

Social Interaction with Natives and Ethnic Identification:

A Study of Minority Groups in the Netherlands



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Datum:

21 juni 2013

Scriptiebegeleidster

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the influence of social interaction with natives on the ethnic self-identification of the four largest migrant groups in the Netherlands. Using data from the Survey Integration Minorities (SIM, 2006), we aim to explain the influence of social interaction with natives on the identification of minority groups with the Netherlands by taking into account the mechanisms of cultural and economic integration. The results show that social interaction with natives is positively related to identification with the Netherlands. Both cultural and economic integration explained a significant part of this relation. In almost all models the positive effects were lowest for the Turkish group and highest for the Surinamese group.

1. Introduction

In Dutch politics, debates about the integration of minority groups have been going on for many years. Since the 1960's growing migration flows have had great impact on Dutch society (WRR, 2007; KNAW, 2011). In this period Dutch government recruited low-educated migrants from Mediterranean area's in the world to temporarily satisfy the demand for uneducated and low-educated workers in Dutch industries. However, in 1989 the WRR concluded that the perspectives on integration that prevailed up until then should be refined because it had become clear that migration was a lasting phenomenon (WRR, 1989).

Nowadays, according to the Annual Report of Integration (CBS, 2012), the size of the four largest non-western minority groups in the Netherlands (Turks, Moroccans, Surnames, and Antilleans) is still increasing. This growth of minority groups subsequently entails new identities and greater diversity in lifestyles, attitudes, norms and values. Some argue that this development creates friction within Dutch society, puts pressure on the Dutch identity and it reduces cohesion. Therefore, this process is sometimes referred to as an 'individualization process' (WRR, 2007) or a 'clash of civilizations' (KNAW, 2011).

Especially the role of Dutch identity as part of the integration debate has become a prominent topic of discussion as more and stronger identification with the Netherlands would provide more cohesion in society (WRR, 2007). Figures from CBS in 2006 showed how the majority of the Turkish and Moroccan minority groups in the Netherlands still identify themselves more strongly with their country of origin than with the Netherlands. To get a better understanding of this aspect of Dutch integration it is important to determine how ethnic identity is created.

In the past, ethnic identity was often determined statically by referring to the nationality defined in one's passport (Constant, Gataullina, & Zimmermann, 2007). However, in a multicultural society like the Netherlands nowadays, exchange of different cultures between groups take place.



This intermingling of cultures is often confusing and puts the classical concept of Dutch citizenship under pressure (KNAW, 2011). Hence, it has become important to consider a more dynamic way of determining ethnic identity by taking into account how migrants identify themselves. Self-identification is more dynamic than the original definition of ethnic identity in the way that it reflects on migrants' inner feelings of belonging, commitment and attitudes towards the culture and society of origin and towards the ones of the host-society (Constant, Gataullina, & Zimmermann, 2007). These feelings can change over time.

Therefore, this thesis will investigate the influence of social interaction with natives on the ethnic self-identification of migrants with the Netherlands. Previous studies on the subject of social contact already proved that more interethnic contact between minority and majority groups has a positive effect on ethnic integration and intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Thijs and Verkuyten, 2012). Social Identity Theory (SIT) of Tajfel and Turner (1986) added to these findings by theorizing that individuals self-concept (or identity) is derived from perceived internalized group membership within a social context. In this way, the link between interethnic contact and migrants' identification with the majority group would be plausible.

However, it will be argued that interaction with natives is not the only way in which identification of migrants with the majority group takes place. For example, Acculturation Theory claims that more interethnic contact between migrants and the host-society enhances cultural exchange between groups (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Migrants will take over certain cultural aspects of the majority group and therefore identify themselves more strongly with the host-society. Hence, it is relevant to investigate the mechanism of cultural integration through which social interaction with natives influences identification with the Netherlands among migrants. Cultural integration can be described as attitudes and orientations of minority groups in regard to those of the majority group and it also refers to the adaption to the habits, norms and values of the majority group in a given society (Dagevos, 2001). This can be linked to the SIT when explaining that a perceived group membership can cause individuals to think, feel or act in accordance with that group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner & Oakes, 1986). In that way, people of minority groups are able to feel more part of the majority group through cultural integration.

Another possible mediating mechanism between social interaction and identification with the Netherlands that will be investigated in this thesis is economic integration. Economic integration can be defined as the extent to which minority groups differ from the majority group in terms of labor participation, and income (Dagevos, 2001). The more a minority group approaches proportionately even levels of labor participation and income as the majority group, the more a minority group is economically integrated. The question how social interaction can lead to economic integration can be answered by the Social Capital Theory (SCT) (Loury, 1992; Ackomak, 2011). People



of minority groups who maintain more contacts with natives are more likely to collect new information for the acquirement of for instance a new job and they will be more likely to attain a positive outcome. In this way, economic integration can also lead to more identification with the Netherlands in the sense that minority groups can attain a more positive identity by having a job (obtained by interaction with natives) and thus will identify more with the Netherlands.

Therefore, in response to the theoretical, public and political debate described above, this thesis will further investigate the influence of social interaction with natives on the ethnic self-identification with the Netherlands of the largest migrant groups in the Netherlands. To investigate this phenomenon the main question of this thesis is:

What is the effect of social interaction with natives on the identification with the Netherlands of the largest migrant groups in the Netherlands and how can this be explained?

To form an adequate answer to this main question, the following questions will be answered first:

- 1. To what extent does social interaction with natives influence the self-identification of migrants with the Netherlands?*
- 2. To what extent does social interaction with natives influence the degree of cultural integration of migrants in the Netherlands?*
- 3. To what extent does social interaction with natives influence the degree of economic integration of migrants in the Netherlands?*

By answering the main question this thesis will contribute to the political and public debate in various ways. This is important because in cultural and economic regard the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands are still not proportionately equal in comparison to Dutch natives. Especially the Turk and Moroccan minority groups are falling behind in these respects (CBS, 2012). For example, of the four biggest migrant groups in the Netherlands the employment rate is lowest among the Turkish and Moroccan minority groups (50% and 54 %), against an employment rate of 62% among Surinamese and 60% among Antilleans. Also, when taking into account interethnic contacts between the minority groups and native Dutch people the Turk and Moroccan minority groups most contacts within their own group (66% and 54%) against 31 percent among the Antillean and Surinamese groups (CBS, 2006). Lastly, statistics of CBS (2012) shows that people from the Turkish and Moroccan minority mainly identify with their own ethnic group instead of the Dutch (74% and 62%). Among the people of the Antillean group about 36% feels more Antillean than Dutch. People from the Surinamese minority group are the only one who identify more strongly with the



Dutch native group than with their own group. From the foregoing it is clear that the economic position of the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands is still not in equal proportion to the position of the native Dutch group and the socio-cultural position of the minority groups is still not at a satisfying level. These effects especially apply to the Turkish and Moroccan groups and to a lesser extent to the Antillean and Surinamese groups.

If it turns out that interaction with natives is related to identification with the Netherlands via cultural and economic integration this would offer perspective for adjusting the integration policy and initiatives in the Netherlands to improve upon the Dutch integration process. Eventually this could lead to stronger identification with the Netherlands among the four biggest migrant groups in the Netherlands and result in a more cohesive Dutch society. The results of this research could also point out that interaction with natives does not explain identification with the Netherlands. In that case more research should be done on how ethnic identities are created in Dutch society and in what way minority groups can be included in this identity to create unity and cohesion.

Furthermore, this research is valuable from a scientific point of view because more research is necessary on *why* interethnic contact specifically would lead to a stronger identification with the host country. Former research only investigated separately the effects of economic and cultural integration on ethnic identification and the effect of interethnic contact on ethnic identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; WRR, 2007; Allport, 1954; Thijs and Verkuyten, 2012). Scientific literature has not yet combined all these variables into one conceptual model towards ethnic self-identification of minority groups in the Netherlands. Therefore, this research aims at adding extra knowledge to the current literature on interethnic contact and ethnic identification by clarifying the underlying mechanism of this process.



2. Theory

In this section, the relations between social interaction, cultural and economic integration and ethnic self-identification will be theoretically underpinned. Also, the hypotheses resulting from these theoretical relations will be stated and incorporated in a theoretical model.

2.1 Social Identity Theory and ethnic identification

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) is a theory about identification processes that emphasizes the role of social contexts. The theory was originally developed in the wake of the second world war to understand intergroup discrimination of minority groups who find themselves in a subordinate position. Tajfel et. al. (1971; 1970) attempted to investigate the minimal conditions that would lead members of one group to discriminate in favour of the ingroup to which they belonged and against another out-group. Tajfel et al (1986) theorized that people use social categorisation to make sense of the world around them because the world contains too much information to understand all at once. Therefore people categorise themselves and other people into social categories, where they highlight the differences between groups and perceive more homogeneity among out-group members than among ingroup members. The theory further proposes that people want to distil a positive self-esteem from the group which they belong to. To achieve this positive self-esteem, people will tend to evaluate their own group more positively than other groups. However, this tendency does not imply that other groups are automatically evaluated as more negative.

In SIT, the process of identification establishes a link between the personal or individual level of identification and a group level of identification (Turner & Oakes, 1986). It is described that people can have multiple individual identities that correspond to various group identifications. These group identifications or 'social identities' refer to the phenomenon where a perceived group membership can cause individuals to think, feel or act in accordance with that group. In that case, group characteristics are becoming personal characteristics and the acts of group members are implicated as one's own actions. As a consequence, people make group comparisons in favour of their ingroup in pursuit of gaining a positive social identity and gaining self-esteem as a result of this group membership (Lemyre & Smith, 1985). Here it is already apparent that SIT is concerned with how group identification works and the relationship it has with the perceived attitude towards the ingroup and the out-group. However, since people can have multiple social identities, these group identifications can either go hand in hand or conflict with each other in varying degrees (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).



The SIT also stresses that processes of identification depend on societal factors like stability, legitimacy of status differences and the permeability of group boundaries which include things as discrimination and exclusion. Stability of group attitudes and positions refers to the opportunity which people have to change the status position of their own group and the feasibility of this change. When this prospect for change is seen as unfeasible the minority group will be dependent on their own group for the formation of a positive social identity. These people will interact more intensely with each other, and have a stronger group identification as a result. This is due to the fact that people in these groups are, as Verkuyten (2006) puts it, 'condemned' to their own group.

A second contextual factor is the legitimacy of status differences. This refers to the degree to which people find that the existing status differences between the different groups are accepted and seen as righteous. Group identification in this respect will be fortified when the differences between groups are perceived as unjust. However, when the group differences are seen as legitimate the group identification of minority groups will be less strong (Verkuyten 2006, Taifel et al 1986).

The third and last contextual factor is that of permeability, which is perhaps the most relevant for our research. Permeability of group boundaries can be seen as the degree to which the situation permits people to change groups. When people within their respective minority groups perceive the option of entering the majority group as attainable, the group identification will be less strong because there is a realistic option of gaining a positive identity in another group. When this option is seen as unrealistic and the boundaries of the majority group are perceived as closed, then group identification will be higher because there is no real option of gaining a positive social identity in the majority group (Verkuyten, 2006). An important note to add is that besides the described contextual factors there have been many studies on what discrimination does to the social identification of people. These studies allowed the development of the 'rejection-identification model' which, in short, implies that perceived discrimination in terms of a group characteristic such as ethnicity leads people to identify themselves more in terms of that characteristic (Rubin & Hewstone, 2004 in Verkuyten, 2006).

As described above, SIT emphasizes that processes of group identifications have to be explained through the social contexts they are embedded in. Also, the importance of social interaction when looking at interethnic relationships has been argued before (Allport, 1954; Thijs and Verkuyten, 2012). Therefore the first hypothesis is:



- 1) *People from the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands who maintain more social interaction with native Dutch people are more likely to identify themselves in terms of the national identity of the Dutch majority group.*

However, this does not explain why, and under what circumstances people either have a stronger or weaker identification with their ethnic group. In this respect, several authors have stressed the importance of the economic and cultural aspects within SIT (Weijters & Scheepers, 2003; Verkuyten, 2006). Therefore, in the following part the SIT will be linked to cultural and economic integration of minority groups in the Netherlands and how this affects ethnic identification processes.

2.2 Cultural integration

In the latter section it was theoretically substantiated how social interaction is expected to influence identification with the Netherlands using the SIT. Here, attention will be drawn to how this link is related to cultural integration. To explain the link between social interaction and identification with the Netherlands through cultural integration, the link has to be theoretically substantiated. To do so, the Acculturation Theory (AT) will be used for the link between interaction with natives and cultural integration. The link between cultural integration and identification with the Netherlands will be explained by the SIT.

Cultural integration can be described as cultural distance, or cultural orientation. This refers to attitudes and orientations of migrant groups and the extent to which migrant groups are adapted to the majority group in terms of habits, norms and values (Dagevos, 2001). Above, it was described by the SIT that social identities refer to the phenomenon of perceived group membership which can cause people to think, feel and act in accordance with that group. Hence, it would be the next step to think of groups as having certain norms and values. But, instead of taking a look at the degree to which people of minority groups integrate in their own minority groups and therefore adopt the leading norms and values their own group (Durkheim in Ultee, Arts & Flap, 2009), we will be taking a look at the number of relationships that minority group members hold with the majority group, and therefore will be more likely to take over the norms and values of the majority group.

This idea is based on the Acculturation Theory (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). This theory describes the adaptation of immigrants in a 'new' society. According to AT, acculturation is the adoption of certain elements of a foreign culture when different cultural groups are interacting over a prolonged period of time. Both groups will change and take over elements from each other. However, often the minority group will change the most toward the majority group because the biggest group in general has the most influence to impose their culture to the minority. So, the degree to which members of minority groups will have social interaction with people of the host country influences the extent to which they are culturally integrated (Weijters & Scheepers, 2003;



Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998).

People of minority groups who maintain a greater degree of social relationships with the majority group will more strongly adopt the norms and values of that group than members of minority groups who maintain a lower degree of social interaction with the majority group (Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). Through this cultural integration, people of minority groups are able to feel more part of the majority group as SIT describes that group characteristics will become personal characteristics. Therefore it is likely they will identify themselves more as a member of the majority group. This leads to the second hypothesis:

2) People of the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands who maintain more social contacts with native Dutch people are more likely to be culturally integrated and will therefore identify themselves more in terms of the national identity of the Dutch majority group.

2.3 Economical integration

To explain the link between social interaction and identification with the Netherlands through economic integration, the link has to be theoretically substantiated. To do so, the Social Capital Theory (SCT) will be used for the link between interaction with natives and economical integration. The link between economical integration and identification with the Netherlands will be explained by the SIT.

Economic integration can be described as the extent to which minority groups differ from the majority group in terms of labor participation, unemployment, and income. A minority group is more economically integrated when it equals a proportionate outline of the majority group in terms of labor participation, unemployment, and income (Dagevos, 2001). Like mentioned before, the socio-structural or status components of the SIT refer to three important components which are stability, legitimacy and permeability. Next to these three components the SIT emphasizes the importance of perceived discriminatory processes. People of minority groups are defined as being a minority group along the lines of ethnicity. According to SIT this will lead people to identify themselves more in terms of that one characteristic, which has all sorts of negative consequences such as the threat of losing their positive identity and a threat for their overall well being (Verkuyten, 2006). In this respect, people of minority groups can perceive that their group is being discriminated on, for example, the labor-market which will lead people to seek a positive social identity within their own minority group.

However, Social Capital Theory (SCT) may offer perspective in solving or preventing this pitfall. SCT was originally developed by Glenn Loury (1992), and while definitions of the theory are myriad, Akcomak (2011) has attempted to identify commonalities in each of the definitions given by various authors. Akcomak (2011) firstly distilled that social capital arises out of social networks and



secondly that a social network in itself is not the same as social capital. While social networks are a prerequisite in the formation of social capital, it is not a sufficient condition in itself. The actors in a network need to engage in (inter)actions in order to utilize the available resources in the network. Third, the actors in a network can invest in relations in order to pertain an expected outcome. Moreover they can calculate an outcome which may or may not unfold as planned. When an actor invests in certain relations it can enhance the information exchange. The fourth and final common factor is that social capital may have positive and negative effects. Positive effects include the acceleration of finding a job, status attainment and social control (Lin, 2001; Coleman, 1988).

As natives seem to know more about the Dutch system, the possibility for the acquirement of new information on the job market by people from minority groups is more likely when they have more interaction with natives. People of minority groups can also invest in the relationship with natives to enhance the quality of an expected outcome such as job attainment. Therefore, it can be argued that when people of minority groups have more social interaction with natives, it will be more likely that they are economically integrated because there is a network which can adequately function as a vessel for the facilitation of resources that can be employed.

As SIT describes, people of minority groups have the option to leave their own group and join another group if the other group is seen as to fulfill the need for a positive identity while the current group does not. When people of minority groups are more economically integrated, the perceived group boundaries will loosen. So when this strategy is applied to the Dutch case, this means that when people of minority groups are more economically integrated it will be more likely that they are permitted within the boundaries of Dutch national identity. From these theoretical explanations the following hypothesis has been derived:

3) *People of the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands who maintain more social contacts with native Dutch people are more likely to be economically integrated and will therefore identify themselves more in terms of the national identity of the Dutch majority group.*

2.5 Research Model

To summarize, there have been stated three hypothesis about the relationships that are shown in figure 2.1. It is expected that social interaction with natives will increase the identification with the Netherlands for minority group members in the Netherlands (H1). It is also expected that social interaction with natives will increase cultural integration of minority groups and thereby increases identification with the Netherlands (H2). And finally, it is expected that social interaction with natives will increase economic integration of minority groups and thereby increases the identification with the Netherlands for these groups (H3).

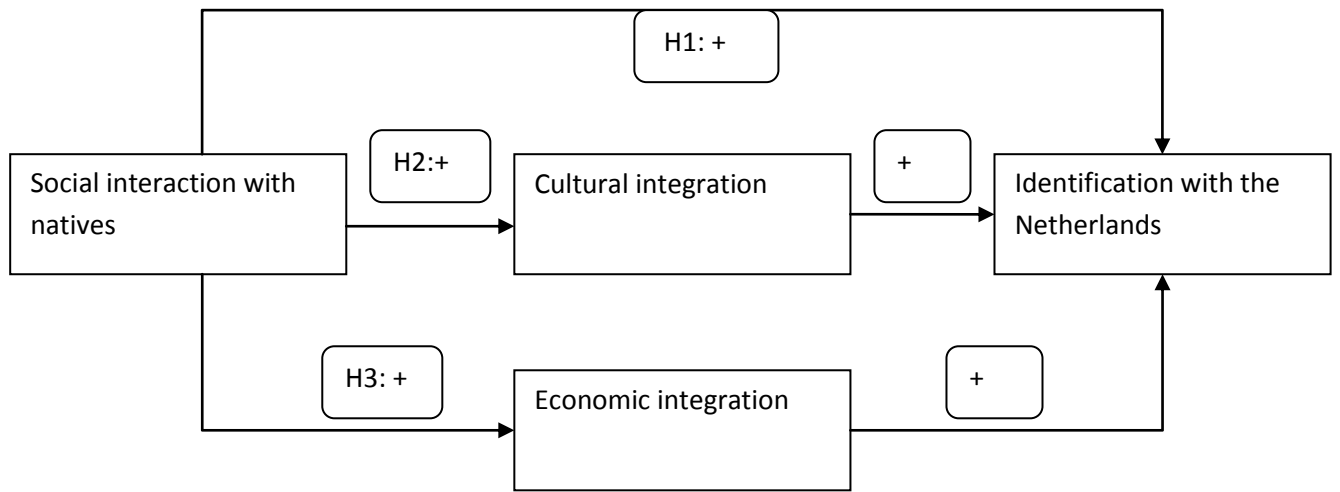


Figure 2.1: Theoretical model of social interaction, cultural integration- economical integration, identification.



3. Data and Methods

3.1 Data

The dataset that has been used to investigate the hypotheses is from the Survey Integration Minorities (SIM). The SIM is a follow-up of the SPVA (Social Position and Facilities of Minorities) cross-sectional research which have been conducted in 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002 and 2003 (SIM, 2006). The used survey was conducted in 2006 through face to face interviews with 5250 respondents. The SIM dataset provides information about leisure time activities, social contacts, the use of media, feelings of safety, health of the respondents and identification questions (SIM, 2006).

The dataset of SIM 2006 has been used for this investigation as it contained the most recent information that was available on ethnic identity and identification with the Netherlands. Also, the SIM 2006 contains information about social contacts between the minority groups and native Dutch people, cultural statements, education, employment and ethnic identification that are useful for this research. The SPVA researches, as precursor of the SIM 2006, were carried out in the thirteen biggest municipalities of the Netherlands and the samples were based on postal addresses. However, this has had implications for the generalizability of statements about the four biggest minority groups. Therefore, the research design of the SIM 2006 is slightly different from the SPVA because the sample is taken nationwide and participants were selected per person. The persons that were interviewed are 15 years or older and evenly distributed over the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and native Dutch groups. The determination to what ethnic group someone belongs is based on the birth country of a person and of the persons' parents. Based on a classification by size of municipalities it was calculated how many persons should be interviewed from a certain municipality to get a proportional representation, with a minimum of 10 persons. The interviews were taken in the period from March 2006 to December 2006. The questionnaires were taken by experienced and well trained interviewers. 178 interviewers were native Dutch, and 58 interviewers were from the minority groups. Especially the Turkish and Moroccan minority group respondents were interviewed by members from their own group because it was expected that these groups would have the most language difficulties, mainly among the first generation. The interviewers attempted at least four times to reach the respondent. In total, 5.250 persons have participated, which is 250 more than the aimed sample size. Hereby, the mean corrected response percentage is 53% (SIM, 2006).

In accordance with the hypotheses this section of the thesis is aimed towards explaining the measurement choices of the variables that were made before statistically analyzing them. This can have several implications for the interpretation of the outcomes of the analyses later on in the research. The most important dependent variable that can be distinguished in this research is



'identification with the Netherlands'. This variable was aimed to measure to which degree members of the Moroccan, Turkish, Antillean and Surinamese minority groups identify themselves as being Dutch. The question that was used to measure this variable in the SIM dataset is: 'Do you feel more (land of origin) or Dutch?'. This question was measured on a 6 point scale where 1 means I feel completely (land of origin) and 5 means I feel completely Dutch. Here, 9 is the default inapplicable option which was left out of the analysis. The problem with leaving people in the analysis who either do not know what to answer or to whom the answers are inapplicable is that they carry a non-interpretive value. All natives are excluded from this variable because they logically all have a missing value. The question whether natives have contacts with natives is not relevant for this study and is not included in the SIM.

The variable *'social interaction with natives'* is treated as the independent variable in all hypotheses. Specifically this variable is comprised of a question in the SIM about the frequency of relationships that people of the four biggest minority groups have with indigenous people within their close network. The four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands are Moroccans, Turks, Antilleans and Surinamese (CBS, 2013) and due to the character of the analysis these groups are all individually added as control variables. The dataset includes a question which asks people to identify their degree of contact with friends and acquaintances. This question can be answered on an ordinal scale with 1 being never or less than a year, 5 being every day and 9 being the inapplicability option. The latter option has a low response $N = 23$. Because this option has a low power on the results it is used and coded into the mean so that every non-response resembles the mean contact with natives. All natives are excluded from this variable because they logically all have a missing value. The question whether natives have contacts with natives is not relevant for this study and is not included in the SIM.

In the analyses *'cultural integration'* is used as a mediating variable, as proposed in hypothesis 2. This variable was aimed to measure attitudes and orientations of migrant groups and the extent to which migrant groups are adapted to the majority group in terms of habits, norms and values. This variable is constructed by seven statements and opinions distilled from the SIM about societal matters which relate to typical Dutch norms and values. People can be more traditional in the sense that they adhere to habits, norms and values which are not typical in Dutch society or they are more modern in the sense that they do adhere. All statements are measured on an ordinal scale. 1 means that the respondent fully agrees with the statement and 5 means that the respondent fully disagrees with the statement. Here, 9 also is the inapplicability option which is coded to the mean of each statement before combing it into a scale. We have coded all statements in a way that 1 resembles a traditional view and 5 reflects a modern view, hence being more culturally integrated. Because of the uniformity of the scales of these items a single variable was created to measure



cultural integration by constructing a single scale where 1 means traditional and less culturally integrated and 5 means modern and fully culturally integrated.

The second mediating dependent variable that was included in the analyses is '*economic integration*'. This variable was designed to measure the extent to which minority groups proportionately approach the majority group in terms of their income. Income was measured in the SIM by an ordinal scale which divided people in several income categories. An example of such a category is 'between 1000 and 1250 euro's per month' or 'more than 3500 per month'. In total there were sixteen categories. There was also a category giving people the option of not answering the question. This category was coded to the mean of income so that every person who did not want to answer the question still gets a score. This was done because 817 people did not want to answer this question but do form a substantial proportion of the respondents. To make the categories as accurate as possible for the analyses, each category was recoded to the mean of that category. However, the amount of money that was in between every mean of the category did not always scale linearly. Because the last category in the SIM was open ended, this category was coded with an equal amount between the categories as its preceding category.

Next to the dependent and independent variables, several control variables were included that have often been used as control variables in previous research. The included control variables are: age of the respondent, highest level of education obtained by the respondent, whether the respondent is a male or a female, and whether the respondent is religious or not. Education is coded as 1 being primary education to 4 being higher professional education and university. Religiosity is coded as 1 being religious and 0 as being non-religious and gender was coded as 1 being male and 0 when respondent was a female.

Below, table 3.1 shows the descriptive statistics about the respondents that were used in the analyses. These respondents had scored 2,72 on the identification scale, so on average they felt a little more Dutch than land of origin. For cultural integration the respondents scored 3,47 on average, which means that they were more culturally integrated than not culturally integrated. The average income of all respondents was 1699,13 euro's per month. From the total of respondents that were used they on average scored 3,46 on the frequency of social contact with natives. The age of the respondents that were interviewed lay between 15 and 95. Also, the average respondent has joined secondary



education as maximum education. Furthermore, 47% of the respondents in the analyses are male and 76% of the respondents are religious.

Table 3.1: *Descriptive statistics of the dependent variables, independent variable and control variables.*

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	St. Dev
<i>Dependent variables</i>				
- Self identification	1.00	5.00	2.72	1.23
- Cultural integration	1.00	5.00	3.47	.83
- Income	250.00	7500.00	1699.13	1095.62
<i>Independent variable</i>				
- Social contact	1.00	5.00	3.46	1.42
<i>Controlvariables</i>				
- Age	15	95	39.24	15.79
- Education	1.00	4.00	2.23	1.06
- Male (Ref = female)	0	1.00	.47	.49
- Religious (Ref= not religious)	0	1.00	.76	.42

Methods

To test the three hypotheses, relationships between the dependent, independent and control variables were measured using multiple regression analyses. In order for a variable to be used in a regression they have to meet certain requirements (Agresti & Finlay, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). First, the variables have to be ratio or have to be dummy variables resembling different categories. The dependent variables self-identification, cultural integration and income are all categorical variables and have been coded to dummies. The independent variable is also a categorical variable and has been coded to a dummy. Except for age, all control variables including education, sex and religion have been coded to dummy variables.



Secondly, there has to be a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables but also between the dependent and control variables (Agresti & Finlay, 2009; Allen & Bennett, 2010). The results were viewed by analyzing a scatterplot and for the main effect a linear as well as a quadratic relationship was measured. For the effects of the other independent and control variables only linearity was measured. The effects are only positive unless stated otherwise. The relationship between self-identification and social contact is linear ($R^2 = 0.06$) and adding the quadratic line does not seem to enhance the score greatly ($R^2 = 0.07$). We have no substantive reason to assume this relationship to be quadratic. The relationship between self-identification and cultural integration/economic integration is also linear. All control variables seem to uphold the same trend and are linear when they are decked against self-identification.

Because the variables economic and cultural integration are also used as dependent variables they both have to be measured against the variable contact and the control variables. Again, the main effects are measured linear as well as quadric and the other effects are only linearly measured. The relationship between cultural integration and contact is linear ($R^2 = 0.05$). All control variables are linear but sex and religion are negatively correlated. The variable economic integration is first measured against the variable contact. This analysis shows an almost non existing positive relationship ($R^2 = 0.01$). Here, the control variables were also measured against economic integration. The control variables are linear and religion as opposed to the other variables is negatively correlated.

Third, the dependent variable and the control variables should not correlate too much (Agresti & Finlay, 2009). When they do have a high correlation they will explain for the same variance in the scores or tend to measure the same concept. Correlations were calculated and the scores do not seem hazardous. The final criterion is that the variables have to be normally distributed and this seems to be the case for every variable.

A scale was constructed for the variable cultural integration using seven different items out of the dataset. When adding different items together one has always got to be careful that the items are all coded 'in the same manner' meaning that higher scores on item one convey the same information as higher scores on item seven. The scale which was constructed needed to be subjugated to a validity test and for this Cronbachs alpha was used. The items, when scaled together resulted in a Cronbachs alpha of 0,8. This fairly high score gave certainty to proceed with the constructing of the new variable.



4. Results

In this section of the paper the results are presented in two different tables. Their significance and direction as well as their relevance linked to the hypothesis will be interpreted and discussed. The control variables that are organized under ethnic groups show the clear relevance to the research subject. In this section the effect-size is also included and interpreted and this is done by taking the standard deviation of a category and multiplied by the single B scores as to measure the effect on a single deviation. Other control variables are discussed after the main effects have been discussed and finally the difference between models will be substantiated.

First, in table 4.1 the primary relationship between *social contact* and *self-identification* is tested following the hypothesis: '*People of the Dutch minority groups who maintain more contacts with native Dutch people will identify themselves more in terms of a Dutch national identity*'. In the table contact with natives is pitted against the three dependent variables of self-identification, cultural integration, and economic integration.



4.1: Multiple regression with contact as the independent variable and the different dependent variables (Y) as the dependent variables.

Variabels	Model 1 (Y = Self-identification)		Model 2 (Y = Cultural integration)		Model 3 (Y = Economic integration)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Contact	,136**	,014	,061**	,009	,328**	,121
Ethnic groups						
- Turkish	Reference		Reference		Reference	
- Maroccan	,298**	,053	,127**	,035	-,965*	,455
- Surinamese	,999**	,056	,442**	,037	,827	,484
- Antillean	,674**	,058	,369**	,038	-,337	,498
Age	-,004**	,002	-,006**	,001	,048**	,013
Education	,129**	,020	,241**	,013	3,724**	,171
Male	,062	,039	-,239**	,026	1,027**	,337
Religious	-,470**	,058	-,299**	,037	-2,237**	,485

< .05* < .01**

As shown in table 4.1, contact with natives has a positive and significant influence on people's self-identification with the Netherlands ($F = 120.644$, $p = < .001$). After measuring the effect size of the relationship we found an effect of 0.19. Because contact is measured on a 5 point scale this can be interpreted as a minimal effect. Therefore, it can be concluded that the first hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Secondly, the relationship between contact with natives as the independent variable and cultural integration as dependent variable was measured. This was done to verify the existence of the relationship, which is an important condition for eventually testing the second hypothesis: *'People of the Dutch minority groups who maintain more contacts with native Dutch people are more likely to be culturally integrated and will therefore identify themselves more in terms of a Dutch national identity'*. The table shows that contact with natives has a positive and significant effect on cultural integration which is evidence for the relationship between social contact and cultural



integration ($F = 170.89$, $p = <.001$). On a five point scale the effect size is 0.09 and can be considered minimal.

Thirdly, the relationship between contact with natives as the independent variable and economic integration as dependent variable was measured. This was also done to verify the existence of the relationship before testing the third hypothesis: *'People of the Dutch minority groups who maintain more contacts with native Dutch people are more likely to be economically integrated and will therefore identify themselves more in terms of a Dutch national identity.'* Contact with natives has a positive and significant effect on economic integration ($F = 91,547$, $p = < .05$). The effect size is 0.47 and is considerable on a five point scale because it measures a half of one point which in reality could reflect a big change.

On almost all occasions, except for the relationship to economic integration, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans identify themselves more with the Netherlands and are more culturally integrated than Turkish people. What is remarkable is that they are less economically integrated than Turkish people. Furthermore, people who are older identify less with the Dutch national identity and are less culturally integrated. A higher degree of education also leads to a more Dutch national identity and more cultural integration. People who are religious seem to identify themselves less with a Dutch identity and are also less culturally integrated. When someone is older, has a higher degree of education and is a male is more economically integrated. Religious people, on the other hand, are less economically integrated than non-religious people.



However, this thesis not only focused at explaining the main effect between contact with natives and the different dependent variables, it is also aimed at finding the differences when adding cultural integration or economic integration into the model and interpreting how big these changes are. Table 4.2 shows the results when cultural and economic integration are added to the main effect

Table 4.2: *Multiple regression, dependent variables ‘cultural integration’, ‘economic integration’ and ‘self-identification’, independent variable ‘contact with natives’.*

Variables	Model 4 (Y = Self-identification)		Model 5 (Y = Self-identification)	
	B	SE	B	SE
Contact	,124**	,014	,133**	,014
Cultural Integration	,180**	,027		
Economic Integration			,008**	,002
Ethnic groups				
- Turkish	Reference		Reference	
- Moroccan	,282**	,054	,305**	,053
- Surinamese	,925**	,058	,993**	,056
- Antillean	,616**	,060	,678**	,058
Age	-,002	,002	-,004**	,002
Education	,086**	,021	,102**	,021
Male (Ref = female)	,088**	,040	,055	,039
Religious (Ref = not religious)	-,415**	,059	-,453**	,058

< .05* <.01**

Cultural integration was first added to the relationship between contact with natives and self-identification with the Netherlands to analyze how much variance could be explained by cultural integration. This was done to test the second hypothesis: *‘People of Dutch minority groups who maintain more contacts with native Dutch people are more likely to be culturally integrated and will therefore identify themselves more in terms of a Dutch national identity’.*



When accounting for cultural integration in the change is still significant (F-Change = 110, 403 (9), < .001). The variance accounted for changed with 8,8% and can be seen as a considerable change. This is evidence that the second hypothesis bears weight and cannot be rejected.

Before getting on to the control variables economic integration was added to the relationship between contact with natives and self-identification. This was done to reflect the third hypothesis: *'People of Dutch minority groups who maintain more contacts with native Dutch people are more likely to be economically integrated and will therefore identify themselves more in terms of a Dutch national identity'*. When accounting for economic integration the change is also still significant (F-Change = 190, 320 (9), $p < .001$). The variance accounted for changed with 2,2% and can be seen as a minimal change. This is evidence for the third hypothesis and can therefore not be rejected.

Finally, the results on the control variables are rather straightforward. In both models the Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans identify themselves more with the Dutch national identity than Turkish people, even when accounting for cultural and economic integration. In model 4 age has no effect at all and the same goes for sex in model 5. People who have a higher degree of education still identify themselves more with the Dutch identity across the models. People who are more religious tend to identify themselves less with the Dutch identity across models. When accounting for cultural integration in model 4, males identify themselves more and when accounting for economic integration in model 5, older people tend to identify themselves less with the Dutch national identity.



5. Conclusion and discussion

5.1 Conclusions

Issues of group identifications and interethnic relationships are multifaceted and important for cohesion and quality of life in societies (Verkuyten, 2006; KNAW, 2011; WRR, 2007). When people think, feel or act in accordance with their group-identity this can create tensions between different groups in society. For the Netherlands, as a multicultural country, it is therefore not surprising that the integration and identity question is a much discussed topic in Dutch public and political debates. In anticipation on these debates this thesis has investigated the influence of social interaction with natives on identification with the Netherlands of the four largest migrant groups in the Netherlands. However, there has not been a lot of research on how to explain the relationship between social interaction and identification with the Netherlands. Therefore, this thesis also investigated the influence of cultural and economic integration on the relationship between social interaction with natives and identification with the Netherlands.

First, as was expected, it was found that social interaction with natives significantly increases the extent to which the four biggest migrant groups in the Netherlands identify themselves with the Netherlands. This affirms the idea that more interethnic contact between minority and majority groups has a positive effect on ethnic integration and intergroup relations as Allport (1954) and Thijs and Verkuyten (2012) had also argued in their studies. In addition, it confirms the SIT in the sense that individuals self-concept is derived from perceived internalized group memberships that are construed in a social context.

Also, it has become clear that migrants who have more interaction with natives indeed are more culturally integrated. And, as expected, migrants who are more culturally integrated identify themselves more strongly with the Netherlands. This outcome is strengthened by the Acculturation Theory in the way that social contact promotes cultural exchange between groups and migrants will take over certain cultural aspects of the majority group and therefore identify themselves more strongly with the host-society. This finding is also in line with the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986) in the sense that individuals adopt certain group characteristics and these group characteristics, such as attitudes, norms and values, can eventually become personal characteristics through processes of social identification.

Finally, it was found that migrants who have more interaction with natives are more economically integrated. This link is in line with the Social Capital Theory described by Acomak (2011) which mentioned the importance of having new ties with new networks beyond someone's primary group for acquiring new information, this can increase possibilities on the job market for example.



People of minority groups who have social interaction with natives are therefore more likely to have a network which adequately function as a vessel for the facilitation of economic resources which can be employed, for example in attaining a new job. In addition, as was expected, the results proved that migrants who are more economically integrated identify themselves more strongly with the Netherlands than migrants who are not economically integrated. This finding strokes with the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) as social interaction with natives can open the doors to a network that can help the migrant to attain an economically positive identity and in that way diminishes the dependency on the indigenous group and reinforces identification with the Netherlands as a positive opportunity.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that having more contact with natives bears the largest weight on the degree in which migrants identify themselves as being Dutch. When accounting for cultural integration the relationship still holds true and becomes slightly stronger. This goes for economic integration too. The theoretical conclusion is that the Social Identity Theory, Acculturation Theory and Social Capital Theory all hold in that social contacts are good predictors of people's attitudes, norms and values but also of people's ties to new information which leads them to a higher status on the income ladder.

5.2 Link with Previous Research

When comparing this research to other research in this field, the outcomes add to the existing literature in the sense that it focuses on the mediations between contact and identity and it takes into account the four biggest migrant groups in Dutch context, not just one group. The relationship between interethnic contact and identification has been investigated before with similar results, but this was focussed on just one group in Dutch society (Verkuyten, 2006).

Also, previous research has mainly focussed on the influence of intergroup contact on prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination (Allport, 1954; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The current research adds to this by showing how these theories of contact, prejudice and discrimination can be combined to explain identification of minority groups and what this could implicate for cohesion in society.

In addition, former research has proposed models on how intergroup contact works to diminish prejudice, for example by enhancing knowledge about the out-group, reducing anxiety about intergroup contact, and increasing empathy and perspective taking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). In the same line, this thesis has proposed a model that can be used to explain the link between contact and identification with the Netherlands. However, it can be argued that cultural and economic integration are not the only mediations in the relationship between contact and identification. Also, these mediation effects may differentiate per context and per minority group



since various cultures interact differently.

Finally, when looking at the successor of the survey that was used for the current study, the Social Integration Monitor of 2011 (SIM, 2011: 85), the numbers seem to reflect that migrants at that time seem to identify themselves more in terms of a dual identity than five years ago. Our questionnaire is taken in 2006 and there can be many reasons for the discrepancy in the results shown in the other studies and this research. It would be interesting for further research to investigate what could explain for these differences in findings. For example, are identifications becoming increasingly dual? And, is this proof of successful integration policy in the Netherlands

5.3 Limitations and Recommendations for Follow-Up Research

During the process of this research several obstacles had to be taken and empirical choices were made. This has had implications for the results of the research and should be taken into account when interpreting this study and when doing follow-up research.

First, the main limitation for this research was the somewhat problematic SIM (2006) dataset on certain variables that were important for this investigation. According to Dagevos (2001) a minority group is more economically integrated when it equals a proportionate outline of the majority group in terms of labour participation, unemployment and income. However, there was no ratio-scale measurement of income or hours of labour participation in the dataset, although this was included in the original questionnaire. This forced us to drop the variable of the labour participation since it contained too little categories and thus would have no explanation power. Also, unemployment could not be clearly distinguished from volunteer work or being unable to work. This is an important distinction, since people who participate in volunteer work are more likely to have had social interaction with natives before they volunteered than people who are not able to work or sit at home and make use of a social arrangement. This caused us to also leave the unemployment variable out of the analyses. Of course, this has had big implications for the interpretation of 'economic integration' in the results of the research because economic integration should cover a wider understanding than just income.

Secondly, it was found that the four migrant groups that were put into the analyses of this research had remarkable differences between them. For example, in all tests the Turkish group scored lowest, and in most tests the Surinamese group scored highest. Because the groups were only included as control variables The differences could not be readily interpreted. This would be an interesting addition for further research.

Finally, it was measured in this research if people identified themselves with the Netherlands. The possible answering categories in the SIM (2006) also contained the option of both identifying with the Netherlands, as well as with the country of origin. This option of a dual identity



was not appealed to in this research. However, it could be interesting for following research how this dual identity relates to social interaction and cultural and economic integration, especially since the successor of SIM 2006, which was taken five years later, found that the amount of people who felt to have a dual identity increased.

5.4 Social Relevance

In the social and political debates about the importance of cohesion and unity in a multicultural society like the Netherlands the outcomes of this research will contribute to supporting cohesion. The authorities can argue on the basis of this research that contact with natives has a positive effect on cultural and economic integration of migrants and subsequently their identification with the Netherlands. Although theories like the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Verkuyten, 2006) have proven before that permeability of group boundaries diminishes negative feelings toward the out-group, it is not said that identification with the Netherlands is also excluding or diminishing identification with the country of origin, nor that this is the only way to achieve cohesion in Dutch society. Therefore, it is recommended for the government to do more research on the dynamics of a dual identity and how this works in interethnic relationships.

Also, when taking into account the four different migrant groups (Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans, and Surinamese) who were added as control-variables it became clear that the effects were lowest for the Turkish and highest for the Surinamese group. This implicates that identification does not work the same for every migrant group, therefore the government should do more research before broadly implementing policy measures promoting contact between natives and the four biggest minority groups in the Netherlands.

5.5 Scientific Relevance

In scientific regard it was interesting to look at *why* interethnic contact specifically would lead to a stronger identification with the Netherlands because former research only focused on the separate effects of economic and cultural integration on ethnic identification and the effect of interethnic contact on ethnic identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; WRR, 2007; Allport, 1954; Thijs and Verkuyten, 2012). The positive results of this research therefore contribute to the existing literature and clarify the relation between contact and identification in Dutch context.

Furthermore, this thesis has paid attention to the economical aspect of integration since this is still an underdeveloped part of research and policy in the Netherlands (Dagevos, 2001). In this research a small positive effect of economic integration on the identification with the Netherlands was found. Previous research supports this finding (CBS, 2010)



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