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The effect of perceived discrimination on the national identification of students with a Turkish or Moroccan background in the Netherlands

Abstract

This study examines whether perceived discrimination influences the host national identification of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands, and if this direct effect is (at least partly) mediated by ingroup identification. Former studies that have been conducted regarding this relationship are in disagreement about whether perceived discrimination affects the national identification of people with a migration background. To test if there is a relationship between perceived discrimination and national identification in this study, survey data of 471 adolescents with a Turkish or Moroccan background was used. The results show that perceived discrimination is negatively related to identification with the Netherlands. Furthermore, the results do not confirm that the relationship between perceived discrimination and national identification is mediated by ingroup identification. Even though ingroup identification does not mediate the relation between perceived discrimination and national identification in this study, it was found that ingroup identification is a direct predictor for national identification as well.

Keywords: *discrimination; national identification; ingroup identification*

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1. Introduction

Ethnic discrimination in the Netherlands is a phenomenon that is becoming more relevant in political and scholarly debates these days, with the spectacular upcoming of anti-discrimination political parties like the leftist GroenLinks party being a clear illustration of growing concerns in society. On the other side of the political spectrum, right-wing parties who are increasingly sceptic about immigrants and their integration into Dutch society are upcoming as well, even winning the local elections in march 2019 (NOS, 2019). According to research done by the Dutch Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) in 2014, 24 percent of Dutch citizens had experienced some form of discrimination in the last year, with ethnic origin being reported most as the reason for their perceived discrimination. Additionally, most forms of discrimination were reported by people with a migration background (Andriessen, Fernee & Wittebrood, 2014). In particular, several studies have shown that ethnic discrimination is a common experience for adolescents as well, mainly in schools, with these students' perpetrators being both their classmates as well as adult authority figures like teachers (Benner & Graham, 2013). Among others, examples of discrimination experienced by ethnic minority students are receiving a lower grade than deserved; getting harsh punishment by authority figures in the school; and being the object of verbal or physical abuse from peers at school (Benner & Graham, 2013).

Researchers in several earlier studies have concluded that perceived discrimination by the majority population plays a significant role in the national identification of ethnic minorities, and the national identification of minority groups is generally seen as an important part of integration into the Dutch society (De Vroome, Coenders, Van Tubergen & Verkuyten, 2011). Nevertheless, only two studies have been completed in the past regarding discrimination and national identification, but these studies were aimed at Muslims in Great-Britain (Hutchison, Lubna, Goncalves-Portelinha, Kamali & Khan, 2015), and refugees in the Netherlands, who make up for a relatively small part of the total amount of immigrants in the Netherlands (De Vroome, Coenders, Van Tubergen & Verkuyten, 2011). This means that we know little about the largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, Turks and Moroccans, while the biggest share of both these minority groups have a Muslim background (CBS, 2018). Because the two ethnic groups are similar in terms of religion and history in the Netherlands, they are not treated as separate groups in this study. In addition to the importance of researching the biggest ethnic minority groups, the Netherlands is a valid and interesting case to study because in the Netherlands, a relatively big share of inhabitants has a

migration background. In total, an amount of 24 percent (or 4.1 million inhabitants) of Dutch citizens has a migration background (CBS, 2018).

Past studies concerning the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification show mixed results: some show that perceived discrimination is not related to national identification (De Vroome, Coenders, Van Tubergen & Verkuyten, 2011), while others show the opposite, stating that perceived discrimination is associated with lower national identification and more negative attitudes toward the majority group (Hutchison, Lubna, Goncalves-Portelinha, Kamali & Khan, 2015). In this study, a mediation effect is taken into consideration as well: the aim of this mediation effect is to find out if ingroup identification among Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch students with their own ethnic group mediates the effect between perceived discrimination on national identification. This mediation has not yet been researched. It is relevant to add this mediation effect, because previous studies have shown that perceived discrimination can lead to increased ingroup identification (Armenta & Hunt, 2009), and ethnic and religious minorities who identify more strongly with their own ethnic or religious group identify less with the host country (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). These empirical findings suggest that there is an underlying mechanism that affects the relation between perceived discrimination and national identification. This makes it interesting to study whether ingroup identification mediates the effect of perceived discrimination at school on national identification.

In short, the aim of this study is to find out what effect perceived discrimination has on the national identification of school-going adolescents with a Turkish or Moroccan background in the Netherlands. After this, the mediation effect of ‘ingroup identification’ - in this case the Turkish and Moroccan minority groups in the Netherlands - will be tested to see whether or not the effect found is being mediated by ‘ingroup identification’. This results in the following research question:

What is the effect of perceived discrimination on the national identification of students with a Turkish or Moroccan background in the Netherlands, and how is this effect mediated by ‘ingroup identification’?

Finally, the Dutch data that is being used in this study comes from a larger study, containing four different European countries, with only adolescents included. The young age of the respondents is benefiting for this specific research on national identification among

ethnic minorities, because (ethnic) identity formation is the central developmental task of adolescence (Phinney, 1993).

1.1 A brief historical overview of Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands

As mentioned above, ethnic minorities are limited to school-going adolescents in the Netherlands with a Turkish and Moroccan background. Discrimination against ethnic minorities in the Netherlands has become increasingly relevant since the early 1960's, when Turkish and Moroccan guest workers came to the Netherlands to temporarily work there. This was mainly the case because the Dutch industry needed low-skilled labor, and the majority of these first-generation Turks and Moroccans were recruited from parts of Turkey and Morocco that were socio-economically underdeveloped. During this period, the integration of immigrants was not a policy issue of any importance at the time. Integration into other areas of society was generally seen as unnecessary by the Dutch government, because the government expected that these 'guest workers' would return to Turkey and Morocco after a few years (Crul & Doornik, 2003). Even though return to their native countries was expected, they ended up staying in the Netherlands and brought their families over for permanent stay (Euwals, Dagevos, Gijssels & Roodenburg, 2010). These family reunifications caused the Turkish and Moroccan minority groups to become the two biggest non-western ethnic groups in the Netherlands (400 thousand citizens in the Netherlands have a Turkish background, and 391 thousand have a Moroccan background) (CBS, 2018). Furthermore, research by the Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) in 2017 showed that 40 percent of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch citizens do not feel at home in the Netherlands. Their attitudes towards the Dutch social climate are becoming increasingly negative, and ties with their own society, this is especially the case for Turks, are relatively strong compared to other ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. This negativity towards the Dutch society is mainly the consequence of structurally low chances in their lives and an increase in perceived discrimination by the Dutch majority. Feelings of exclusion they experience result in an increased risk of groups in society living separately from each other, with a segregated society as its consequence (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2017).

2. Theory

2.1 The effect of perceived discrimination on national identification

First, the Contact Hypothesis, Intergroup Threat Theory, Symbolic Threat Theory and Social Identity Theory will be used to form a hypothesis regarding the direct effect of perceived discrimination on national identification.

The *Contact Hypothesis* states that more positive contact between two individuals belonging to different groups could decrease the negative attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes they have of each other and of their groups in general (Allport, 1954). Positive contact improves intergroup relations, because people are more willing to look at and treat each other as equals (Allport as cited in Pettigrew, 1998). Nevertheless, Allport found that there are four conditions for optimal intergroup contact that need to be met in order to change these stereotypes and attitudes toward the other group: equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support (Allport, 1954). According to more recent empirical research, attitudes toward the other ethnic group only become more favorable when these conditions are met and when the contact with the person from the other group is generally seen as positive. Research done by Barlow et al. (2012), shows that when contact is seen as negative, more contact predicts increased prejudice toward the other group. In this case, if Turkish and Moroccan minorities experience discrimination by people from the Dutch majority group, the contact can be seen as negative by the minority group. This means that attitudes toward the Dutch majority group become more negative and hostile instead of positive. The assumption made here is that negative attitudes towards the majority group and lower host national identification are related and thus that higher perceived discrimination decreases national identification. This assumption is supported by research done by De Vroome, Verkuyten & Martinovic (2014), which stated that the perceived acceptance or rejection of the host majority population strongly influences the sense of national belonging of citizens with an immigrant background.

Second, *Intergroup Threat Theory* argues that intergroup threat is an important cause of intergroup bias and prejudice. The theory addresses the importance for each individual's self-esteem to belong to a positively valued group (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). When an outgroup shows no respect to the ingroup, the outgroup is seen as a threat to the group's identity, which might encourage intergroup bias. This perceived threat on the identity and

image of the ingroup could have two different outcomes: an individual may disidentify with or even leave the ingroup, or this person turns against the source of the perceived threat, the outgroup (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006).

One specific category belonging to Intergroup Threat Theory is the so-called *Symbolic Threat*: symbolic group threats are threats to the religion, values, belief system, ideology, philosophy, morality or worldview of a group as a whole (Stephan, Ybarra, Morrison, 2009). In Europe, including the Netherlands, discrimination focused on especially Muslims is still on the rise. A significant number of Muslims report that they feel like western societies do not respect Muslims (Ogan, Willnat, Pennington & Bashir, 2014). For the past decades, anti-Muslim attitudes in Europe have become increasingly clear in the speeches of political parties with anti-Muslim sentiments. These parties aim for a restriction in the activities of Muslims, which is widely supported among European countries according to opinion polls (Ogan, Willnat, Pennington & Bashir, 2014). The biggest share of both Moroccan and Turkish people in the Netherlands are Muslim (Schmeets, 2018), and they report that mainly their religion and values are threatened by this increasingly negative anti-Muslim sentiment (Schmeets, 2018). In the case of this particular study, discrimination and anti-Muslim values held by the majority group could be seen as threatening to the ingroup.

Both intergroup threat and symbolic threat are related to the more broad *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel, 1972). This theory states, among others, that people's group identity is part of the individual's self-concept. Just like has been stated in intergroup threat and symbolic threat, it is important for group members that the ingroup is more positively evaluated than other groups (the outgroup) in society. When this is not the case, and they feel like their (ethnic) identity is threatened by the outgroup, they will turn against this outgroup. The social identity theory will be explained in more detail below.

Based on the Contact Hypothesis, Intergroup Threat Theory, Symbolic Threat Theory and Social Identity Theory, the following hypothesis has been formulated:

H1: Perceived discrimination among Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch students has a negative influence on their national identification.

Figure 1. Expected relationship based on the first hypothesis



2.2 The mediating effect of ingroup identification

Next to the expected negative effect of perceived discrimination on national identification, it is expected that this direct effect is (partly) mediated by ingroup identification. This mechanism can be explained by the Social Identity Theory, the Rejection-Identification Model and the Reactive Ethnicity Approach.

Social Identity Theory, developed by Tajfel in 1972, argues that people, at least partly, relate as representatives of their groups. Social identity is part of an individual's self-concept which is determined by his or her membership of a social group. Their group membership goes hand in hand with some emotional significance and value to this group (Tajfel, 1974).

Social groups, which can be all kinds of groups, provide all their members with a shared identity, which causes them to be able to realize and evaluate who they are, what they believe and how they should behave according to their group values. An important part of Social Identity Theory is that social identity groups focus on how the in-group is different from the relevant out-groups in the given social context (Tajfel, 1974). People evaluate their group characteristics in comparison to the relevant outgroups, because groups only become psychologically real when they are defined in relation to other groups (Tajfel, 1974).

Important is that your own group is positively distinctive and more positively evaluated than the other relevant groups in society. People are in need of a positive self-concept, which makes them motivated to think of their own groups as good groups. Members of a specific group act and think in ways that causes the group to achieve or maintain a positive distinctiveness in comparison to the relevant outgroups (Tajfel, 1974; Hornsey, 2008).

Comparisons to other groups are, most of all, in-group-favouring and ethnocentric, where higher status groups fight to protect their dominant position in society, while the groups holding a lower status are struggling to fight off their negative social stigma and try to show their positive characteristics (Sindic & Reicher, 2009). It has been suggested that people will reject membership of superordinate bodies, like the majority group or a country in general, if they feel that their (ethnic) identity is threatened because of these groups (Sindic & Reicher, 2009).

Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands have a relatively unfavorable labor market position, which is partly explained by discrimination by the Dutch majority group (SCP, n.d.). In addition to their lower economic status, the educational status of both Turkish and Moroccan minorities is structurally lower than the educational status of their Dutch counterparts: 5 percent of second generation Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands have a degree in higher education, compared to 32 percent of their native Dutch counterparts (Crul & Doornik, 2003). Their low socioeconomic status in the Netherlands could cause Turks and Moroccans to feel like they are seen as a lower status group in general, which could have a complete rejection of the Dutch society as its consequence.

Second, according to the *Rejection-Identification Model (RIM)*, developed by Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey in 1999, group-based discrimination has a harmful effect on personal wellbeing. At the same time, experiencing discrimination increases hostility toward the majority group and increases minority identification. A high level of identification with the group that is experiencing discrimination by the majority as well has an increase in wellbeing as a consequence. This means that the negative effect of discrimination on wellbeing can be countered by ingroup identification (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). Especially feelings of inclusion within the own (minority) ingroup can restore a positive self-esteem. In the light of this increase in self-esteem and wellbeing because of ingroup inclusion, RIM argues that discrimination by the majority group causes people to identify more with their own minority group to increase wellbeing (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). Additionally, perceived group discrimination is likely to have negative implications for majority group and host national identification, especially for ethnic minorities. This is mainly the case because ethnic minorities who experience discrimination and low subgroup respect by the majority in general have more negative attitudes and hostility towards the dominant group in the country (Molina & Phillips, 2014).

Similar to the Rejection-Identification Model is the *Reactive Ethnicity Approach*. This approach is the sociological variant of the Rejection Identification Model, which is generally seen as more psychological. Reactive Ethnicity Approach argues that in the face of perceived threats, prejudices, discrimination and exclusion by the majority group, people from the threatened (minority) group can develop a reactive ethnicity. This means that the minority group members highlight the hostile context they find themselves in, which results in an increase of identification with their own ethnicity instead of a decline (Rumbaut, 2008).

There is a high level of consciousness of existing differences between the two groups, promoting ethnic group solidarity (Rumbaut, 2008). Reactive ethnicity can go even further than Rejection-Identification, when it transforms into resistance and opposition to the majority group, to more radically defend one's own ethnicity. This can turn into an aversion to mainstream institutions in the host country (Celik, 2015). In the Netherlands, the Reactive Ethnicity Approach was tested by Maliepaard and Alba (2016). They found that the majority of the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are shifting toward the Dutch mainstream society in terms of attitudes and values, but a significant number of second generation Turkish and Moroccan minorities maintain their home attitudes or are even shifting towards a more traditional direction. This is mainly the case for the less advantaged, lower educated and least socially integrated individuals (Maliepaard & Alba, 2016).

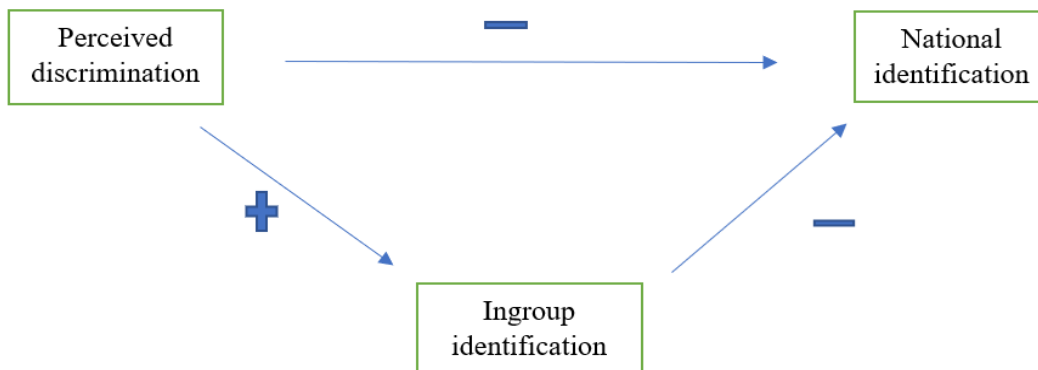
In short, the Social Identity Theory, the Rejection-Identification Model and the Reactive Ethnicity Approach all suggest that perceived discrimination by ethnic minority groups leads to an increase in identification with the own ingroup, and a decrease in identification with the outgroup (in this case, the Dutch majority group).

So finally, based on these three theories, it is expected that ingroup identification (partly) mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and national identification. The second hypothesis has been formed as follows:

H2: The effect of perceived discrimination on national identification is (partly) mediated by a higher ingroup identification.

Taking the mediation effect into consideration, the final path of the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification is expected to be as follows:

Figure 2. Expected relations based on the second hypothesis



3. Methods

3.1 Data

In this study, a secondary data analysis is used to test the two separate hypotheses that have been formulated. The data has been collected through a longitudinal survey, called “Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries” (CILS4EU, 2016). The survey gives more insight in the fields of structural, social and cultural integration among students in school classes in Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and England. In this study, only wave 1 survey-data from the Netherlands is used. The final sample was formed using a three-stage stratified sample design: 1) sampling individual schools enrolling the relevant target grades, 2) sampling classes in the target grades within sampled schools and 3) sampling students within the sampled classes.

Data from the first wave was collected in 2010, when respondents were 14 years old. Because this study only contains the first wave, all respondents were 14 years of age when they were interviewed. More than 18.000 students in total participated in wave 1 of this survey. The survey was conducted at school, because it provides context information like information from co-ethnic and interethnic peers. These advantages of the school context caused the target population of CILS4EU to consist of students attending school in the third grades of secondary schools in the Netherlands.

The total response rate for the student survey during the first wave in the Netherlands was 78.9 percent. Additionally, 33.94 percent of the respondents in the Netherlands had an immigration background. According to CILS4EU, children with an immigration background

are defined as ‘students who were either themselves born outside the survey country, or who have at least one parent or at least two grandparents who were born outside the survey country’ (CILS4EU, 2016). In this study, the first, second and third generation immigrants are included in the analysis. The reason for including the third generation as well is that, even though they generally experience to be less disadvantaged than the first generation, they still feel more disadvantaged than their native counterparts (Pottie, Dahal, Georgiades, Premji & Hassan, 2015). In the Netherlands, the total amount of respondents equaled 4,363 students.

Because the target group in this particular research are students in the Netherlands with a Turkish and Moroccan background, the final amount of respondents included in the analysis is 471 after leaving out respondents with other ethnic backgrounds and listwise deleting missings on other variables. All missings are deleted so all respondents have a valid score on each variable.

3.2 Variables

The two formed hypotheses state that perceived discrimination among Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch students by the Dutch majority group has a negative influence on their national identification, and that this effect might be (partly) mediated by ingroup identification. To be able to test these hypotheses, only Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch students have been taken into consideration.

3.2.1 Independent variable

In the hypotheses above, the independent variable is ‘perceived discrimination’. To make the measurement of this variable as complete as possible, four variables that measure four different types of discrimination have been put together into one, more complete variable. This combined variable measures the different types of discrimination. The four different types of discrimination which have been asked about separately in the survey are: 1) how often do you feel discriminated or treated unfairly in school? 2) how often do you feel discriminated in trains/buses/trams/subway? 3) how often do you feel discriminated in shops/stores/cafes/restaurants/nightclubs? and 4) how often do you feel discriminated by police or security guards? The answers the respondents were able to choose from in these four questions were 1) never, 2) sometimes, 3) often and 4) always.

To test whether it is allowed to put these four different variables together as one variable measuring discrimination in general, Cronbach’s Alpha was performed. The Cronbach’s Alpha measures whether composed variables measure (almost) the same concept.

The Cronbach's Alpha for these four variables together was $\alpha = .984$, which means that all four of them measure the same concept ($>.5$). As a result, it is allowed to put the separate variables together in one variable. Combining the four variables resulted in a continuous variable ranging from 1 to 4.

The combined variable was positively skewed, which was the case because too few respondents reported that they "often" or "always" experienced discrimination. To solve this problem of skewness, I decided to go on with a dummy variable. In this dummy variable, 0 equals 'no perceived discrimination at all' and 1 equals 'perceived discrimination', which includes all respondents that reported that they had experienced discrimination.

3.2.2 Dependent variable

The dependent variable in this study is 'national identification'. To measure this variable, the question 'how strongly do you feel member of the Netherlands?' is used. The answer categories belonging to this question are 1) not at all strongly, 2) not very strongly, 3) fairly strongly, and 4) very strongly. Because the answer options to this question are normally considered as categories with a clear difference between the four options, these types of variables are usually measured on an ordinal level. Nevertheless, in terms of interpretability, the dependent variable will be measured on an interval level.

3.2.3 Mediation variable

According to the second hypothesis, it is expected that the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification is, at least partly, mediated by ingroup identification. 'Ingroup identification' is measured combining two separate questions from the data, turning the variable into a scale. The first question was whether the respondent identified with another ethnic group, where the respondent could choose from two options: yes (0) and no (1). When the respondent chose 'no', and thus does not identify with a different ethnic group than the Dutch group, he or she got the value 0 on the variable 'how strongly do you feel you belong to this group'. The respondents who indicated that they did identify with another ethnic group, were asked how strongly they felt that they belong to this group, where they could give four potential answers: 1) not at all strongly, 2) not very strongly, 3) fairly strongly, and 4) very strongly. In short, in the combined variable, the categories range from 0 (I do not identify with another ethnic group) to 4 (I very strongly identify with another ethnic group).

3.2.4 Control variables

To check whether the expected relations between the variables in the hypotheses are explained by other, unrelated variables, two control variables are added to the analysis. The control variables were chosen because they are expected to influence the dependent variables and are related to the independent variable as well.

The first control variable in this study contains the question ‘how much time do you spend with Dutch people in the neighborhood?’, which measures how much time on average the respondent spends with native Dutch people in the respondent’s own neighborhood. This specific variable was chosen as a control variable because studies have shown that people with friends who are members of another ethnic group, show less prejudice toward this group than people without close friends to another ethnic group (Aberson, Shoemaker & Tomolillo, 2004). Other research revealed that interethnic friendships are associated with non-natives’ national and ethnic identifications as well (Agirdag, Van Houtte & Van Avermaet, 2010). Possible answers to the question asked are: 1) I don’t know people from this background, 2) never, 3) less often, 4) once or several times a month, 5) once or several times a week, and 6) every day.

The second control variable added to the analysis is ‘is there a language other than Dutch spoken at your home?’. This particular control variable was chosen because earlier research has demonstrated that language proficiency is related to discrimination by the majority group (Sawir, Marginson, Forbes-Mewett, Nyland & Ramia, 2012). Additionally, studies have shown that there is an effect of proficiency of the host country language on national identification (Hochman & Davidov, 2014). The question asked in the survey contained two possible answers the respondent could choose from: 0) no, and 1) yes.

3.3 Descriptive statistics

The descriptive statistics of all variables, consisting of the mean and standard deviation, are displayed in the table below. The descriptive statistics include the final respondents used in the analysis, after leaving out respondents who had missing values on at least one of the variables.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of all variables

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard deviation	Percentage missing
<i>Independent variable</i>					
Perceived discrimination	.00	1.00	.40		6.72%
<i>Control variables</i>					
Time spent with Dutch people	1.00	6.00	3.60	1.66	3.63%
Other language spoken at home	.00	1.00	.90		0.18%
<i>Dependent variable</i>					
National identification	1.00	4.00	2.92	.86	1.27%
<i>Mediation variable (ingroup identification)</i>					
Strength of identification with own ethnic group	.00	4.00	2.94	1.52	5.15%

Note: total amount of respondents for all variables = 471

The mean score on the independent variable, perceived discrimination, is .40. A score of 0 equals no perceived discrimination, whereas the score 1 means that the respondent has experienced discrimination. For this variable, a score of .40 means that 40% of the respondents have experienced discrimination.

The dependent variable, national identification, has a mean score of 2.92 on a scale of 1 (not at all strong) to 4 (very strong). The mean score for this variable suggests that identification with the Netherlands for Dutch-Moroccans and Dutch-Turks is medium to fairly strong.

The mean score of the variable measuring the mediation effect, ingroup identification, is 2.94. With a minimum score of 0 (no identification with another ethnic group) and a

maximum score of 4 (very strong identification with another ethnic group), ingroup identification is fairly high.

Finally, two control variables were added to the analysis. The first control variable, amount of time spent with Dutch people in the neighborhood, has a mean score of 3.60, which is close to the median score (3.50). The second control variable, other language spoken at home, has a mean score of .90. Because 0 means no, and 1 means yes, it can be concluded that 90% of the respondents spoke a different language than Dutch at home.

4. Results

To test the formed hypotheses, a regression will be performed. There are four assumptions that need to be met in order to do a regression analysis.

First, the relationship between the independent and the dependent variable should be linear. This is important, because if the relationship between the independent and the dependent variable is non-linear, the regression results will underestimate the actual relationship (Osborne and Walters, 2002). Because the independent variable of the main effect, perceived discrimination, is a dummy variable, the relationship is automatically linear. Though, one expected pattern belonging to the mediation effect, the relationship between ingroup identification and national identification, consists of continuous variables. This relationship was tested for linearity, which was significant ($p < .001$).

Second, the residuals of the continuous variables have been tested for normality with the help of a histogram and a p-p plot. This is important because highly skewed variables or variables with substantial outliers can give misleading results (Osborne and Walters, 2002). The residuals belonging to the variable 'ingroup identification' are slightly, negatively skewed. However, the deviance from a normal distribution is small and can thus be ignored. The residuals of the variable 'national identification' are normally distributed and thus meet the assumption of normality.

Third, the variables have been tested for homoscedasticity. When the variance of errors differs at different values of the independent variable, this is an indication for heteroscedasticity. This can cause the regression analysis to be weak (Osborne and Walters, 2002). To test whether this assumption is met, a scatter plot containing the standardized residual on the Y-axis and the standardized predicted value on the X-axis was conducted. The plots showed that there is no homoscedasticity for the dependent variables 'national identification' and 'ingroup identification'.

The fourth and final assumption of regression is multicollinearity. If multicollinearity is detected in an independent variable, this means that their statistical interpretation is threatened (Graham, 2003). Multicollinearity has been tested with the VIF-test. All variables have VIF values lower than 10, which means that the multicollinearity assumption has been met.

Because all four assumptions of regression have been met, a regression can be performed. First, the main effect of perceived discrimination on national identification will be tested. According to this hypothesis, it is expected that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on national identification. After this, the second hypothesis, containing the mediation effect, will be tested with the help of a regression as well. According to this hypothesis, it is expected that the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification is at least partly mediated by ingroup identification. Finally, the two control variables, ‘time spent with Dutch people in the neighborhood’ and ‘another language spoken at home’, are included in all tests.

4.1 Analysis of the main effect

To measure the main effect, a linear regression has been performed. This is possible because the independent variable is dichotomous and, even though the dependent variable has four categories, the variable will be interpreted as a continuous variable for reasons of interpretability.

Table 2. Regression results of the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification

	B	SE
<i>Dependent variable: national identification</i>		
Perceived discrimination	-.204**	.078
Time spent with Dutch people	.082**	.023
Other language spoken at home	-.527***	.127
R ²	.082	
N	471	

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

As can be seen in the table above, there is a significant negative effect of perceived discrimination on national identification ($B = -.204$; $p < .01$). This means that people who score 1 on perceived discrimination, and thus experience discrimination, identify less with the

Netherlands than people who score 0 on perceived discrimination, and hence do not experience discrimination. The effect size of $-.204$ here means that people experiencing discrimination, score $.204$ lower (on a scale of 1 (low) to 4 (high)) on national identification than people who do not experience discrimination. Perceived discrimination also explains a significant proportion of the variance in national identification ($R^2 = .082$; $F(13, 467) = 13,96$; $p < .001$). The control variables added to the model did not change the main effect of perceived discrimination on national identification.

In conclusion, these results give support to hypothesis 1, which states that perceived discrimination leads to less identification with the Netherlands.

4.2 Analysis of the mediation effect

To test whether ‘ingroup identification’ mediates the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification, a mediation analysis will be performed. This mediation effect will be tested with the help of a multiple regression. First, the direct effect of perceived discrimination on the mediating variable ‘ingroup identification’ will be analyzed in one model. Additionally, in a second model, the direct effect of ingroup identification on national identification will be tested. In the second model, perceived discrimination will be included as a control variable.

Table 3. Regression results of the mediating effect of ingroup identification

	B	SE
Model 1		
<i>Dependent variable: ingroup identification</i>		
Perceived discrimination	.035	.133
Time spent with Dutch people	-.073	.040
Other language spoken at home	1.824***	.216
Model 2		
<i>Dependent variable: national identification</i>		
Strength of ethnic identification	-.085**	.027
Perceived discrimination	-.201*	.077
Time spent with Dutch people	.076**	.023
Other language spoken at home	-.371**	.135

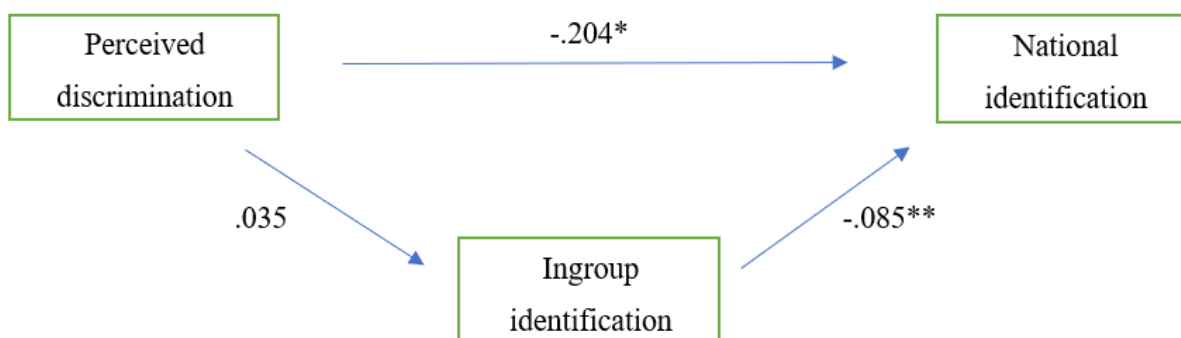
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In the first model, containing the direct effect of perceived discrimination on ingroup identification including control variables, perceived discrimination explains a significant proportion of the variance in ingroup identification ($R^2 = .150$; $F(3, 467) = 27,48$; $p < .001$). In the table above, it becomes clear that the direct effect of perceived discrimination on the expected mediator, ingroup identification, is not significant ($B = .035$; $p = .793$). This means that perceived discrimination does not have an effect on ingroup identification. Even though this relationship is not significant, it is worth it to note that the effect size of .035 shows that the relationship between perceived discrimination and ingroup identification is in the expected direction: perceived discrimination has a positive effect on ingroup identification.

In the second model, consisting of the direct effect of ingroup identification on national identification including perceived discrimination as a control variable, ingroup identification explains a significant proportion of the variance in national identification ($R^2 = .101$; $F(4, 466) = 13.16$; $p < .001$). In this model, a significant effect of ethnic identification on national identification has been found ($B = -.085$; $p < .01$). This significant effect means that an increase in ingroup identification has a negative effect on national identification. The effect size of -.085 here means that if the score on ingroup identification increases by 1, the score on national identification decreases with -.085 (on a scale of 1 (low) to 4 (high)). Hence, a higher ingroup identification has a lower national identification as a consequence for Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch students.

In summary, it can be argued that the expected mediation effect has not been found. Even though the expected negative effect of ingroup identification on national identification has indeed been found, the expected positive effect of perceived discrimination on ingroup identification is not supported by the regression performed. The figure below shows the results for all paths that have been analyzed:

Figure 3. All effects of the analyzed paths



In conclusion, the first hypothesis, which stated that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on national identification, has been confirmed by the regression analysis. So, perceived discrimination decreases national identification.

The second hypothesis, expecting that the negative effect of perceived discrimination on national identification is mediated by ingroup identification, cannot be confirmed according to the results. There is no proof that the main effect is mediated by ingroup identification.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In many countries, including the Netherlands, discrimination towards ethnic minorities has become more of an issue, and at the same time worries are expressed about the cultural integration of citizens with immigrant backgrounds. These worries include immigrants having relatively strong ties with their own ethnic group and country of origin, while feeling less connected to the Netherlands. This study has attempted to find out whether perceived discrimination influences the national identification of adolescents with a Turkish or Moroccan background in the Netherlands, and whether this relationship is, at least partly, mediated by identification with the own ethnic group. The study rests on Multiple Linear Regression analysis of 471 Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch students in the Netherlands.

According to the results that have been found in this study, perceived discrimination has a negative influence on the national identification of Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch students. This negative influence means that perceived discrimination has a decreasing effect on the national identification of these students. These results are in contradiction to earlier research, stating that discrimination is not related to national identification (De Vroome, Coenders, Van Tubergen & Verkuyten, 2011). The different findings might be a consequence of different populations in the two studies. While this study researched the biggest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, the study by De Vroome, Van Tubergen and Verkuyten focused on refugees, which did not include both Turks and Moroccans. In line with the findings in this study, however, Hutchinson et al. (2015) have shown that perceived discrimination negatively influences national identification. This finding is in agreement with (a variant of) the *Contact Hypothesis* by Allport (1954). The Contact Hypothesis primarily stated that positive contact between two individuals belonging to different groups could decrease the negative attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes they have of each other and of their groups in general. But in later research it was also argued that when contact is generally

seen as negative, more contact predicts increased prejudice toward the other group (Barlow et al., 2012). The latter could be an explanation for the negative influence of perceived discrimination on national identification.

Next to the direct effect of perceived discrimination on national identification, this study also examined whether this effect was (at least partly) mediated by ingroup identification. This mediation effect could not be confirmed, because there was no effect found of perceived discrimination on ingroup identification. A possible explanation for this can be given based on the *Intergroup Threat Theory*, which was included in the theory section of this study. This theory stated that discrimination forms a threat on the identity and image of the ingroup, which could have two different outcomes for the individual belonging to the disadvantaged group: this person may turn against the source of the perceived threat, which is the outgroup, or the individual may disidentify with or even leave the ingroup (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). A possibility here is that these two possible outcomes according to Intergroup Threat Theory have ruled each other out, which caused there to be no clear relationship between perceived discrimination and ingroup identification.

Even though the expected positive relationship between perceived discrimination and ingroup identification has not been found, the expectation of a negative relationship between ingroup identification and national identification did find support in this study. This finding gives confirmation to the *Social Identity Theory* described in the theory section, in that identifying more strongly with the own ingroup predicts outgroup negativism among Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch minority groups, whereas they see their own groups as better groups than the Dutch majority group (Tajfel, 1974; Hornsey, 2008).

Because the mediation effect has not been confirmed in this study, the only conclusion with regard to the mediation effect researched, is that both perceived discrimination and ingroup identification are predictors for national identification.

However, the study does have a few limitations. Firstly, the reader should bear in mind that the data used in this study is based on a cross-sectional study. This means that the data was collected at one specific point in time. So, according to the results, it is known that there are significant correlations between the variables, but nothing can be said about causal relationships. Panel data could help with carrying out more robust tests on causality in later research. Even though causal claims cannot be made, the possibility of reverse causality in this study should be considered. It is an option that the level of national identification influences perceived discrimination instead of the other way around, for example because

adolescents who do not identify with the Netherlands strongly are more likely to experience certain actions by the majority group as discrimination.

In addition, it is not possible to say anything about differences in the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification between Turks and Moroccans. This is the case because the two groups were not treated separately in the analysis but they were merged together, which means that no separate analyses have been conducted regarding Turks and Moroccans. For future research, it would be interesting to perform different analyses for the two groups, so possible differences could be detected. Especially differences in ingroup identification are expected to be found, because the Turkish-Dutch minority group is known in the Netherlands to have relatively strong ties with their own group and Turkey in general (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2017).

Another limitation to this study is that it is not known on what grounds the respondents feel discriminated. The questions asked regarding perceived discrimination did not include different grounds of discrimination, they just questioned whether they felt discriminated against in general. Additionally, the decision was made to create a dummy variable out of the variable measuring perceived discrimination, to solve problems with categories being reported by too few respondents. This means that only two categories were distinguished: 'no perceived discrimination' and 'perceived discrimination'. A consequence of this is that respondents who experience very little discrimination were included in the same category as respondents who reported that they experience a high amount of discrimination. This means that nothing can be said about whether little perceived discrimination has a different effect on national identification than when discrimination is experienced more often. For future research, it could be worth it to include a variable for perceived discrimination that includes a scale, so more can be said about differences in the effect of low and high perceived discrimination on national identification. Moreover, because the study is based on self-reported data and perceived discrimination can be a sensitive subject for some people, there is a possibility that respondents have under reported on perceived discrimination in terms of social desirability.

The final limitation to this study is that respondents who had a missing value on (at least) one of the variables were left out of the analysis. Their exclusion has led to a smaller sample size than originally intended, which could have negative consequences for the estimation of the effects found in the analysis. Because it is not known whether characteristics like social-economic status or religiosity of the respondents who were reported missing differ significantly from the respondents included, the sample might not have been

completely representative. A consequence could be that the effects found have been over- or underestimated.

In conclusion, perceived discrimination decreases identification with the Netherlands for Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch adolescents. Earlier in this study, it was argued that a low national identification threatens the integration of minorities in the Netherlands (De Vroome, Coenders, Van Tubergen & Verkuyten, 2011). Because the integration of citizens with an immigrant background have become an important issue in the Dutch political debate (NOS, 2019; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2017), it is crucial that discrimination is effectively combated by the Dutch government. Furthermore, because the results found in this study are based on adolescents only, it is important to highlight their young age. The primary finding that perceived discrimination affects the national identification of adolescents (and thus influences their integration in the Netherlands), shows that it is important to combat discrimination as these young people have a long time ahead in the Netherlands and integration is an important condition to become successful in Dutch society.

6. Literature

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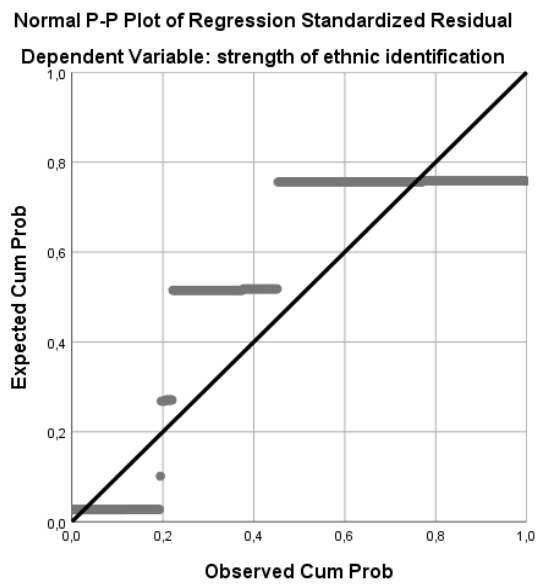
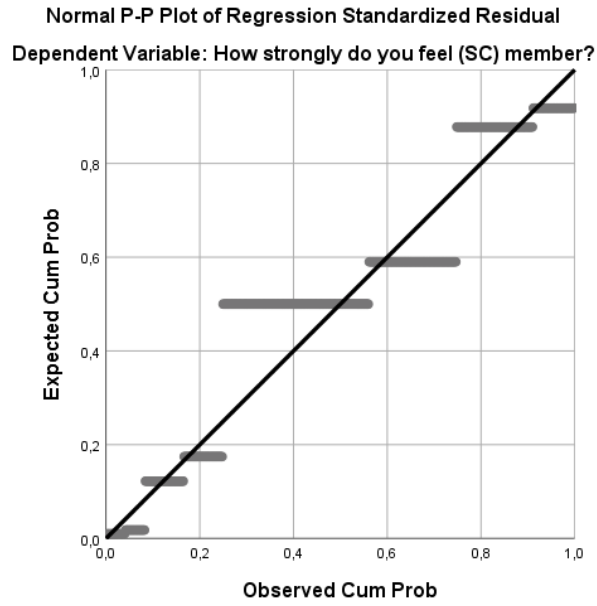
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7. Appendix

Testing the assumption of normality:



Testing for heteroscedasticity:

