collective emotions that hold relevance for understanding intergroup dynamics.

Second, we aim to advance psychological research on nostalgia and homesickness by presenting a theoretical analysis of the similarities and differences between the two concepts. Building on recent insights on nostalgia in social psychology (Iyer & Jetten, 2011; Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015; Verplanken, 2012), we argue that it is difficult to distinguish nostalgia from homesickness. On the basis of this theoretical analysis, we propose that it is more useful to distinguish between *temporal* and *spatial national nostalgia* when analyzing feelings of longing for one's home among immigrants and natives.

We argue that it is important to study feelings of national nostalgia among both immigrants and natives, because they are likely to have different consequences for both groups' acculturation preferences (for a review of the acculturation literature see Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, and Zagefka, 2014). For natives, these preferences relate to expectations about how immigrants should acculturate in the host society. On the other hand, for immigrants, these preferences relate to their own ideas about maintenance and adoption of the host culture. Specifically, we predict that, for both natives and immigrants, feelings of national nostalgia for their original home country will be related to a stronger connection with their ethnic in-group and a weaker sense of belonging to the other group. In turn, this is likely to relate to opposing acculturation preferences.

We propose that exploring these different pathways and consequences of national nostalgia is important as one of the main challenges for culturally diverse societies is to make sure that both immigrants and natives are 'feeling at home' in society and with each other. In two studies, we examine how national nostalgia among both natives and immigrants in the Netherlands relate to acculturation preferences via distinct group identification pathways.

### Homesickness versus nostalgia

The term nostalgia was coined by the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer in the late 17th century to refer to the extreme homesickness experienced by Swiss mercenaries in foreign European armies (for more extensive reviews on the history of nostalgia see Batcho, 2013; Wilson, 2005). Nostalgia comes from the Greek words *nostos*, meaning "return home", and *algia*, meaning "pain" or "suffering". Hence, nostalgia literally means "homesickness". According to Hofer, nostalgia was a medical condition, including symptoms as sadness, insomnia, anxiety, fever, weakness, loss of appetite and palpitations of the heart. This understanding of nostalgia as a medical condition prevailed throughout the 17th and 18th century. In the 19th century nostalgia started to receive attention in psychiatry and became regarded as a mental illness involving depression and melancholy. Similarly, psychodynamic theorists and clinicians regarded nostalgia as a variant of mourning, depression or psychosis. Hence, the definition of nostalgia as a disease (and its equation with homesickness) prevailed until the late 19th century.

A more positive approach to nostalgia emerged during the 20th century. Rather than defining nostalgia as a disease that should be prevented and treated, theorists started to view nostalgia as a positive universal emotion and an adaptive response to social change. The seminal survey study by sociologist Fred Davis (1979) confirmed this claim by showing that college students associated words such as "warm, old times, childhood and yearning" more frequently with nostalgia than with homesickness. By the beginning of the 21st century, many studies in social psychology demonstrated the positive nature of nostalgia, showing that it was mainly associated with happy memories of the past and positive affect and generally had positive consequences for well-being (for a review see Sedikides et al., 2015b).

As a result of this more positive approach to nostalgia, its referential meaning shifted away from homesickness. Nostalgia became considered a predominantly positive emotion concerning a longing for happy memories of the past, while homesickness became understood as a negative emotion concerning feelings of grief and distress as a result of being away from home. This resulted in an independent status and literature for the two concepts that is still prevailing, in which homesickness is seen as a psychological vulnerability experienced by people who are separated from a certain place ("home") and is characterized by a desire to return to this place (Stroebe et al., 2015). Nostalgia, on the other hand, is seen as a psychological resource that is commonly experienced by individuals who are separated from a certain time and refers to longing for a broad range of objects from this past (e.g., events, people, traditions) (Sedikides et al., 2015b). Taken together, the current psychological literature on homesickness and nostalgia distinguishes these concepts on the basis of three criteria: (1) the object of longing (home vs. broader range), (2) valence (negative vs. positive emotional state and consequences) and (3) the referent of separation (space vs. time).

### A critical examination of the demarcation criteria: the case of home feelings among natives and immigrants

We contend that the first two demarcation criteria are problematic when considering these emotions in relation to the home feelings of natives and immigrants. Regarding criterion 1 (the object of longing), one reason why the referential meaning of nostalgia shifted away from homesickness is that the notion of "home" disappeared from the psychological understanding of nostalgia. Scholars in the 1900s claimed that the very idea of "home" became questionable as people became increasingly mobile (Batcho, 2013; Ritivoi, 2002). They wondered how people could feel nostalgic in such times of unimpeded mobility and pointed at the temporal dimension. As there was no apt existing label for "longing for one's past", nostalgia became more often used to refer to this sense of longing and it became increasingly dissociated from place (Batcho, 2013; Wilson, 2005). However, in current nostalgic Western European discourses on national identity and immigration, the past and home feelings have become clearly connected again. There is an ongoing public and political discourse in which the nation state is portrayed as the home and rightful place of the native majority (Duyvendak,

2011; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017), which is threatened by growing levels of immigration and cultural diversification. Politicians have claimed that native majorities no longer feel at home and sometimes even “out of place” in their increasingly diverse neighborhoods. Consequently, they develop a sentimental longing—a nostalgia—for their lost national homes of the past. At the same time, immigrants may feel unaccepted, alienated and displaced in their new environments and develop nostalgia for their places of origin. This means that for many people living in culturally diverse settings, nostalgia is still strongly connected to place and the object of longing in nostalgia is the lost “home”. This development blurs the boundaries between the concepts nostalgia and homesickness in relation to demarcation criterion 1 (the object of longing).

The Ipsos Global Trends Survey of 2016 showed that, in most countries, more than 50% of the population would like their country to be the way it used to be (Ipsos Mori, 2016). In typologies developed by researchers in sociology, social psychology and consumer research (e.g., Davis, 1979; Holak, Matveev, & Havleva; Smeekes et al., 2015; Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Van Tilburg, & Sedikides), such common experiences of nostalgia across members of a certain group have been labeled as “collective nostalgia” or “cultural nostalgia”. These typologies suggest that collective nostalgia is a collective experience based on one's shared identity and memories with fellow group members and that it is distinct from personal nostalgia — an individual experience based on one's unique personal memories. According to social psychological typologies of nostalgia, this emotion is not only a collective experience in the sense that it is socially shared within groups, but also because it can be experienced on the basis of a particular social identity (Wildschut et al., 2014; Smeekes et al., 2015). These typologies are based on Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET; see Mackie et al., 2009), which develops key insights derived from social identity theory and self-categorization theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). As a starting point, these theoretical frameworks propose that when an individual categorizes him/herself as part of a group, that ingroup becomes part of the self, thereby acquiring social and emotional significance. This means that when group membership is salient and people think of themselves in terms of a particular social identity, people can experience collective emotions in response to events that affect their group even if this does not affect them personally. For example, people may feel guilty for what ingroup members did to another group in the past, even if they themselves were not personally involved in the wrongdoing (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). It also means that people can experience these emotions without other group members being present, as thinking about oneself in terms of one's social identity can trigger these emotions. For collective nostalgia this implies that people can long for objects, periods or events from their group past even if one was not present at the time and even without other group members being present at the time the emotion is experienced. Recent studies based on IET have shown that people are able to experience collective nostalgia in relation to their national identity (i.e., national nostalgia — longing for their home country of the past) and that this emotion affects their attitudes toward immigrant out-groups (Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015). Taken together, and in line with scholars from geography (e.g., Bonnett, 2015), we propose that to understand group dynamics in culturally diverse settings it is important to re-place the object of nostalgia and connect it to home feelings again.

Second, despite the fact that nostalgia emerged as an independent construct, there has been ongoing disagreement about its etiology and valence (criterion 2). Some view nostalgia as a negative emotion, involving grief for the loss of an irretrievable past (Kissane et al., 2006) while others feel that it is primarily a positive and adaptive emotion based on affection for the past with positive consequences for well-being (Sedikides et al., 2015b). Still others portray nostalgia as an ambivalent, bittersweet emotion as it contains feelings of sadness and loss over a positively remembered past (Frijda, 2007). Empirical evidence based on lay conceptions of nostalgia (e.g., Hepper, Ritchie, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2012) is mostly in favor of this bittersweet understanding, showing that nostalgia generally contains both negative (e.g., loss) and positive (happiness) affective components. Moreover, while social psychologists have generally emphasized the positive consequences of nostalgia (e.g., Sedikides et al., 2015b), recent work has demonstrated nostalgia's “darker” side. Work on personal nostalgia has demonstrated that nostalgia may have negative effects on individual functioning among people who habitually worry (Verplanken, 2012) and among people who perceive a disruption in their identity continuity (Iyer & Jetten, 2011). Furthermore, research on collective nostalgia has shown that national nostalgia among native majority members in culturally diverse settings can result in exclusionist understandings of national identity and anti-immigrant attitudes (Smeekes et al., 2015, 2018). As such, similar to homesickness, in contexts where people experience loss over a separation from a fondly remembered past, nostalgia can have negative consequences for both individual and group functioning. This means that negative valence (as marked in criterion 2) is not a distinctive feature of homesickness either, but can also be part of nostalgia at both the individual and group level.

However, while contemporary psychological research has generally separated measures of affect from measures of nostalgia this has not been the case for homesickness, as negative mood is seen as an integral part of it (Stroebe et al., 2015). Hence, homesickness measurements almost always include items on negative mood and somatic symptoms related to depression and anxiety (e.g., Stroebe, Vliet, Hewstone, & Willis, 2002). Recently scholars have argued that this approach is problematic (Stroebe et al., 2015), as it makes it difficult to separate the symptoms of homesickness (such as depression and anxiety) from the consequences of homesickness for psychological well-being (also often measured as depression and anxiety). In addition, it excludes the possibility to long for one's present home without the accompanying negative psychological symptoms, or with more warm or mixed feelings. In measuring the home feelings of natives and immigrants, we propose that the best approach is to separate measures of affect from the emotional component of longing for the “old” home.

As both “home” and negative affect can be associated with nostalgia, we propose that what mainly sets it apart from homesickness is its temporal component: “the past” (criterion 3; the referent of separation). Theorists of nostalgia have argued that while both homesickness and nostalgia represent a longing to bring the distant near, the spatial dimension prevails over the temporal dimension for homesickness and vice versa for nostalgia (Higson, 2014; Phillips, 1985). This means that while the longing for the homesick results from a separation in space, for the nostalgic, this is due to a separation in time. However, as the theoretical analysis above shows that “longing for home” is not a distinctive feature of homesickness, and was part of the original meaning of nostalgia coined

by Hofer in the 17th century, we propose that it is more useful to distinguish between *spatial* and *temporal national nostalgia* when examining the emotional longings for home among immigrants and natives. These emotions can hence be respectively defined as the longings for one's home country due to a separation in space or time. Immigrants can experience national nostalgia as a result of being away from home both in space and time, and can hence experience both types of nostalgia. Natives can only be separated from their home country in time and can hence only experience temporal national nostalgia.

### National nostalgia, group identification and acculturation

Theorists of temporal nostalgia have proposed that nostalgia functions as a coping mechanism in order to deal with threats to identity continuity (Davis, 1979; Milligan, 2003; Wilson, 2005), and support for this relationship has been obtained at the individual level (Sedikides et al., 2015a). The reason is that in times of change and discontinuity, temporal nostalgia provides a means for holding onto the past and reaffirming identity in the context of inevitable change. For groups, temporal nostalgia is proposed to protect identity continuity by instilling a renewed sense of social identity in people based on the awareness of shared positive past experiences (Davis, 1979; Milligan, 2003). By engaging in nostalgic reverie about objects, symbols and events from their in-group past people re-establish a symbolic connection with fellow in-group members, which gives them the feeling that their social self is temporally enduring. For temporal national nostalgia, this means that longing for the 'good old days of our original home country' helps people to preserve their national identity in contexts of continuity threat, because becoming aware of the positive and valued elements of their commonly remembered national past fosters a renewed sense of national identity based on the social connection with fellow 'old-timers' (i.e., those national members that were part of this positively remembered national past).

For native majority members in Western countries, rising levels of immigration are perceived as one of the most important threats to national identity (Duyvendak, 2011) and they may revert to temporal national nostalgia as a means to cope with such changes. That is, by engaging in nostalgic reverie about the good old days of 'our' national past, natives develop a stronger sense of belonging with fellow natives that were part of this shared national past, which helps them to protect the continuity of their original national identity. For immigrants, research indicates that threats to the continuity of their original national identity mainly stem from pressures from the host society to assimilate (i.e., giving up their original culture) (e.g., Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2016). Most countries in Western Europe, including the Netherlands, have developed policies that increasingly ask of immigrants to assimilate. As such, in such contexts, immigrants can revert to temporal national nostalgia as a means to cope with their threatened identity. Similar to natives, longing for the way their original home country used to be in the past, fosters a sense of belonging with fellow ethnic in-group members who were part of this shared past, which helps them to maintain a sense of identity continuity.

Recent work has shown that temporal national nostalgia relates to stronger feelings of in-group continuity, because it fosters a stronger sense of national in-group belonging (Smeekes et al., 2018). However, by fostering a sense of national identity and belonging that is based on the past, national nostalgia also marks differences between the old "us" that share a positively remembered past and other groups ("them") who are not part of this past. This means that while temporal national nostalgia is likely to foster feelings of connectedness and belonging among in-group members, it can also sharpen group boundaries and negatively affect intergroup relations (Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015, 2018). The reason is that longing for the collective past makes a social identity based on these shared experiences salient which triggers a process of social categorization based on the distinction between those who were part of this shared past ("old-timers") and those who were not. This means that, for both immigrants and natives, temporal national nostalgia is likely to trigger social categorization processes that minimize differences between in-group members and maximize differences between in-group and out-group members. Therefore, we expect that, for both groups, temporal national nostalgia should be related to stronger feelings of in-group belonging and weaker feelings of (common) belonging with the out-group.

According to the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner et al., 1993), natives and immigrants living in the same country should be able to perceive themselves as being part of a larger inclusive category of 'nationals'. This means that, instead of perceiving themselves as two separate groups, they could also conceive of themselves as a single superordinate group. Yet, we predict that this sense of belonging is less likely to emerge when experiencing temporal national nostalgia for both immigrants and natives, as this is likely to trigger 'us' versus 'them' perceptions rather than a larger inclusive 'we'. Moreover, while temporal national nostalgia for natives is likely to be related to feelings of in-group belonging in the form of national identification with their home country this is less likely for immigrants. The reason is that immigrants' temporal national nostalgia is related to their original home country and this may stand in the way of host country identification. We therefore predict that immigrants' temporal national nostalgia is positively related to original home country identification (in the form of ethnic in-group belonging) and negatively related to host country identification.

Although there is hardly any research on the role of spatial nostalgia or homesickness in relation to social identity and group dynamics, there is some empirical evidence suggesting similar processes to those observed for temporal national nostalgia. For instance, it has been shown that homesickness among geographically relocated university students arises in response to heightened belongingness needs and perceived discrimination, which, in turn, results in more contact with home and feeling less accepted by people from their new university (Poyrazli and Lopez, 2007; Watt & Badger, 2009). This suggests that, similar to temporal national nostalgia, spatial national nostalgia is a response to identity change and attunes group members toward their in-group and creates social distance from relevant out-groups. Therefore, we expect that for immigrants, spatial national nostalgia should be related to stronger feelings of belonging to one's own ethnic group and weaker feelings of common belonging and host country identification.

We predict that these different identification pathways should subsequently affect the preferred interaction style with other groups, because identification acts as a lens through which relationships with out-groups are understood (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Previous work has demonstrated that ethnic in-group identification is related to different acculturation preferences among

immigrants and natives (e.g., Badea et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2005). For natives, acculturation preferences refer to their expectations of how immigrants should acculturate, while for immigrants these preferences are seen as strategies to relate to their host and heritage culture (Bourhis et al., 1997). For both immigrants and natives, acculturation preferences relate to two dimensions: (1) the adaptation dimension, that speaks to whether immigrants have contact with and participate in the host community, and (2) the cultural maintenance dimension, that relates to the extent to which immigrants aim to maintain their own cultural heritage (see e.g., Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Snaauwaert et al., 2003).

While ethnic in-group identification is related to a stronger preference for cultural maintenance and a weaker preference for adaptation among immigrants (Badea et al., 2011), opposite relationships between in-group identification and preferences have been found for native majority members (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005). The reason is that the more strongly people identify with their own group, the more they are motivated to protect their group identity and group status compared to people who are less identified with the group. For immigrants, supporting cultural maintenance (i.e., multiculturalism) and rejecting cultural adoption (i.e., assimilation) are strategies to preserve the continuity of their own culture and unique group identity. In contrast, for majority members, supporting assimilation and rejecting multiculturalism is a way to protect the continuity of their dominant culture and status position. Following this line of reasoning, studies have demonstrated that when immigrants identify with their host country they also show a stronger preference for the adaptation dimension (e.g., Badea et al., 2011; Nesdale & Mak, 2000).

However, it has also been shown that when immigrants and natives identify with a larger inclusive category of ‘nationals’ they show more positive attitudes and behaviors toward one another (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993; Kunst et al., 2015; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). The reason is that when immigrants and natives re-categorize themselves as belonging to a common superordinate category they see each other as being part of the same in-group, which results in more positive attitudes toward former out-group members.

Combining this reasoning, we predict that temporal and spatial national nostalgia, because it predicts particular forms of identification, triggers different (and opposing) acculturation strategies among immigrants and natives. Specifically, for immigrants, we predict that both temporal and spatial national nostalgia should be related to a stronger preference for multiculturalism and a weaker preference for assimilation. These relationships should be mediated by stronger feelings of ethnic in-group identification and weaker feelings of common in-group identity and host country identification. For natives, we expect that temporal national nostalgia should be related to a stronger preference for assimilation and weaker preference for multiculturalism. Here, stronger feelings of in-group identification and weaker feelings of common in-group identity should mediate these relationships.

## Overview of the present research

In the present research we aim to investigate how both immigrants’ and natives’ feelings of national nostalgia are related to different forms of group identification, and how this, in turn, affects their acculturation preferences. We examined these relations in the context of the Netherlands, which has witnessed a sharp increase in ethnic diversity over the last decades. Where only 9.2% of the Dutch population had a migration background in 1972, this number increased to 22.1% in 2016 (Jennissen et al., 2018). Moreover, where most of the immigrants in the Netherlands had a Western background in 1972, in 2016 more than half of the immigrants had a non-Western background. Due to these increasing levels of ethnic diversity the topic of acculturation is high on the national agenda. The Netherlands used to be one of the countries in Europe with the most extensive policies on multiculturalism, but there has been a retreat from multiculturalism in discourse and policy making since the 1980s (Joppke, 2004; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). While immigrants used to be allowed much space to preserve their own identities, cultural assimilation of immigrant minorities became preferred (Vasta, 2007). The main argument behind this shift was that multiculturalism was increasingly seen as emphasizing and promoting cultural differences at the expense of a shared national identity, hereby undermining the cohesiveness of Dutch society (Verkuyten, 2014). Scholars have proposed that, due to increasing intergroup polarization and clashing of values, both immigrants and natives in the Netherlands no longer feel at home in Dutch society. These trends have also been linked to increasing levels of national nostalgia among both groups (e.g., Duyvendak, 2011).

In this research, separate surveys were developed for natives and immigrants in the Netherlands. Although both surveys contained questions about our key variables, not all core constructs were measured in the same way. As a result, we were not able to conduct multiple group analysis comparing an identical model for natives and immigrants. We therefore tested our hypotheses in two different studies, where Study 1 focuses on natives and Study 2 on immigrants.

## Study 1

### Method

#### Participants and procedure

Data were collected in 2015 among a sample of 715 native Dutch participants. Participants were randomly drawn from a panel of Dutch residents maintained by a survey company (ThesisTools)<sup>1</sup> and they received a questionnaire by means of an e-mail. This panel consists of people who sign up via the company’s website and get invited to take part in online surveys (without any rewards or compensation). The survey started with a general question asking for the birth country of the participant and both of his/her parents.

<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.thesistoolspro.com>.

There were three answer options: 1 = *I am born in the Netherlands and so are my parents*, 2 = *I am born in the Netherlands but at least one of my parents is born outside the Netherlands*, 3 = *I was born abroad*. Only participants who indicated option 1 (and were hence natives) were directed to the native majority questionnaire. The others were directed to a different questionnaire that was not part of this study.

Many participants ( $N = 249$ ) stopped filling out the questionnaire after they answered the demographics questions resulting in a high number of missing values. We deleted these participants listwise resulting in a sample of 466 participants.<sup>2</sup> In addition, 57 participants in this sample had missing values on all of the items of the dependent measures and these were additionally excluded.<sup>3</sup> This resulted in a final sample of 409 natives with missing values below 2% for all independent measures.<sup>4</sup> We used this sample for all subsequent analyses. The sample consisted of 45.7% women with ages ranging from 13 to 84 years ( $M = 48.78$ ,  $SD = 15.10$ ). This sample was not representative of the native Dutch population. The total native Dutch adult population in 2015 consisted of roughly 10 million people and while the gender distribution is roughly equal, this sample is older and higher educated compared to the native Dutch population in 2015 (for more details see [Appendix A](#)).

### Measures

Except for the national nostalgia measure, all items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *totally disagree*, 2 = *strongly disagree*, 3 = *disagree somewhat*, 4 = *neutral*, 5 = *agree somewhat*, 6 = *strongly agree*, 7 = *totally agree*).

**National nostalgia.** National nostalgia was measured with 5 items ( $\alpha = .89$ ) derived from previous research (e.g., [Smeekes, 2015](#)). Participants were asked to indicate, on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 2 = *almost never*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *regularly*, 5 = *often*), how often they experienced the following feelings: longing for the Netherlands of the past, feeling nostalgic when thinking about the Netherlands of the past, longing for the way Dutch society looked like in the past, longing for the way Dutch people were in the past, longing for how the Dutch landscape looked like in the past. These items were averaged into a scale, in which a higher score corresponds to stronger feelings of national nostalgia.

**In-group identification.** Identification with the national in-group ( $\alpha = .88$ ) was measured with four items that are widely used to measure group identification (e.g. [Verkuuyten, 2005](#)). Two example items are: “Being Dutch is an important part of who I am”, and “I feel connected to other Dutch people”. These items were averaged into a scale, in which a higher score corresponds to stronger in-group identification.

**Common in-group identity.** The extent to which participants perceived a sense of common identity with the different cultural groups that make up the Netherlands was measured with three items that were based on previous research (Gaertner et al., 1994) and have been used in previous studies in the Netherlands ([Verkuuyten et al., 2014](#)). The items were: “Even though the Netherlands is a culturally diverse society, I have the feeling we all belong to one community”, “Despite cultural differences, all groups together make up Dutch society”, and “Despite differences, I often have the feeling that we are one country and that we have to work together” ( $\alpha = .86$ ). These items were averaged into a scale, in which a higher score corresponds to stronger feelings of common in-group identity.

**Acculturation preferences.** Native's acculturation preferences about how immigrants should acculturate were measured with 8 items taken from the widely used Multiculturalism scale ([Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003](#)). The items are displayed in [Table 1](#). This table also presents the results of an exploratory factor analysis on these 8 items in SPSS. The reason is that previous studies have shown that the Multiculturalism scale consists of two sub-scales corresponding to endorsement of *multiculturalism vs. assimilation* (e.g., [Verkuuyten, 2011](#)). Because factors were expected to be correlated, we used Direct Oblimin rotation (principal components). The scree plot suggested the extraction of two factors (explaining 62.12% of the variance), which corresponded to the multiculturalism and assimilation sub-scale (see [Table 1](#) for factor loadings and Cronbach's alpha's). Cross-loadings were very low (i.e., values all below .15) in the rotated factor matrix, indicating that these constructs were empirically distinct. The items of both *multiculturalism* and *assimilation* were averaged into separate scales, in which a higher score respectively corresponds to stronger preference for multiculturalism and assimilation of immigrants.

**Control variables.** We used age (in years), gender (1 = male, 0 = female), and highest obtained educational level (1 = primary education, 2 = lower-level secondary education, 3 = higher-level secondary education/intermediate vocational training, 4 = lower-level tertiary education, 5 = higher-level tertiary education) as controls. The reason is that previous research has shown that older

<sup>2</sup> We performed multiple binary logistic regression analyses to see if participants who dropped out after the demographics questions were different from those who continued filling out the survey in terms of gender, age and education. Results indicated no significant differences between these two groups for gender ( $\chi^2(1) = 1.73$ ,  $p = .189$ ), age ( $\chi^2(1) = 2.63$ ,  $p = .105$ ). However, there was a significant effect for level of education ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.63$ ,  $p = .110$ ), indicating that drop-out was somewhat more likely for higher levels of education ( $B = .18$ ,  $p = .031$ ).

<sup>3</sup> We performed a binary logistic regression analysis to see if participants who did not answer any of the dependent measures were different from those who continued filling out the survey in terms of demographics (gender, age, education) and in terms of the predictors (national nostalgia, in-group identification and common in-group identity). Results indicated an overall significant Chi-square test ( $\chi^2(6) = 119.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Looking at the separate predictors revealed no significant differences between these two groups for all variables except common in-group identity ( $B = -.01$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, this is not surprising given that all of the people who had missing values on common in-group identity also had missing values on the dependent measures. Common in-group identity was assessed right before the dependent items in the survey and more participants had dropped out at this point. After deleting the 57 participants who had missing values on the dependent items, there were no more missing values for the common in-group identity items.

<sup>4</sup> These remaining missing values were not missing at random (Little MCAR test:  $\chi^2(314) = 371.82$ ,  $p < .014$ ), but we do not consider that a problem given their low number.

**Table 1**  
Acculturation preference items and factor loadings using Direct Oblimin rotation, Study 1 (natives).

	1	2
<i>Multiculturalism</i> ( $\alpha = .78$ )		
Ethnic minorities deserve support in maintaining their own culture		.799
Ethnic minorities should be allowed to live in accordance with their own norms and values, also in public life.		.928
Dutch natives should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of ethnic minorities		.606
Ethnic minorities should be able to raise their children in their own culture and traditions		.749
<i>Assimilation</i> ( $\alpha = .84$ )		
Ethnic minorities should adjust to the original inhabitants of the country	-.860	
Ethnic minorities should think and behave like native inhabitants	-.689	
If ethnic minorities wish to preserve their own culture they should do so in their private lives	-.720	
Ethnic minorities should adjust to the native majority members of the country	-.705	

people, males and lower educated individuals are more likely to experience national nostalgia and are more likely to display negative attitudes toward immigrants compared to younger people, females and higher educated individuals (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Smeekes, 2015).

### Method of analysis

The data handling and the analyses of mean scores and intercorrelations were performed using SPSS Version 25. Confirmatory factor analyses and structural equation modeling (SEM) were performed in AMOS version 24.0, using maximum likelihood estimation. As AMOS cannot handle missing values they were imputed in SPSS using the EM algorithm. This imputed dataset was used for the all analyses in AMOS. We used a three-step approach for the SEM model, because AMOS does not estimate separate indirect effects through multiple mediators. In Model 1, we estimated all the paths in the model simultaneously. In Model 2, we deleted the path from national nostalgia to the mediator common in-group identity, in order to test the indirect effects via in-group identification (the other mediator). In Model 3, we deleted the path from national nostalgia to the mediator in-group identification, in order to test the indirect effects via common in-group identity (the other mediator). All these models were estimated using bootstrapping procedures (10,000 samples; 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals).

Model results were interpreted on the basis of three global fit indices: RMSEA, SRMR, and CFI (Billiet & McClendon, 2000; Shevlin & Miles, 1998). According to Hu and Bentler (1999), RMSEA values of less than 0.05 are considered to indicate a good model fit, and values of up to 0.08–0.10 represent reasonable errors of approximation in the population. SRMR (value smaller than 0.08) and CFI (value larger than 0.90) provide further indications of a satisfactory model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Because of the known sensitivity of chi-square statistics to sample size (Byrne, 2001), we do not use this test statistic to evaluate and compare the fit of our models.

## Results

### Mean scores and intercorrelations

Mean scores and correlations between national nostalgia, the different forms of identification, and acculturation preferences are shown in Table 2. National nostalgia was positively related to in-group identification and support for assimilation and negatively related to common in-group identity and support for multiculturalism. As for the different forms of identification, in-group identification was positively related to support for assimilation and unrelated to common in-group identity and multiculturalism. Common in-group identity was negatively related to support for assimilation and positively related to support for multiculturalism. Support for assimilation and multiculturalism were negatively correlated to one another.

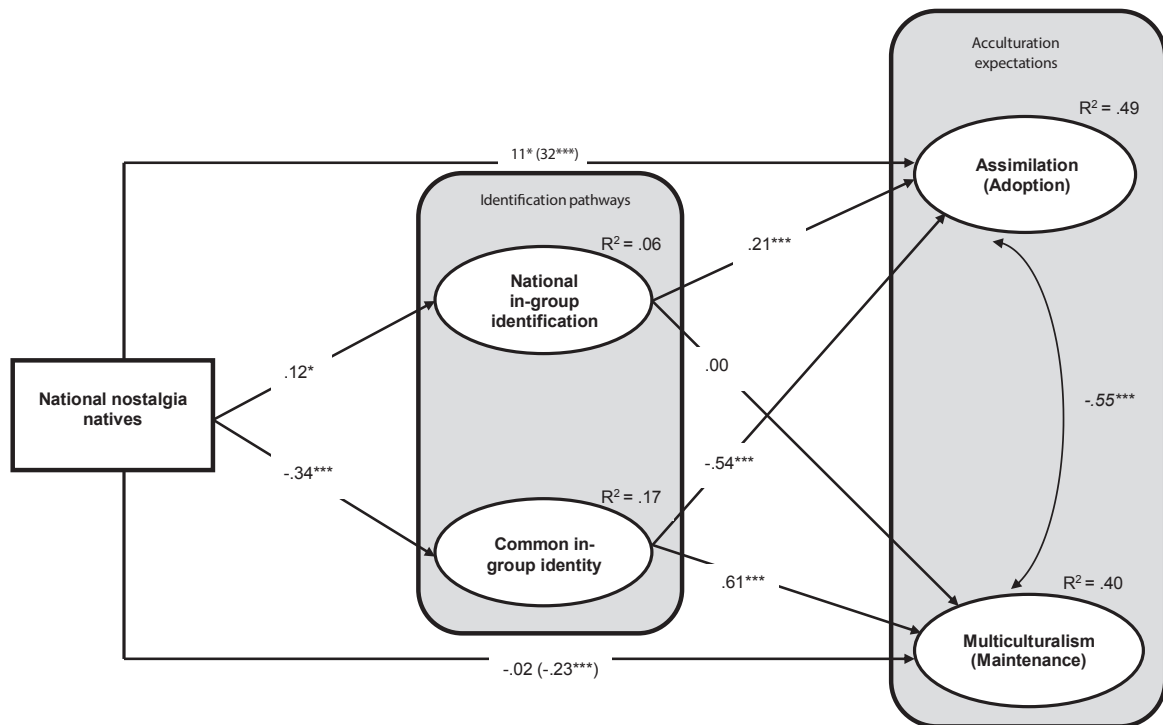
We performed one-sample t-tests for all main constructs to examine to what extent participant's mean scores were significantly below or above the midpoint of the scales. The mean score for national nostalgia was significantly below the midpoint of the scale ( $t(408) = -9.37, p < .001$ ), indicating that natives overall reported relatively low feelings of national nostalgia. The two forms of identification were significantly above the midpoint of the scale (in-group identification:  $t(408) = 24.64, p < .001$ , common in-

**Table 2**  
Bivariate correlations, means and standard deviations of the main constructs, Study 1 (natives,  $N = 409$ ).

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. National nostalgia	2.56	.96	–				
2. In-group ID	5.41	1.11	.13**	–			
3. Common in-group ID	4.94	1.37	-.32***	.02	–		
4. Assimilation	3.86	1.21	.36***	.21***	-.51***	–	
5. Multiculturalism	4.27	1.13	-.21**	.02	.55***	-.56***	–

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .



**Fig. 1.** Structural equation model (Study 1, Natives): Influence of native nostalgia on acculturation preferences, via different identification pathways (including age, gender, and education as controls).

*Note.* Path coefficients are standardized estimates and the path coefficient in parenthesis reflects the total effect. Correlation coefficients are displayed in *Italics*. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \* $p < .05$ . Rectangles represent manifest variables and ovals latent variables. To simplify, not shown in this figure are: indicators of latent variables and their error terms, correlations between different forms of identification and control variables. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \* $p < .05$ .

group identity:  $t(408) = 13.61, p < .001$ , indicating that, on average, natives identified relatively strongly with the host country and with the common in-group. As for acculturation preferences, the mean score for support for assimilation was significantly below the neutral midpoint of the scale ( $t(408) = -2.52, p = .012$ ) and the mean score for support for multiculturalism was significantly above the neutral midpoint of the scale ( $t(408) = 4.02, p < .001$ ). This indicates that the natives in our sample, on average, were supportive of multiculturalism and relatively unsupportive of assimilation.

#### Confirmatory factor analyses

Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were to determine whether the items assessing national nostalgia, national in-group identification and common in-group identity composed different factors. The proposed three-factor structure had a good model fit: RMSEA = .064, SRMR = .044, CFI = .969. The  $z$ -statistics obtained for all the factor loadings were statistically significant ( $p_s < .001$ ) and the standardized factor loadings were all above .55. This indicates that these factors are empirically distinct.

#### Structural equation modeling

We conducted structural equation modeling (SEM) using latent variables for all core constructs. The control variables (i.e., gender, age, and education) were included as predictors of both the mediators and the dependent variable (for results without control variables see Electronic Supplementary Materials 1). Moreover, in this model correlations were added between the different forms of group identification and between the two dependent variables. To test our predictions, we specified Model 1 presented in Fig. 1. This shows the standardized paths, correlations between latent variables, explained variance ( $R^2$ ). The model had a good fit to the data (RMSEA = .056, SRMR = .046, CFI = .941). Results indicated that national nostalgia significantly and positively predicted national in-group identification, and negatively predicted common in-group identity. Moreover, national nostalgia was related to more support for assimilation and weaker support for multiculturalism in a model without the two mediators included. In-group identification, in turn, was a positive predictor of assimilation but not related to multiculturalism. Common in-group identity was a negative predictor of assimilation and a positive predictor of multiculturalism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Of the control variables, education was a significant negative predictor of support for assimilation ( $\beta = -.182, p < .001$ ) and a positive



We subsequently tested Models 2 and 3 for calculating the indirect effects. The standardized total, direct and indirect effects of these models are presented in Table 3. This shows that national nostalgia had a significant positive indirect effect on support for assimilation via weaker common in-group identity and stronger national in-group identification. However, the indirect effect via national in-group identification was relatively small. Moreover, national nostalgia was indirectly and negatively related to multiculturalism via weaker common in-group identity. The indirect effect via in-group identification on multiculturalism was not significant.

These findings showed that national nostalgia among natives was associated with stronger support for assimilation and weaker support for multiculturalism and that these relationships were mediated by weaker feelings of common in-group identity. Furthermore, there was some support for the prediction that national nostalgia among natives is associated with stronger support for assimilation, via stronger national in-group identification.

## Study 2

### Method

#### Participants and procedure

For this study data were collected among a sample ( $N = 820$ ) of immigrants (both 1st and 2nd generation) in the Netherlands. Participants were drawn from a panel of the four biggest non-western immigrant groups living in the Netherlands (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) maintained by survey company (GfK) and they received a questionnaire by means of an e-mail. Respondents received credits when completing all the questions in the survey. GfK allows panel members to save credits which they can save and exchange for gift certificates. Immigrants were marked as 1st or 2nd generation by the survey company on the basis of information about their country of birth and that of their parents. In line with official Dutch definitions, people were marked as 1st generation when they were born outside the Netherlands *and* had at least one parent born outside the Netherlands or as 2nd generation when they were born in the Netherlands but had at least one parent foreign born. Of the total immigrant sample, 47.4% ( $N = 389$ ) was first generation and 52.6% ( $N = 431$ ) was second generation. For this study, we only selected the first generation immigrants with two (instead of at least one) parents born outside the Netherlands ( $N = 358$ ). The reason is that these immigrants were born and raised in the home country, and can hence feel separated from their home country in both space and time. Second generation immigrants are mostly born and raised in the host country hence making spatial nostalgia less relevant.

There were no missing values for any of the variables of interest. However, for the temporal and spatial nostalgia items (see measures below) respondents had the option to indicate “Not applicable” (NA). Respondents who chose this option for all the items of one of these scales were listwise deleted (and remaining NA answers were coded as missing), resulting in a final sample of 337 first generation immigrants (see Table 4 for birth country of the respondents and their parents). We used this final sample for all subsequent analyses.

The sample consisted of 60.5% women with ages ranging from 19 to 81 years ( $M = 50.92$ ,  $SD = 12.38$ ). This sample was not representative of the first generation non-western immigrant Dutch population. This population consisted of roughly one million people in 2015 and while the sample is fairly similar in terms of age and gender distributions, it is higher educated compared to the first generation non-western immigrant population in 2015 (for more details see Appendix B).

### Measures

**National nostalgia.** The items that were used to assess temporal and spatial immigrant national nostalgia were based on a combination of existing homesickness scales (i.e., the Utrecht Homesickness Scale by Stroebe et al., 2002 and the Homesickness and Contentment Scale developed by Shin & Abell, 1999) and previously used national nostalgia items that were adapted to the immigrant perspective (i.e., Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015). For the measurement of spatial national nostalgia, we followed recent recommendations by Stroebe et al. (2015) on the measurement of homesickness by only selecting items referring to longings for home and excluding those that refer to (a) the psychological symptoms of homesickness (e.g., depression, loneliness) and (b) adjustment difficulties to the new place. Hence, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they longed for, or missed, various aspects of their home country in the present (spatial) or in the past (temporal) on a 5 point scale (1 = *never*, 2 = *almost never*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *regularly*, 5 = *often*). The items are displayed in Table 5 and the specific instructions that participants received are presented in Appendix C. This table also presents the results of an exploratory factor analysis on these 12 items in SPSS using Direct Oblimin rotation (principal components). The reason is that we expected temporal and spatial nostalgia to be two different (but related) constructs. The scree plot suggested the extraction of two factors (explaining 76.53% of the variance), which corresponded to *temporal national nostalgia* and *spatial national nostalgia* scale (see Table 5 for factor loadings and Cronbach's alpha's). Cross-loadings were very low (i.e., values all below .20) in the rotated factor matrix, indicating that these constructs are empirically distinct. These items were averaged into separate scales for temporal and spatial national nostalgia, in which a higher score corresponds to stronger feelings of national nostalgia.

(footnote continued)

predictor of common in-group identity ( $\beta = .115$ ,  $p = .030$ ). Males were less likely to endorse common in-group identity than females ( $\beta = -.116$ ,  $p = .026$ ) and also reported lower levels of in-group identification ( $\beta = -.181$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Age was a positive predictor of support for assimilation ( $\beta = .094$ ,  $p = .040$ ).

**Table 3**  
Standardized total, direct and indirect effects (with standard errors in brackets) and confidence intervals for the mediation paths in the SEM model, Study 1 (natives).

	Total effect (SE)	Direct effect (SE)	Indirect effect (SE)	Indirect effect (95% confidence interval)
<i>Model 2</i>				
National nostalgia → Assimilation (via national in-group identification)	.169 <sup>***</sup> (.053)	.135 <sup>†</sup> (.058)	.034 <sup>**</sup> (.015)	[.010, .070]
National nostalgia → Multiculturalism (via national in-group identification)	-.051(.057)	-.051(.058)	.00(.009)	[ -.019, .018]
<i>Model 3</i>				
National nostalgia → Assimilation (via common in-group belonging)	.299 <sup>***</sup> (.053)	.110 <sup>†</sup> (.053)	.189 <sup>***</sup> (.034)	[.126, .261]
National nostalgia → Multiculturalism (via common in-group belonging)	-.234 <sup>***</sup> (.059)	-.022(.058)	-.212 <sup>***</sup> (.038)	[ -.293, -.141]

**Table 4**

Background characteristics of final first generation immigrant sample with two foreign born parents ( $N = 337$ ) in frequencies, Study 2 (immigrants).

	Birth country	Birth country mother	Birth country father
Turkey	52	51	52
Morocco	36	32	35
Suriname	183	179	178
Dutch Antilles	66	52	52
Other country	–	23	20

**Table 5**

National nostalgia items and factor loadings using Direct Oblimin rotation, Study 2 (immigrants).

	1	2
<i>Spatial national nostalgia</i> ( $\alpha = .92$ )		
I miss my family members who live there		.724
I miss my friends who live there		.835
I long for the culture and traditions that people have there		.898
I long for the way people interact with each other there		.924
I long for the way daily life looks like there		.861
I feel homesick <sup>a</sup> when I think about that place		.744
<i>Temporal national nostalgia</i> ( $\alpha = .95$ )		
I long for the cultures and traditions that were there in the past	.798	
I long for the way people interacted with each other in the past	.909	
I long for the way society looked like in the past	.897	
I long for family and friends who were there in the past	.778	
I long for the way daily life looked like in the past	.880	
I have the feeling that it used to be a better place in the past	.910	

Note. Only factor loadings above .30 are displayed.

<sup>a</sup> We used the Dutch word ‘heimwee’ for this item, which translates as ‘homesickness’, but is generally defined as ‘a feeling of longing for one’s home during a period of absence from it’.

**Host country identification.** Host country identification was measured with the item: “How strongly do you feel Dutch?”. Respondents could indicate their answer on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 10 (*totally*).<sup>6</sup>

**In-group identification.** Ethnic in-group identification was measured with an item that was adjusted for each ethnic group: “How strongly do you feel [Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean]. Respondents could indicate their answer on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 10 (*totally*).

**Common in-group identity.** Common in-group identity was measured with one of the items used in Study 1: “Even though the Netherlands is a culturally diverse society, I have the feeling we all belong to one community”. Respondents could indicate their answer on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 10 (*totally*).

**Acculturation preferences.** In line with previous research (Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011) the two dimensions underlying immigrant’s acculturation preferences were assessed separately with simple straightforward single items.<sup>7</sup> One item was used to measure a preference for host culture adoption (i.e., assimilation): “I find it important to largely adopt the Dutch culture”. The other item assessed a preference for heritage culture maintenance (i.e., multiculturalism): “I find it important to maintain the cultural customs that belong to my ethnic background”. Respondents could indicate their answer on a scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*).<sup>8</sup>

**Control variables.** Similar to Study 1, we used age (in years), gender (1 = *male*, 0 = *female*), and highest obtained educational level (1 = *primary education*, 2 = *lower-level secondary education*, 3 = *higher-level secondary education/intermediate vocational training*, 4 = *lower-level tertiary education*, 5 = *higher-level tertiary education*) as control variables.

#### Method of analysis

The method of analysis was similar to the one used in Study 1. For Study 2, we also used a three-step approach to estimate the indirect effects in the SEM model. In Model 1, we estimated all the paths in the model simultaneously. In Model 2, we deleted the paths from spatial and temporal nostalgia to ethnic in-group identification and common in-group belonging, in order to test the

<sup>6</sup> For the 10-point scales, only the labels of the end-points of the scale were visible for participants.

<sup>7</sup> Some studies have combined the two acculturation dimensions into four discrete acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) but this approach has been increasingly criticized, as one cannot assume that these two dimensions are independent (for an extensive discussion about this see Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Labels of the scale: 1 = *totally disagree*, 2 = *strongly disagree*, 3 = *disagree somewhat*, 4 = *neutral*, 5 = *agree somewhat*, 6 = *strongly agree*, 7 = *totally agree*.

**Table 6**Bivariate correlations, means and standard deviations of the main constructs, Study 2 (immigrants,  $N = 337$ ).

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Spatial nostalgia	2.90	1.29	–						
Temporal nostalgia	3.29	1.34	.61***	–					
Host country ID	7.58	2.16	–.22***	–.25***	–				
In-group ID	6.41	2.60	.42***	.37***	–.11*	–			
Common in-group ID	7.25	2.40	.00	–.02	.28***	.19**	–		
Assimilation	4.62	1.54	–.08	–.15*	.33***	–.14*	.20***	–	
Multiculturalism	4.90	1.50	.36***	.33***	–.12*	.37***	.06	–.04	–

\*  $p < .05$ .\*\*  $p < .01$ .\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

indirect effects via host country identification (the other mediator). In Model 3, we deleted the paths from spatial and temporal nostalgia to host country identification and common in-group belonging, in order to test the indirect effects via ethnic in-group identification (the other mediator). All these models were estimated using bootstrapping procedures (10,000 samples; 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals) and model results were interpreted on the basis of the same fit indices as Study 1 (i.e., RMSEA, SRMR, and CFI). For comparing the model fit of alternative models we used the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1974).

## Results

### Mean scores and intercorrelations

Mean scores and correlations between spatial nostalgia, temporal nostalgia, the different forms of identification, and acculturation preferences are shown in Table 6. Spatial and temporal national nostalgia were strongly positively related to one another. Both forms of national nostalgia were negatively related to identification with the host country, positively related to ethnic in-group identification and endorsement of multiculturalism, and unrelated to common in-group identification. Only temporal (and not spatial) national nostalgia was significantly related to weaker endorsement of assimilation. As for the different forms of identification, host country identification was positively related to assimilation preferences and negatively related to endorsement of multiculturalism. Ethnic in-group identification was negatively related to assimilation preferences and positively related to endorsement of multiculturalism. Common in-group identification was positively related to assimilation preferences and not related to endorsement of multiculturalism. Endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism were not significantly correlated to one another.

We performed one-sample  $t$ -tests for all main constructs to examine to what extent participant's mean scores were significantly below or above the midpoint of the scales. The mean scores for both spatial and temporal nostalgia were significantly below the midpoint of the scale (spatial:  $t(333) = -8.58, p < .001$ , temporal:  $t(336) = -2.86, p = .005$ ), indicating that immigrants overall reported relatively low feelings of national nostalgia. All three forms of identification were significantly above the midpoint of the scale (host country:  $t(336) = 17.70, p < .001$ , ethnic in-group:  $t(336) = 6.45, p < .001$ , common in-group:  $t(336) = 13.40, p < .001$ ), indicating that, on average, immigrants identified relatively strongly with the host country, their own ethnic group and with the common in-group. As for acculturation preferences, the mean scores were both somewhat above the neutral midpoint of the scale (assimilation:  $t(336) = 7.42, p < .001$ , multiculturalism:  $t(336) = 11.11, p < .001$ ). This indicates that the immigrants in our sample, on average, wanted to both adopt the Dutch culture and maintain their own culture.

### Confirmatory factor analysis

CFA was conducted to examine whether the measurement model with separate latent variables for spatial and temporal nostalgia had a good fit to the data.<sup>2</sup> Results showed that this two factor model had a moderate fit to the data (RMSEA = .113, SRMR = .047, CFI = .940).<sup>9</sup> Although all standardized factor loadings were above .70 and significant, the modification indices revealed that the model fit could be improved by allowing a correlation between two error terms (Spatial nostalgia: items 1 and 2, see Table 5). Adding these correlations resulted in an acceptable model fit (RMSEA = .094, SRMR = .048, CFI = .959). This model with the modification also fit the data better than the original model as the AIC was lower ( $AIC_{\text{original}} = 330.65, AIC_{\text{modified}} = 258.37$ ). We therefore maintained this modified measurement model of spatial and temporal nostalgia in our subsequent structural equation model.

### Structural equation modeling

We performed SEM using latent variables for spatial and temporal nostalgia and manifest variables for the different forms of identification and acculturation preferences. The control variables (i.e., gender, age, and education) were included as predictors of both the mediators and the dependent variables (for results without control variables see Electronic Supplementary Materials 2).

<sup>9</sup> We also compared this 2-factor model to a 1-factor model in which the spatial and temporal national nostalgia items were all forced to load on one factor. This 1-factor model had a worse fit compared to the 2-factor model without modifications (RMSEA = .234, SRMR = .138, CFI = .737, AIC = 1096.38).

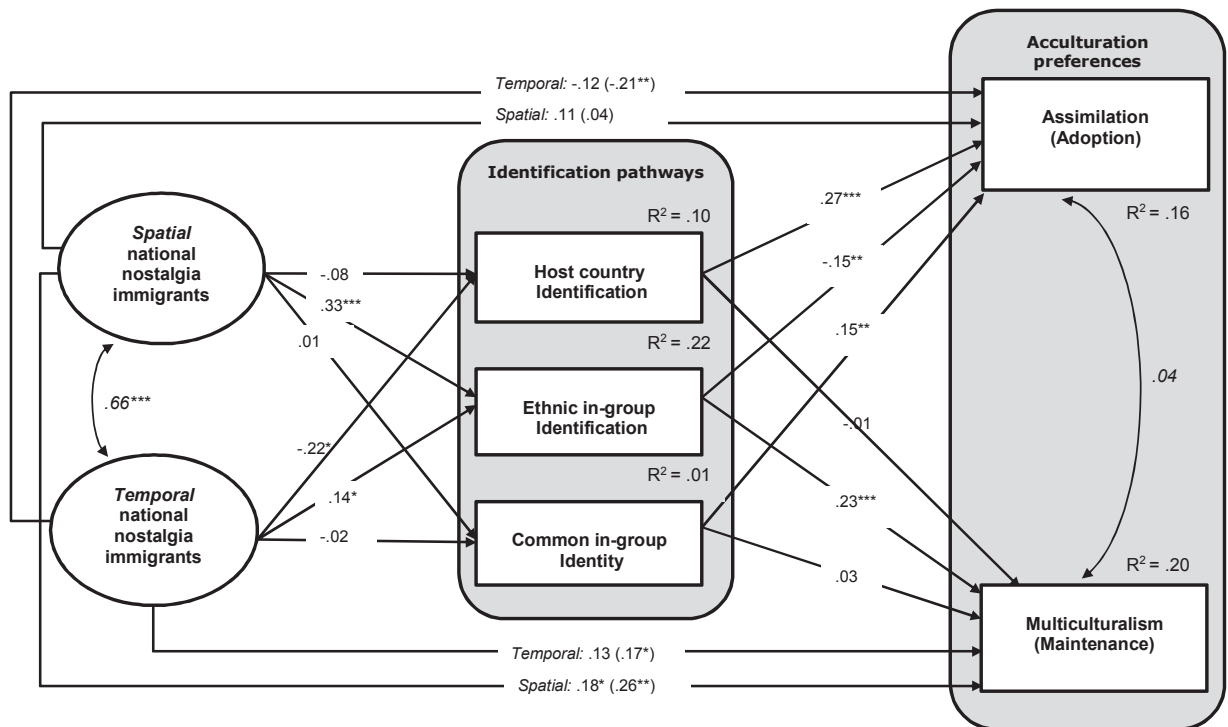


Fig. 2. Structural equation model (Study 2, immigrants): Influence of spatial and temporal national nostalgia on acculturation preferences, via different identification pathways (including age, gender, and education as controls).

Note. Path coefficients are standardized estimates and the path coefficient in parenthesis reflects the total effect. Correlation coefficients are displayed in *italics*. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \* $p < .05$ . Rectangles represent manifest variables and ovals latent variables. To simplify, not shown in this figure are: indicators of latent variables and their error terms, correlations between different forms of identification and control variables. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ .

Moreover, in this model correlations were added between the different forms of group identification and between the two dependent variables. To test our predictions, we specified Model 1 presented in Fig. 2. This shows the standardized paths, correlations between latent and manifest variables, explained variance ( $R^2$ ). The model had a good fit to the data (RMSEA = .064, SRMR = .035, CFI = .955). Results indicated that both forms of national nostalgia positively predicted ethnic in-group identification. Temporal (but not spatial) nostalgia was related to lower identification with the host country and both forms of nostalgia were unrelated to endorsement of a common in-group identity. As for the effects of the different forms of identification on acculturation preferences, host country identification was positively related to endorsement of assimilation and unrelated to multiculturalism. Ethnic in-group identification was negatively related to endorsement of assimilation and positively related to endorsement of multiculturalism. Common in-group identity was positively related to endorsement of assimilation and unrelated to multiculturalism. In sum, these findings showed that only host country and ethnic in-group identification linked temporal and spatial nostalgia to acculturation preferences among immigrants.<sup>10</sup>

Subsequently, we tested the indirect effects of spatial and temporal nostalgia on assimilation and multiculturalism, via host country and ethnic in-group identification in Models 2 and 3. The results of these analyses (see Table 7) showed that both spatial and temporal nostalgia were related to weaker support for assimilation and stronger support for multiculturalism via stronger ethnic in-group identification. In addition, temporal (and not spatial) nostalgia exerted an indirect influence on endorsement of assimilation (but not multiculturalism) via host country identification. More specifically, temporal nostalgia was related to lower support for assimilation via lower host country identification.

In sum, these results demonstrated that while immigrant's acculturation preferences were affected by both spatial and temporal nostalgia, they did so through somewhat different identification pathways. While both spatial and temporal nostalgia were indirectly related to lower support for assimilation and stronger support for multiculturalism via stronger ethnic in-group identification, only temporal (and not special) nostalgia exerted an indirect effect via the host country identification pathway: it was related to weaker endorsement of assimilation via lower host country identification.

<sup>10</sup> Most of the control variables were unrelated to the mediators and dependent variables. We only observed a significant positive relationship between gender and host country identification ( $\beta = .12, p = .021$ ), with males reporting higher scores than females.

**Table 7**  
Standardized total, direct and indirect effects (with standard errors in brackets) and confidence intervals for the mediation paths in the SEM model, Study 2 (immigrants).

	Total effect (SE)	Direct effect(SE)	Indirect effect (SE)	Indirect effect (95% confidence interval)
<i>Model 2</i>				
Spatial nostalgia → Assimilation (via host country identification)	.095(.082)	.113(.083)	-.018(.022)	[-.065, .023]
Spatial nostalgia → Multiculturalism (via host country identification)	.187*(.080)	.186*(.078)	.001(.006)	[-.007, .020]
Temporal nostalgia → Assimilation (via host country identification)	-.177*(.077)	-.122(.078)	-.055***(.023)	[-.108, -.016]
Temporal nostalgia → Multiculturalism (via host country identification)	.134(.074)	.131(.074)	.003(.012)	[-.019, .031]
<i>Model 3</i>				
Spatial nostalgia → Assimilation (via ethnic in-group identification)	.063(.078)	.114(.088)	-.051*(.023)	[-.107, -.013]
Spatial nostalgia → Multiculturalism (via ethnic in-group identification)	.258*(.076)	.182*(.079)	.075*(.025)	[.034, .134]
Temporal nostalgia → Assimilation (via ethnic in-group identification)	-.144(.076)	-.122(.079)	-.022*(.014)	[-.060, -.002]
Temporal nostalgia → Multiculturalism (via ethnic in-group identification)	.161*(.074)	.129(.072)	.032*(.019)	[.003, .077]

## Discussion

The main aim of our research was to investigate the role of feelings of national nostalgia — longing for one's “old” home — among immigrants and natives in current group processes and intergroup relations. On the basis of a theoretical analysis of the historically related (but generally separately studied) concepts of homesickness and nostalgia, we proposed that when analyzing the different longings for home among immigrants and natives it is more useful to distinguish between spatial and temporal national nostalgia. Where longing for the old home for natives only relates to a separation from the homeland in time (temporal national nostalgia), for immigrants this separation can additionally relate to a separation from the homeland in space (spatial national nostalgia). We examined whether distinct forms of group identification helped to explain the relationship between (temporal and spatial) national nostalgia and immigrants' and natives' acculturation preferences.

For natives (Study 1), we found that temporal national nostalgia was related to stronger identification with the national in-group and weaker identification with a common in-group that includes immigrants. National in-group identification, in turn, was related to a stronger preference for assimilation of immigrants but unrelated to a preference for multiculturalism (i.e., immigrants maintaining their original culture). Common in-group identification was related to a weaker preference for assimilation and a stronger preference for multiculturalism. Analysis of indirect effects revealed that temporal national nostalgia among natives was (a) related to a stronger preference for assimilation via a stronger sense of national in-group identification and a weaker sense of common in-group identity, and (b) related to a weaker preference for multiculturalism via a weaker sense of common in-group identity.

For immigrants (Study 2), we found that both temporal and spatial national nostalgia were related to stronger ethnic in-group identification, but only temporal national nostalgia was associated with (lower) host country identification. Both forms of national nostalgia were unrelated to feelings of common in-group identity. Ethnic in-group identification, in turn, was related to a weaker preference for assimilation to the dominant host country, and a stronger preference for multiculturalism (i.e., maintaining one's original culture). Both host country identification and common in-group identity were related to a stronger preference for assimilation but did not predict preferences for multiculturalism. Analysis of indirect effects showed that (a) both spatial and temporal nostalgia were related to weaker support for assimilation and stronger support for multiculturalism via stronger ethnic in-group identification, and (b) only temporal (and not spatial) nostalgia related to weaker endorsement of assimilation via lower host country identification.

### *Implications, limitations and directions for future research*

The findings for natives are in line with recent work on temporal national nostalgia (Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015), showing that it can trigger social categorization processes that minimize differences between in-group members and maximize differences between in-group and out-group members, and hereby results in tendencies to protect the in-group in order to maintain a sense of identity continuity. We extend this work by showing that national nostalgia among natives also relates to in-group protective tendencies in the form of acculturation preferences that ensure the continuity of their national identity. In this case, the preference for immigrants to assimilate to the dominant culture and give up their original ethnic identity. In doing so, our research also contributes to the literature on acculturation, which has so far not considered national nostalgia as a relevant predictor for native's acculturation preferences.

More importantly, we extend research on national nostalgia and acculturation by examining the perspective of immigrants and the different forms of national nostalgia that they can experience. Where psychological research on nostalgia and homesickness has so far rarely considered the perspective of immigrants, acculturation research has overlooked immigrants' homesickness and nostalgia in relation to their acculturation processes. Our results show that the social psychological processes of national nostalgia for immigrants were largely similar to those of natives. Both spatial and temporal national nostalgia were related to a stronger tendency to protect in-group continuity in the form of stronger preferences for cultural maintenance (i.e., multiculturalism) and weaker preferences for giving up one's original culture (i.e., assimilation) via a stronger sense of ethnic in-group belonging. This suggests that, similar to natives, national nostalgia for immigrants also repairs their sense of longing with stronger in-group belonging in order to maintain identity continuity. While the processes are largely the same the outcomes are in opposite directions for natives and immigrants as both groups were shown to have opposing preferences for the acculturation of immigrants in the host society. This means that longings for different old homes of the past can drive immigrants and natives apart and form problems for the social cohesion of culturally diverse societies.

Importantly, the results also showed slightly different patterns for spatial and temporal national nostalgia for immigrants. While spatial and temporal nostalgia were both linked to weaker support for assimilation and stronger support for multiculturalism through stronger ethnic in-group identification, only temporal nostalgia related to weaker support for assimilation via lower host country identification. Moreover, while both forms of national nostalgia were related to stronger ethnic in-group identification, the both direct and indirect effects of spatial nostalgia were stronger. These findings suggest that especially the longing resulting from a separation from the homeland in space makes immigrants feel more strongly connected to their ethnic in-group, hereby affecting their acculturation preferences. The likely reason is that this spatial nostalgia reflects a very strong connection with the homeland as it is in the present and the people and culture that are still present in this place. In this spatial form of national nostalgia, the old home is very much “real” and alive and it is still possible to return to this place, which is likely to result in stronger identification with fellow people from the home country (i.e., the ethnic in-group). While we found that spatial nostalgia attunes immigrants toward their home country identity, it did not affect their identification with the host country in the path model. The reason could be that immigrants experiencing spatial nostalgia are still very much focused on their present home country leaving less room for the

development of a host country identity. This is likely to be different for immigrants who experience temporal national nostalgia. As the results indicate, these people also feel more connected to their home country identity, but to a lesser extent. This is probably because immigrants experiencing temporal national nostalgia long for a different old home—namely that of the past that no longer exists. We found that temporal national nostalgia also impedes immigrants' host country identification. Similar to the processes observed among natives, the likely explanation is that longing for their old homes of the past makes clear for immigrants what constitutes their unique national or ethnic heritage and how this makes them different from others, such as the host majority population. This may draw them closer to their own group and result in distancing from the out-group in order to ensure identity continuity.

Another contribution of this study is that we studied both temporal and spatial nostalgia as collective emotions. While recent work has demonstrated that temporal nostalgia holds relevance at the group-level (Wildschut et al., 2014; Smeekes et al., 2015), spatial nostalgia (and homesickness) have, to date, not been studied as collective emotions. Showing that both temporal and spatial nostalgia affect immigrants' levels of group identification and acculturation preferences, and in somewhat different ways, our research highlights the relevance of studying these different forms of immigrant nostalgia as collective emotions. We encourage future work to replicate our findings among immigrant groups in different contexts.

Our study is not without limitations. An important one is the fact we made use of cross-sectional survey data, which does not allow for claims about causality. Although our findings are in line with experimental work showing that collective nostalgia triggers tendencies to protect the in-group via stronger feelings of in-group identification (Wildschut et al., 2014), it could also be the case that in-group identification is an antecedent of national nostalgia, which then subsequently affects acculturation preferences. It is likely that the relationship between national nostalgia and in-group identification goes in both directions and we encourage future studies to examine these relationships experimentally or longitudinally.

Second, as national nostalgia has different meanings for immigrants and natives, we did not have identical measures for this construct for the two samples. This means that we could not statistically compare the proposed theoretical model for natives and immigrants, and hence raises the question whether we can make comparative statements about the two groups. We feel that such statements are possible, since we do not compare the mean responses or the magnitude of the effects in each sample. Even though national nostalgia for immigrants and natives refers to different old homes, the psychological experience of longing for one's old home might be similar and result in comparable psychological responses in terms of group identification and in-group protective strategies (in the form of acculturation preferences). This means that even though the measures are not identical, we could still make statements about whether the psychological mechanisms related to national nostalgia are similar or different for native and immigrants on the basis of the separate analyses for each sample.

A final limitation is that we studied immigrants' national nostalgia among 1st generation groups that have already been living in the Netherlands since the 1960s and 1970s (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans). For these groups, spatial nostalgia is likely to be less profound compared to immigrant groups that arrived more recently to the Netherlands, such as people from Eastern European countries. Moreover, we only focused on first generation immigrants as these people have actually lived in the home country, but scholars have suggested that younger generations can also experience temporal nostalgia for a time that they did not personally live through (Holak et al., 2007; Maghbouleh, 2010; Merchant & Rose, 2013). This so called "vicarious" or "inherited" nostalgia and could potentially also affect 2nd or even 3rd generation immigrants' attachment to the host society. Future work could hence investigate the proposed model among more recent immigrants and among immigrants from younger generations.

## Conclusion

We found that longing for one's "old" home (i.e., national nostalgia) in culturally diverse settings has implications for the groups that people identify with and their acculturation preferences. We focused on national nostalgia among natives and immigrants in the Netherlands and proposed that where longing for the old home for natives only relates to a separation from the homeland in time (temporal national nostalgia), for immigrants this separation can additionally relate to a separation from the homeland in space (spatial national nostalgia). The general pattern of results indicated similar social psychological processes for natives and immigrants. For both groups, we observed that their national nostalgia served to repair their sense of longing for lost old homes with stronger in-group belonging and weaker belonging with the out-group in order to maintain identity continuity (in the form of in-group protective acculturation preferences). Yet, we also found that immigrants' spatial and temporal national nostalgia affected identification pathways and acculturation preferences in somewhat different ways highlighting the importance of their conceptual and empirical distinction. Nevertheless, the resulting acculturation preferences were in opposing directions for immigrants and natives, implying that longings for different old homes can form a wedge between these groups, potentially impairing the social cohesion of culturally diverse societies.

## Appendix A. Appendix A

Comparison of native Dutch sample (Study 1) to native Dutch population of 15 years and older in terms of gender, age and education in 2015

See [Table A.1](#), [Table A.2](#), [Table A.3](#).



**Table A.1**  
Gender distribution (in percentages) in native Dutch sample and population.

	Sample	Population
Males	45.7	50.4
Females	54.3	49.6

*Note.* Information about the native Dutch population was obtained from Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). See <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=82275NED&D1=0&D2=a&D3=0&D4=1&D5=0,1&D6=64&HD=181203-1153&HDR=T,G1,G5,G2&STB=G3,G4&CHARTTYPE=1>.

**Table A.2**  
Age categories (in percentages) in native Dutch sample and population.

	Sample	Population
15–25	9.6	14
35–35	10.5	13.7
35–45	16.5	14.2
45–55	22.0	18.2
55–65	27.3	16.5
65–75	11.8	13.9
75+	2.2	9.5

*Note.* Information about the native Dutch population was obtained from Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). See <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=82275NED&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0,2-8&D4=1&D5=0,1&D6=64&HD=181203-1200&HDR=T,G1,G5,G2&STB=G3,G4&CHARTTYPE=1>.

**Table A.3**  
Educational levels (in percentages) in native Dutch sample and population.

	Sample	Population
Primary education	1.5	10
Lower-level secondary education	2	22.6
Higher-level secondary school/intermediate vocational training	34.7	39
Lower-level tertiary education	35.5	18.7
Higher-level tertiary education	26.4	9.7

*Note.* Information about the native Dutch population was obtained from Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). See <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=82275NED&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=1&D5=0,2,4,8,13,15,1&D6=64,1&HD=181203-1148&HDR=T,G1,G5,G2&STB=G3,G4>.

## Appendix B. Appendix B

Comparison of first generation Dutch immigrant sample of Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans (Study 2) to Dutch non-western immigrant population of 15 years and older in terms of gender, age and education in 2015

See Table B.1, Table B.2, Table B.3.

**Table B.1**  
Gender distribution (in percentages) in immigrant sample and population.

	Sample	Population
Males	39.5	49.3
Females	60.5	50.7

*Note.* This information was obtained from Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). See <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=37325&D1=1&D2=a&D3=0&D4=0&D5=4&D6=19&HD=181207-1556&HDR=G5&STB=G1,G2,G3,G4,T>.

**Table B.2**  
Age categories (in percentages) in immigrant sample and population.

	Sample	Population
20–30	4.5	14.1
30–40	16.9	21.3
40–50	27.6	25.1
50–60	28.2	18.6
60–70	16.6	9.2
70 +	6.2	7.4

*Note.* Information about the native Dutch population was obtained from Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). See <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=37325&D1=1&D2=0&D3=0,123-130&D4=0&D5=4&D6=19&HD=181207-1535&HDR=G5&STB=G1,G2,G3,G4,T>.

**Table B.3**  
Educational levels (in percentages) in immigrant sample and population.

	Sample	Population
Primary education	3.6	20.1
Lower-level secondary education	10.4	21.9
Higher-level secondary school/intermediate vocational training	39.8	38.3
Lower-level tertiary education	33.5	12.3
Higher-level tertiary education	12.8	7.4

*Note.* Information about the native Dutch population was obtained from Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS). See <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=82275NED&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=4-8&D5=0,2,4,8,13,15,1&D6=64&HDR=T,G1,G5,G2&STB=G3,G4&CHARTTYPE=1&VW=T>.

## Appendix C. Appendix C

Instructions for immigrant participants for the measurements of spatial and temporal national nostalgia.

### *Spatial national nostalgia*

The following questions are about your sense longing and missing related to things from your country of origin or your family's country of origin. If you have family members from multiple countries please think about the country that means most to you when answering the questions. Please indicate how often you experience the following feelings. If you have the feeling that the question does not apply to you please choose the option “not applicable”.

### *Temporal national nostalgia*

According to the dictionary ‘Nostalgia’ is a sentimental longing for the past. The following questions are about your sense of longing for *the past* of your country of origin or your family's country of origin. If you have family members from multiple countries please think about the country that means most to you when answering the questions. Please indicate how often you experience the following feelings. If you have the feeling that the question does not apply to you please choose the option “not applicable”.

## Appendix D. Supplementary data

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.02.001>.

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