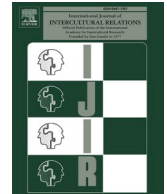




ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](https://www.sciencedirect.com)

## International Journal of Intercultural Relations

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel)

## The workplace as a source of ethnic tolerance? Studying interethnic contact and interethnic resources at work in the Netherlands

Katerina Manevska<sup>a,\*</sup>, Roderick Sluiter<sup>b</sup>, Agnes Akkerman<sup>c</sup>, Marcel Lubbers<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Department of Political Science, Institute for Management Research, Radboud University, P.O. Box 9108, 6500HK Nijmegen, the Netherlands

<sup>b</sup> Municipality of Utrecht, the Netherlands

<sup>c</sup> Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies/Hugo Sinzheimer Institute, the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

<sup>d</sup> Department of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Utrecht University, Utrecht, the Netherlands

### ARTICLE INFO

#### Keywords:

Ethnic tolerance  
Interethnic contact  
Interethnic social resources  
Social capital  
Workplace ethnic diversity

### ABSTRACT

This study combines insights from contact theory and social capital literature to study how ethnic diversity at work is associated to ethnic tolerance. It is argued that workplace ethnic diversity is related to ethnic tolerance in two ways: through interethnic contact and through interethnic social resources. The interrelation between these two mechanisms is also considered. The study relies on unique workplace survey data from the Netherlands (N = 3800) with information on ethnic tolerance, measured as support for immigrant entitlements. The results show that ethnic diversity in the workplace is positively related to interethnic contact and interethnic resources at work, and both of these are positively related to ethnic tolerance. However, the initial positive effect of interethnic contact on support for immigrant entitlements is mediated by interethnic resources, thereby showing that the interethnic resources mechanism is more insightful as to how ethnically diverse workplaces matter for ethnic tolerance.

### Introduction

Over the past decades, ethnic diversity in workplaces in western European countries has increased, mainly because of the recruitment of migrant workers from countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea (Martin, 1997; Oerlemans et al., 2008). In the last decade, workplaces have rapidly further diversified, mostly due to an increase in migrant workers from Eastern European countries (Constant, 2011). Even though the extent of workplace ethnic diversity may differ depending on sector or job skills required, as a general trend, workplaces in western European countries have become more ethnically diverse over time (Oerlemans et al., 2008). In this contribution it is studied how and to what extent ethnically diverse workplaces are related to ethnic tolerance, broadly defined as the beliefs, behaviour orientations and affect that people have towards ethnic outgroup members (cf. Jackman, 1977). Within this broad concept, we focus on the political dimension of ethnic tolerance (cf. Thomsen, 2012; see also Côté & Erickson, 2009), specifically support for immigrant entitlements. This is the idea that ethnic outgroup members should have access to social and citizenship rights, such as social benefits and the right to vote in national elections. Increased labour migration has especially sparked societal debate on this aspect of ethnic tolerance, which makes the political dimension of ethnic tolerance especially relevant to study in the context of

\* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: [katerina.manevska@ru.nl](mailto:katerina.manevska@ru.nl) (K. Manevska).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101955>

Received 17 November 2022; Received in revised form 14 July 2023; Accepted 11 March 2024

Available online 3 April 2024

0147-1767/© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

workplace ethnic diversity.

Generally speaking, most social interactions outside of people's intimate circle take place at work. Contacts within the intimate circle tend to be homogeneous due to contact homophily, i.e. the idea that people have contact with and bond with people who are similar to themselves (De Souza Briggs, 2007; McPherson et al., 2001). In contrast, at the workplace interactions are more difficult to avoid, leaving less room for practicing contact homophily. Interactions at work are thus less likely to suffer from self-selection bias. Diverse workplaces are therefore more likely to induce interactions with others who have different backgrounds, views and opinions (cf. Mutz & Mondak, 2006), and are considered an important source of interethnic contact (Eisnecker, 2019; Estlund, 2005). Given that interethnic contact is associated with increased ethnic tolerance (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), it is important to study how ethnically diverse workplaces matter for ethnic tolerance.

Previous studies on interethnic contact often focused on *having* interethnic contacts, without studying it in the work-context. The few empirical studies that do study workplace interethnic contacts typically rely on the European Social Survey (Kokkonen et al., 2014, 2015; Sønderskov and Thomsen, 2015) or single-country surveys (Eisnecker, 2019; Escandell & Ceobanu, 2009). Having interethnic colleagues turned out to be associated with social trust (Kokkonen et al., 2014), positive interethnic relations outside work (Kokkonen et al., 2015), and reduced anti-foreigner sentiments (Sønderskov and Thomsen, 2015; although not in Escandell & Ceobanu, 2009). Also, frequency of interethnic contact at work was shown to positively affect ethnic tolerance (Klein et al., 2019; Thomsen, 2012). Others, however, emphasize the role of negative contact that occurs in the workplace (Freitag & Kijewski, 2017; Laurence et al., 2018). Further studies on contact in the workplace, as included in the meta-analysis from Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) as well as more recent studies (e.g., Darr, 2018; Novak & Rogan, 2010; Pagotto et al., 2010; Rydgren & Sofi, 2011; Schaafsma, 2008) are typically small-scale studies in a specific workplace or city (Harris & Valentine, 2016; Piekut & Valentine, 2017). Most of these workplace studies neglect the role played by contacts that simultaneously co-exist outside the work setting. As an exception, Freitag and Rapp (2013) show the role of contacts at work and outside work. In their Swiss study, contacts at work specifically moderate relations between perceptions of ethnic threat and ethnic tolerance. Our contribution adds to the limited evidence of large-scale tests of the relationship between workplace interethnic contact and ethnic tolerance, while simultaneously accounting for neighbourhood interethnic contact.

In addition to this empirical contribution, we propose to make a theoretical contribution. Workplaces stimulate cooperation and often rely on structures of interdependence (cf. De Souza Briggs, 2007; Goldschmidt et al., 2017). Several scholars have therefore argued that the workplace may be of special importance for the formation of social ties that bridge ethnic boundaries (Manevska et al., 2018; De Souza Briggs, 2007; Eisnecker, 2019; Estlund, 2005; Kokkonen et al., 2015; McPherson et al., 2001). We develop a theoretical argument on how these bridging social ties take shape at the workplace in the form of interethnic resources. We define interethnic resources as the access to resources of an ethnic outgroup member. We argue that interethnic resources are related to ethnic tolerance through a reciprocity-based mechanism. This reciprocity-based mechanism can be distinguished from the empathy-based mechanism that is often thought to underly the relationship between interethnic contact and ethnic tolerance (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

This contribution thus studies to what extent workplace ethnic diversity is related to ethnic tolerance through both workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources. As such, it improves upon previous research in three ways. First, by providing an in-depth study of the association between workplace ethnic diversity and ethnic tolerance. This is done by theorizing on and testing the role of workplace interethnic resources as an additional explanation, next to, and as a specification of, workplace interethnic contact. Second, the hypotheses are tested using unique data from a sample of 3800 individuals in the Netherlands. The dataset encompasses measures of workplace ethnic diversity, the frequency of interethnic contact both within and outside of work, as well as access to interethnic resources within and outside of the workplace. Hence, we are able to study the relationship between ethnic diversity at work and ethnic tolerance, while simultaneously accounting for interethnic contact outside work. The Netherlands is a particularly relevant context for such an analysis given its history of recruitment of migrant workers from countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea as well as an increase in labour migration from Eastern European countries (Stanojevic et al., 2022). This brings us to a third contribution: by focusing on the political dimension of ethnic tolerance, specified as support for immigrant entitlements, this study contributes to relevant societal debates on labour migration and social support for immigrants in western European countries such as the Netherlands (Brouwer & Boros, 2010; Schaafsma, 2008; Stanojevic et al., 2022).

## Workplace interethnic contact

Numerous studies exhibit supportive evidence for the positive relationship between interethnic contact and ethnic tolerance (cf. Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, interethnic contact's implication for interethnic relations in ethnically diverse societies is potentially limited, given that interethnic contacts are more likely to be formed by people who are open to ethnic diversity (cf. Eisnecker, 2019; Manevska et al., 2018; Manevska, 2014). This is also known as the problem of self-selection bias in interethnic contact research (Manevska et al., 2018; Dixon, 2006; McLaren, 2003), meaning that people are more likely to select into interethnic contact the more ethnically tolerant they are. Researchers therefore argued that contact should occur in 'structurally constraining interaction spaces' (Rydgren et al., 2013) to overcome this common tendency towards homophily in the formation of social ties. The workplace enables such a structurally constrained space, and people are usually part of this over a prolonged time period. As such, ethnically diverse workplaces facilitate the creation of repeated patterns of interethnic interaction, even for people who might normally avoid interethnic contact if they had the choice (cf. Paolini et al., 2018). Therefore, it can be expected that there is more interethnic contact the more ethnically diverse a workplace is.

In line with Allport's contact hypothesis (Allport, 1979[1954]), ethnically diverse workplaces facilitate frequent interethnic interactions under some of the optimal conditions for meaningful contact distinguished by Allport: ethnic interactions at work take place in a social space that is generally conducive to cooperation; stimulates feelings of shared goals and interests; and usually depends on

institutional support in terms of cooperation and collaboration among workers. Of course, there might be differences in this respect, especially in the case of highly competitive workplaces with low levels of cooperation and collaboration (Allport, 1979). However, in general, and following the logic of contact theory, it is likely that interethnic contact at work provides the opportunity to acquire more knowledge about ethnic outgroups, which is generalized into greater understanding of and more empathy for ethnic outgroups (McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008, 2011).

The empathy for ethnic outgroups formed through workplace interethnic contact can be connected to support for immigrant entitlements. Studies on support for immigrant entitlements often emphasize the dimension of “identity” as one of the most important factors that underly support for welfare entitlements, specifically for immigrants. The more people perceive immigrants as an outgroup, the less likely they are to support immigrant entitlements (Van Oorschot & Roosma, 2017). The empathy formed through interethnic contact would be generalized to the ethnic outgroup as a whole and reduce the strength of ethnic boundaries. Such lowered ethnic boundaries will stimulate support for immigrant entitlements. As an example of this process, Côté and Erickson (2009: 1665) theoretically link the knowledge about ethnic outgroups and greater understanding for the problems they face to support of policies helpful to outgroups. We therefore derive the following expectations:

**H1.** : The more ethnically diverse a workplace is, the more workplace interethnic contact people have.

**H2.** : The more workplace interethnic contact people have, the higher their level of support for immigrant entitlements.

### Workplace interethnic resources

In addition to facilitating interactions, the workplace is known to facilitate social capital (Manevska et al., 2022; Helliwell & Huang, 2010; Putnam, 2000). In this section, we argue that a social capital lens can provide an alternative understanding of the relationship between workplace ethnic diversity and ethnic tolerance. We are not the first to link ethnic diversity and ethnic tolerance through the concept of social capital. Actually, one of social capital theory’s most prominent hypotheses is that ethnic diversity negatively affects social capital and social cohesion (Putnam, 2007). According to Putnam, people ‘pull in like a turtle’ (Putnam, 2007: 149) in ethnically diverse settings, suggesting that people in such settings withdraw from social interaction. However, many studies have empirically nuanced or even refuted this hypothesis (Tolsma & Van der Meer, 2018; Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). The literature on the association between ethnic diversity and social capital is furthermore critiqued because it does not consider the workplace as a potential site of building bridging social capital (cf. Rydgren et al., 2013; Manevska et al., 2022). Bridging social capital connects people across societal cleavages, in this case the ethnic divide, thus creating interethnic social capital. The omission of workplace-generated interethnic social capital in theories on the relationship between ethnic diversity and social capital is surprising, given that “[w]orkplaces generally promote weak ties and create opportunities for repeated, horizontal interaction focused on tasks that promote interdependent relationships” (Pickering, 2006: 84). It is thus likely that ethnically diverse workplaces facilitate the formation of interethnic social capital.

Before proceeding to explain how interethnic social capital formed at work influences ethnic tolerance, we need to explain how we understand social capital in the context of our study. This is important, since social capital is an umbrella concept and some would argue that workplace contact is a form of social capital itself. We approach social capital from the perspective of the ends and goals that are achieved by social contacts (cf. Coleman, 1988); i.e., the resources that are extracted from the contacts (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014; cf. Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). These social resources can differ widely in nature, from helping with practical problems (e.g., purchasing groceries in case of sickness) to giving advice on how to address a problem. In the context of our study, having social capital thus means having access to social resources.

The workplace is a suitable context to form access to social resources. By cooperating at work, workers obtain information about who has the resources necessary for the completion of certain tasks. Furthermore, workers get a sense of whom they can count on and trust whenever there is a problem to be solved or a goal to be achieved (Manevska et al., 2022; McClurg, 2003; Ostrom, 2003). Such experiences with support and trust form the basis of social resources (Podolny & Baron, 1997). The very structure of the workplace thus generates experiences in which workers learn whether they can rely on their co-workers. This ‘relying’ on co-workers can concern both work-related issues, such as getting advice on how to deal with a work conflict and private issues, such as borrowing some money. In both types of cases, access to social resources is formed at work.

Having access to social resources is usually accompanied by commitment to a norm of reciprocity towards the person that holds the resource. What this means, simply put, is that if people believe that someone will help when asked them to do so, they will be inclined to help them in return, and they will feel responsible not to inflict harm on them. As such, having access to social resources creates commitment to a norm of reciprocity, which is positively related to care for the other’s interest (Onyx & Bullen, 2000).

In ethnically diverse workplaces, the formation of access to social resources between workers from different ethnic groups is facilitated (Gundelach and Traummüller, 2014). For understanding how this relates to ethnic tolerance, we focus on natives who have access to social resources of ethnic outgroup members. For shorthand, we refer to this as ‘interethnic resources’. When native workers have access to interethnic resources, commitment to a norm of reciprocity towards ethnic outgroup co-workers is established. As argued above, this norm of reciprocity entails that natives with interethnic resources will be inclined to help the ethnic outgroup member who holds the resource, and will care for that ethnic outgroup member’s interest. As such, through interethnic resources, reciprocity-based links are established between native workers and ethnic outgroup workers.

Analogous to the process of generalization through which empathy for one ethnic outgroup member formed through interethnic contact is generalized to the ethnic outgroup as a whole, we argue that the reciprocity established through interethnic resources will be generalized to the ethnic outgroup as a whole. This will result in a willingness to help the ethnic outgroup as a whole and a care for the

interests of the ethnic outgroup as a whole.

Previous research on understanding support for immigrant entitlements already hints at the importance of reciprocity, next to contact theory's empathy explanation. Immigrants are often seen as least deserving when it comes to social and civic entitlements (Reeskens & Van der Meer, 2019). In addition to the role of identity described before, (Van Oorschot & Roosma, 2017), reciprocity seems to play a role in the lower perceived deservingness of immigrants (Kootstra, 2016; Van Oorschot, 2008; Van Oorschot & Roosma, 2017), and therefore a lack of support for welfare state arrangements for immigrants (León, 2012; Petersen et al., 2011; Reeskens & Van der Meer, 2019). Natives tend to think that immigrants contribute less to the country they live in than natives do (Van Oorschot, 2008). As a consequence, natives may think that immigrants have a 'reciprocal deficit', they do not comply with the norm of reciprocity that would entitle them to be cared for. When natives have interethnic resources, this perception would be reversed, which helps overcome the 'penalty' that ethnic out-group members experience when it comes to social and civic entitlements (Kootstra, 2016). Based on the former we expect:

**H3.** : The more ethnically diverse a workplace is, the more workplace interethnic resources people have.

**H4.** : The more workplace interethnic resources people have, the higher their level of support for immigrant entitlements.

### **The interplay between interethnic contact and interethnic resources**

So far, workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources were considered here separately. We argued that having more interethnic contacts is associated with more empathy for ethnic outgroups and will therefore result in more support for immigrant entitlements, while having more interethnic resources is associated with more reciprocity towards ethnic outgroups and hence more support for immigrant entitlements. However, it is to be expected that workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources are interconnected, in the sense that having more interethnic contact at work increases the chances of gaining access to interethnic resources at work. Theoretically, one can gain access to social resources without previously having engaged in contact. This might especially be the case for certain types of social resources, such as having someone whom you can approach in case of a problem at work, i.e., a counsellor or a union member. However, for other types of interethnic resources contact is almost a prerequisite. Taking this interdependency into account, it might be the case that workplace interethnic contact is related to more ethnic tolerance through the access to interethnic resources at work it provides. If so, workplace interethnic resources should mediate the positive relationship between workplace interethnic contact and support for immigrant entitlements. We therefore hypothesize:

**H5.** : The positive relationship between workplace interethnic contact and support for immigrant entitlements is mediated by workplace interethnic resources.

### **Data and measurements**

#### *Data*

This study uses the Work and Politics Study, a recent data set on worker voice from the Netherlands (Akkerman et al. 2017). The data were collected from July to September 2017. These data are part of a larger research project on workplace political socialization studying how experiences at work affect people's political attitudes and behaviors. It includes measurements for worker voice, supervisor and co-worker responses to worker voice, as well as other workplace experiences, such as workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources. Furthermore, it contains information on worker values, such as worker voice entitlement and protestant work ethic. In addition to these workplace measurements, the tailor-made survey contains measurements of various political attitudes and behaviours, including support for immigrant entitlements, as well as interethnic contact and interethnic resources outside work. All newly developed measurement instruments for this study, such as the measurement of interethnic resources, were based on existing literature and feedback by experts from the field. Furthermore, we conducted a pilot study (N = 440) to ensure that the newly developed measurement instruments were understood by respondents and did not result in non-response issues.

The data collection was conducted by Kantar Public with the TNS NIPObase. This online panel contains approximately 235,000 respondents from 145,000 households in the Netherlands. Panel members are recruited using random sampling, ensuring that each member of society has a chance to be selected. This approach circumvents self-selection of respondents into the panel. Respondents receive a small reimbursement for their participation in a study. In total, 12,013 respondents from the Dutch labour force, aged between 16–67 years and representative in terms of gender, region and level of education, were selected and invited to participate in the online survey. In total, 7599 respondents completed the questionnaire, yielding a response rate of 64%. We do not have information on respondents who refused to fill out the survey. However, comparison of our sample with benchmarks from the Dutch Bureau of Statistics did not give reason for any concerns of non-response bias with respect to age, gender, level of education and occupational status (Hilhorst, 2017).

Respondents who currently work in an organization, which includes solo self-employed, volunteers and trainees working in the

organization, were selected. Next, we selected Dutch natives<sup>1</sup> and focus on their interethnic relations with Turkish and Moroccan people,<sup>2</sup> the largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands. We thus follow the perspective of the native majority, which allows for clearer interpretations of the findings. From the total of 6336 native Dutch workers that we have information on, 2492 Dutch natives did not have any Turkish and Moroccan co-workers. Since those respondents could by definition not have any workplace interethnic contact or workplace interethnic resources, they were excluded from the sample. This further reduced the sample to 3844 respondents. Due to missing values on one of the control variables (EGP occupational class), the final sample used in the analyses consists of 3800 respondents. Studies based on representative samples of the population have sample sizes of 1000–2000. For the Work and Politics Study we deliberately used a larger sample size such that we would still have enough statistical power even if a large part of our sample would not be able to have a certain work experience, such as, in the case of this study, having interactions with ethnic outgroup members at work.

### Measurements

The survey measures the dependent variable, *support for immigrant entitlements*, as well as workplace ethnic diversity, workplace interethnic contact, and workplace interethnic resources for three ethnic groups that are typically perceived as ethnic outgroups by Dutch natives: Eastern European, Turkish/Moroccan and other non-Western migrants.<sup>3</sup> Since the analyses are focused on Turkish and Moroccans as the largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands, the measurements presented here only contain information for this outgroup.

To capture support for immigrant entitlements, respondents were asked to indicate whether Turkish/Moroccan people should be allowed to: (1) *come and live in the Netherlands*; (2) *vote in local elections*; (3) *vote in national elections*; (4) *run as a candidate in elections*; (5) *claim the same labour rights as native Dutch individuals*; and (6) *claim the same welfare benefits as native Dutch individuals*. Respondents indicated whether Turkish/Moroccans should be entitled to each of the six items (1 =yes, 0 =no).

We calculated a sum score; higher scores indicate a preference for more entitlements for Turkish and Moroccan people in the Netherlands. We performed Mokken scale analysis, using the MSP command in Stata, on the items to test whether it is justified to assume that this sum scale reflects an underlying latent variable. The scale is considered strong when the H-coefficient of the scale is equal or above 0.50, furthermore, the item-H ( $H_i$ ) should be above 0.30 and the correlation between the items ( $H_{ij}$ ) should be greater than zero (Mokken, 1971). All indicators in the analysis are well above the common thresholds indicating a strong Mokken scale ( $H=0.82$ ;  $H_i 0.77-0.86$ ;  $H_{ij} \geq 0.77$ , see Appendix Table A1). This warrants the conclusion that the use of a sum-scale, as indicative of an ordinal underlying variable that measures support for entitlements for Turkish and Moroccan people in the Netherlands, is supported.

*Ethnic diversity* in the workplace was measured by asking respondents for a rough estimate of the percentage of workers within their organization. As such, perceived rather than actual ethnic diversity is measured. This is not ideal given that previous studies showed that people, especially those highly prejudiced, tend to overestimate ethnic diversity (e.g., Herda, 2010; Van Assche et al., 2016). However, this bias was reduced by first asking respondents how many people work in their organization, thus priming them to think in terms of actual numbers. Thereafter, respondents were asked to indicate how many people of each ethnic group, including Dutch natives, are in their organization, offering the following answer categories: none; almost none; about a quarter; about half; about three-quarters; and almost everyone. This should stimulate rationalized, i.e., mathematical, rather than emotional responses to this question. Examining the frequencies of the five categories showed that the highest score, ‘almost everyone’, was rarely mentioned. This was therefore combined with the second-highest score. Furthermore, since we excluded respondents without Turkish and Moroccan co-workers, none of the respondents in our sample scored on the category ‘none’. As such, we worked with a measurement with four categories indicating almost none; about a quarter; about half; and about three quarters or more Turkish and Moroccan co-workers in the organization. This variable was turned into four dummies, with the dummy for ‘almost none’ as the reference category in the analyses.

*Workplace interethnic contact* was measured by asking how often respondents have contact with co-workers, emphasizing that this concerns both face-to-face contact and other types of contact, such as by phone or through e-mail. As such, this measurement of workplace interethnic contact is not intended to mimic measurements of interethnic contact used in other types of research. Instead, the measurement was tailored to the work context. The variable workplace interethnic contact ranges from zero to five, with the following categories: (0) *no contact*; (1) *less than once a year*; (2) *once or several times a year*; (3) *monthly*; (4) *weekly*; and (5) *(almost) daily*. These categories were transposed such that they measure the number of contact experiences per year, given a five-day workweek (no contact=0, less than once a year=0.5, once or several times a year=2, monthly=12, weekly=52, and (almost) daily=208).

For measuring *interethnic resources* at work, respondents were asked whether they had co-workers whom they could easily approach, e.g., whose name they know, with whom they sometimes talk, or whom they think they can ask for help, for each of the following five issues: (1) *addressing or solving a source of discontent at work*; (2) *discussing politics*; (3) *borrowing a hundred euros*; (4) *purchasing some groceries in case the respondent is sick*; and (5) *helping with transport, e.g., when respondent is sick or the car is broken*. For each of these items, respondents indicated whether they do (1) or do not (0) have access to it. For the Dutch natives in this study,

<sup>1</sup> That is, respondents were selected whose parents are born in the Netherlands and thus exclude second generation migrants.

<sup>2</sup> Interethnic relations with Eastern Europeans were examined in additional analyses. The outcomes of these analyses were similar to the ones presented here, resulting in similar conclusions. Results are available upon request.

<sup>3</sup> The measurement of the ‘other’ categories differs by variable: for workplace ethnic diversity, ‘other’ entails Surinamese/Antillean, Middle Eastern and ‘other’; for workplace interethnic contact, it signifies ethnicities other than Dutch, Eastern-European or Turkish/Moroccan.

having access to social resources from Turkish/Moroccan co-workers represents an *interethnic* social resource. The variable *interethnic resources* at work was computed as the sum of the scores on the five items for Turkish/Moroccan co-workers. A higher score on the variable indicates more interethnic resources.

Before running the analyses, the dependency between workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources was explored through a cross-tabulation of interethnic contact and each of the five types of interethnic resources, as well as the full interethnic resource scale. The results thereof can be found in the [Appendix, Table A2](#). The cross-tabulation shows that people who have more contact with Turkish and Moroccan colleagues are more likely to have interethnic resources. However, it also shows that interethnic contact is not a prerequisite for interethnic resources in all cases.

In the analyses, we controlled for respondent background characteristics, namely, sex (male=1, female=0), age (logged, ranging from 0 to 3.97), and level of education in three categories (low, middle, and high). Furthermore, we included a measurement for occupation type using a shortened version of the EGP class scheme (higher professionals, lower professionals, routine non-manual employees, self-employed/farmers, and workers). We excluded 44 respondents who had a missing value on this variable from the analyses. In addition, we controlled for workplace characteristics, namely the size of the organization (in seven categories, ranging from less than 11 employees to more than 500 employees) and the average number of hours worked per week, as well as interethnic contact outside work and interethnic resources outside work. Both variables are measured in the same way as their workplace equivalent. We explicitly specified that respondents should not include co-workers in their reports of contacts and social resources outside work. Instead, respondents were asked to think of family, friends, and acquaintances. The descriptive statistics are presented in [Table 1](#). A correlation matrix can be found in the appendix, [Table A3](#).

## Results

OLS regression analysis is applied to test the hypotheses. [Tables 2 and 3](#) present the outcomes of these analyses, and [Figs. 1 and 2](#) provide graphical representations of the regression models in [Table 2](#). Before interpreting the results, we examined the model diagnostics to determine whether the models suffered from multicollinearity. All VIF values stayed well within the accepted margins ([Field, 2013](#)), thus indicating no signs of multicollinearity.

Hypothesis 1 reads that there is a positive relation between ethnic diversity at work and workplace interethnic contact. This hypothesis is tested in the first model of [Table 2](#). Even though interethnic contact is almost naturally the lowest in workplaces with almost no immigrants, it is striking that the further increase in ethnic diversity, beyond a quarter, does not further increase interethnic contact ('about a quarter' (b=44.30); 'about half' (b=53.78), 'about three quarters or more' (b=52.93). The first hypothesis is thus only partly supported: while in workplaces with a quarter of Turkish and Moroccans immigrants there is significantly more contact than in workplaces with almost no Turkish/Moroccan workers, the interethnic contact in workplaces with a quarter of Turkish/Moroccan workers is not significantly less than in workplaces with higher shares. However, very few respondents work in workplaces with more than 25% Turkish/Moroccan workers ('about half'=2%; 'about three quarters or more'=1%). This might play a role in the lack of contrast between these three categories of ethnic diversity.

From the control variables in this model, we highlight that people experience less workplace interethnic contact in larger organizations than in smaller organizations. This negative relationship is significant starting from organizations with over a hundred employees. The effect can indicate that employees working in larger organizations have less workplace contact in general, or that it is easier to avoid interethnic contact in such organizations, compared to organizations with less employees.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, we see that having interethnic contact (b=0.34,  $p < 0.001$ ) and resources outside work (b=7.78,  $p < 0.001$ ) are positively related to workplace interethnic contact. Hence, people who meet and mingle with Turkish and Moroccan people outside work also have more contact with Turkish and Moroccan people at work.

Next, following the reciprocity-driven mechanism, it was expected that ethnic diversity at work is positively related to interethnic resources at work (Hypothesis 3). This hypothesis is tested in the second model of [Table 2](#). As predicted, higher levels of ethnic diversity are related to more interethnic resources. Compared to having almost no Turkish and Moroccan colleagues in the organization, having a share of about a quarter (b=0.35,  $p < 0.001$ ), about half (b=0.56,  $p < 0.001$ ) and about three quarters or more (b=0.81,  $p < 0.01$ ) are positively related to interethnic resources. The level of interethnic resources increases with every higher category of workplace ethnic diversity. These findings thus support the third hypothesis. Looking at the controls in this model, we see that educational level, number of weekly work hours, and having interethnic resources outside work are positively related to interethnic resources at work, but there is no effect of interethnic contact outside work. The educational effect is particularly strong and might indicate three things: 1) the higher educated people are, the more likely they are to gain access to social resources; 2) the higher educated people are the more likely they are to work with ethnic outgroup members who have resources to offer; and 3) the higher educated people are, the more likely they are to translate interethnic interactions into interethnic resources. Further research is needed to flesh out these possible interpretations.

Finally, the last model in [Table 2](#) explains immigrant entitlements. It was expected that workplace interethnic contact (Hypothesis 2) and workplace interethnic resources (Hypothesis 4) are positively related to immigrant entitlements. The last model in [Table 2](#) shows no support for Hypothesis 2: there is no significant relation between interethnic contact at work and immigrant entitlements.

<sup>4</sup> Our data suggest that the first line of reasoning does not find empirical support. We ran analyses to test the effect of the size of the organization on contact with Dutch co-workers – and thus intra-ethnic contact - and found that Dutch workers have more contact with Dutch co-workers in larger organizations.

**Table 1 –**  
Descriptive statistics (N = 3800).

	mean/%	sd	min	max
Immigrant entitlements	3.25	2.54	0.00	6.00
Ethnic diversity				
Almost none	69%		0.00	1.00
About a quarter	29%		0.00	1.00
About half	2%		0.00	1.00
About three quarters or more	1%		0.00	1.00
Workplace interethnic contact	77.66	91.49	0.00	208.00
Interethnic resources at work	0.94	1.53	0.00	5.00
<i>Control variables</i>				
Sex (female = ref.)	53%		0.00	1.00
Age (logged)	3.17	0.62	0.00	3.95
<i>Educational level</i>				
Lower	8%		0.00	1.00
Middle	47%		0.00	1.00
Higher	45%		0.00	1.00
<i>EGP occupational classes</i>				
Higher professionals	21%		0.00	1.00
Lower professionals	32%		0.00	1.00
Routine non-manual	26%		0.00	1.00
Self-employed/farmers	1%		0.00	1.00
Workers	20%		0.00	1.00
Working hours	31.60	9.47	1.00	40.00
<i>Size of Organization</i>				
< 11 employees	2%		0.00	1.00
11 to 25 employees	4%		0.00	1.00
26 to 50 employees	7%		0.00	1.00
51 to 100 employees	9%		0.00	1.00
101 to 250 employees	14%		0.00	1.00
251 to 500 employees	14%		0.00	1.00
more than 500 employees	50%		0.00	1.00
Interethnic contact outside work	12.06	36.36	0.00	208.00
Interethnic resources outside work	0.59	1.31	0.00	5.00

**Table 2**  
Regression Analyses of Workplace Interethnic Contact, Interethnic Resources at Work and Immigrant Entitlements (N = 3800).

	Workplace Interethnic Contact			Interethnic Resources at Work			Immigrant Entitlements		
	b	s.e.	beta	b	s.e.	beta	b	s.e.	beta
<i>Ethnic diversity</i>									
Almost none	reference category			reference category			reference category		
About a quarter	43.92 ***	3.17	0.22	0.35 ***	0.05	0.10	-0.15	0.09	-0.03
About half	53.64 ***	10.46	0.08	0.55 **	0.17	0.05	-0.67 *	0.30	-0.04
About three quarters or more	52.55 **	17.51	0.05	0.83 **	0.28	0.04	-0.75	0.49	-0.02
Workplace interethnic contact							0.00	0.00	0.01
Interethnic resources at work							0.24 ***	0.03	0.14
<b>Control variables</b>									
Sex (female = ref.)	-4.67	3.17	-0.03	0.03	0.05	0.01	-0.17	0.09	-0.03
Age (logged)	5.73 *	2.33	0.04	-0.05	0.04	-0.02	0.05	0.07	0.01
Educational level									
Lower	reference category			reference category			reference category		
Middle	-0.12	5.33	-0.00	0.34 ***	0.09	0.11	0.49 **	0.15	0.10
Higher	-3.69	5.75	-0.02	0.45 ***	0.09	0.15	1.45 ***	0.16	0.29
EGP Occupational classes									
Higher professionals	reference category			reference category			reference category		
Lower professionals	-0.29	3.93	-0.00	0.07	0.06	0.02	-0.14	0.11	-0.03
Routine non-manual	-1.06	4.51	-0.01	-0.09	0.07	-0.03	-0.12	0.13	-0.02
Self-employed/farmers	-24.07	13.11	-0.03	-0.33	0.21	-0.02	-0.26	0.37	-0.01
Workers	3.82	4.89	0.02	-0.08	0.08	-0.02	-0.49 ***	0.14	-0.08
Working hours	1.66 ***	0.17	0.17	0.01 ***	0.00	0.07	-0.01	0.01	-0.02
Size of Organization									
less than 11 employees	reference category			reference category			reference category		
11 to 25 employees	1.96	12.12	0.00	-0.03	0.19	-0.00	0.63	0.34	0.05
26 to 50 employees	1.92	11.19	0.01	-0.04	0.18	-0.01	0.44	0.31	0.04
51 to 100 employees	-19.73	10.95	-0.06	-0.04	0.18	-0.01	0.62 *	0.31	0.07
101 to 250 employees	-23.66 *	10.62	-0.09	-0.18	0.17	-0.04	0.75 *	0.30	0.10
251 to 500 employees	-32.85 **	10.60	-0.13	-0.30	0.17	-0.07	0.58	0.30	0.08
more than 500 employees	-36.26 ***	10.18	-0.20	-0.26	0.16	-0.09	0.68 *	0.29	0.13
Interethnic contact outside work	0.33 ***	0.04	0.13	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Interethnic resources outside work	8.22 ***	1.11	0.12	0.49 ***	0.02	0.42	0.19 ***	0.03	0.10
Intercept	16.28	13.32		0.19	0.21		1.74 ***	0.38	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.14			0.21			0.12		

NB: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , two-tailed test

This model does show supportive evidence for Hypothesis 4: people who have more interethnic resources at work are also more supportive of immigrant entitlements ( $b=0.24, p < 0.001$ ).

Interestingly, the effects of interethnic contact and resources outside work mimic the effects of their equivalents at work: interethnic contact outside work is also unrelated to immigrant entitlements, while there is a significant effect of interethnic resources outside work on immigrant entitlements ( $b=0.19, p < 0.001$ ). The effect of interethnic resources outside work seems somewhat smaller than that of interethnic resources at work (beta is .10 and .14 respectively). This underlines the importance of focusing on workplace ethnic diversity, and especially workplace interethnic resources, as a source of ethnic tolerance. Further, working in more ethnically diverse workplaces, once the effects of workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources are accounted for, is associated with lower levels of support for immigrant entitlements. However, this is only significant when the share of the outgroup in the organization is about 50% ( $b=-0.65, p < 0.05$ ).

In an additional step, we examined whether the ethnic diversity and interethnic contact and resources at work were similarly related to immigrants' entitlements for people with and without interethnic contact and resources outside work. To do so, we split our sample into respondents with no interethnic contact and interethnic resources outside work ( $N = 2128$ ), and respondents with interethnic contact and/or interethnic resources outside work ( $N = 1672$ ). We reran our analyses on each of these subsets. The outcomes of these analyses are presented in [Appendix B, Tables B1 and B2](#) respectively. By and large, these analyses yielded the same

**Table 3**  
OLS Regression Analyses of the Mediation Effect of Interethnic Resources at Work (N = 3800).

	Immigrant Entitlements			Interethnic Resources at Work			Immigrant Entitlements				
	b	s.e.	beta	b	s.e.	beta	b	s.e.	beta		
Workplace interethnic contact	0.001	**	0.000	0.050	0.004	***	0.000	0.052	0.000	0.000	0.015
Interethnic resources at work							0.241	***	0.030	0.146	
Intercept	1.769	***	3.380		0.165	0.204	1.804	***	0.373		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.101				0.276		0.114				

NB: Effects of ethnic diversity and the control variables included but not reported. \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , two-tailed test



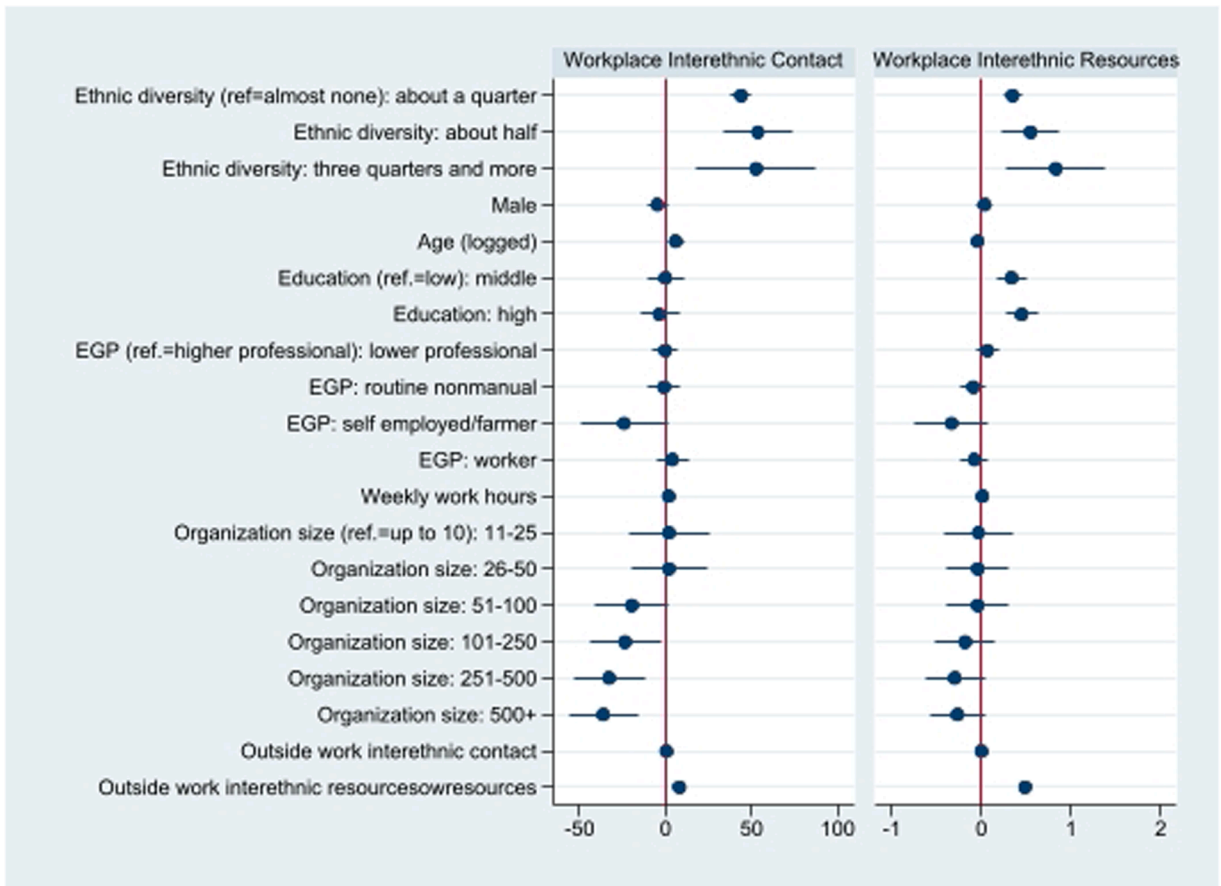


Fig. 1. Coefficient estimates and 95% confidence intervals for 'workplace interethnic contact' and workplace interethnic resources'.

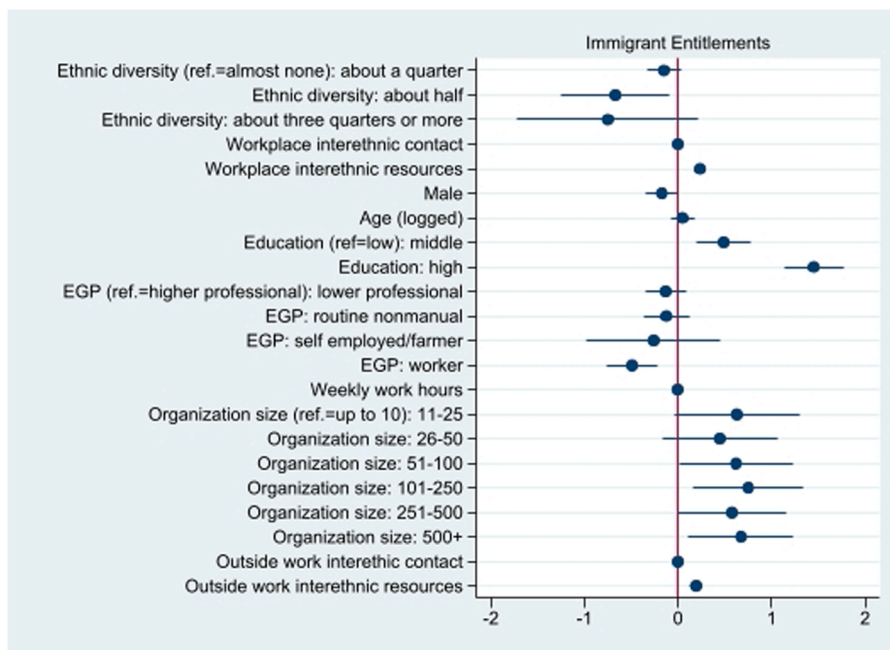


Fig. 2. Coefficient estimates and 95% confidence intervals for 'immigrant entitlements'.

results as the ones presented in Table 2, thus indicating that the reciprocity-based mechanism also works for people who – for whatever reason – do not have interethnic ties outside work.

Finally, it was hypothesized that the positive relationship between workplace interethnic contact and support for immigrant entitlements is mediated by workplace interethnic resources. This hypothesis is tested in Table 3, using OLS regression analysis. First, the effect of workplace interethnic contact on immigrant entitlements is estimated. In the subsequent model, the effect of workplace interethnic contact on workplace interethnic resources is estimated. Finally, the effects of both workplace interethnic contact and workplace interethnic resources on immigrant entitlements are estimated. Note that the measures for ethnic diversity and the control variables are included in all models. The last model is the same model as the Immigrant Entitlements model in Table 2.

For the mediation hypothesis to hold true three conditions must be met: (1) workplace interethnic contact should have a positive relation with immigrant entitlements and with workplace interethnic resources; (2) its relation with immigrant entitlements should be reduced or disappear when workplace interethnic resources is included in the last model; and (3) workplace interethnic resources should have a positive, significant relation with immigrant entitlements. Table 3 shows that, initially, workplace interethnic contact is positively related to immigrant entitlements ( $b=0.001, p < 0.01$ ). The second model shows that workplace interethnic contact is also positively related to workplace interethnic resources ( $b=0.004, p < 0.001$ ). Finally, after including workplace interethnic resources in the third model, workplace interethnic contact is no longer significantly related to immigrant entitlements, while there is a significant and positive relation between interethnic resources and immigrant entitlements ( $b=0.241, p < 0.001$ ). As such, the total effect of workplace interethnic contact on immigrant entitlements of 0.001 is fully mediated by the indirect effect that runs through interethnic resources ( $0.004 * 0.241 = 0.001$ ), leaving the direct effect at 0.000. These findings indicate that the effect of workplace interethnic contact is fully mediated by interethnic resources, hence supporting the fifth hypothesis.

## Conclusion and discussion

This study elaborated and tested two mechanisms of how workplace ethnic diversity matters for support for immigrant entitlements, a political dimension of ethnic tolerance. First, following contact theory, more workplace ethnic diversity was expected to increase meeting opportunities and, in turn, contact with outgroup members. This interethnic contact would induce empathy and understanding for the entire outgroup, resulting in more ethnic tolerance. Second, based on the idea that social capital is generated at work (Manevska et al., 2022; Helliwell & Huang, 2010; Putnam, 2000), it was argued that workplace ethnic diversity generates interethnic resources. By cooperating with ethnic outgroup members at work, natives gain access to interethnic social resources, which is accompanied by a norm of reciprocity. This norm of reciprocity is generalized towards the ethnic outgroup as a whole, resulting in more support for immigrant entitlements.

The results showed that ethnic diversity at work is indeed positively related to interethnic contact and interethnic resources at work, although for interethnic contact more than a quarter share of Turkish/Moroccans does not result in a further increase in interethnic contacts. In addition, contrary to the hypothesis derived from contact theory, interethnic contact was not related to support for immigrant entitlements, while interethnic resources at work were indeed positively related to support for immigrant entitlements. Considering the potential interdependency between interethnic contact and interethnic resources, the results showed that an initial positive effect of interethnic contact on support for immigrant entitlements is fully mediated by interethnic resources. Thus, rather than having an independent effect on support for immigrant entitlements, interethnic contact has an indirect effect, through interethnic resources.

We tentatively conclude that while contact plays a facilitating role, the reciprocity-based mechanisms captured by interethnic resources is the most relevant for understanding how ethnically diverse workplaces matter for ethnic tolerance. This reciprocity-based mechanism was tested for the political dimension of ethnic tolerance. The findings correspond with the important role of reciprocity as described in studies on immigrants' deservingness of welfare state benefits (Kootstra, 2016; Reeskens & Van der Meer, 2019; Van Oorschot & Roosma, 2017). Future studies should test whether this reciprocity-based mechanism is also important for other dimensions of ethnic tolerance. If so, the reciprocity-mechanism developed in this study offers further understanding of how interethnic contact is related to ethnic tolerance.

In an influential meta-analysis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), three mediating mechanisms that are often used to explain how interethnic contact relates to ethnic tolerance were analysed, namely knowledge about ethnic outgroups, reduced anxiety about interethnic contact, and empathy. While all proved relevant mediators, the most important one was the empathy-based mechanism. Because of the prevalence of this empathy-based mechanism, intimate contacts such as interethnic friendship, that are built on mutual empathy, were thought most relevant for ethnic tolerance (McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Our study adds an alternative mediating mechanism, based on norms of reciprocity, that does not necessarily rely on intimate relationships. However, interethnic social capital could possibly also contribute to further knowledge, reduced anxiety and increased empathy. Further research is needed to disentangle the role of social capital from these other (mediating) explanations of ethnic tolerance.

The additional analyses showed that the reciprocity-based mechanism not only holds for people who already have interethnic relations outside work but also for those who lack these relations. This finding shows that, as previously argued (e.g., Kokkonen et al., 2015), the workplace is indeed a crucial context for building bridging social capital. Further research should address whether this is mostly a matter of opportunity, or of actually countering people's tendency towards social homophily, while taking into account that pre-existing values may condition the formation of interethnic contact and interethnic resources, as well as the likelihood that the results of these contacts or resources are generalized to the outgroup as a whole (cf. Manevska et al., 2022).

There are some limitations to this study that need to be considered when interpreting its findings. First, a cross-sectional dataset was used to test the hypotheses. This dataset allowed for testing the correlations between workplace ethnic diversity, interethnic

relations and immigrant entitlements, but correlations certainly do not imply causation. Thus, although causation is assumed in the theoretical mechanisms, we were not able to test these claims. Although we claim that the workplace is a setting in which there is less choice to select on contact, known as the self-selection bias, we cannot completely rule out this issue, even though it is less likely than in settings outside the workplace. Overtime tracking of work-place collaborations and interethnic attitudes may address this concern.

Second, the analyses relied on a general measure of contact, which potentially includes both positive and negative contact (cf. Kros & Hewstone, 2020). It is likely that only positive interethnic contact generates interethnic resources. It may therefore be the case that the interethnic resources measure captures the subset of contacts that are most positive. To further disentangle contact from resources, and to provide an answer to how strong the role of resources is in relation to contact, it is essential that positive and negative contact in the workplace is disentangled in future research.

Third, the data used in this study do not allow for addressing differences between workplaces. It is to be expected that workplaces differ in the extent to which these provide opportunities for cooperation, interaction and the like. Future research should address these differences and thus study to what extent the theoretical mechanisms elaborated and tested here travel across workplace contexts. Given that the size of the organization is important for many processes at work, it is reassuring that including it in our analyses did not greatly alter the findings. Nevertheless, more research is needed that includes more workplace characteristics, such as workplace hierarchy and competition, to study under which workplace conditions our findings hold.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the findings from this study underline the importance of considering the workplace, and especially the interethnic resources formed therein, as a vital context for the study of interethnic relations. Our findings have relevant practical implications. First and foremost, our findings do point to the workplace as a potential source of ethnic tolerance. If receiving countries wish to counter ethnic tensions, it seems vital to facilitate labour market participation for (newly arrived) immigrants. Moreover, employers can play a part by facilitating contact between employees, especially in ethnically diverse workplaces. A relevant question in this respect is which conditions facilitate the formation of interethnic resources at work as well. Given that access to social resources is built through cooperation and being able to rely on one another, building interethnic resources might be fostered through organizational policies that stimulate and reward teamwork and cooperation. Such could be done, for example, by stimulating migrant workers' membership in work councils. After all, as our findings indicate, when it comes to interethnic relations, much might be gained at work.

**Funding**

The authors disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article: This work was supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) [grant number 453-15-001].

**Declaration of Competing Interest**

None.

**Appendix A**

**Table A1**  
Mokken scale analysis on the items for 'support for immigrant entitlements' (N = 3800).

Item	Mean	Item H ( $H_i$ )
come and live in The Netherlands	0.62	0.77
vote in local elections	0.51	0.83
vote in national elections	0.48	0.84
present as a candidate for elections	0.47	0.85
claim the same worker rights' as natives	0.66	0.86
claim welfare state benefits	0.52	0.77
Scale $H = 0.82$ ; $H_{ij} \geq 0,77$		

**Table A2**  
Interethnic resources at work by workplace interethnic contact, frequency and column percentages (N = 3800).

	Issue at work	Discuss politics	Borrow 100 Euros	Purchase groceries when sick	Help with transport
No contact	29	32	17	21	27
	3%	4%	3%	5%	4%
Less than once a year	28	30	19	13	23
	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%

(continued on next page)

**Table A3**  
Correlation Matrix (N = 3800).

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
(1) Immigrant entitlements	-																
(2) Diversity: almost none	<b>0.04</b>	-															
(3) Diversity: Abt. 1/4	-0.02	<b>-0.94</b>	-														
(4) Diversity: Abt. half	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>-0.20</b>	<b>-0.09</b>	-													
(5) Diversity: Abt. ¾ or more	-0.02	<b>-0.12</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	-0.01	-												
(6) Workplace Interethnic contact	<b>0.05</b>	<b>-0.24</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.04</b>	-											
(7) Workplace interethnic resources	<b>0.20</b>	<b>-0.13</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.33</b>	-										
(8) Sex (female=ref.)	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	-0.01	-0.01	<b>0.04</b>	0.02	-									
(9) Age (logged)	0.02	0.00	0.01	<b>-0.04</b>	-0.00	<b>0.03</b>	-0.02	<b>0.08</b>	-								
(10) Educational level: lower	<b>-0.15</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.04</b>	0.02	<b>-0.09</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	-							
(11) Educational level: middle	<b>-0.17</b>	<b>-0.11</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.04</b>	0.03	<b>0.03</b>	-0.02	0.01	0.01	<b>-0.29</b>	-						
(12) Educational level: higher	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>-0.11</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	0.01	<b>-0.27</b>	<b>-0.84</b>	-					
(13) EGP: higher professionals	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	-0.02	0.01	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>-0.13</b>	<b>-0.20</b>	<b>0.27</b>	-				
(14) EGP: lower professionals	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	-0.01	0.00	<b>0.06</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>-0.14</b>	<b>-0.13</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>-0.36</b>	-			
(15) EGP: routine non-manual	-0.02	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>0.03</b>	0.01	-0.00	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.28</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	-0.01	<b>0.18</b>	<b>-0.17</b>	<b>-0.30</b>	<b>-0.41</b>	-		
(16) EGP: self-employed/farmers	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.00	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	<b>0.04</b>	0.03	<b>0.04</b>	0.01	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	-	
(17) EGP: workers	<b>-0.16</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	<b>0.30</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>-0.33</b>	<b>-0.26</b>	<b>-0.34</b>	<b>-0.29</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	-
(18) Working hours	0.02	<b>0.03</b>	-0.02	-0.01	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.23</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.23</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>-0.26</b>	<b>-0.01</b>	<b>-0.04</b>
(19) Size: < 11 employees	<b>-0.04</b>	-0.02	-0.02	<b>0.12</b>	-0.01	<b>0.03</b>	0.02	-0.02	<b>-0.12</b>	<b>0.07</b>	-0.00	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	-0.02	0.02	<b>0.10</b>	-0.01
(20) Size: 11-25 employees	-0.01	<b>0.03</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	-0.02	0.02	<b>0.05</b>	0.02	-0.01	<b>-0.10</b>	<b>0.03</b>	0.02	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	0.00	-0.00	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.04</b>
(21) Size: 26-50 employees	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	-0.01	0.02	<b>0.07</b>	0.02	0.02	<b>-0.12</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	-0.02	0.02	0.02	<b>0.04</b>
(22) Size: 51-100 employees	-0.01	<b>0.08</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.01	<b>0.03</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>0.04</b>	0.02	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	-0.01	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.06</b>
(23) Size: 101-250 employees	0.02	<b>0.07</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	-0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01
(24) Size: 251-500 employees	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	<b>0.03</b>	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	<b>-0.04</b>	0.03	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>0.03</b>	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	<b>0.03</b>	-0.01	<b>-0.03</b>
(25) Size: 500 + employees	<b>0.03</b>	<b>-0.14</b>	<b>0.15</b>	-0.03	-0.00	<b>-0.05</b>	-0.01	-0.00	<b>0.14</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.09</b>	0.01	-0.03	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.06</b>
(26) Interethnic contact outside work	<b>0.04</b>	<b>-0.11</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.20</b>	<b>0.14</b>	0.01	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>0.04</b>	0.00	-0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01
(27) Interethnic resources outside work	<b>0.17</b>	<b>-0.10</b>	<b>0.09</b>	0.01	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.44</b>	-0.01	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	-0.01	<b>0.04</b>	0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.01	<b>-0.03</b>

NB: Bold figures indicate significant correlations ( $p < 0.05$ )

(Continued: Correlation Matrix (N = 3800))

Variables	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
(1) Immigrant entitlements										
(2) Diversity: almost none										
(3) Diversity: Abt. 1/4										
(4) Diversity: Abt. half										
(5) Diversity: Abt. ¾ or more										
(6) Workplace Interethnic contact										
(7) Workplace interethnic resources										
(8) Sex (female=ref.)										
(9) Age (logged)										
(10) Educational level: lower										
(11) Educational level: middle										
(12) Educational level: higher										
(13) EGP: higher professionals										
(14) EGP: lower professionals										
(15) EGP: routine non-manual										
(16) EGP: self-employed/farmers										
(17) EGP: workers										

(continued on next page)

Table A3 (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
(18) Working hours					-												
(19) Size: < 11 employees					<b>-0.11</b>	-											
(20) Size: 11-25 employees					<b>-0.07</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	-										
(21) Size: 26-50 employees					<b>-0.03</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	-									
(22) Size: 51-100 employees					-0.02	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.08</b>		-							
(23) Size: 101-250 employees					0.01	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	<b>-0.11</b>		<b>-0.12</b>	-						
(24) Size: 251-500 employees					-0.01	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	<b>-0.11</b>		<b>-0.13</b>	<b>-0.16</b>	-					
(25) Size: 500 + employees					<b>0.08</b>	<b>-0.15</b>	<b>-0.20</b>	<b>-0.27</b>		<b>-0.31</b>	<b>-0.41</b>	<b>-0.41</b>		-			
(26) Interethnic contact outside work					-0.00	<b>0.03</b>	0.01	0.02		-0.02	0.01	-0.01		-0.02	-		
(27) Interethnic resources outside work					0.01	0.02	0.03	0.01		-0.01	-0.03	0.01		-0.01	<b>0.31</b>	-	

NB: Bold figures indicate significant correlations ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Table A2 (continued)

	Issue at work	Discuss politics	Borrow 100 Euros	Purchase groceries when sick	Help with transport
Once or several times a year	57 6%	63 7%	30 6%	31 7%	60 8%
Monthly	80 9%	80 9%	52 10%	47 10%	62 8%
Weekly	207 23%	210 23%	110 21%	96 21%	178 23%
(Almost) Daily	493 55%	502 55%	285 56%	257 55%	420 55%

## Appendix B. Robustness checks

Table B1

OLS Regression models, only respondents without interethnic contact and interethnic resources outside work (b-coefficients shown, N = 2128).

	Workplace interethnic contact		Workplace interethnic resources		Immigrant entitlements	
Ethnic diversity						
Almost none						
About a quarter	46.38***	(4.38)	0.34***	(0.06)	-0.15	(0.13)
About half	54.75***	(16.02)	0.23	(0.24)	-0.95*	(0.46)
About three quarters or more	38.97	(30.08)	0.043	(0.44)	-0.56	(0.87)
Workplace interethnic contact					0.00	
Workplace interethnic resources					0.24***	
<b>Control variables</b>						
Sex (female=ref.)	-6.06	(4.24)	-0.02	(0.062)	-0.16	(0.12)
Age (logged)	3.57	(3.26)	-0.05	(0.048)	-0.01	(0.09)
Educational level						
lower						
middle	0.09	(7.05)	0.35***	(0.10)	0.55**	(0.20)
higher	1.86	(7.62)	0.49***	(0.11)	1.51***	(0.22)
EGP Occupational classes						
higher professionals						
lower professionals	-2.77	(5.25)	0.05	(0.08)	-0.08	(0.15)
routine nonmanual	-1.04	(5.98)	-0.06	(0.09)	-0.08	(0.17)
self-employed/farmers	-23.76	(16.28)	-0.39	(0.24)	-0.69	(0.47)
workers	4.89	(6.50)	-0.062	(0.09)	-0.57**	(0.19)
Working hours	1.67***	(0.23)	0.01**	(0.00)	0.00	(0.01)
Size of organization						
less than 11 employees						
10-25 employees	6.40	(17.95)	-0.06	(0.26)	0.51	(0.52)
26-50 employees	-3.35	(16.50)	-0.19	(0.24)	0.24	(0.48)
51-100 employees	-20.48	(16.27)	-0.23	(0.24)	0.42	(0.47)
101-250 employees	-32.01*	(15.90)	-0.28	(0.23)	0.59	(0.46)
251-500 employees	-32.93*	(15.80)	-0.36	(0.23)	0.31	(0.46)
500 + employees	-37.45*	(15.35)	-0.35	(0.23)	0.52	(0.44)
Intercept	21.03	(19.43)	0.35	(0.29)	1.72**	(0.56)
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.08		0.03		0.09	

NB: Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , two-tailed test.

Table B2

OLS Regression models, only respondents with interethnic contact and/or interethnic resources outside work (b-coefficients shown, N = 1672).

	Workplace interethnic contact		Workplace interethnic resources		Immigrant entitlements	
Ethnic diversity						
Almost none						
About a quarter	44.42***	(4.76)	0.47***	(0.091)	-0.18	(0.13)
About half	56.19***	(14.39)	0.75**	(0.28)	-0.56	(0.38)
About three quarters or more	63.02**	(22.42)	1.49***	(0.43)	-0.85	(0.59)
Workplace interethnic contact					0.00	
Workplace interethnic resources					0.31***	

(continued on next page)

Table B2 (continued)

	Workplace interethnic contact		Workplace interethnic resources		Immigrant entitlements	
<b>Control variables</b>						
Sex (female=ref.)	-4.95	(4.96)	0.01	(0.09)	-0.24	(0.13)
Age (logged)	6.98*	(3.47)	-0.04	(0.07)	0.14	(0.092)
Educational level						
lower						
middle	-0.82	(8.43)	0.53**	(0.16)	0.40	(0.22)
higher	-11.48	(9.03)	0.67***	(0.17)	1.36***	(0.24)
EGP Occupational classes						
higher professionals						
lower professionals	3.29	(6.15)	0.07	(0.12)	-0.22	(0.16)
routine nonmanual	-0.60	(7.12)	-0.17	(0.14)	-0.18	(0.19)
self-employed/farmers	-11.16	(22.95)	0.17	(0.44)	0.62	(0.61)
workers	1.51	(7.69)	-0.13	(0.15)	-0.39	(0.20)
Working hours	1.78***	(0.26)	0.02***	(0.00)	-0.013	(0.01)
Size of organization						
less than 11 employees	-3.31	(17.12)	0.02	(0.33)	0.71	(0.45)
10-25 employees	9.48	(15.98)	0.16	(0.31)	0.67	(0.42)
26-50 employees	-22.95	(15.45)	0.06	(0.30)	0.75	(0.41)
51-100 employees	-17.50	(14.84)	-0.28	(0.28)	0.80*	(0.39)
101-250 employees	-34.09*	(14.93)	-0.24	(0.29)	0.88*	(0.39)
251-500 employees	-37.65**	(14.12)	-0.27	(0.27)	0.80*	(0.37)
500 + employees						
Intercept	33.79	(19.44)	0.43	(0.37)	1.97***	(0.51)
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.10		0.04		0.11	

NB: Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , two-tailed test.

## References

- Akkerman, A., Manevska, K., Sluiter, R., & Stanojevic, A. (2017). *Work and Politics Panel Survey 2017*. Nijmegen: Radboud University.
- Allport, G. W. (1979). [1954] *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brouwer, M. A., & Boros, S. (2010). The influence of intergroup contact and ethnocultural empathy on employees' attitudes toward diversity. *Cognition, Brain, Behavior, 14*(3), 243–260.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology, 94*, S95–S120. <https://doi.org/10.1086/228943>.
- Constant, A. F. (2011). Sizing it Up: Labor Migration Lessons of the EU Enlargement to 27. IZA Discussion Paper No. 6119. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1965136>.
- Côté, R. R., & Erickson, B. H. (2009). Untangling the roots of tolerance. How forms of social capital shape attitudes toward ethnic minorities and immigrants. *American Behavioral Scientist, 52*(12), 1664–1689. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764209331532>
- Darr, A. (2018). Palestinian Arabs and Jews at work: Workplace encounters in a war-torn country and the grassroots strategy of 'split ascription'. *Work, Employment and Society, 32*(5), 831–849. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017017711141>
- De Souza Briggs, X. (2007). Some of my best friends are...": Interracial friendships, class, and segregation in America. *City & Community, 6*(4), 263–290. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2007.00228.x>
- Dixon, J. C. (2006). The ties that bind and those that don't: Toward reconciling group threat and contact theories of prejudice. *Social Forces, 84*(4), 2179–2204. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2006.0085>
- Eisnecker, P. S. (2019). Non-migrants' interethnic relationships with migrants: the role of the residential area, the workplace, and attitudes toward migrants from a longitudinal perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 45*(5), 804–824. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1394180>
- Escandell, X., & Ceobanu, A. M. (2009). When contact with immigrants matters: threat, interethnic attitudes and foreigner exclusionism in Spain's Comunidades Autónomas. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 32*(1), 44–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701846924>
- Estlund, C. (2005). Working together: Crossing color lines at work. *Labor History, 46*(1), 79–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0023656042000329882>
- Field, A. (2013). *Discovering Statistics Using IBM SPSS Statistics*. London: Sage.
- Freitag, M., & Rapp, C. (2013). Intolerance toward immigrants in Switzerland: Diminished threat through social contacts? *Swiss Political Science Review, 19*(4), 425–446. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12049>
- Freitag, M., & Kijewski, S. (2017). Negative experiences and out-group trust: The formation of natives' trust toward immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 59*, 9–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.04.011>
- Goldschmidt T., Hällsten M. and Rydgren J. 2017 Are they hunkering down? Revisiting the relationship between exposure to ethnic diversity, intergroup contact, and group trust. Working paper series, Department of Sociology, Stockholm University.
- Gundelach, B., & Traunmüller, R. (2014). Beyond generalised trust: Norms of reciprocity as an alternative form of social capital in an assimilationist integration regime. *Political Studies, 62*(3), 596–617. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12064>
- Harris, C., & Valentine, G. (2016). Encountering difference in the workplace: Superficial contact, underlying tensions and group rights. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische Eno'sis Sociale Geografie, 107*(5), 582–595. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12197>
- Helliwell, J. F., & Huang, H. (2010). How's the job? Well-being and social capital in the workplace. *ILR Review, 63*(2), 205–227. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001979391006300202>
- Herda, D. (2010). How many immigrants? Foreign-born population innumeracy in Europe. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 74*(4), 674–695. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfq013>
- Hilhorst M. 2017 VICI-project 'Een ontevreden werknemer, een ontevreden burger?' Verantwoording dataverzameling wave 1 (projectnummer H2725). Kantar Public.
- Jackman, M. R. (1977). Prejudice, tolerance, and attitudes toward ethnic groups. *Social Science Research, 6*(2), 145–169.

- Klein, G., Shtudiner, Z., Kantor, J., Molloy, B., & Lavie, C. (2019). Contact theory in the workplace: The case of Jewish-Arab contact in Israel. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 29(2), 146–164. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2391>
- Kokkonen, A., Esaiasson, P., & Gilljam, M. (2014). Migration-based ethnic diversity and social trust: A multilevel analysis of how country, neighbourhood and workplace diversity affects social trust in 22 countries. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 37(3), 263–300. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9477.12027>
- Kokkonen, A., Esaiasson, P., & Gilljam, M. (2015). Diverse workplaces and interethnic friendship formation—A multilevel comparison across 21 OECD countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(2), 284–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.902300>
- Kootstra, A. (2016). Deserving and undeserving welfare claimants in Britain and the Netherlands: Examining the role of ethnicity and migration status using a vignette experiment. *European Sociological Review*, 32(3), 325–338. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcw010>
- Kros, M., & Hewstone, M. (2020). Negative and positive interethnic contact and the association of ethnic neighbourhood composition with trust, cohesion, and prejudice. *European Sociological Review*, 36(6), 937–956. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcaa032>
- Laurence, J., Schmid, K., & Hewstone, M. (2018). Ethnic diversity, inter-group attitudes and countervailing pathways of positive and negative inter-group contact: An analysis across workplaces and neighbourhoods. *Social Indicators Research*, 136(2), 719–749. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-017-1570-z>
- León, F. J. (2012). Reciprocity and public support for the redistributive role of the state. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(2), 198–215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928711433657>
- Manevska, K., Achterberg, P., & Houtman, D. (2018). Why there is less supportive evidence for contact theory than they say there is: A quantitative cultural–sociological critique. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, 6, 296–321.
- Manevska, K., Sluiter, R., & Akkerman, A. (2022). A world to win at work? An integrated approach to meaningful interethnic contact. In *Handbook on Migration and Welfare* (pp. 382–404). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Manevska, K. (2014). *Beyond the ethnic divide. Toward a cultural-sociological understanding of ethnocentrism*. Doctoral dissertation, Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Martin, P. (1997). Guest worker policies for the twenty-first century. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 23(4), 483–494.
- McClurg, S. D. (2003). Social networks and political participation: The role of social interaction in explaining political participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(4), 449–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591290305600407>
- McLaren, L. M. (2003). Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Social Forces*, 81(3), 909–936. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2003.0038>
- McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 415–444. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415>
- Mokken, R. J. (1971). *A Theory and Procedure of Scale Analysis with Applications in Political Research*. New York: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110813203>
- Mutz, D. C., & Mondak, J. J. (2006). The workplace as a context for cross-cutting political discourse. *The Journal of Politics*, 68(1), 140–155. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00376.x>
- Novak, J. A., & Rogan, P. M. (2010). Social integration in employment settings: Application of intergroup contact theory. *Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities*, 48(1), 31–51. <https://doi.org/10.1352/1934-9556-48.1.31>
- Oerlemans, W. G., Peeters, M. C., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2008). Ethnic diversity at work: An overview of theories and research. In K. Näswall, J. Hellgren, & M. Sverke (Eds.), *The individual in the changing working life* (pp. 211–232). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511490064.011>
- Onyx, J., & Bullen, P. (2000). Measuring social capital in five communities. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 36(1), 23–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021886300361002>
- Ostrom, E. (2003). Toward a behavioral theory linking, trust, reciprocity, and reputation. In E. Ostrom, & J. Walker (Eds.), *Trust and Reciprocity: Interdisciplinary Lessons for Experimental Research* (pp. 19–79). Russell Sage Foundation.
- Pagotto, L., Voci, A., & Maculan, V. (2010). The effectiveness of intergroup contact at work: Mediators and moderators of hospital workers' prejudice towards immigrants. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 20(4), 317–330. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.1038>
- Paolini, S., Harwood, J., Hewstone, M., & Neumann, D. L. (2018). Seeking and avoiding intergroup contact: Future frontiers of research on building social integration. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 12(12), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12422>
- Petersen, M. B., Slothuus, R., Stubager, R., & Togeby, L. (2011). Deservingness versus values in public opinion on welfare: The automaticity of the deservingness heuristic. *European Journal of Political Research*, 50(1), 24–52. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2010.01923.x>
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751–783. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic test of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38, 922–934. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.504>
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2011). *When Groups Meet. The Dynamics of Intergroup Contact*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Pickering, P. M. (2006). Generating social capital for bridging ethnic divisions in the Balkans: Case studies of two Bosnian cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(1), 79–103. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870500352397>
- Piekut, A., & Valentine, G. (2017). Spaces of encounter and attitudes towards difference: A comparative study of two European cities. *Social Science Research*, 62, 175–188. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2016.08.005>
- Podolny, J. M., & Baron, J. N. (1997). Resources and relationships: Social networks and mobility in the workplace. *American Sociological Review*, 62(5), 673–693. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657354>
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. *New York: Simon and Schuster*. <https://doi.org/10.1145/358916.361990>
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), 137–174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x>
- Reeskens, T., & Van der Meer, T. (2019). The inevitable deservingness gap: A study into the insurmountable immigrant penalty in perceived welfare deservingness. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 29(2), 166–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928718768335>
- Rydgren, J., & Sofi, D. (2011). Interethnic relations in Northern Iraq: Brokerage, social capital and the potential for reconciliation. *International Sociology*, 26(1), 25–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580910380981>
- Rydgren, J., Sofi, D., & Hällsten, M. (2013). Interethnic friendship, trust, and tolerance: Findings from two north Iraqi cities. *American Journal of Sociology*, 118(6), 1650–1694. <https://doi.org/10.1086/669854>
- Schaafsma, J. (2008). Interethnic relations at work: Examining ethnic minority and majority members' experiences in The Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32(5), 453–465. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.06.004>
- Sønderskov, K. M., & Thomsen, J. P. F. (2015). Contextualizing intergroup contact: Do political party cues enhance contact effects? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 78(1), 49–76. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272514560761>
- Stanojevic, A., Akkerman, A., & Manevska, K. (2022). Be careful how you treat your coworkers: The reciprocal relationship between ethnic outgroup coworkers' reactions to voice and ethnic majority employees' attitudes regarding immigrant entitlements. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 44(3-6), 109–126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2022.2147433>
- Thomsen, J. P. F. (2012). How does intergroup contact generate ethnic tolerance? The contact hypothesis in a Scandinavian context. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 35(2), 159–178. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2011.00282.x>
- Tolsma, J., & Van der Meer, T. W. G. (2018). Trust and contact in diverse neighbourhoods: An interplay of four ethnicity effects. *Social Science Research*, 73, 92–106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.04.003>
- Van Assche, J., Roets, A., Dhont, K., & Van Hiel, A. (2016). The association between actual and perceived ethnic diversity: The moderating role of authoritarianism and implications for outgroup threat, anxiety, and mistrust. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 46(7), 807–817. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2211>
- Van Der Gaag, M., & Snijders, T. A. (2005). The Resource Generator: Social capital quantification with concrete items. *Social Networks*, 27(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2004.10.001>



- Van der Meer, T., & Tolsma, J. (2014). Ethnic diversity and its effects on social cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40(1), 459–478. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043309>
- Van Oorschot, W., & Roosma, F. (2017). The social legitimacy of targeted welfare and welfare deservingness. In W. Van Oorschot, F. Roosma, B. Meuleman, & T. Reeskens (Eds.), *The Social Legitimacy of Targeted Welfare* (pp. 3–36). Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785367212>.
- Van Oorschot, W. J. H. (2008). Solidarity towards immigrants in European welfare states. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 17(1), 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2007.00487.x>