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Predicting Support for Multiculturalism among Native
Youth: The Role of National Identity and Intergroup
Contact

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June 13, 2019

Introduction

Over the past few decades, an increasing migration flow in Europe has initiated a rising scientific interest in the social topic of acculturation. Acculturation refers to a process of cultural change that social groups from different backgrounds, who live together in the same society, undergo as a result of intergroup contact (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Navas, García, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares & Fernández, 2005). Research in this field generally agrees on the conclusion that group attitudes towards the ways in which different cultural groups are to live together have a major influence on whether immigrants are likely to integrate (Berry, 2001; Navas et al., 2005). It is therefore no surprise that, for the purpose understanding integration outcomes, a specific interest lies in how these attitudes come about. However, studies covering this topic have generally focussed on the predicting factors of immigrants acculturation attitudes (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006), while the emergence of attitudes that are held by the majority group of the receiving society in question, or native citizens, have received far less attention. This seems striking, as acculturation is stressed to concern a mutual process of change; attitudes of both the minority group of immigrants and the majority group of native citizens are considered to equally influence the likelihood of immigrant integration (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Navas et al., 2005). Put differently, integration is not likely to occur in a society that does not support multiculturalism.

Acculturation attitudes that are held by native citizens are political ideologies, as they are reflections of individual values and beliefs on whether, and in what way immigrants are recognized as part of society. The Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI), conducted by Banting and Kymlicka (2013), shows such reflections by revealing the strength of policies that stimulate multiculturalism across European countries. According to the MPI, the strength of multicultural policies in the Netherlands has strongly decreased over the period between 2000 and 2010, resulting in a general decrease since 1990. Supporting this finding, empirical research performed among Dutch native citizens shows that immigrant assimilation is generally preferred over immigrant integration (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003; Breugelmans & Van De Vijver, 2004). Affirmatively, Banting and Kymlicka (2013), as well as Entzinger (2014), and Joppke (2004), argue that the Netherlands are increasingly leaning towards centrist policies of civic integration, which, in contrast to multiculturalism, is derived from the idea that immigrants should fully adapt to Dutch society by learning its language, norms, institutions, history and culture.

The declining support for multiculturalism in the Netherlands reflects itself in rising public debates on how Dutch society should deal with deviant immigrant cultural values and

beliefs (Van Heerden, de Lange, van der Burg & Fennema, 2014). A specific concern seems to be devoted to the notion that immigrant integration puts the Dutch cultural values under pressure, thereby threatening the Dutch national identity to become diminished (Abels, R. & Roessingh, M., 2019; Huygen, M., 2018; Von Piekartz, H., 2019). The increasing use of concepts like ‘national identity’ and ‘Dutch cultural values’ in public debates on multiculturalism raises the question of what role national identity could possibly play in the formation of acculturation attitudes that are held by native citizens in the Netherlands. The current study aims to answer this question by analysing specifically whether national identification functions as a predictor for support for multiculturalism among Dutch native youth.

Previous empirical research that addressed the relationship between national identification and support for multiculturalism was specifically conducted by Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker and Obdržálek (2000), who revealed that Swiss and Slovak citizens who reported feeling like a ‘typical’ member of their nation showed significantly lower support for multiculturalism. Additionally, researchers that focussed on the native population in the Netherlands have established the presence of a positive relationship between national identification and exclusionist reactions towards immigrants (Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004; Verkuyten, 2009). The existing studies concerning the role of national identification in support for multiculturalism natives or exclusionist reactions towards immigrants more generally have mainly been conducted amongst the adult population (Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Sniderman et al., 2004). As adolescence is found to be a crucial face in which social identity is developed (French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006; Tarrant, North, Edridge, Kirk, Smith & Turner, 2001), it should be recognized that the effects found among the adult population might work differently for youth.

In addition to analysing the relationship between national identification and support for multiculturalism among native youth, the current study aims to shed light on the contextual circumstances that might enhance or buffer this relationship. By doing so, this research specifically aims to assess whether the relationship between national identification and support for multiculturalism among Dutch native youth is moderated by intergroup contact in sports, music, drama or other clubs of such nature. These types of clubs will further be referred to as social clubs. Although a substantial amount of empirical research in the field of intergroup relations has shown that intergroup contact functions to decrease negative attitudes towards the out-group (McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew &

Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Swarts, Hewstone, Christ & Voci, 2011), the role of intergroup contact in the formation of acculturation attitudes has mainly been addressed in research focussing on minority groups. One study that was conducted among Dutch native youth showed that natives contact with a minority member is associated with stronger support for multiculturalism (Verkuyten, Thijs & Beekhuis; 2010), but whether intergroup contact functions to influence the specific relation between national identification and support for multiculturalism not yet been tested.

In sum, this research aims to contribute to existing research on the influencing factors of acculturation attitudes that are held by the majority group of the receiving society, by analysing to what extent support for multiculturalism is affected by national identification and whether intergroup contact in social clubs functions to enhance or buffer this relationship. Given that support for multiculturalism among native citizens is considered to increase the likelihood of immigrant integration (Berry, 2001; Navas et al., 2005), relevant information for the purpose of understanding integration outcomes in the Netherlands will hereby be provided. As acculturation attitudes that are held by Dutch native citizens currently seem to transform towards lower levels of support for multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003; Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Breugelmans & Van De Vijver, 2004; Entzinger, 2014; Joppke, 2004), knowledge on the predicting factors of this political ideology is of social interest. Accordingly, this research aims to answer two research questions, which are stated as follows:

To what extent is support for multiculturalism among Dutch native youth affected by national identification?

Is the relationship between national identification and support for multiculturalism among Dutch native youth affected by intergroup contact in the context of social clubs?

In this research, data from the first wave of Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU) (Kalter et al., 2016), conducted in the Netherlands, are used. This data consists of 14-15 year old Dutch adolescents with native and immigrant backgrounds.

Theory

National identity as a social identity

To explain the formation of national identity, Social Identity Theory, as described by Tajfel and Turner, could be used (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This theory, originally rooted in the field of psychology, was the first that recognized identity to be constructed on a group-based level (Spears, 2011). Beyond the borders of psychology, this influential theory has been used as grounds for explaining social conflict and intergroup relations.

The social identity, as defined by Tajfel, consists of both the knowledge of belonging to a social group, and the emotional meaning and value attached to this belongingness (Spears, 2011; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Two developmental processes are responsible for the formation of social identity, of which cognitive and motivational in nature. The cognitive process regards categorization of the self and others into certain groups based on social characteristics. During this process of categorization, within-group similarities and between-group differences are overestimated, meaning that individuals belonging to different social groups are perceived to be more socially distant from each other than individuals who are categorized as belonging to the same group. The motivational process regards social identification with this group, which is established through inter-group comparison and differentiating one's social group from that of others. One's social identity is thus constructed by the cognitive process of social categorization and the motivational process of identification (Spears, 2011; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). A central assumption of Social Identity Theory is that individuals strive for a positive social identity that is distinct from others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). In order to achieve this, the group to which one belongs, or the in-group, is compared to other groups in a favourable manner (Coenders, Gijssberts, Hagendoorn and Scheepers, 2004b; Spears, 2011), meaning that characteristics of one's social group will be evaluated more positively compared to characteristics of other social groups. Positive intergroup comparison thus helps to create a positive and distinct social identity. Coenders, Gijssberts and Scheepers (2004b) stress that, driven by the same underlying processes of intergroup comparison, favourable attitudes towards the in-group are accompanied by out-group hostility. The latter is referred to as a phenomenon called ethnocentrism (Coenders et al., 2004b). Testing the assumptions of Social Identity Theory, research by Mummendey, Klink and Brown (2001) indeed showed that national identification, measured by levels of attachment to the nation, is positively related with both positive in-

group evaluation and out-group hostility when members compared their national identity with that of other social groups.

National identity could be seen as a social identity. Existing research on national identity has repeatedly defined this concept as a form of social identity, as membership of the nation refers to membership of a social group (Coenders et al., 2004b; David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Leszczensky & Santiago, 2015; Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Miller & Ali, 2014). David and Bar-Tal (2009) define national identity to be a form of collective identity, which is the “joint awareness and recognition that members of a group share the same social identity” (p. 356). Here, the term collective refers to a social entity, such as the nation state. National identity as a collective identity is thus the awareness that the social identity of nationality is shared among members belonging to this group. Elaborating on this concept, David and Bar-Tal (2009) argue that when awareness and recognition of a shared social identity is present among members of a social entity, or the nation in this case, members of this entity develop shared attitudes, beliefs and behavioural patterns. This phenomenon is what the authors described to be the macro socio-psychological process of identification with the nation state. David and Bar-Tal (2009) set out a number of characteristics of national identity specifically, in which they grasp the shared content of national identity on a macro scale. Together, these characteristics provide for the content of shared attitudes, beliefs and behavioural patterns that define the nation as a collective identity. According to the authors, each national identity shares the same sense of territory, culture and language, collective memory, and additional shared societal beliefs (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). This last characteristic refers to values, norms and ideologies based on collective experience that distinguish one national identity from the other.

Applying Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it is reasoned that members who share a national identity are more likely to favour characteristics of their own nation above characteristics of that of out-groups (Spears, 2011; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Specifically, this would suggest that members sharing a national identity perceive their territory, culture and language, collective memory, and additional shared societal beliefs as more positive and preferable than that of other national identities (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). Driven by the same process of intergroup comparison, members sharing a national identity are inclined to perceive territory, culture and language, collective memory and additional shared societal beliefs of other national identities as more negative and less preferable than that of their own national identity. It is reasoned that the more one identifies with the nation, the more these characteristics are valued to be part of one’s identity, and the more likely they are

to be subject for creating positive and distinct social identity. A stronger national identification will thus enhance a preference for, among other things, cultural values and beliefs associated with the nation. In their research on the relationship between nationalistic attitudes and preference for national cultural goods, Meuleman, Beckhuis, Lubbers and Scheepers (2012) showed that nationalism indeed correlates with the preference for own national cultural goods. Nationalism, or nationalistic attitudes, is defined by Coenders et al. (2004a) as positive attitudes towards the nation, and is considered to be an expression of in-group favouritism deriving from intergroup comparison (Coenders et al., 2004a). The finding by Meuleman et al. (2012) supports the theoretical claim that members who share a national identity and evaluate this social group positively will favour characteristics of this national identity, such as culture, above that of others.

National identity and support for multiculturalism among native youth

A strong preference for cultural values and beliefs associated with the nation one identifies with, as well as a feeling of dislike towards deviant cultural values and beliefs that are perceived to belong to the out-group, is what could drive native youth to be less supportive of a multicultural society. As integration comes with a certain degree of immigrant maintenance of cultural an identity (Berry, 2001), this strategy is expected to be less preferred by native citizens who favour their own culture and identity above that of any other out-group. Rather, the preference for own cultural values and beliefs stemming from a high national identification will be more likely to result in support for immigrant assimilation, corresponding with a preference for immigrants to fully adapt to the cultural values and beliefs that are held by the majority group of native Dutch.

Research that examined the relationship between national identification on acculturation attitudes among natives was performed by Piontkowski et al. (2000). Studying acculturation attitudes of native German, Swiss and Slovak citizens towards various immigrant minority groups, Piontkowski et al. (2000) have shown that in all three countries in-group bias functions as a strong predictor for acculturation attitudes; native citizens who show higher in-group bias tend to be less supportive of immigrant integration. Rather, natives with a higher in-group bias were found to be more supportive of immigrant marginalization. Linking these findings to multiculturalism being the societal ideology corresponding with support for immigrant integration (Berry, 2001), this suggests that in-group bias negatively affects support for multiculturalism. In this study, in-group bias was measured by calculating the

balance between positive evaluation of the in-group and negative evaluation of the out-group. A second finding by Piontkowski et al. (2000), is that acculturation attitudes among Swiss and Slovak citizens were found to be predicted by national identification measured by 'typicalness', or the extent to which natives feel like a 'typical' member of the national in-group. This effect was not found for native Germans. Further, national identification measured by 'intensity', or the extent to which natives consider themselves to be a member of the national in-group, was not found to affect native acculturation attitudes.

Additionally, a research performed by Lubbers and Coenders (2017) among 20 European countries, including the Netherlands, found that people with a strong national identification and high nationalistic attitudes are more likely to vote for radical right parties. The authors found that both national identification, measured by levels of attachment to the national in-group, and nationalist attitudes are positively related with voting for the radical right. Radical right parties are marked by their strong nationalist ideology, and place high emphasis on the national identity being threatened by the increasing presence of deviant culture, stemming from immigrants (Lubbers & Coenders, 2017). Specifically, Lubbers and Coenders (2017) argue that radical right wing parties are characterised by exclusionist reactions towards maintenance of immigrant culture and identity, as national characteristics are ought to be protected. Although the study performed by Lubbers and Coenders (2017) does not address native's acculturation attitudes specifically, it does provide this study with valuable information.

In addition to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Integrated Threat Theory, developed by Stephan and Stephan (2013), could be used for understanding what mechanisms could underlie the negative relationship between national identification and native's support for multiculturalism. Integrated Threat theory states that threat in the form of intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes, realistic threat or symbolic threat is what drives exclusionist reactions towards the out-group (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). Symbolic threats refer to the notion that values, beliefs, morals and attitudes that are held by one's social group, such as the nation, are threatened by the presence of deviant values, beliefs, morals and attitudes belonging to other social groups, or out-groups (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). Specifically, a sense of threat derives from the thought that the values, beliefs, morals and attitudes of the in-group are morally right, or superior. Closely related to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Stephan and Stephan (2013) stress that perceived symbolic threat is highly related to identification; a strong identification with the social group is theorized to be a

predictor of perceived threat, because those who value group characteristics to be a more salient part of their identity will feel more need to preserve them.

Supporting Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2013), empirical research indeed showed the relationship between national identification and exclusionist reactions towards immigrants to be mediated by perceptions of threat (Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Verkuyten, 2009). Furthermore, various researchers have established perceived threat to directly predict support for multiculturalism among natives (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003; McLaren, 2003; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Sniderman et al., 2004; Verkuyten, 2009). There thus seems to be convincing evidence that the mechanism of enhanced symbolic threat might underlie the expected negative relation between national identification on support for multiculturalism among native youth.

Deriving from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it is expected that Dutch native youth who identify more with the nation show lower support for the ideology of a multicultural society. Driven by the process of intergroup comparison as a means for creating a positive and distinct social identity, the preference for characteristics associated with natives own national identification above that of the out-group is expected to result in lower support for multiculturalism. Perceived symbolic threat is argued to possibly mediate the negative effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism, though this is not empirically tested in this study. Hypothesis 1 is formulated as follow:

Hypothesis 1: Native youth that have higher identification with the Dutch nationality will have lower support for a multicultural society.

Intergroup contact in social clubs

Allport's contact hypothesis states that contact with out-group members reduces negative attitudes towards the out-group, also referred to as prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011). However, Allport stressed that this effect is only hypothesized to exist under the condition that contact meets the following criteria: equal status within the situation of contact, a common goal, intergroup cooperation in attainment of the common goal, and support from authorities, law or custom (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew et al., 2011). Supporting contact hypothesis, many empirical studies analysing the effects of intergroup contact on out-group prejudice have established that contact with a member from a minority group indeed significantly decreases prejudice towards this member and to the out-

group as a whole (McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Swarts, Hewstone, Christ & Voci, 2011).

Elaborating on the mechanisms underlying contact hypothesis, Allport's notion of contact reducing prejudice is mainly based on the thought that, meeting the four criteria, intergroup contact will enhance one's knowledge about the out-group, which in turn would change one's beliefs concerning this out-group, eventually resulting in reduced negative out-group attitudes (Allport, 1954). Testing this notion, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) showed that enhanced knowledge indeed functions as a mediating factor although the mediating effects of increased empathy and reduced anxiety are found to be stronger mediators (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Swarts et al., 2011). Additionally, McLaren (2003) showed that contact with minority members significantly reduces perceived immigrant threat.

As intergroup contact is found to decrease negative attitudes towards the outgroup, it is reasoned that intergroup contact will stimulate native's support for a multicultural society. When the out-group becomes less negatively evaluated, characteristics belonging to this group will become more accepted. Allport's criteria of equal status, common goal, cooperation, and support from authorities, law or custom (Allport, 1981) are likely to be met when intergroup contact functions under the context of sports, music, drama or other clubs of such nature. It is therefore expected that contact in such social clubs will stimulate support for a multicultural society among native youth.

Empirical research that addressed the relationship between intergroup contact and support for multiculturalism among Dutch native adolescents specifically was performed by Verkuyten, Thijs and Beckhuis (2010). Using data from three different samples, the authors showed that both intergroup contact opportunity and self-reported frequent intergroup contact were positively related with support for multiculturalism.

Friendship in social clubs

Critiquing Allport's contact hypothesis, Pettigrew (1998) argues that not just contact but intergroup-friendship would be most effective in reducing prejudice. According to Pettigrew (1998), though friendship would be likely to meet Allport's four established conditions of contact, it is a more constructive form of contact. Pettigrew (1998) thus argued that not just contact, but a more valuable and constructive form of contact, which is really reflected in friendship, would have a negative effect on prejudice. In this line of thought, Pettigrew proposed a fifth condition that contact should meet in order to reduce negative attitudes

towards the out-group, by stating: “The contact situation must provide the participants with the opportunity to become friends” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 76).

Focus Theory, developed by sociological theorist Feld (1981), provides for a sufficient theory for explaining why social clubs provide for the opportunity for friendship formation. Focus Theory (Feld, 1981) is a theory of social networks and interaction, which aims to explain the existence of friendship patterns. According to Feld (1981), foci could be seen as the centre around which social relations are organized. Foci are defined as “social, psychological, legal or physical entities around which joint activities are organized” (Feld, 1981, p. 1016). Sports, music, drama or other type of clubs in such nature are examples of foci, as they are social entities that form the basis for social activity. Focus Theory’s main premises is that individuals sharing the same foci will be more likely to share activities with one another than individuals who do not share foci, resulting in a greater chance of interaction and friendship development (Feld, 1981). The theory does recognise the possibility of meeting by chance, by stating that the presence of shared foci is not strictly necessary for friendship to emerge. Though, friendship is significantly more likely to emerge when foci are shared, as they provide for the opportunity to interact (Feld, 1981).

Social network research on the effects of shared activities on the likelihood of friendship formation was performed by Schaefer, Simpkins, Vest and Price (2011). Specifically, Schaefer et al. (2011) tested whether co-participating in sports, arts or academic school-based activities enhanced adolescent friendship formation. Using data from 108 middle and high schools in the United States, the authors found that youth participating in the same activities, which were organized around the shared focus of their school, were significantly more likely to be friends than youth not participating in these activities. Additionally, this effect was found to be significantly stronger for high school students than for middle school students. The findings by Schaefer et al. (2011) support Feld’s Focus Theory (Feld, 1981); shared foci are found to increase the likelihood of friendship formation.

Deriving from Allport’s contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), Pettigrew’s notion of friendship (Pettigrew, 1998) and Focus Theory (Feld, 1981), it is reasoned that social clubs provide a sufficient environment for intergroup contact to reduce negative attitudes towards the out-group. As it is reasoned that reduced negative attitudes towards the out-group are expected to stimulate support for a multicultural society, intergroup contact in social clubs is expected to weaken the negative effect between national identification and support for multiculturalism among native youth. In other words: native’s contact with a member of a minority group is

expected to negatively moderate the negative effect of national identification on support for a multicultural society. Hypothesis 2 is formulated as follow.

Hypothesis 2: Contact with a member of a minority group in social clubs will weaken the negative effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism among native youth.

Data and operationalization

In this study, data were derived from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU) (Kalter et al., 2016), which is a longitudinal, standardized panel covering the topic of structural, social and cultural integration. Survey includes both native and immigrant teenagers from Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and England. The first wave of data collection started in 2010, after which interviews were repeated twice with an interval period of 2 years. When the first wave was conducted, teenagers were aged 14. For the purpose of this research, only data from the first wave of surveys conducted among teenagers in the Netherlands are used. The data used consists of 4363, Dutch, 14-15-year-old native and immigrant teenagers, attending 3rd grade of secondary school. Interviews of this first wave were conducted from June 2010 until March 2011. CILS4EU used a stratified three-stage sample design. The first unit of stage sampling being schools, stratified by proportion of students with a migration background within schools, school type and region. Secondly, 2 classes within these schools were randomly selected. Finally, the third-stage sampling units consisted of all students within the sampled class. In this last stage of sampling, teachers and parents of the sampled students of wave 1 were also sampled. Small schools, special schools, private and boarding schools, and schools for children with learning disabilities were excluded from the sample, which results in a total of 6.8 percentage of school level exclusion. To ensure that an adequate number of teenagers with an immigration background were represented in the data, schools with a high immigrant proportion were oversampled. In order to deal with non-response on the school-level, a replacement strategy was used in which participating school were matched to non-participating schools based on the strata of school-based sampling.

Adolescents with a migration background were filtered out of the data. By doing this, the variable *generational status definition* was used, which is constructed using information on the countries of birth of respondents, their parents and their grandparents (Dollman, Jacob & Kalter, 2014). Measuring up to three generations, only respondents who were born in the

Netherlands, as well as both their parents and grandparents, were included in the data. The reason for this definition is that third generation immigrants are expected to generally show higher support for multiculturalism, as they tend to be more familiar with culture that is deviant from that of the Dutch nationality. Secondly, respondents who reported not to be a member of any social clubs have been excluded from the data, by using the following question: “Are you a member of any sports, music, drama or any other club?”. The selection of data resulted in a total number of 1915 Dutch native youth who reported to be member of a social club.

Support for multiculturalism. The dependent variable *support for multiculturalism* was assessed by the use of four items, each measuring respondents’ attitudes towards multiculturalism. Respondents were asked to report their level of agreement to four statements, by the use of a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree”. The two statements “Immigrants should adapt to Dutch society” and “Immigrants should do all they can to keep their customs and traditions” concern support for immigrant maintenance of culture and identity specifically, which is established to be one of the two dimensions predicting acculturation attitudes (Berry, 2001, Navas et al., 2005). Additionally, the two statements “The Dutch people should do all they can to keep their customs and traditions” and “The Dutch people should be open to the customs and traditions of immigrants” concern native’s openness towards immigrant culture and identity, which is argued to be a necessary condition for acculturation to occur (Berry, 2001). Two of the four items were reverse coded so that for all items a high value indicates the same response, that is, a stronger support for multiculturalism. Finally, the four items were merged, which resulted in the variable *support for multiculturalism*, measured by both support for immigrant maintenance of culture and identity and openness towards immigrant culture and identity.

National identification. Initially, two separate variables measuring national identification by 1) level of national attachment, and 2) level of in-group favouritism were selected for the purpose of merging, which would result in one variable measuring national identification by both levels of attachment and in-group favouritism. However, after executing Cronbach’s Alpha on national attachment and in-group favouritism, the result showed that these variables are not sufficiently correlated for merging ($\alpha = .044$). Therefore, two independent variables *national attachment* and *in-group favouritism* will be used in a separate analysis, each measuring their effect on support for multiculturalism among native youth. The respondent’s level of *national attachment* was assessed using the following question: “How strongly do you feel Dutch?”, through a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 “very

strongly” to 4 “not at all strongly”. This variable has been reverse coded, resulting in a value of 1 indicating a weakest national identification and a value of 4 indicating a strongest national identification. For measuring national identification by level of *in-group favouritism*, respondents were asked to rate on a scale from 0 to 100 how they felt about the Dutch group, with 0 indicating most negative evaluation and 100 indicating most positive evaluation.

Intergroup contact in social clubs. The independent variable *intergroup contact in social clubs* was measured by the use of two items, measuring amount of time spend in social clubs with either people from a Moroccan or Turkish background. The reason for measuring intergroup contact with people from Moroccan or Turkish background only is that they currently make up for the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2016a). A second reason is that cultural national differences between Muslim and Western societies are found to be particularly large (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). As Moroccan and Turkish immigrants are more likely to hold Islamic values and beliefs that deviate from that of Western countries, contact with members of these groups specifically is expected to decrease negative attitudes towards the out-group. Respondents who reported to be member of any sports, music, drama or any other club were asked to answer the following questions: “How often do you spend time in these clubs with people from a Moroccan background?” and “How often do you spend time in these clubs with people from a Turkish background?”. Answers to these questions consisted of the following 6 categories: “every day”, “once or several times a week”, “once or several times a month”, “less often”, “never”, and “I don’t know people from this background in these clubs”. Reverse coding both variables resulted in a value of 1 corresponding with “never”, indicating least frequent amount of intergroup contact, and a value of 5 corresponding with “every day”, indicating most frequent amount of intergroup contact. Respondents with the value of 6 “I don’t know people from this background in my neighbourhood” were reported as missing. By merging the two items, the variable *intergroup contact in social clubs* was computed, which measures respondents’ amount of contact in social clubs with people from a Moroccan or Turkish background. For the purpose of testing whether the effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism among natives is undermined by intergroup contact in social clubs, two interaction terms between *national attachment* and *intergroup contact in social clubs*, and *in-group favouritism* and *intergroup contact in social clubs* were computed. It should be noted that the continuous variables that are included in the interaction term have not been centred.

Control variables. Existing studies that have examined the influencing factors of exclusionist reactions towards immigrants have established that males are less likely to

support multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2009), a higher educational level and socio-economic status are related to stronger support for multiculturalism (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten, 2009), and that religiosity and out-group hostility have a negative effect on support for multiculturalism (Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Zick, Wagner, Van Dick & Petzel, 2001). Therefore, the expected relationships between national identification, support for multiculturalism and intergroup contact in social clubs were controlled for respondent's sex, educational level, socio-economic status, religiosity, and out-group hostility.

In order to control for respondent's sex, a dummy-variable *boy* with the values 0 "girl" and 1 "boy" was created.

The respondent's *educational level* was constructed using the following question: "Which level of education do you attend?". Including all possible educational levels of secondary school in the Netherlands, respondents could answer according to the following seven categories: "VMBO-basis", "VMBO-kader", "VMBO-gt", "VMBO-t", "HAVO", "Atheneum", and "Gymnasium". The variable *educational level* is treated as a continuous variable, with a value of 1 indicating the lowest educational level of VMBO-basis, and a value of 7 indicating the highest educational level of Gymnasium.

As a proxy for respondent's *socio-economic status*, the father's occupational status was measured (Currie, Elton, Todd & Platt, 1997). By doing this, the variable *International socio-economic index of occupational status*, constructed from ISCO 2008 by the use of the convention tool by Ganzeboom and Treiman (2012). In order to assess father's occupational status, respondents were asked to answer the following question: "Think about your father's job. If he is not currently working, think about his last job. What is the name of his job? Additionally, please describe what he does in his job."

The respondent's *religiosity* was measured by their religious salience, using the following question: "How important is religion to you?". This variable consists of a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "very important" to 4 "not at all important". This variable was recoded, so that a value of 1 indicates low salience of religiosity and a value of 4 indicates high salience of religiosity.

For measuring the control variable *out-group hostility*, respondents were asked to rate on a scale from 0 to 100 how they felt about Moroccans and Turks separately, with 0 representing most negative and 100 representing most positive. The two items were merged in order to create the variable *out-group hostility*. The variable *out-group hostility* was recoded,

resulting in a value of 0 representing most positive and a value of 100 representing most negative.

The descriptive statistics of all variables that are included in analysis are represented in Table 1, including the variables' minimum, maximum and mean value, standard deviation, and percentages of cases that have been reported as missing.

Table 1. *Descriptive statistics for all variables included in analysis*

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Missing percentage
Support for multiculturalism	1.00	5.00	2.55	.62	.3
National identification					
National attachment	1.00	4.00	3.66	.56	.3
In-group favouritism	20.00	100.00	86.87	12.99	.9
Intergroup contact in clubs	1.00	5.00	1.61	1.00	2.8
Boy	0	1.00	.51	-	.1
Educational level	1.00	7.00	4.37	1.53	.2
Socio-economic status	1	88.70	48.40	20.76	13.1
Religiosity	1.00	4.00	1.85	.76	1.1
Out-group hostility	1.00	100.00	49.87	22.29	5

Note: N = 1516

Methods and results

For the purpose of statistically testing whether national identification negatively affects support for multiculturalism among natives, and whether this effect is undermined by intergroup contact in social clubs, multiple regression analysis were executed. With this method, it is analysed how values of dependent variable support for multiculturalism tends to change from one subject of the population to another, as defined by values of national identification. Before analysis were executed, the five assumptions of multiple regression, as described by Allen, Bennett and Heritage (2014) were tested.

Testing the five assumptions of multiple regression analyses (Allen, Bennett & Heritage, 2014), it was firstly established that a reasonable ratio of cases to predictors were present (N=1516). Secondly, all continuous variables were statistically tested for normality of distribution. The stem-and-leaf plot of dependent variable *support for multiculturalism* shows a general symmetrical and bell-shaped pattern, though it seems to be slightly skewed. However, this deviance from normality is minor and could therefore be ignored. This pattern

is also reflected in the boxplot, which shows to be symmetrical. The same pattern was observed for control variables *educational attainment*, *religiosity* and *out-group hostility*. As for the remaining continuous variables, stem-and-leaf plot and boxplot show a general convincing skewed pattern. Therefore, it is concluded that the variables *national attachment*, *in-group favouritism*, *interethnic contact in clubs* and *socioeconomic status*, are not normally distributed. However, since these variables are independent, non-normality is not of such concern. The third assumption of multiple regression analysis states that extreme outliers should be removed (Allen, Bennett & Heritage, 2014). Using the variable boxplot, two extreme outliers with a value of .00 and 10 have been detected for variable *in-group favouritism*. To deal with these extreme cases, variable *in-group favouritism* was recoded so that respondents with the values .00 and 10 were reported as missing. As for the remaining variables, outliers have been detected using the variable boxplot, though they do not seem to be extreme of nature; all outliers had scores within three box lengths above or below the box boundaries. Testing for multicollinearity, the fourth assumption was met; all variables have a tolerance value of > 0.9 . Additionally, all variables have VIF values of roughly 1, meeting the criteria of $VIF < 10$. Lastly, normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity of residuals were tested. Deriving from the normal p-p plot of regression standardized residuals, it can be concluded that the residuals are normally distributed; all points are reasonably clustered along the line. Using the scatterplot, it can be concluded that residuals are normal, linear and homoscedastic; the scatterplot shows a clear absence of any pattern. Analysis of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of residuals by scatterplot and normal p-p plot of regression standardized residuals are to be viewed in Appendix A.

In Table 2, results the multiple regression analysis testing the effect of national identification, measured by national attachment and in-group favouritism separately, on support for multiculturalism among natives are represented. The results of the direct effect of national identification are shown in Model 1, followed by Model 2 presenting the effect of national identification while controlled for the effects of sex, educational level, socioeconomic status, religiosity and out-group hostility, and Model 3 revealing the effect of moderating variable intergroup contact in social clubs. Each model shows the slope, standard error of the slope, and standardized coefficient of variables predicting support for multiculturalism among natives. In Appendix B, multiple regression analysis that includes the variable of in-group favouritism before outliers were deleted are to be viewed.

Table 2. Multiple regression analysis for variables predicting support for multiculturalism among natives (N = 1516)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
National identification												
National attachment	-.188***	.028	-.170	-.141***	.029	-.127	-.108***	.025	-.098	-.093*	.041	-.084
In-group favouritism				-.007***	.001	-.156	-.007***	.001	-.146	-.008***	.002	-.163
Boy							-.170***	.028	-.138	-.173***	.028	-.140
Educational level							.000	.009	.001	.001	.009	.002
SES							.002*	.001	.053	.002*	.001	.054
Religiosity							-.022	.018	-.027	-.022	.018	-.027
Out-group hostility							-.012***	.001	-.429	-.012***	.001	-.425
National attachment \times												
intergroup contact in clubs										-.010	.020	-.060
In-group favouritism \times												
intergroup contact in clubs										.001	.001	.074
R ²		.029			.051			.277			.278	
F					40.792***			82.711***			64.352***	

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

Interpreting the results of Table 2, Model 1 shows that national identification measured by national attachment has a significant negative effect on support for multiculturalism among native youth ($b = -.188$; $t = -6.702$; $p < .001$). In other words, the stronger natives reported to be attached to the Dutch nationality, the lower their support for multiculturalism is. Specifically, Model 1 shows that as national attachment increases with one unit, support for multiculturalism lowers with a value of .188. The R Squared of this model indicates that 2,9 percent of the total variation in support for multiculturalism among native youth is explained by the predictive power of national attachment ($R^2 = .029$). With only 2,9 percent of variance in the dependent variable explained, it could be concluded that there is a statistically small effect of national attachment on support for multiculturalism (Allen, Bennett & Heritage, 2014).

As shown in Model 2, the direct relationship between national identification measured by in-group favouritism and support for multiculturalism among native youth is significant; in-group favouritism negatively affects support for multiculturalism ($b = -.007$; $t = -5.970$; $p < .001$). Thus, the stronger native youth favour their in-group, the lower their support for multiculturalism is; a one unit increase of in-group favouritism results in a decrease of .007 for support for multiculturalism. By comparing the standardized coefficient of Model 2 of in-group favouritism ($\beta = -.156$) with national attachment ($\beta = -.127$) it can be concluded that the effect of in-group favouritism is slightly stronger, although this difference is not major. This also reflects in the R Squared of this model, showing that 5,1 percent of the total variation in support for multiculturalism among natives is explained by the predictive power of both independent variables measuring national identification ($R^2 = .051$), which is a minor increase compared to Model 1. Furthermore, it could be established that Model 2 provides for a sufficient fit ($F = 40.792$, $p < .001$).

From Model 3 it can be concluded that, while controlled for the effects of respondent's sex, educational level, socio-economic status, religiosity and out-group hostility, support for multiculturalism among native youth is significantly negatively affected by national attachment ($b = -.108$; $t = -4.262$; $p < .001$) and in-group favouritism ($b = -.007$; $t = -6.362$; $p < .001$). Deriving from this finding, hypothesis 1 could be confirmed; native youth that have higher identification with the Dutch nationality indeed show to have lower support for multiculturalism. Additionally, Model 3 shows that sex, socio-economic status and out-group hostility are found to significantly affect native's support for multiculturalism; boys show significantly less support for multiculturalism ($b = -.170$; $t = -6.127$; $p < .001$), natives with a higher socio-economic status show significantly more support for multiculturalism ($b = .002$;

$t = 2.309$; $p < .05$), and natives who have more hostile attitudes towards the out-group show significantly less support for multiculturalism ($b = -.012$; $t = -19.039$; $p < .001$). Educational level and religiosity do not have an effect on support for multiculturalism; the results are insignificant, though in the expected direction. 27,7 Percent the total variation in support for multiculturalism among native youth is explained by the predictive power of national attachment, in-group favouritism, and all control variables ($R^2 = .277$). An increase in explained variance is clearly visible, which is also reflected in an improvement of model fit ($F = 82.711$; $p < .001$).

Finally, Model 4 of Table 2 shows that the interaction term of national attachment and intergroup contact in social clubs is not significant, though in the expected direction. Likewise, no significant effect was found for the interaction term of in-group favouritism and intergroup contact in social clubs. The latter is found to be in the unexpected direction, as the slope indicates a positive effect ($b = .001$). From these findings it can be concluded that there are no indications that the negative effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism among native youth varies with frequent amount of intergroup contact in social clubs. Therefore, it could be stated that hypothesis 2 did not find support; contact with a member from a minority group in social clubs does not weaken the negative effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism among native youth. The insignificance of moderating variable intergroup contact in social clubs is reflected in the R Squared of this model ($R^2 = .278$). It is visible that including moderating variable intergroup contact in social clubs in analysis has not resulted in an increase of explained variance; a percentage of 27,8 is roughly the same as for Model 3. Affirmatively, Model 4 is sufficiently fitted ($F = 64.352$; $p < .001$), but the model fit has not improved.

Conclusion and discussion

In this study, it has been examined to what extent support for multiculturalism among Dutch native youth is affected by national identification, and whether the strength of this relationship differs under the contextual circumstance of intergroup contact in social clubs. This study was conducted in the Netherlands, among 14-15 year old youth with no migration background.

In line with expectations, results show that national identification, measured by national attachment and in-group favouritism separately, indeed predicts support for multiculturalism among native youth. The relationship is found to be negative, meaning that natives who identify stronger with the Dutch nationality show less support for multiculturalism. This result

supports the theoretical assumptions as derived from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and is in line with previous research (Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Verkuyten, 2009). However, the established negative effect of national attachment on support for multiculturalism specifically does contradict the empirical finding of Piontkowski et al. (2000), who established that intensity of national identification, which is similar to level of national attachment, did not affect acculturation attitudes among native citizens. Further, religiosity and educational level were not found to affect support for multiculturalism among natives, which is contrary to what was expected.

Secondly, results indicate that the negative relationship between national identification and support for multiculturalism among native youth does not vary with frequent amount of intergroup contact in the context of sports, music, drama or other clubs of such nature. This finding contradicts the expectation that for natives who spend time with members of the outgroup in social clubs, the effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism is weaker. The theoretical claims that are made using Allport's contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and Focus Theory (Feld, 1981) did therefore not find support in this study. Furthermore, this finding is not in line with previous empirical research that showed intergroup contact to have a negative effect on out-group hostility (McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Swarts et al., 2011) and a positive effect on support for multiculturalism (Verkuyten, Thijs & Beekhuis, 2010). Additionally, it is a surprising finding that, although no significant effect was found, the moderating effect of intergroup contact in social clubs on the relationship between in-group favouritism and support for multiculturalism seems to be positive in nature. This suggests that intergroup contact in social clubs would rather enhance than undermine the negative effect of in-group favouritism on support for multiculturalism.

Two weaknesses of this research may have been responsible for the absence of a significant moderating effect of intergroup contact in social clubs. First, it is possible that low variable variation have affected results. As shown in the descriptive statistics, Table 1, the mean value of intergroup contact in social clubs is very low, which indicates that the majority of native youth reported to have no or minimum amount of contact with out-group members. The absence of the effect of intergroup contact in social clubs could therefore be due to low statistical power. Second, results could have been affected by the way in which intergroup contact in social clubs was measured. In this research, the focus was placed on frequency of intergroup contact, not quality. Although contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and Focus Theory (Feld, 1981) have been used to argue that contact in social clubs is likely be

constructive in nature, this has not actually been measured. It could thus be the case that the context of social clubs does not provide for intergroup contact to be constructive. One possible reason for this is that contact was measured within the boundaries of clubs, not teams within these club. Consequently, the possible presence of intergroup competition has not been accounted for. As intergroup competition is considered to enhance intergroup comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), this might explain why contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and Focus Theory (Feld, 1981) did not find support in the context of social clubs, and that this type of contact was found to enhance rather than weaken the effect of in-group favouritism on support for multiculturalism.

With this thought, future research would benefit from studying the effects of intergroup contact in other contexts that might hold different conditions. As such, it would specifically be beneficial to focus on environments that exclude the possibility of intergroup competition, for example by concentrating on teams within clubs. Other environments in which contact might have different effects are neighbourhoods or classrooms. Possibly, intergroup contact in these proposed contexts will be more likely to support contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and Focus Theory (Feld, 1981). It would also be useful for future research to directly measure a more constructive type of intergroup contact by focussing on intergroup friendship specifically. This would be a more secure way of analysing whether constructive intergroup contact could buffer the relation between national identification and support for multiculturalism among native youth.

In addition to low variable variation and the operationalization of intergroup contact, this research has some other limitations that should be discussed. As such, it should be noted that the data have been selected for native youth measured over three generations, even though third generation immigrants are often considered to be native citizens as well (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2016b). It is possible that this data selection has caused for an overestimation of the effect of national identification on support for multiculturalism among native youth, as third generation immigrants could hold stronger support for multiculturalism. Second, it is important to stress that analysis have relied on self-reported data. Therefore, social desirability bias may have played a role in respondents' reported intergroup contact, that is, respondents may have over reported their amount time spent with out-group members to conform to social norms (Pearson, 2014). When intergroup contact is over reported, this could have resulted in the moderating effect of intergroup contact to be stronger than analysis have shown. Additionally, respondents may have reported to have less positive attitudes towards their in-group than they actually do, as strong favourable attitudes

towards the national in-group could be perceived as socially unacceptable. The established effect of in-group favouritism on support for multiculturalism might thus be even stronger than statistical tests have established. On a final note, it should be mentioned that this research has argued for a causal relationship between national identification, intergroup contact in social clubs and support for multiculturalism, while this has not been statistically tested for as this requires different methodology. However, reverse causality is assumed to be unlikely. Attitudes towards the outgroup are not considered to influence national identification, rather it derives from identification with the in-group (Coenders et al., 2004b; Spears, 2011). Also, previous empirical research has provided convincing evidence that the negative effect of intergroup contact on negative attitudes towards the out-group seems to be causal in nature (Swart et al., 2011).

A particular strength of this research is that the complexity of the concept of national identity is recognized in analysis. In recently published studies, researchers have shown that different dimensions of national identity do not necessarily correlated and argued that failure to measure them separately could result in unreliable conclusions regarding the effects of national identity (Leszczensky & Santiago, 2015; Miller & Ali, 2014). This study has supported this argument of cautiousness, by studying the effect of national attachment and in-group favouritism on support for multiculturalism separately.

To conclude, this research has contributed in understanding how acculturation attitudes that are held by the majority group of the receiving society come about, by examining the role of national identification and intergroup contact in support for multiculturalism among Dutch native youth. Using a large data sample provided by CILS4EU (Kalter et al., 2016), it has been established that national identification functions as a predictor for support for multiculturalism and that the contextual circumstance of intergroup contact in social clubs does not buffer nor enhance this relationship.

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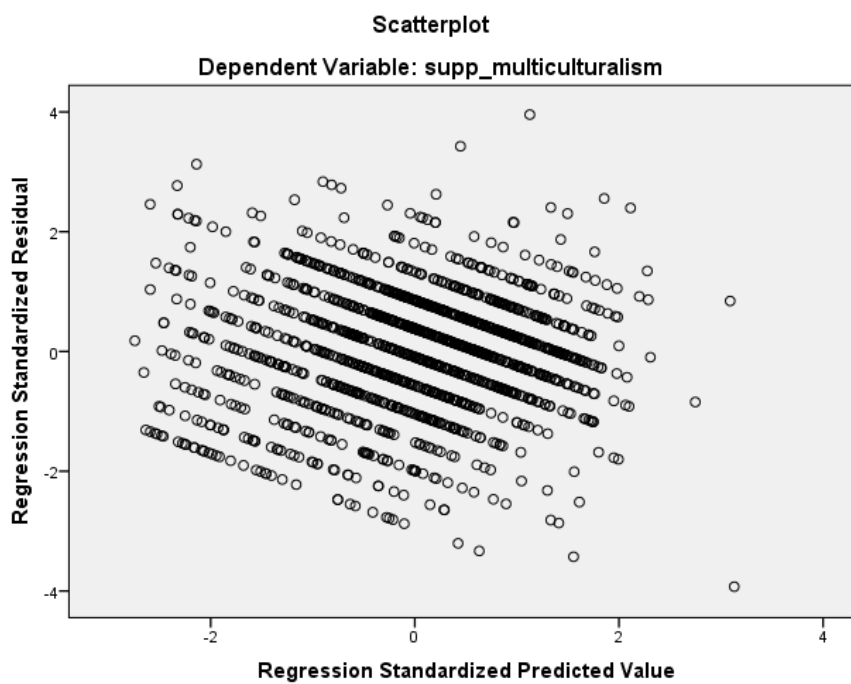
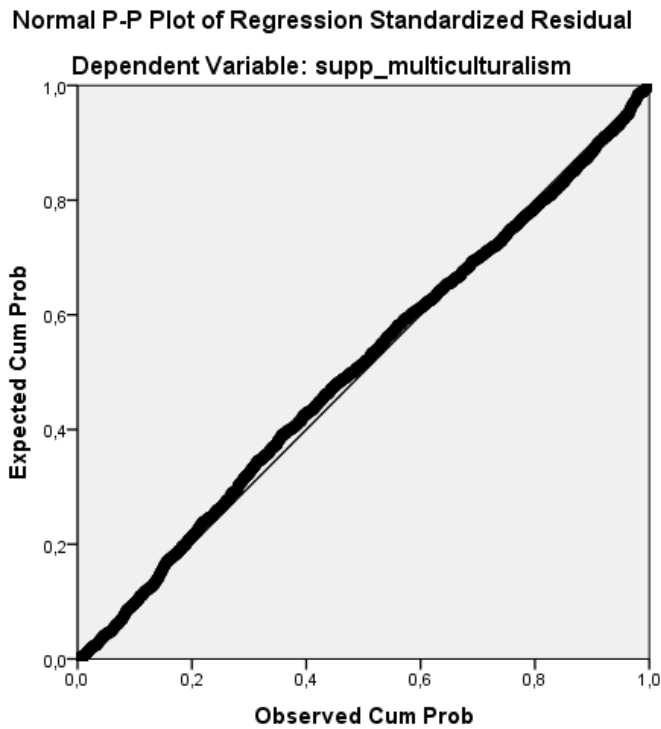
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Appendix A. Normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of residuals.

As presented in the two figures below, analysis of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of residuals are performed by the normal p-p plot of regression standardized residuals and scatterplot of all variables predicting support for multiculturalism.



Appendix B. Multiple regression analysis before deleting outliers

Table 3 represents the results from multiple regression analysis of variables predicting support for multiculturalism among natives, including the variable in-group favouritism before the two outliers with a value of .00 and 20 were deleted.

Table 3. *Multiple regression analysis for variables predicting support for multiculturalism among natives before deleting outliers (N = 1516)*

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
National identification								
National attachment	-.188*** (.028)	-.170	-.141*** (.029)	-.127	-.108*** (.025)	-.098	-.093* (.041)	-.084
In-group favouritism			-.007*** (.001)	-.156	-.007*** (.001)	-.146	-.008*** (.002)	-.163
Boy					-.170*** (.028)	-.138	-.173*** (.028)	-.140
Educational level					.000 (.009)	.001	.001 (.009)	.002
SES					.002* (.001)	.053	.002* (.001)	.054
Religiosity					-.022 (.018)	-.027	-.022 (.018)	-.027
Out-group hostility					-.012*** (.001)	-.429	-.012*** (.001)	-.425
National attachment \times intergroup contact in clubs							-.010 (.020)	-.060
In-group favouritism \times intergroup contact in clubs							.001 (.001)	.074
R ²	.029		.051		.277		.278	
F			40.792***		82.711***		64.352***	

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