

A change of perspective: does Dutch Turks' and Moroccans' trust in multiculturalism relate to their degree of socio-emotional integration and Dutch proficiency?

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Abstract

This research is one of the first to focus on the perspective of immigrants in terms of trust in multiculturalism and integration. It was investigated whether trust in multiculturalism on the side of Dutch Turks and Moroccans adds to the explanation of their degree of integration. **Methods.** Data from the NELLS-survey was used for this research, from which a subsample of first and second generation Dutch Turks and Moroccans (N=2301) was drawn. When addressing trust in multiculturalism, a distinction was made between multicultural attitudes and multilingual attitudes. The degree of integration was measured on different facets of integration, namely socio-emotional integration and Dutch language proficiency. First, it was checked whether trust in multiculturalism and the degree of integration were related. Second, four models were tested for the different types of integration using multiple regression analysis. The predictor variables in these models were sex, age, perceived discrimination, educational level, income level, multicultural attitudes and multilingual attitudes. **Results.** It was found that multicultural attitudes towards both cultural diversity as language add to the explanation of the degree of three types of integration of Dutch Turks and Moroccans, namely Dutch language proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact. However, different relations were found for the two different facets of trust in multiculturalism. Multicultural attitudes towards cultural diversity positively predicted these three types of integration, while multicultural attitudes (language) did this negatively. Finally, an interaction effect was found, namely that Dutch Turks have more positive attitudes towards everyone speaking their own language than Dutch Moroccans, which leads Dutch Turks to be less proficient in the Dutch language. **Implications.** This research shows that migrant's trust in multiculturalism is important to take into account when trying to stimulate integration. More research is needed to confirm these findings in different settings. However, the results show that policy makers should focus on stimulating positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and stimulating Dutch language proficiency.

Introduction

Immigration is one of the most divisive issues on the political agendas of Western democracies nowadays. This is also the case in the Netherlands, where the influx of immigrants has increased over the last decades. In 2016, 22.1% of the Dutch population had a migration background and, more specifically, 12.3% of the Dutch population had a non-western background. In comparison, in 1996 these percentages were respectively 16.1% and 7.6 % (CBS, 2018). Among these people with a non-western migration background, the two biggest groups are of Turkish (approximately 397.000) or Moroccan (app. 386.000) origin (CBS, 2016). This increase of migration, especially from non-Western countries, to the Netherlands has thus led to a more ethnic and cultural diverse population. The term *multiculturalism* has been used to demographically describe the presence of different cultures in a society.

Alongside this increase of migration and cultural diversity, concerns among Europeans about the potential effects of migration on their countries have grown (McLaren, 2012). In the Netherlands too, migration and acculturation fill the top positions on the list of topics the Dutch are worried about (Dekker, Den Ridder, Van Houwelingen, & Van den Broek, 2016). Acculturation, in short, refers to the culture change that results from continuous, direct contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry, 1980). Migrants can adopt different acculturation strategies, from which integration and assimilation are often referred to as the preferred strategies. When integration is the chosen strategy, migrants hold on to their cultural background, but are at the same time willing to interact with members of the host society. Assimilation occurs when migrants both abolish their original culture and interact with members of the host society (Berry, 1980). Migrants often prefer integration, while assimilation is, generally, the preferred strategy of host society members (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003; Neto, 2002; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006). Moreover, different studies in the USA and Europe have found that migrants that pursue the integration strategy experience less cultural stress, adapt better to the new society and have more favorable intergroup relations than those pursuing other acculturation strategies (e.g. Berry, 2005; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Since integration seems to yield the most successful adaptation outcomes, multicultural countries should focus on stimulating migrants' degree of integration. It is of importance to investigate how integration can be stimulated and what factors are influencing the degree of migrant's integration.

Among these factors that influence the acculturation of migrants, are the attitudes of host societies towards multiculturalism (Taft, 1977; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009) However, little attention is yet paid to attitudes of migrants themselves towards multiculturalism and how this might affect their adaptation to a new host society. This research will thus focus on the relationship between multicultural attitudes from the perspective of *migrants* and their degree of integration to investigate whether this could be an additional influencing factor in the complexity of the integration process.

In this research, I focus on immigrants with a non-Western background because it may be harder for them to accommodate to the Dutch culture than Western immigrants due to more cultural differences. Within this group of non-Western immigrants, Dutch Moroccans and Turks are included in this study, because these groups are the biggest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (CBS, 2018). These two migrant groups differ in the sense that the Turkish community in the Netherlands is found to be more cohesive and in-group oriented than the Dutch Moroccan community (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009; Hindriks, Coenders, & Verkuyten, 2011). This research therefore also takes into account possible differences in trust in multiculturalism between these two groups.

Aside from contributing to the scientific base of knowledge, investigating a possible relation between migrant's attitudes towards multiculturalism and level of integration can help to improve policies that aim to stimulate integration. In other words, if it turns out that migrant's trust in multiculturalism positively influences their integration, policymakers can aim at improving migrant's attitudes towards multiculturalism to stimulate integration.

Theoretical background

Acculturation and integration

Before the concept of integration can be theoretically discussed, we should first focus on the broader framework of acculturation (strategies). A lot of research has been conducted on the topic of acculturation of migrants in Western societies. Sociologists first started theorizing the process of the accommodation of immigrants in the United States. In 1914, Robert Park started studying what happened when people with different cultures and languages came into contact with each other. Park came up with an advanced three-stage model, which consisted of the stages contact, accommodation and, assimilation (Padilla & Perez, 2003). This model states that contact between people from different cultures forces them to find ways to accommodate to each other in order to prevent and minimize conflict. The essential element of this model is the process of accommodation of immigrants to the dominant culture, which results in a process of cultural assimilation with as endpoint intermarriage and the mingling of newcomers with the host society members. In this perspective, cultural assimilation is a progressive and irreversible process.

Next, anthropologists Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) expanded the three-stage model of Park. They have described acculturation as a process that occurs when "*groups of individuals from different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups*" (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). These authors have stressed that for at least one of the two groups a change in cultural patterns is essential. However, they have also stated that assimilation does not automatically occur after intergroup contact, meaning that intergroup contact alone is not always enough for assimilation to occur.

The next extension of the three-staged model occurred almost 20 years later by a group of social scientists of the Social Science Research Council in the USA (Padilla & Perez, 2003). They were the first to add a psychological dimension to the process of acculturation, by including value systems, developmental sequences, roles and personality factors. These factors are believed to influence *how* individuals accommodate when they come into contact with one another. This extension was important because it was the first to acknowledge the choice of individuals in the acculturation process. Next, Teske and Nelson (1974) were the first to offer a complete psychological perspective on acculturation, which stated that acculturation includes specific changes in material traits, behavior patterns, norms, institutional changes and values.

Berry (1980) continued to recognize the agency of individual migrants by distinguishing between four different forms of acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. These strategies resulted from the combination of two dimensions: the newcomers' wish to maintain their culture of origin, and their wish to have contact and relationships with people of the host society. *Integration* is the chosen strategy when immigrants desire to maintain their original cultural identity while they are at the same time willing to interact with members of the host society. If immigrants want to maintain their original culture but are not interested in interacting with host society members, their chosen strategy is *separation*. One speaks of *assimilation* when immigrants abolish their original culture and choose to interact with host society members. Finally, *marginalization* results when immigrants reject their culture of origin and at the same time do not seek contact with host society members. According to Berry, the agency of individual migrants to choose an acculturation strategy also holds the possibility to reverse the acculturation process. Thus, in this model, acculturation was not seen as a one-dimensional model but rather as a process with multiple possible outcomes.

As discussed in the introduction, this research focusses on integration as the desired acculturation strategy, since it is believed that this strategy yields the best outcomes in terms of adaptation to the new society, cultural stress and intergroup relations. Moreover, integration can occur in different domains, for example in social (e.g. interethnic contact, interethnic marriages) and emotional (ethnic identification) domains.

Attitudes towards multiculturalism

As discussed in the introduction, the term multiculturalism refers to the presence of different cultures in society. When talking about *attitudes* towards multiculturalism, the term 'multicultural ideology' is commonly used. A multicultural ideology consists of a general view that cultural diversity is good for a society (González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). This is often measured on a country-level, meaning that countries that endorse a multicultural ideology (e.g. Canada) have positive attitudes towards cultural diversity.

Different studies have reported the influence of a multicultural ideology from the host society on the adaptation of immigrants. For instance, multicultural ideology was already included as an influencing factor in Berry's (1977) framework for acculturation research. In this framework, multicultural ideology of the host society influences group acculturation, which in the long-term influences adaptation of immigrants. This relation between attitudes towards multiculturalism of host societies and adaptation has been empirically studied among immigrant youth in Canada and France by Berry and Sabatier (2010). These two countries differ in their multicultural ideologies in the sense that Canada generally supports multiculturalism while France does not. They found that sociocultural and psychological adaptation of immigrant youth were higher in Canada than in France, suggesting that the host countries' attitudes towards multiculturalism influences immigrant's adaptation.

However, limited attention has yet been paid to attitudes on the migrant's part towards multiculturalism. All of the studies mentioned above looked at the general attitudes towards multiculturalism from the majority's perspective. However, multiculturalism is a reciprocal process, making it interesting to distinguish between perspectives of the dominant group (host society members) and the non-dominant group (immigrants). Migrants who trust in multiculturalism might still hold on to their own cultural/ethnic identity because they believe that different cultures can successfully co-exist in society. Adding to this, this trust in multiculturalism may also foster more interethnic contact. In this line of reasoning, migrant's trust in multiculturalism is expected to be positively related to their degree of integration.

Control variables

Different researchers have argued that immigrants are not always free to pursue the acculturation strategy they prefer. In other words: different factors can influence the adaptation of immigrants and their offspring to the host society (Berry, 1997). Some of these factors are included in this research as control variables, since they might influence the relationship between trust in multiculturalism and the degree of integration.

First, age is expected to be of influence in the sense that older respondents have had more time to adapt to the new culture and have had more interethnic contact, thus being more integrated. Second, sex is included as a control variable although we don't necessarily expect any sex-effects based on the reviewed literature. However, sex is included as a control variable to test this expectation. Furthermore, perceived discrimination has repeatedly been reported as being of influence on the degree of integration (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). It is expected that higher levels of perceived discrimination relate to lower degrees of social integration because individuals might feel that their cultural identity is not respected and therefore avoid interethnic contact. Moreover, as explained in the introduction, ethnicity (Turkish/Moroccan) is also included as a control variable. Finally, the influence of

socio-economic status is taken into account by adding educational level and income level as control variables. It is expected that when migrants are higher educated and/or have a higher income, they have more interethnic contact with the majority population (e.g. by having more majority-member colleagues or neighbors, because of having high-end jobs or living in wealthier neighborhoods).

The present study

The empirical research question in this research is: *“To what extent does trust of Dutch Moroccans and Turks in multiculturalism add to the explanation of their degree of integration?”* This research question is formulated this way based on the discussed literature. When measuring the degree of integration, a distinction is made between 4 subtypes of integration: interethnic contact (social integration), original/Dutch ethnic identification (emotional integration) and proficiency of the Dutch language. The language subtype is included because for any type of integration, being proficient in the majority language is essential in participating in the society of settlement. Finally, trust in multiculturalism is measured by two facets of multicultural attitudes, namely towards cultural diversity and language.

Figure 1 shows a broad overview of the layout for this research including the different hypotheses. First, it is analyzed whether the two facets of trust in multiculturalism are related to the different types of integration. As discussed in the theoretical background, it is expected that multicultural attitudes in terms of both cultural diversity and language are positively related to the different subtypes of integration (hypothesis 1a and 1b). The next step is to test whether trust in multiculturalism adds to the explanation of degree of integration, alongside different factors. These control variables are age, sex, perceived discrimination, educational level, income level and ethnicity. It is expected that trust in multiculturalism adds to the explanation of the subtypes of integration alongside other factors (hypothesis 2). Finally, a possible interaction effect for ethnicity on trust in multiculturalism is examined. Based on the existing literature, I expect that there is an interaction effect for ethnicity on multicultural attitudes (towards cultural diversity and language), in the sense that Dutch Turks have less positive multicultural attitudes, which leads to lower degrees of integration (hypotheses 3a and 3b).

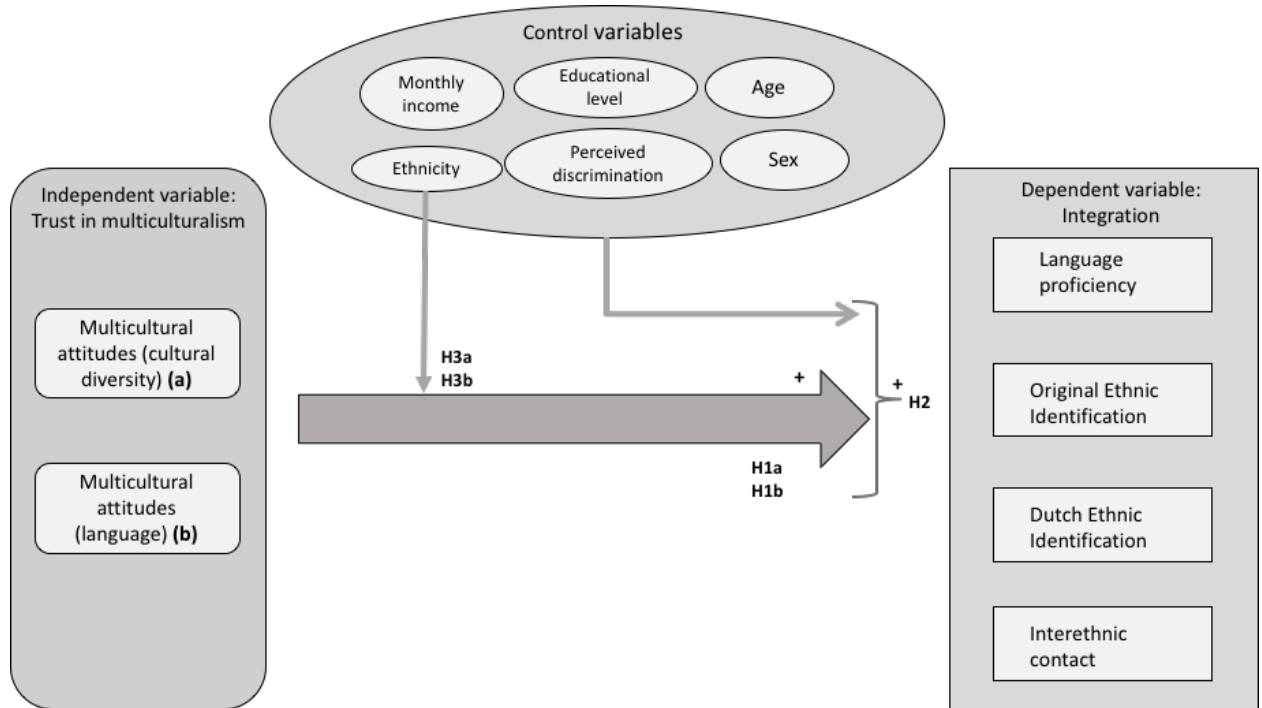


Figure 1. Overview of the research design with hypotheses, independent variables, dependent variables and control variables.

Research method

Procedure

The data for this research was derived from the first wave of the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study, also known as the NELLS-study (De Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp, & Monden, 2010a). The NELLS-survey data was selected for this research for different reasons. First, it consists of questions that measure multicultural attitudes and integration. Second, it includes an oversample of ethnic minorities, namely of Dutch Moroccans and Turks who together form the target population of this research. Finally, the NELLS-survey has a large sample size, especially in the first wave (N=5312) (De Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp, & Monden, 2010b).

Data gathering. Two-stage stratified sampling was applied. The first stage consisted of a quasi-random selection of 35 Dutch municipalities by region while the second stage used a random selection from the population registry based on age and country of birth of the respondents and their parents, where people from Moroccans and Turkish origin were oversampled. Intomart GfK executed the data gathering, which is one of the leading companies for market and social survey research in the Netherlands. The fieldwork took place between December 2008 and May 2010. The questionnaire consisted of two parts: a face-to-face interview and a self-completion questionnaire. Before the fieldwork, the interviews were

pretested among 100 Turks, 100 Moroccans and 100 other Dutch inhabitants. This pretest showed that respondents found the interview interesting, but some reported that completing both the face-to-face interview and questionnaire took too long. This pretest was also done to check the reliabilities of the scales, which turned out to be satisfactory (De Graaf et al., 2010b).

Participants

In total, 10210 possible respondents were successfully approached, of which 5312 responded. This is a response rate of 52%. The sample sizes and response rates (%) are displayed in Table 1 for the different ethnic groups.

Table 1. Sample sizes and response rates in Wave 1 for different ethnic groups.

	All respondents	Moroccans	Turks	Other ethnic groups
Successfully approached	10210	2604	2287	5319
Total response	5312	1192	1143	2977
Response rate (%)	52	46	50	56

As discussed in the introduction, the target population of this study are Dutch Moroccans and Turks. This group was selected from the sample based on self-reported ethnicity. The classification of ethnic origin used here is based on the classification of Statistics Netherlands (De Graaf et al., 2010b). This classification is based on the countries of birth of the respondent and both parents and distinguishes between first and second generation. A respondent is considered of first generation foreign origin if the person and one or two parents are born outside the Netherlands. Someone is classified as second generation foreign origin when the person is born inside the Netherlands, but one or two parents are born outside the Netherlands. Moreover, a distinction by country of origin can be made in this classification of ethnic origin. If both parents (or only mother) were born outside the Netherlands, but are from different origins, the country of origin is determined by the mother's country of birth. If the mother was born in the Netherlands, the father's country of birth determines the respondent's origin. A respondent is considered to be of Dutch origin when both parents are born in the Netherlands, irrespective of own country of birth.

The sample for this research consists of all self-reported Moroccan and Turkish respondents, both first- as second-generation migrants. Table 2 shows some descriptive statistics for these two groups.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of the NELLS-survey for the different ethnic groups

	Whole NELLS- sample (N=5312)	Turks (N=1137)	Moroccans (N= 1164)	Target population Turks + Moroccans (N=2301)
Age (M* ± SD)	31.30 ± 9.02	31.57 ± 9.10	30.16 ± 8.71	30.86 ± 8.93
Sex (n [%])				
Male	2508 (47.2)	568 (49.96)	538 (46.3)	1106 (48.1)
Female	2804 (52.8)	569 (50.04)	626 (53.7)	1195 (51.9)
Generation (n [%])				
First	-	736 (64.7)	740 (63.6)	1476 (64.1)
Second	-	401 (35.3)	424 (36.4)	825 (35.9)

Note. *M= mean

Instruments

Trust in multiculturalism (independent variable). Trust in multiculturalism was initially measured by 5 questions from the NELLS-survey, which were answered on a Likert scale (1= very much disagree, 5= very much agree). Two out of five questions were recoded because they were asked in different directions. Reliability analysis showed that this scale had a low reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .31$. In order to improve the reliability, it was decided to remove one question (*'minorities have the right to have their own schools'*) from the scale. This led to an increased reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .39$. However, this reliability is still relatively low. Further exploration showed that removing another question (*'It is better for a country if everyone can speak their own language'*) would lead to a higher reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .46$. The downside of this action was that there would only be three questions left in this scale. Also, language is an important aspect in terms of multiculturalism since different cultures are often linked to different languages.

To check whether this one question might represent a different scale of trust in multiculturalism, a principal axis factor analysis was conducted. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure meets the set criteria, KMO = .54. The initial analysis found two factors with an eigenvalue higher than 1. These two factors explained 29.00 % of the variance. However, the scree plot, which is displayed in Figure 2, does not show a clear inflexion that validates the extraction of 2 factors. Table 3 shows the factor loadings of the 3 items

on the two extracted factors. It is visible here that the second factor consists of only one item, namely the question we considered deleting to increase reliability (*It is better for a country if everyone can speak their own language*).

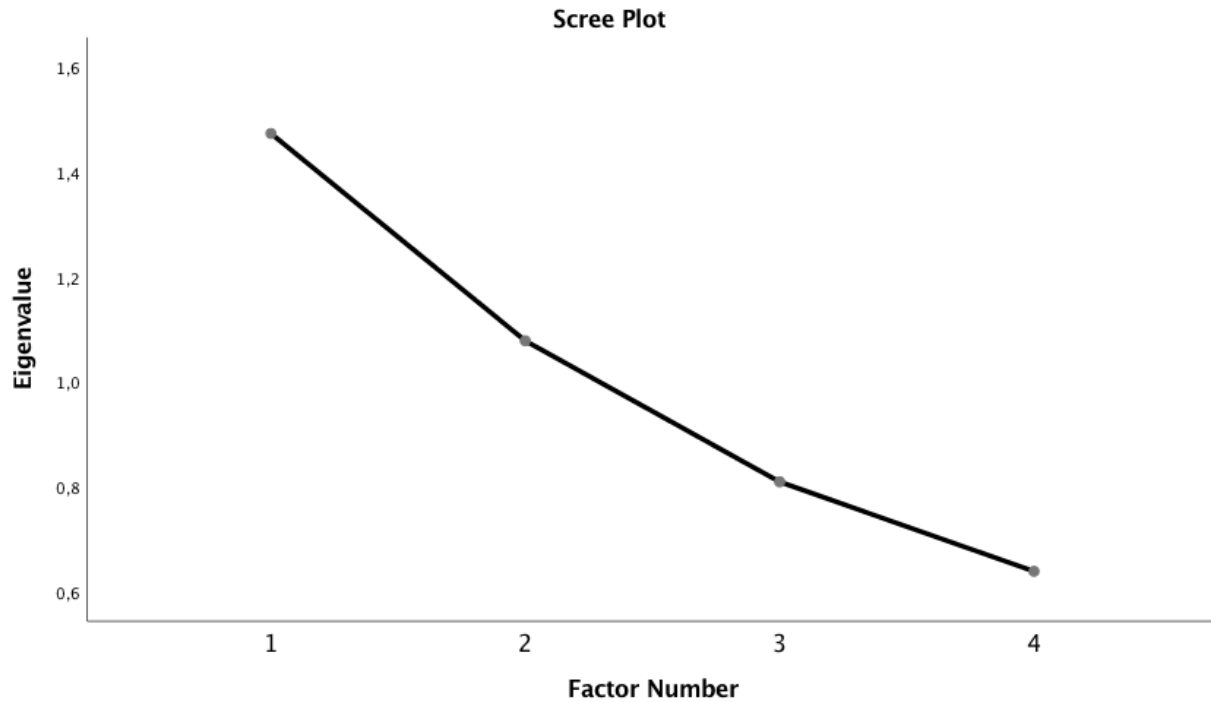


Figure 2. Scree plot trust in multiculturalism

Table 3. Summary of the principal axis factor analysis for the trust in multiculturalism scales ($N=1977$)

Item	Factor Loadings	
	Cultural diversity	Language
<i>If a country wants to reduce tensions, migration does not have stop.</i>	.39	.01
<i>It is better for a country if there are different religions.</i>	.36	-.36
<i>It is better if a country has different habits and customs.</i>	.72	.06
<i>It is better for a country if everyone can speak their own language</i>	.20	.42

The findings of this factor analysis eventually led to the decision to include this question as a separate scale, namely multicultural attitudes towards the presence of different languages in society. This

will also be referred to in this paper as multicultural attitudes (language), while the other scale will be referred to as multicultural attitudes towards cultural diversity/multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity).

The variable multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) was constructed by calculating the mean score on the three questions for each participant. Only participants who at least answered 2 out of 3 questions got a score on this newly created variable. Multicultural attitudes (language) remained a categorical variable, since this is measured by a single question. To include this variable in the multiple regression analysis, dummy variables were created.

Degree of integration (dependent variable). The scale that measures degree of integration included 15 questions. To prevent problems with interpretation, all questions were recoded in a way that lower scores represented lower degree of integration. All the questions are displayed in Table 4. The corresponding answering scales can be found in Appendix 1.

A principal factor analysis was conducted on the 15 items using oblique rotation (direct oblimin). The Kayser-Meyer-Olkin measure is sufficiently high, $KMO = .83$. The initial analysis found four factors with eigenvalues higher than 1 (according to Kaiser's criterion) which, in combination, explained a total of 63.99% of all variance. Figure 1 displays the scree plot for the integration scale and shows an inflexion that justifies extracting four factors. The combination of the scree plot, the Kaiser's criterion and the content of the items representing different aspects of integration, led to the decision of extracting four factors. Table 4 shows the factor loadings after rotation on the four different factors. Looking at the items that cluster on the same factors, we find that factor 1 represents Dutch language proficiency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$), factor 2 represents original ethnic identification (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$), factor 3 represents Dutch ethnic identification (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), and factor 4 represents interethnic contact (Cronbach's $\alpha = .47$). The reliability of the last factor is less than the other factors, but it was decided to maintain this factor because it adds important content to the construct of integration.

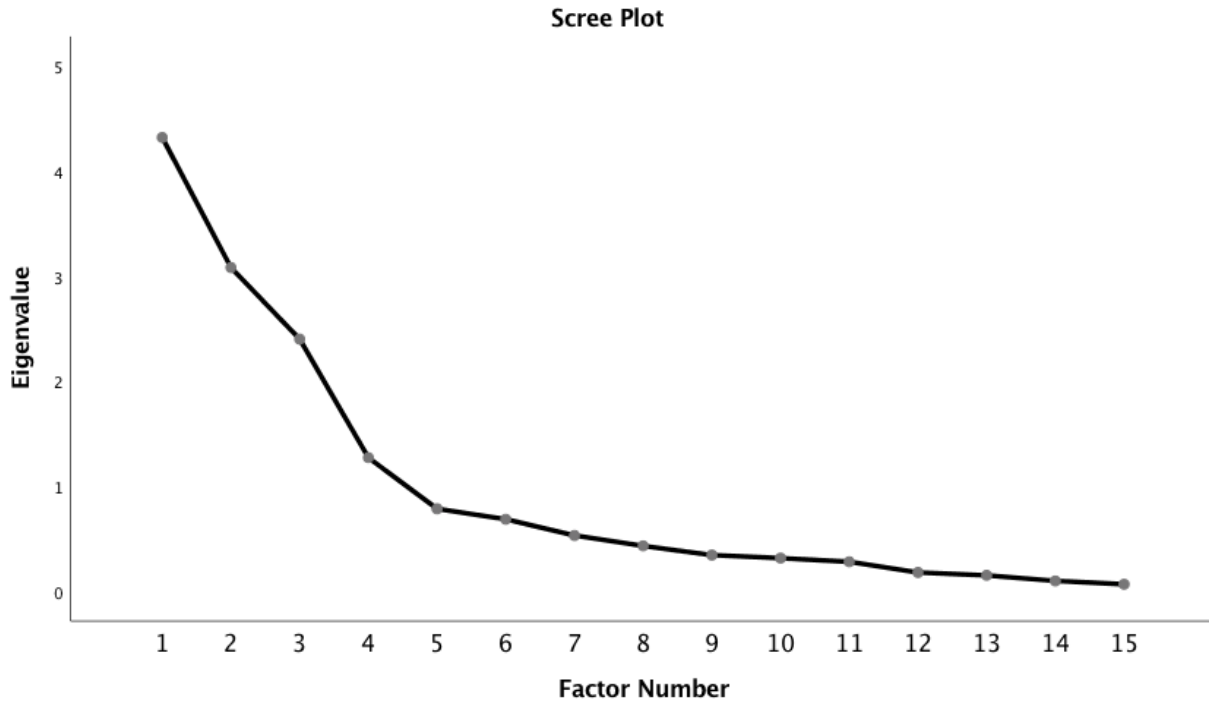


Figure 3. Scree plot for the integration scale

Table 4. Summary of the principal axis factor analysis for the integration scale ($N=853$).

Item	Rotated Factor Loadings			
	Dutch language proficiency	Original ethnic identification	Dutch ethnic identification	Interethnic contact
<i>Can you read something in Dutch?</i>	.97	-.01	.02	-.03
<i>Can you speak Dutch yourself?</i>	.94	.00	.03	-.02
<i>Can you write something in Dutch?</i>	.93	-.00	-.01	.05
<i>Can you understand someone who speaks Dutch?</i>	.89	.01	-.02	.04
<i>I really feel connected to my ethnical group</i>	-.05	.91	-.00	.02
<i>I strongly identify myself with my ethnical group</i>	-.05	.89	.00	.02

<i>My ethnical identity is an important aspect of myself</i>	.03	.82	-.01	-.10
<i>I am proud of my ethnical background</i>	.06	.71	.01	.06
<i>I strongly identify myself with the Netherlands</i>	-.02	-.02	.85	.07
<i>I really feel connected to the Netherlands</i>	.01	-.01	.83	-.03
<i>My Dutch identity is an important aspect of myself</i>	.05	.01	.74	-.09
<i>I feel at home in the Dutch society</i>	-.03	.00	.68	.07
<i>Contact in the neighborhood: Dutch origin</i>	-.01	.02	-.04	.63
<i>Contact at societies/clubs: Dutch origin</i>	.08	-.04	-.03	.48
<i>Contact at work/school: Dutch origin</i>	-.02	.02	.06	.43

The four different variables for integration were constructed by calculating a mean score for every participant per factor. The variables for the three factors with four questions (Dutch proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification, original ethnic identification) were created when participants had scores on at least 3 out of 4 questions. For interethnic contact, a mean score was calculated for participants who answered 2 out of 3 questions.

Control variables.

Age. Age was measured with question *wlcage*, which measured the age at the time of the interview.

Sex. Question *wlcsex* measured the respondents' sex. This variable is dichotomous, with 'man' and 'woman' as possible answers. To use this variable in the multiple regression analysis, dummy variables were created.

Perceived discrimination. The variable perceived discrimination was constructed out of a scale of six questions. These questions asked whether the respondent had ever experienced discrimination

based on their ethnic background in six different situations (as displayed in Table 5). This was measured on a 3-point scale (1: no, never, 2: yes, a single time, 3: yes, on a regular base).

The first step was to conduct a principal axis factor analysis to check whether this scale measures the same construct. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure meets the set criteria, $KMO = .84$. The initial analysis found only one factor with an eigenvalue higher than 1. This factor explains 42.27% of the variance. The scree plot, which is displayed in Figure 2, shows a clear inflexion that also validates the extraction of one single factor. It was not possible to run a rotation with only one factor. Table 5 shows the factor loadings of the 5 items on the extracted factor, which represents perceived discrimination.

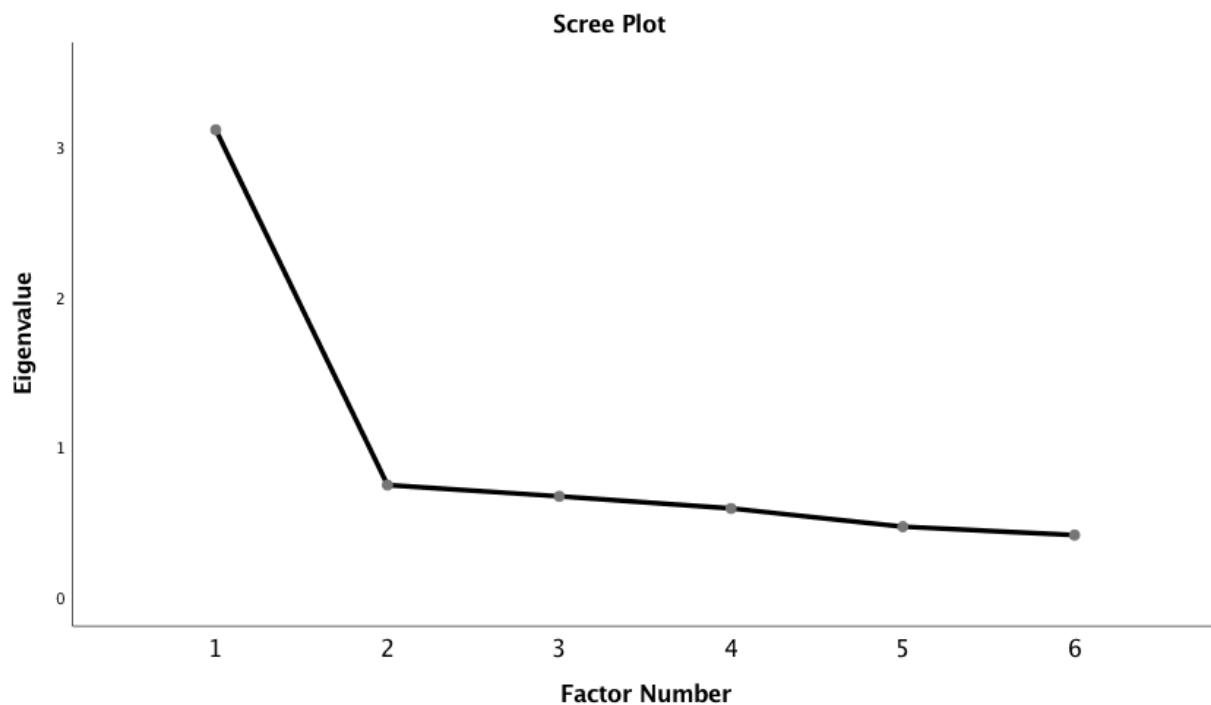


Figure 4. Scree plot for the perceived discrimination scale

Table 5. Summary of the principal axis factor analysis for the scale perceived discrimination ($N= 1933$)

Factor Loadings	
Item	Perceived discrimination
<i>Discrimination: when applying for a job or internship</i>	.68
<i>Discrimination: in nightlife, e.g. clubs or bars</i>	.66
<i>Discrimination: at your job</i>	.66
<i>Discrimination: at an association or (sport)club</i>	.65
<i>Discrimination: on the streets, in stores, in public transport</i>	.63
<i>Discrimination: at school, in class</i>	.61

After this, a reliability analysis was conducted and this scale turned out to have a high reliability, namely Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$. The variable 'perceived discrimination' was then constructed by calculating the mean score of these questions. At least four out of six questions had to be answered for participants to get a valid mean score.

Socioeconomic status (SES). SES was measured by two variables: income level and educational level.

Income level. This was measured with the question: 'What is your net monthly income?'. This is a categorical variable, with 17 ascending answering possibilities. However, in the database category '99' was included as an unknown category (I don't know/I don't want to say). 99 was thus registered as the missing value, to exclude these answers from the analysis. This way, this variable could be used as an ordinal categorical variable.

Educational level. There were no questions in this dataset that directly measured educational level. Therefore, a variable was constructed measuring the highest obtained degree. Questions w1fa23b02-w1fa23b12 asked, respectively for all educational levels, whether the respondent had obtained the degree. However, only respondents that answered earlier questions positively ('have you followed education on this level?') have answered the questions about obtaining a degree. Hence, all missing values of questions w1fa23b02 till w1fa23b12 were changed into 2 ('no'). After this, an ordinal categorical variable could be constructed with the different educational levels, measuring the highest obtained degree for each participant.

It was chosen to treat both educational level and income level as continuous variables, because of the large number of categories they contain (respectively 11 and 16). According to Rhemtulla, Brosseau-Liard and Savalei (2012), a categorical variable can be treated as a continuous variable, when it has more

than six to seven categories. This way it could be prevented to create dummy variables for the multiple regression analyses and thereby losing valuable information because categories had to be merged.

Ethnicity. A new dichotomous variable was created to measure ethnicity with one category for Turks and one category for Moroccans. Both first as well as second generation Turks and Moroccans were included in this variable. To include this factor in the multiple regression, dummy variables were created.

Interaction variables. In order to analyze the two discussed interaction effects in the multiple regression, two interaction variables had to be created. This was done by multiplying *ethnicity* and *multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity)* and *ethnicity* and *multicultural attitudes (language)*.

Analyses strategy

IBM SPSS Statistics (version 22) was used for all analyses. First of all, it was investigated whether there is a correlation between multicultural attitudes and their degree of the different subtypes of integration. Pearson correlations were conducted for the first type of multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) because this is the mean score of different questions making it a continuous variable. However, Spearman correlations were conducted for the second type of multicultural attitudes (language) because this is measured by one ordinal variable. Next, to analyze whether Dutch Turks' and Moroccans' multicultural attitudes add to the explanation of their degree of the different subtypes of integration, four stepwise linear multiple regression analyses were conducted. The discussed control variables (age, sex, perceived discrimination, educational level, income level and ethnicity) are included as predictor variables in these regression models as well. The first step in the stepwise multiple regression was to analyze the amount of variance that the control variables alone explained for the subtypes of integration. Second, the two facets of multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity and language) were added into a second model, to analyze whether they *add* something to this explanation. Finally, to test whether ethnicity had an interaction effect, two interaction variables between ethnicity and the two facets of multicultural attitudes were added.

Results

Multicultural attitudes and integration

The first step in this research was to analyze whether the multicultural attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan people in the Netherlands are related to their degree of integration. Table 6 shows the correlation coefficients between both types of multicultural attitudes and the different subtypes of integration. Integration in terms of language, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact were all significantly positively related to multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity). Thus, more positive multicultural attitudes in terms of cultural diversity were related to higher Dutch language proficiency, higher Dutch ethnic identification and higher interethnic contact with the majority population. Original

ethnic identification is the only subtype of integration which was not significantly related to multicultural attitudes. Hypothesis 1a can thus be accepted for three out of four types of integration.

When looking at the language facet of multicultural attitudes, it is significantly but negatively related to integration in terms of Dutch language proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact. This means that positive attitudes towards the usage of one's own language are related to less Dutch language proficiency, less Dutch ethnic identification and less interethnic contact. However, multicultural attitudes in terms of language are, like the cultural diversity facet, not related to original ethnic identification. Hypothesis 1b is thus rejected.

Table 6. Overview of the correlations between the facets of trust in multiculturalism and integration

	Multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) (r)	Multicultural attitudes (language) (r)
Integration - Language	.232** [.191, .272]	-.060** [-.106, -.016]
Integration – Original Ethnic Identification	.012 [-.036, .057]	.024 [-.022, .070]
Integration – Dutch Ethnic Identification	.123** [.077, .168]	-.104** [-.151, -.060]
Integration – Interethnic contact	.124** [.082, .164]	-.059* [-.108, .007]

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. BCa bootstrap 95% CIs reported in brackets

Multiple regression

The next step was to place the two facets of multicultural attitudes into a broader model of variables predicting degree of integration. These other variables were age, sex, perceived discrimination, level of education and income level. Before running the analyses, the assumptions of normality, linearity, homoscedasticity and absence of multicollinearity were checked and were all met.

Four stepwise linear multiple regression analyses were then carried out, one for each of the subtypes of integration. Table 7 shows an overview of the different models that were analyzed for the four integration subtypes. First, only the control variables were included as predictors for each integration subtype (model 1). The next step (model 2) consisted of analyzing the independent variables multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) and multicultural attitudes (language) alongside the control variables. Finally, two possible interaction effects between ethnicity and the two types of multicultural attitudes were added to the models and analyzed (model 3).

The results showed that the regression function (R^2) was statistically significant for all four subtypes of integration (and for all different models). I focus on the models 3 of the subtypes of integration to make comparisons, because these models are the final outcomes of this analysis. The model for the language subtype of integration explains the highest amount of variance in degree of integration, $F(13, 1476) = 43.04, p < .01$. The other subtypes had lower, but still significant, values, Original Ethnic Identification, $F(13, 1476) = 2.22, p < .01$, Dutch Ethnic Identification, $F(13, 1477) = 9.71, p < .01$, and Interethnic Contact, $F(13, 1288) = 5.96, p < .01$.

Multicultural attitudes (both cultural diversity and language) significantly predict three out of four integration subtypes, namely language, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact.

The only difference between these two facets of trust in multiculturalism is that the cultural diversity facet *positively* predicts these three types of integration (positive attitudes lead to higher levels of integration), while the language facet does this *negatively* (positive attitudes lead to lower levels of integration). Furthermore, control variables were not always found to be significant in the four models (e.g. sex and income level are not found to be significant predictors in any of the models).

Table 7. Overview of the stepwise multiple regression analysis for the four different subtypes of integration.

Integration Models	R ²	Predictor variables (β coefficients)									
		Age	Sex (female)	Perceived discrimination	Level of education	Monthly income	Ethn. (Turkish)	MACD	MA _L (very much disagree)	MACD * Ethn.	MA _L * Ethn.
Language proficiency											
Model 1	.25**	-.37**	.03	.10	.30**	.06*	-.13**	-	-	-	-
Model 2	.27**	-.36**	.03	.08**	.27**	.04	-.11**	.15**	.04	-	-
Model 3	.28**	-.36*	.03	.08**	.27**	.04	-.00	.17**	.08**	-.09	-.06*
OEI											
Model 1	.02**	-.05	.04	.05	-.08**	-.00	-.00	-	-	-	-
Model 2	.02**	-.06	.04	.04	-.09**	-.01	-.00	.02	.02	-	-
Model 3	.02**	-.06	.04	.04	-.09**	-.01	-.07	.01	.08	.05	.05
DEI											
Model 1	.04**	.03	-.02	-.16**	.05	.01	-.13**	-	-	-	-
Model 2	.08**	.03	-.01	-.17**	.02	-.01	-.10**	.12**	.16**	-	-
Model 3	.08**	.03	-.01	-.17**	.02	-.01	.03	.14**	.16**	-.13	-.01
Interethnic contact											
Model 1	.04**	-.15**	-.05	-.03	.10**	-.05	-.01	-	-	-	-
Model 2	.06**	-.14**	-.04	-.04	.07*	-.06	.01	.11**	.09**	-	-
Model 3	.06**	-.14**	-.04	-.04	.07*	-.06	.04	.11**	.10*	-.03	-.01

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. MACD = Multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity), MA_L = Multicultural attitudes (language), OEI = original ethnic identification, DEI = Dutch ethnic identification. Dummy reference categories are presented between brackets.

Moreover, to be able to draw conclusions on whether trust in multiculturalism adds to the degree of integration (hypothesis 2), the amount of change in explaining the amount of variance between the models was analyzed. Table 8 shows the amount of change between the first and second models for the subtypes of integration. The change between the first and second models is analyzed because this is the change due to adding the multicultural attitudes variables. As displayed in Table 8, the change in amount of variance explained due to including trust in multiculturalism, is significant ($p < .01$) for all the types of integration, except for original ethnic identification. This is coherent to the other findings until now and means that hypothesis 2 is accepted for all types of integration except for original ethnic identification.

Table 8. Overview of the change in R^2 by adding trust in multiculturalism to the models for the subtypes of integration

	R² change (model 2 – model 1)	F change (df1, df2)	p
Language proficiency	.03	11.31 (5, 1478)	.00
Original ethnic identification	.00	1.01 (5, 1478)	.41
Dutch ethnic identification	.04	12.46 (5, 1479)	.00
Interethnic contact	.02	6.00 (5, 1290)	.00

Finally, hypotheses 3a and 3b stated an expected interaction effect of ethnicity on both types of multicultural attitudes. Turning back to Table 7, only a significant negative interaction effect was found for ethnicity on multicultural attitudes (language) in the model for Dutch language proficiency. This means that Dutch Turks have more positive attitudes towards the presence of multiple language in society than Dutch Moroccans, which in turn leads them to be less proficient in the Dutch language. Hypothesis 3b can thus partially be accepted. On the other hand, no interaction effects were found for ethnicity and multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity), which means that hypothesis 3a is rejected.

Concluding, Figure 5 summarizes the final model for the subtypes of integration (models 3). The bold arrows represent the significant predictor relationships, while the dotted lines represent the non-significant relationships that were tested.

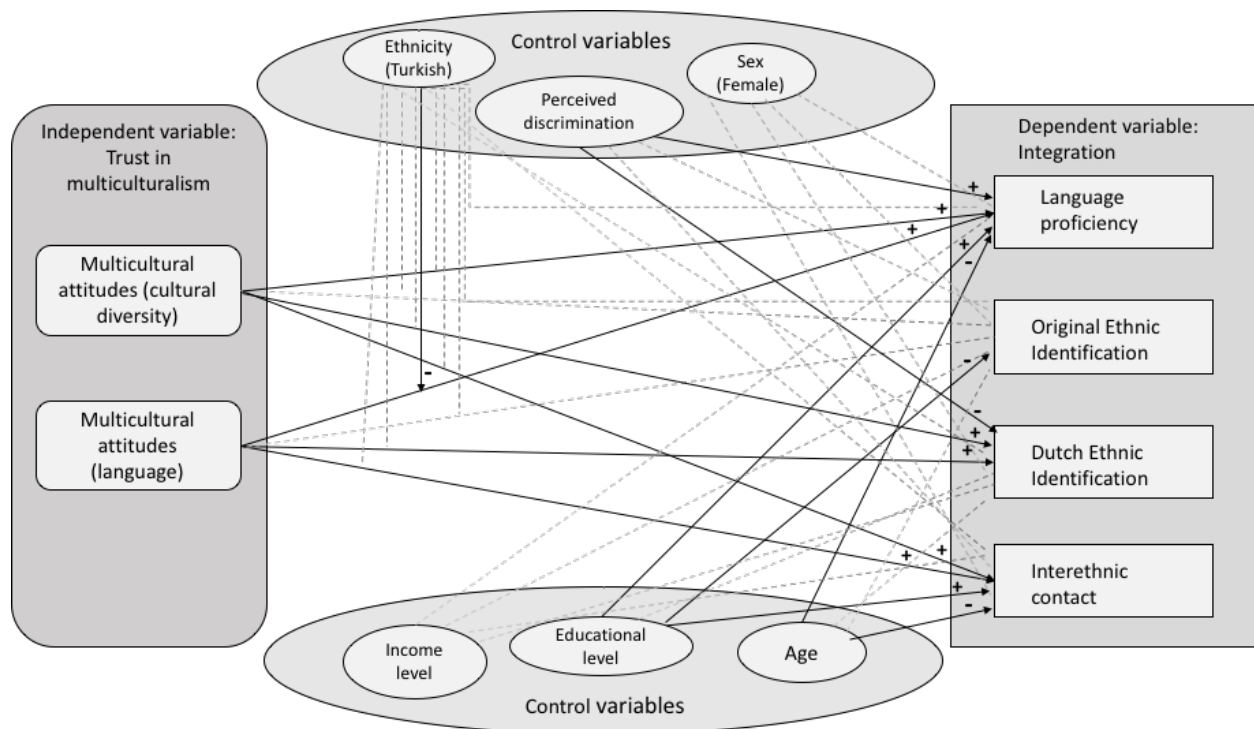


Figure 5. Overview of the four different models of integration and their significant predictors.

Discussion

This study investigated whether trust in multiculturalism of Dutch Moroccans and Turks is related to and to what extent adds to the explanation of their degree of integration. Also, a possible interaction effect for ethnicity was analyzed.

First of all, multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) were found to be significantly and positively related to Dutch language proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact. Thus, positive attitudes towards multiculturalism are coherent with a higher degree of three types of integration. Hypothesis 1a can be accepted for these three types of integration.

In terms of explaining these relations, it could be that language proficiency leads to more interethnic contact, which according to contact theory (Allport, 1954) leads to reduced prejudice. A reduction of prejudices might lead to more positive attitudes towards out-groups. These out-groups can be other cultural groups, which means that more positive attitudes towards different cultures are developed. On the other hand, having more positive attitudes towards cultural diversity could mean that migrants are more open to interethnic contact. This can only occur when two individuals speak the same language (which will often be the majority language, in this context Dutch). In this sense, the migrant might be more fluent in the Dutch language because of this interethnic contact. Next, the correlation with Dutch ethnic identification could be explained by reasoning that someone has positive attitudes towards cultural

diversity when he/she feels at home and respected in the Dutch multicultural society. This feeling might relate to higher identification with the Dutch society because multiculturalism has become part of Dutch society. When it comes to interethnic contact, it could be that having more positive multicultural attitudes makes migrants more open for interethnic contact. On the other side, coming back to contact theory (Allport, 1954), interethnic contact may lead to less prejudice and more positive out-group attitudes and thus more positive attitudes towards cultural diversity.

Interestingly enough, multicultural attitudes (language) were found to be *negatively* related to these three forms of integration (rejecting hypothesis 1b). This means that having more positive attitudes towards everyone speaking their own language is related to lower degrees of integration in terms of language proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact. For language proficiency, it could be argued that when migrants have positive attitudes towards everyone speaking their own language, they might feel a smaller need of mastering the Dutch language. This effect can also explain the negative correlation between positive multicultural attitudes (language) and integration in terms of interethnic contact and Dutch ethnic identification. When someone is less fluent in Dutch, interethnic contact may occur less because you need a common language for successful communication. Also, Dutch ethnic identification could be less because language is an important part of one's ethnic identification (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001).

The next step in this research was to test whether trust in multiculturalism *adds* to the degree of integration, alongside age, sex, perceived discrimination, educational level, income level and ethnicity. It was found that multicultural attitudes (both cultural diversity and language) added to the explanation of three subtypes of integration, namely (again) Dutch proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact. Hypothesis 2 is thus accepted for these three subtypes of integration. Again, multicultural attitudes towards cultural diversity are positive predictors while multicultural attitudes towards languages are negative predictors. These results show that multicultural attitudes from the perspective of Dutch Moroccans and Turks are important to take into account when looking for ways to stimulate integration in terms of Dutch proficiency, Dutch ethnic identification and interethnic contact. Furthermore, not all control variables were found to be significant predictors in the models. More research is needed to gain a better understanding in what other factors are of influence on different aspects of integration, to improve these models suggested here.

Finally, one interaction effect was found for ethnicity, namely that Dutch Turks have more positive attitudes towards everyone speaking their own language than Dutch Moroccans, which in turn leads Dutch Turks to be less proficient in the Dutch language. It was expected that there would be a difference between Dutch Turks and Moroccans because Turks are found to be more in-group oriented. These findings partially confirm hypothesis 3b while hypothesis 3a is fully rejected.

Although this research was carefully conducted, it has some limitations. Firstly, the reliability of the scale multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) was low and this scale only consisted of three questions. Adding to this, the facet of multicultural attitudes towards language only consisted of one question concerning attitudes towards the existence of different languages within a country. This research made use of an existing database, which gave limited options to improve the reliability. It would be interesting for future research on this topic to use or construct a better instrument to measure trust in multiculturalism, for example (an adjustment of) the Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995) and to test whether similar results are found. However, the upside of using data from the NELLS-study is that this enabled testing this relation among a big sample of Dutch Moroccans and Turks.

Another limitation is that this study was conducted in a specific context of Dutch Moroccans and Turks in the Netherlands. It is hard to generalize these findings to other migration groups and countries, also because an interaction effect for ethnicity was found. Future research in the context of other countries and/or migration groups will have to show whether these findings can be generalized across different contexts and how they might differ across different migrant groups. However, the finding that Dutch Moroccans' and Turks' trust in multiculturalism is related to their degree of different aspects of integration is important. These findings reflect the complexity of the integration process and that we should not overlook the way migrants feel about cultural diversity.

If multicultural societies want to stimulate integration, they should invest in grasping the complexity of the integration process. The found relation between trust in multiculturalism in terms of cultural diversity of two major ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands and different parts of integration is an example why exploring this process is important. Now researchers can further explore this found relationship and include other domains of integration as well, such as political participation and labor market participation. Also, more qualitative research approaches among ethnic minorities can help to clarify this relation.

Concluding, if more research supports these findings, and multicultural attitudes (cultural diversity) on the side of ethnic minorities is indeed positively related to aspects of integration, these attitudes should be stimulated. On the other hand, the finding that positive attitudes towards speaking one's own language are negatively related to integration reflects the importance of language for integration. Thus, positive attitudes towards cultural diversity should be stimulated and at the same time, the importance of speaking Dutch should be emphasized for migrants. This cannot be done overnight, but policymakers can for example focus on including the topic of multiculturalism in the curricula of high schools and of integration programs for newly-arrived migrants while at the same time invest more in language proficiency of migrants.

Also, it should be tried to make the public discourse more positive towards multiculturalism. There is a lot of mistrust towards the multicultural society in the media nowadays and the question whether multiculturalism has failed or not is a topic of debate (Kymlicka, 2010). However, based on the statistics we have to accept that the Netherlands had turned into a culturally diverse society and this change cannot easily be reversed. We need to find manners for different cultures to harmoniously co-exist in the society. The notion that negative attitudes towards multiculturalism (cultural diversity) could only amplify the problems is one to take into account when working on the challenge of constructing a successful multicultural society. More trust in multiculturalism (in terms of cultural diversity) might be the starting point to bring the multicultural society to a success!

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Appendix A: Codebook

Variable name	Name in SPSS	Measured by questions (Dutch/English):	Scale (if applicable)
DV: trust in multiculturalism			
Multicultural attitudes (ethnic diversity)	MA1	<p>pw1sce19a: Het is beter als een land verschillende gewoontes en gebruiken heeft / <i>It is better if a country has different habits and customs.</i></p> <p>pw1sce19e: Als een land spanningen wilt verminderen, hoeft migratie niet te stoppen / <i>If a country wants to reduce tensions, migration does not have stop</i></p> <p>w1sce19b: Het is beter voor een land als er verschillende geloofsovertuigingen bestaan / <i>It is better for a country if there are different religions</i></p>	<p>1 = very much disagree</p> <p>2 = disagree</p> <p>3 = neutral</p> <p>4 = agree</p> <p>5 = very much agree</p>
Multicultural attitudes (language)	<p>pw1sce19c</p> <p><u>Dummy's:</u> MA_Language_1 MA_Language_2 MA_Language_3 MA_Language_4 MA_Language_5</p>	<p>pw1sce19c: Het is beter voor een land als iedereen zijn eigen taal mag spreken / <i>It is better for a country if everyone can speak their own language</i></p>	<p>1 = very much disagree</p> <p>2 = disagree</p> <p>3 = neutral</p> <p>4 = agree</p> <p>5 = very much agree</p> <p>Dummy's: 1 = yes 2 = no</p>
IV: Integration			
Dutch language proficiency	IntLang2	<p>NEWw1scg8a: Kunt u iemand begrijpen die Nederlands spreekt? / <i>Can you understand someone who speaks Dutch?</i></p> <p>NEWw1scg8b: Kunt u zelf Nederlands spreken? / <i>Can you speak Dutch yourself?</i></p>	<p>1 = not</p> <p>2 = a little bit</p> <p>3 = medium</p> <p>4 = good</p> <p>5 = very good</p>

		NEWw1scg8c: Kunt u iets in de Nederlandse taal lezen? / <i>Can you read something in Dutch?</i>	
		NEWw1scg8d: Kunt u iets in het Nederlands schrijven? / <i>Can you write something in Dutch?</i>	
Original ethnic identification	IntOEI2	NEWw1scg6a: Ik ben trots op mijn etnische achtergrond/ <i>I am proud of my ethnical background</i>	1 = very much
		NEWw1scg6b: Ik identificeer me sterk met mijn etnische groep/ <i>I strongly identify myself with my ethnical group</i>	disagree 2 = disagree
		NEWw1scg6c: Ik voel me echt verbonden met mijn etnische groep/ <i>I really feel connected to my ethnical group</i>	3 = neutral 4 = agree 5 = very much agree
		NEWw1scg6d: Mijn etnische identiteit is een belangrijk deel van mezelf/ <i>My ethnical identity is an important aspect of myself</i>	
Dutch ethnic identification	IntDEI2	NEWw1sce20a: Ik voel me op mijn plek in de Nederlandse samenleving/ <i>I feel at home in the Dutch society</i>	1 = very much
		NEWw1sce20b: Ik identificeer me sterk met Nederland/ <i>I strongly identify myself with the Netherlands</i>	disagree 2 = disagree
		NEWw1sce20c: Ik voel me echt verbonden met Nederland/ <i>I really feel connected to the Netherlands</i>	3 = neutral 4 = agree 5 = very much agree
		NEWw1sce20d: Mijn Nederlandse identiteit is een belangrijk deel van mezelf/ <i>My Dutch identity is an important aspect of myself</i>	
Interethnic contact	IntCon2	NEWw1scb18a: Contact in de buurt: Nederlandse herkomst/ <i>Contact in the neighborhood: Dutch origin</i>	1 = never 2= approximatel
		NEWw1scb19a: Contact op werk/school: Nederlandse herkomst/ <i>Contact at work/school: Dutch origin</i>	y once a year 3= several
		NEWw1scb20a: Contact op verenigingen en/of clubs: Nederlandse herkomst/ <i>Contact at societies/clubs: Dutch origin</i>	times a year 4= approximatel

y once a
month
5= several
times a month
6= once or
several times
a week
7= (almost)
every day

Control variables			
Age	w1cage	w1cage: Leeftijd tijdens het interview / age at time of interview	<i>n.a.</i>
Sex	w1csex <u>Dummy's:</u> DumSex_1 (man) DumSex_2 (vrouw)	w1csex: Wat is uw geslacht? / <i>What is your sex?</i>	Dummy's: 1 = yes 2 = no
Perceived discrimination	PerDis2	w1scg9a: Discriminatie: bij het solliciteren naar een baan of stageplek/ <i>Discrimination: when applying for a job or internship</i> w1scg9b: Discriminatie: op uw werk/ <i>Discrimination: at your job</i> w1scg9c: Discriminatie: op school, in de les/ <i>Discrimination: at school, in class</i> w1scg9d: Discriminatie: op straat, in winkels, in het openbaar vervoer/ <i>Discrimination: on the streets, in stores, in public transport</i> w1scg9e: Discriminatie: op vereniging, club, sporten/ <i>Discrimination: at an association or (sport)club</i> w1scg9f:	1 = no, never 2= yes, a single time 3= yes, on a regular base

Discriminatie: bij uitgaansgelegenheden,
discotheken, clubs etc./ *Discrimination: in
nightlife, e.g. clubs or bars*

Educational level HiDe
(highest obtained
degree)

w1fa23b02 until w1fa23b12

The whole explanation of the construction of this
variable can be found in the method section
(instruments)

This is an
ordinal
variable with
the
categories:

1 = primary
education
2= vmbo-
lbo/kader
3=
mavo/vmbo-tl
4= havo
5= vwo
6= mbo-laag
7= mbo-hoog
8= hbo
9= wo
bachelor
10 = wo
master
11= phd

Income level	w1fa61	w1fa61: Wat is het netto inkomen per maand van u en uw partner samen?/van u?/ <i>what is the net income per month of you and your partner together/of you?</i>	1= less than 150 2 = 150 – 299 3 = 300- 499 4= 500 – 999 5= 1000 – 1499 6= 1500 – 1999 7 = 2000 – 2499 8 = 2500 – 2999 9 = 3000 – 3499 10= 3500 – 3999 11 = 4000 – 4499 12 = 4500 – 4999 13= 5000 – 5499 14= 5500 – 5999 15= 6000 – 6499 16= 6500 – 6999 17= 7000 or more
Ethnicity	Etniciteit <u>Dummy's:</u> Dum_etniciteit_1 (Moroccan) Dum_etniciteit_2 (Turkish)	Self-reported countries of birth, definition of Statistics Netherlands	1 = Moroccan 2 = Turkish Dummy's: 1 = yes 2= no
Interaction variables	EtniciteitxMA EtniciteitxML	EtniciteitxMA=Dum_etniciteit_2 * MA1 EtniciteitxML=Dum_etniciteit_2*MA_Language_1	
