# Migration and Ethnic Relations: Current directions for theory and research

## Liber Amicorum
for Maykel Verkuyten

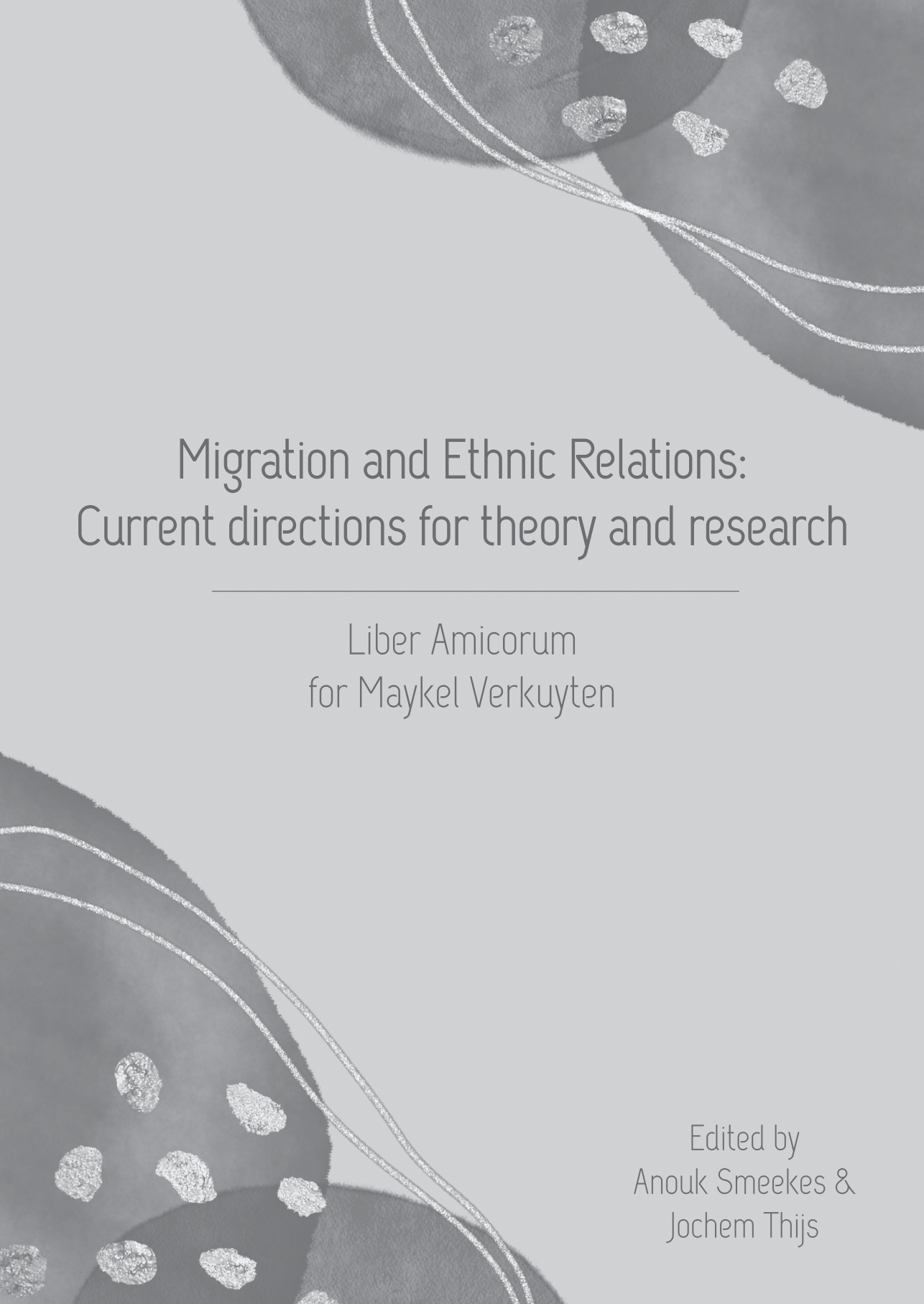Edited by
Anouk Smeekes &
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# Preface

Anouk Smeekes & Jochem Thijs

This *Liber Amicorum* is a collective effort to honour Maykel Verkuyten. After a career of almost 40 years, he will leave the university, and it is with sadness and gratitude that we see him go. Maykel joined Utrecht University's department of Interdisciplinary Social Science in 1993, and he has been a central figure within the European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) ever since its inception in 1994. His research has focused on various aspects of ethnic identity, cultural diversity, and intergroup relations, but his work is certainly not limited to these topics. As shown by the publication list at the back of this volume, Maykel's academic output has been impressive. Without exception, his work stands out as strong, clear, and versatile, reflecting his training as a social psychologist and anthropologist, his interdisciplinary focus, his creativity, and his intrinsic desire to understand the social world. Maykel has been a role model and a source of inspiration to many throughout his academic career: not only to his readers, but also to his (PhD) students, postdocs, collaborators, and colleagues. Most of the contributors to this book have come to know him in more than one of these capacities, and all of them were more than happy to work on a chapter.

When we asked our fellow authors about their impressions of Maykel as a scholar and a person, these were remarkably consistent and compatible with our own. One thing that stands out is his very broad scholarly interest coupled with an incredible knowledge of literature inside and outside of his own subject

areas. You can always rely on Maykel for critical but constructive feedback and concrete literature suggestions, no matter the exact topic you are working on. Maykel once referred to academic curiosity as hunger for knowledge. Following this analogy, we can certainly say that he has an enormous appetite, and eaten numerous and different types of dishes. Moreover, he consistently remembers what he ate and where. Thus, when Maykel spontaneously recommended a paper, he would typically give you the author(s), journal, and year.

Next, there is Maykel's constructive approach to doing social science. He is convinced that no single theory or (sub)disciplinary perspective has the last word, but he rejects the relativist position that different ideas cannot be intersubjectively tested. Maykel and his work taught us that the study of complex social phenomena requires a critical consideration of multiple theoretical perspectives, and rigorous examination of the predictions that follow from them. Depending on the context, certain perspectives "work" better than others, but theories might also complement each other, leading to fuller and more nuanced understandings of what is going on. Related to this, Maykel is clearly aware of (sub)disciplinary boundaries and skilled at navigating and crossing them. Thus, he truly embraces the spirit of the department of Interdisciplinary Social Science which he has helped to build and flourish.

Other things we note about Maykel here are his loyalty and modesty. He is truly interested in others and what they have to say, and for many he has been a mentor who was available and helpful, communicated trust, and provided room for autonomy. And despite his enormous productivity, efficiency, and high-quality output, he cares little for academic status or adulation, and avoids being in the spotlights. We have come to know Maykel as an academic who is intrinsically driven to answer research questions with a critical and open mind, allowing for constructive dialogue and debate with anyone who shares a passion for similar topics.

For this *Liber Amicorum*, we invited current ERCOMER staff members, as well as colleagues who (recently) left ERCOMER and/or closely collaborated with Maykel, and asked them to write a paper about current directions in their research. The result is a selection of eleven papers that address topics that are part of prominent research lines within ERCOMER and that are all in one way or another related to Maykel's research interests. We gave authors the freedom to decide how they wanted to write their chapter. Some have chosen to write an empirical paper, while others have taken a theoretical perspective or presented an overview of their research. As a result, the book highlights current directions in social scientific research in the field of migration and ethnic relations, which was Maykel's academic habitat. Addressing timely theoretical ideas and

research questions it contains valuable readings for scholars and students of this interdisciplinary field.

We have divided the book into two parts. The first part contains four papers on immigration and integration, including integration processes of new refugees and immigrants, dual identity, and social networks. The remaining seven papers in the second part are concerned with cultural diversity and its consequences, including prejudice, tolerance, intergroup relations and radical right-wing voting. For us as editors it was a pleasure to put together this collection of papers and we want to thank all the authors for their contribution. We hope that Maykel appreciates the initiative and will enjoy reading the book.
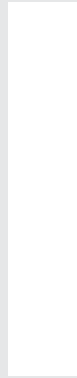
# Immigration and integration

# Bridging the gap between new refugees' integration processes and their future mobility intentions

Özge Bilgili, Meta van der Linden & Floris Peters

## Introduction

International immigrants leave their countries of origin for a wide range of reasons: to seek better jobs, to reunite with family, to flee war or natural disasters or to look for political and cultural freedoms. At the core of migrant agency is the ability and intention "to defy [potential] government restrictions, discrimination and xenophobia by migrating over closed borders" (de Haas, 2021, p.8). Migrants and refugees take courageous steps to pursue legal pathways to migration but at times are forced to take much more dangerous routes to reach a new place to settle and make a living (Andersson, 2016; Collyer, 2010; Massey, Pren & Durand, 2016; Snel, Bilgili & Staring, 2020). Irrespective of the motivation, the level of voluntariness or preparedness for migration, the act of moving to a new place is typically accompanied by hopes and aspirations for a 'better life' (Carling, 2014; de Haas, 2021).

However, migrants and refugees often face challenges when settling into a new place, adapting to different ways of living and responding to the increasingly complex requirements and expectations of integration policies. While the impact of such challenges on integration outcomes receives a lot of attention, scholars tend to assume that the mobility phase in a migrant's life course has ended after arrival in the host country. In reality however, migrants may revaluate their plans and future aspirations in light of unexpected, disappointing or arduous experiences in the integration process. Moreover, regardless of reception and

settlement success, migrants may decide to move on due to economic, social or political developments in their origin and destination countries, or move sequentially for practical reasons including (but not limited to) acquiring necessary resources (Ahrens, Kelly & van Liempt, 2016; Paul, 2011). As such, migrants' aspirations and plans for the future may change over time after arrival in the destination country. Yet most of the literature focused on immigrants in receiving countries (implicitly) assumes that the country of residence is the final destination, that successful integration is their 'ultimate goal', and that intentions are clear from the start and fixed over time.

In this chapter, we challenge some of these assumptions in order to better understand the future plans, aspirations and associated settlement and mobility trajectories of recently arrived refugees in immigrant receiving countries in the global North. We do so by reflecting on the case of Syrians in the Netherlands. Recent research projects, including the Bridge project that we draw on in this paper, highlight the multifaceted structural and socio-cultural integration challenges that Syrian refugees face following the years after immigration. Their experiences may not only matter for integration outcomes but also potentially affect future mobility aspirations with regards to long-term settlement, onward migration to a different country or return to the origin country (Schiele, 2021). While integration outcomes are firmly positioned in academic research and policy debates, future mobility aspirations remain underdeveloped. As such, the aim of this chapter is to point to recent evidence about experiences of the (early) integration process of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands, and reflect on how these experiences may affect their consideration to move across borders. In that context, we argue for a transnational perspective on mobility aspirations of immigrants which takes into account the social, economic and political situation in not only the destination but also the origin country. Moreover, we underline the importance of a longitudinal approach sensitive to settlement experiences in the host country, and how these may interact with changing opportunity structures back home or in alternative destination countries.

**Asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands: a brief statistical overview**

The Netherlands has been a refugee receiving country for decades, but the last seven years have been influential in shaping the composition of its refugee population. Therefore, we first provide an overview of asylum seeker and refugee flows between 2015 and 2021. The aim is to highlight that Syrians became a core part of the overall refugee population almost a decade ago, and continue to play an important role in spite of fluctuations in (relative) quantity of inflows in recent years.

Figure 1a and 1b show the number of first asylum request in the Netherlands over the period 2015-2021. Applications halved between 2015 and 2016 (from more than 40,000 to less than 20,000). Since then, the numbers have fluctuated between 15,000 and 25,000 annually. For context: in 2021 approximately 43.5 percent of all individuals who applied for asylum (approximately 10,093 individuals) were granted either refugee status or subsidiary protection. The 2015-2021 period is marked by a shift from the majority of asylum applicants originating from a few origin countries to an increasingly diverse composition. More specifically, where more than 60 percent of all first applicants in 2015 originated from Syria or Eritrea, the same countries only make up about a quarter until 2020, when the number of Syrians starts to increase again. Applicants from Eritrea and Iraq in particular have continued to decline over recent years, ceding ground to countries such as Nigeria in 2019, Algeria in 2020, and Iran more generally.
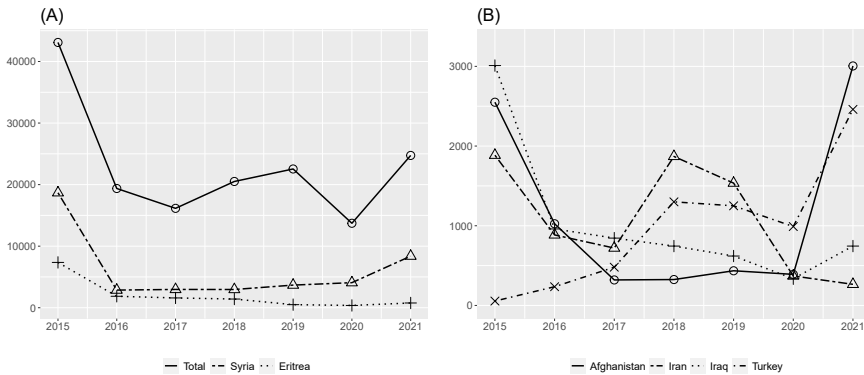


**Figure 1:** Number of first asylum applicants in the Netherlands by citizenship. Source: CBS

Available statistics over the period 2015-2020 in Figure 2 show that first asylum seekers form a majority of all immigration from countries like Afghanistan (64 percent) and Eritrea (79 percent). Other countries show more diversity, such as Syria, where 42 percent of all immigrants (more than 80,000 between 2015-2020) are first asylum applicants. Note that a proportion of the non-asylum immigration in this figure includes family reunification related to the initial asylum request (so-called 'nareizigers'). For Syrians in particular this is a sizeable group, with the number of nareizigers remaining relatively high in 2016-2017 (approximately 8,500 annually) after the number of first asylum applicants already decreased.

Importantly, immigration from some origin countries only contains a small proportion of asylum seekers, yet are still a significant contributor in absolute

terms because the overall immigration flows are large. For example, while only 12 percent of all immigration from Turkey over the period 2015-2020 constitutes first asylum applicants, this still amounts to 4,310 individuals, a number comparable to more typical 'asylum' countries like Afghanistan (5,045), Iraq (6,515) and Iran (7,265). For some groups, the inflow of first asylum applicants during the 2015-2021 period constitutes a substantial proportion of all immigrants from that country residing in the Netherlands. For instance, the number of individuals born in Syria in the Netherlands numbered almost 100,000 in 2021, whereas the total number of first asylum applications including nareizigers between 2015-2021 amounted to more than 80,000, or about 80 percent. In contrast, for migrants from countries like Iraq or Afghanistan the asylum and nareizigers inflow during the 2015-2021 period amounted to about 23 and 24 percent of all migrants from those countries in the Netherlands in 2021 respectively.
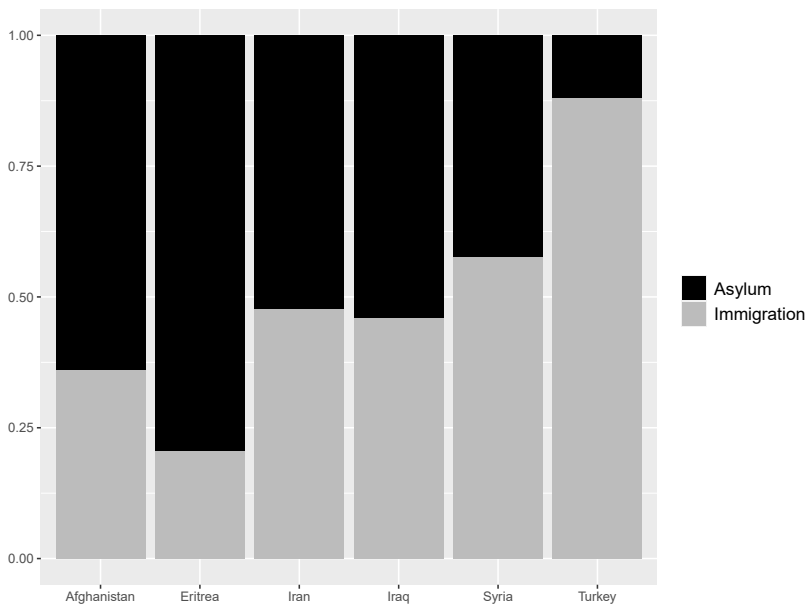


**Figure 2:** Proportion first asylum applications of total immigration by origin country (2015-2020). Source: CBS.

In sum, the refugee population is increasingly diverse in the Netherlands. For some origin countries, humanitarian migrants make up a small proportion which is still sizeable in absolute terms (e.g. Turkey). Other origin countries have been generating continuous flows of humanitarian migrants over the decades, albeit with fluctuations in quantity given long-term conflict situations

(e.g. Afghanistan). Overall however, the last decade has been characterised by a shift in the composition of the refugee population in the Netherlands due to a substantial new Syrian population for which the humanitarian motives remain central, and which far-outpaces most other refugee groups in quantity of inflow. For this reason, in the next paragraph, we will focus on the experiences of Syrians in the Netherlands.

### Early structural and socio-cultural integration outcomes of recently arrived Syrian refugees

As the largest refugee group in the Netherlands, Syrians have received a lot of attention from migration and integration scholars. To understand and monitor their experiences, multiple national projects were developed in past several years. In this section, we rely on one of these studies, namely the Bridge project, which applied a longitudinal survey design in the city of Rotterdam to map integration outcomes and experiences of about 1,000 Syrian refugees during their first years after receiving asylum status in the Netherlands since 2016 (for a complete overview of findings as well as a description of data and methods see Dagevos & van der Linden, 2021). We discuss the results of this research project for two reasons. First, we aim to give an overview of the early settlement process of Syrians in the Netherlands and how these experiences align with their hopes and aspirations. Second, we use this as a starting point to reflect on the importance of a longitudinal and transnational perspective when studying mobility aspirations of refugees more generally.

One of the central modules of the Bridge project focuses on integration indicators. Integration is conceptualized in a broad sense, including socio-cultural (e.g., language proficiency, social contacts, identification or values) and structural (e.g. paid/unpaid work, education or income) integration (Bakker, 2016; Castles et al., 2002) with the aim of answering multiple questions: how do the experiences of refugees evolve over time once they are in the Netherlands? How quickly do they find employment, and to what extent do they enjoy social mobility? Do they develop social and cultural connections, and do these ties extend to the native population?

The project findings paint a complex picture of recently arrived refugees' integration, but one point stands out: Syrian refugees are motivated to integrate and show signs of active effort to meet their socio-cultural and socio-economic goals, despite the difficult conditions under which they have reached the Netherlands. For example, according to the respondents, language is key to realizing their preferred social and structural position within the Netherlands

and to be considered an "independent citizen" rather than a member of a refugee group (Damen et al., 2022). Indeed, all respondents report having invested in improving their Dutch linguistic capabilities. However, despite their positive attitude towards learning the native language, progress in this regard is slow. Many Syrian refugees who have participated in the study indicated that one of the main obstacles is little room to apply what they have learned outside the classroom and practice their language skills with native speakers (Damen et al., 2022). In fact, many refugees still consider their Dutch language skills insufficient three years after their arrival in the Netherlands. Moreover, the project shows that two in five refugees do not have Dutch friends or acquaintances and more than half does not have social contacts with Dutch neighbours. Particularly striking is that these numbers have not changed over time despite refugees' strong motivation to have more social contact with the native population and learn the Dutch language (van der Linden & Dagevos, 2019). These results thus suggest a mismatch between Syrian refugees' aspirations and observed outcomes in the socio-cultural domain of integration.

The situation is comparable when we focus on socio-economic integration outcomes. Many Syrian refugees struggle to find paid employment after arrival. The share of refugees who had paid employment increased from 4% in 2017/2018 to only 18% in 2019, based mostly on temporary contracts. However, Syrians seem to maintain a pro-active and constructive attitude in the face of these challenges. For example, the Bridge data show that refugees are investing in unpaid employment; between 2017/2018 and 2019, the share of refugees who participated in volunteer work more than doubled from 17% to 39%. However, since evidence for the potential of volunteer work to be a stepping stone towards labor market integration is mixed, it remains unclear whether this will help Syrian refugees meet their economic aspirations over time.

In sum, progress in socio-cultural and socio-economic integration is slow, despite Syrians' ambitious aspirations and 'migrant optimism'. Moreover, these refugees have limited control over some of the obstacles that they face. As such, feelings of disappointment may gradually overshadow initial optimism. It is this potential change over time that raises the question whether refugees will reconsider long-term settlement in the Netherlands or contemplate options such as onward mobility or even return migration. The Bridge project provides some basic information on this as well.

According to the survey results, very few refugees consider a return to their country of origin. When asked about where they expect they will be in five years, 93% of refugees in the Bridge project answer they expect to be in the Netherlands and 4% expects to be partly in the Netherlands and partly in the country of origin.

Only 1% expects to return to their country of origin or migrate to another country. These results indicate an almost absolute absence of expected return or onward mobility in the future. But as we argue below, we do not think that these results should be taken for granted and considered as set in stone. Researchers need to think systematically about how to account for the fact that socio-economic standing, emotional wellbeing and legal status of refugees may change over time. As suggested by the Bridge project results, we also need to take seriously the mismatch between refugees' aspirations, motivations and active engagement to make a new life in the Netherlands and the rather disappointing outcomes in practice. We posit that these are important issues to take into account when studying their future mobility intentions.

**Interactions of early integration processes and future mobility intentions**

Having established a descriptive account of recently arrived Syrian refugees in the Netherlands and their initial settlement experiences, in the final section of this chapter, we draw on migration and integration theories as well as concepts underlying longitudinal approaches to problematize the static outlook on migration trajectories and mobility intentions. With this reflection we aim to highlight promising avenues of future inquiry which will help to address the interactions of early integration processes and future mobility intentions situated within the broader social, economic and political (transnational) contexts that encompass not only the country of residence but also the origin country (see Figure 3). To do this, first we discuss migration as a process, rather than a one-time act and propose to take seriously the possibility that in the eyes of many refugees, the wish to move on and settle elsewhere may be implicitly present from the initial arrival to a place and country that is typically considered to be a 'destination' point. This perspective may then affect the ways in which refugees approach their integration process. Second, we highlight that future intentions are not set in stone and may be affected by integration processes which at times can be challenging and increase the wish to leave and move elsewhere. Third, we bring forward the relevance of contextual factors in understanding these dynamics.
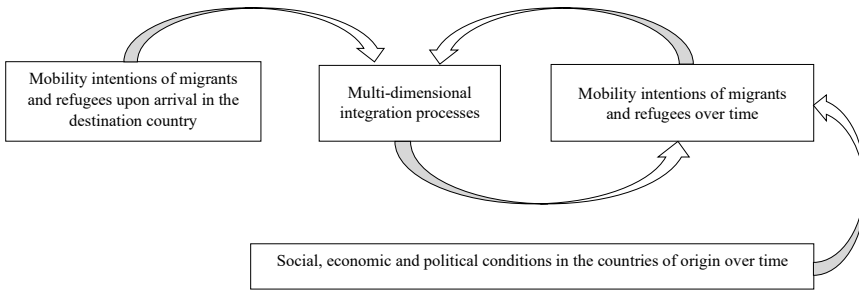
**Figure 3:** Dynamic associations between integration processes, mobility intentions and contextual factors. *Note.* authors' own figure.

*Migration is a process, not a one-time act: the host country is not always the destination country*

Migration research often assumes that the arrival in the destination country marks the end of the migratory phase in immigrants' lives. This is particularly true for studies focusing on refugees, for whom it is assumed that return migration is not an option. Although this assumption may be correct in many cases, it reflects an oversimplification of migration as a transition from origin to destination country. In reality, migratory movements are more complex and dynamic, constituting many border crossings (Dahinden, 2010; Schapendonk & Steel 2014; Snel et al., 2021). Due to financial, legal or logistic constraints, migrants may stay in one country for some time whilst accumulating the necessary resources and capital with the intention to continue with the next part of their journey. For instance, the previous section revealed that the pace of socio-economic integration among Syrian refugees is typically slow. As such, it can take years to successfully finance and continue with the next part of the journey. However, this argument extends beyond the accumulation of financial resources into social and legal domains as well. For instance, migrants may decide to invest in becoming a citizen of the host country to facilitate onward migration (de Hoon, Vink & Schmeets, 2020). Especially EU-citizenship can be seen as an instrument of mobility, but in most cases naturalization in the Global North will improve visa rights more generally. Furthermore, opportunities to hold dual citizenship may be interesting in the context of circular migration, facilitating movement between the country of residence and origin. Since most countries in the Global North have a residence requirement (the minimum period of legal residence before one can apply for the host country citizenship) of at least five years, time spent in transit can be substantial. As such, even if survey research indicates that migrants expect to remain in the country for the next couple of years, that is not to say that they are

committed to permanent settlement. Integration research would benefit from a more sophisticated, process-orientated understanding of migratory pathways, and more generally should acknowledge that migrants' integration efforts are not always geared towards the goal of permanent settlement. Paradoxically, integration can be a pathway to mobility.

*Future intentions are not set in stone: consider the effects of dynamic early integration processes*

The initial years after migration are demanding and often chaotic. Migrants have to invest in finding their way in a new society, learning the language, establishing new social connections, navigating institutions and securing an income. While progress is often slow, the first years in a new country are typically characterized by change. Yet research on mobility aspirations, which generally draws on a cross-section in this process, often presents migrants' intentions in that moment as fixed. We claim that there are many reasons why future prospects may change over the long term.

First, the psychological wellbeing of refugees may initially be so that capabilities to plan for the future are limited. Yet the potential trauma associated with having fled may diminish with time spent in relative safety, or worsen as refugees find themselves socially isolated in the country of residence. Similarly, waning migrant optimism may put structural obstacles to integration in a different light and increase the propensity for onward/return migration. Secondly, as social connections develop over time, migrants receive new information which may lead them to reconsider their options. Again, the potential for citizenship as a mobility instrument may play an important role here. Navigating requirements for naturalization can be arduous and complex, and the benefits are not always evident in advance. However, research shows that migrants living in neighborhoods with a high proportion of naturalized migrants get informed about the benefits of acquiring the host country citizenship and are more likely to naturalize themselves (Leclerc, 2022). As such, migrants may only discover at a later stage in the settlement process that there are ways to improve their mobility options through legal status transitions.

In sum, indicators of refugees' future intentions need to be sensitive to changing socio-economic, psychological, social and legal circumstances. Given these important temporal dynamics, we argue that researchers should focus less on whether migrants (plan to) move, and more on why migrants plan to move (and especially why not), pinpointing more precisely the diverse motivations that shape their intentions. This way a more meaningful connection between integration processes and future intentions of refugees can be made that takes

into account their unique experiences, changing circumstances and various options of mobility, including onward and (temporary) return migration.

*Include the origin country context as an important (moderating) factor in mobility decisions*

In the minds of many migrants, the question of returning back to the origin country is an essential one. The desire to return waxes and wanes over the life course and the country of origin is considered at times the *real* home and at times a last resort or even an unwanted destination (Bilgili, 2022). Migrants and refugees' complex association with return migration can be understood through various migration and integration theories (Bilgili & Siegel, 2015). For example, both neoclassical economics theories and the New Economics of Labour migration discuss return intentions in relation to economic integration outcomes (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Stark, 1991). While the latter argues that migrants may decide to return when their (economic) objectives are achieved (e.g. accumulating sufficient resources); the neoclassical economics approach implies that return is a consequence of a failed migration experience where migrants may for instance not be able to find jobs and reach their economic goals due to precarious situations they find themselves in.

Both of these approaches assume that goals are fixed up front, and fail to account for how aspirations may change in light of experiences in the country of residence. In that context, classical assimilation theory assumes that the longer migrants stay in a destination country, the more they will integrate in economic and socio-cultural domains (Castles & Miller, 2003; Portes, Parker & Cobas, 1980). It is argued that those migrants who integrate successfully will benefit more from migration and thus not return to the origin country (Waldorf & Esparza, 1991). In line with this argument, migrants who adopt the destination country culture and build a social network there will weaken their ties with their homeland and will be less likely to return (Bilgili & Siegel, 2015; Carling & Pettersen, 2014; De Haas & Fokkema, 2011; Piotrowski & Tong, 2013). This argumentation also implies that those who struggle to integrate into the residence country will consider returning back to the origin country.

A limitation of these theories is that they do not consider the situation in the country of origin. This is clearly pertinent to humanitarian migration, as we discussed with the case of Syrian refugees, where (short-term) return to the origin country may not be an option due to security concerns. Economic reasons or individual-level challenges to integrate may in that case not be sufficient or meaningful to explain permanent return. Models on mobility intentions of refugees would thus benefit from two additions. First, economic, political and

social dimensions of the origin context should be included as determinants of return and onward migration, including measurements sensitive to temporal fluctuations in these indicators. Examples include not only country characteristics like GDP or political stability, but also legal arrangements such as visa waivers or historical network ties. Second, scholars should consider how characteristics of the origin context condition the relevance of traditional determinants at the individual and host country level. For instance, limited success in developing a desired social network among natives or securing a well-paid, stable job may not translate into a high propensity for return migration if circumstances in the origin country are problematic.

The empirical evidence we provided in this chapter suggests that intentions to leave the Netherlands are rare among the Syrian refugees. However, refugees' aspirations may change over time due to contextual developments. Earlier evidence from the Afghan community in the Netherlands for example has shown that when there is hope for change and reconciliation in the country of origin, refugees' views on mobility change. In the turn of the millennium, there were a lot of development efforts to reconstruct Afghanistan via the wide range of diaspora engagement policies and programs as well as temporary return programs (Oeppen, 2013). International organisations with supporting goals considered the Afghan diaspora as an invaluable asset in this period. For many Afghans, especially those with Dutch citizenship, this provided an opportunity for more mobile lives (Bilgili & Siegel, 2015). Thus, even though permanent settlement in the Netherlands was the initial preference of many Afghans in the Netherlands, temporary return remained a latent desire which got activated as soon as this became a realistic scenario. Therefore, we propose to take into account the changing social, legal, economic and political circumstances in origin countries as an important (moderating) factor in mobility considerations of refugees.

## Conclusion

In this chapter we sought to draw attention to the importance of a longitudinal and transnational perspective on integration processes and mobility aspirations of refugees. While there is substantial scholarly attention for the settlement success of immigrants and refugees, such research often assumes that the country of residence is the final destination, that migrants wish to integrate into said country and that their objectives are pre-determined, well-defined and fixed over time. We asked ourselves the question what happens if we were to consider simultaneously the dynamic nature of integration processes, the potential variations in the future mobility intentions of refugees and the changing social, political and economic

conditions in the countries of origin and residence. To inspire our reflections, we relied on recent empirical evidence on the early integration processes, attitudes and intentions of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands.

While many refugees may indeed aspire to build a life in places that are commonly considered to be their host country, and have no intention of leaving in the short-term, we argue that (1) this may not be the case for all refugees, (2) these views are likely subject to change over time and that (3) traditional theories of migration are ill-equipped to model and predict such change. It is therefore important to conceptualize migration as a process rather than a transition from point A to point B and recognize that migration does not always have a clear end-point and countries and places we consider as destinations can become points of departure over time (Ehrkamp, 2019; Flikweert, Bilgili & Caarls, *forthcoming*). This dynamic, complex and potentially sequential character of migratory movements may have consequences for how immigrants and refugees manage, but also instrumentalize over time, their integration efforts. Put differently, the goal of integration efforts in the country of residence may not always be with the aim of a long-term settlement but also to accumulate the necessary financial, social or legal resources to move onwards.

What we particularly highlighted in this chapter is that even if pre-determined goals of refugees are to settle in the country of residence, this perspective may change over time. Namely, we have illustrated that while refugees are optimistic and motivated, the process of integration is slow and challenging. As such, a growing mismatch between ambitions and reality may over time incentivize migrants to move elsewhere. Finally, we concluded by arguing that the relations between refugees' integration processes and future mobility intentions cannot be understood without taking into account the changing social, legal, economic and political circumstances in origin countries. As many cases have already shown, such changes may provide them with new opportunity structures for return or circular migration. In short, to better capture these temporal and transnational dynamics, research on mobility intentions of refugees would benefit from more focus on *under what conditions* and *why* migrants aspire or plan to move or not rather than whether they intend to do so.

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# The dynamics of early immigrant integration: Lessons learned from longitudinal research

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**Introduction**

As the Russian invasion of Ukraine continues, newspapers are once again filled with stories of (forced) migration. Millions of Ukrainians are arriving in European countries, looking for a safe place to stay, and potentially to settle. This is only one of the many migration flows all around the world. The current UN global estimate is that there were 281 million international migrants in the world in 2020, of which an estimated 26.4 million were refugees, while no less than 161 million were migrant workers (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). All these migrants are restarting their life in a new location, often with a different language and customs.

This 'new beginning' in a host society, for scholars of migration – and, also, for policy makers –, is often seen as a crucial phase, because of the presumed larger dynamics in this first period: migrants develop a new social network, learn the language, find a first job, and need to more generally find their way in the host society (Jasso & Rosenzweig, 1990; Diehl et al., 2016a). In order to truly understand this first (supposedly) dynamic phase, migration scholars as well as national governments across the globe have started to invest in the collection of longitudinal data among recent (forced as well as voluntary) migrants. In longitudinal survey designs, subjects are interviewed multiple times over the course of time (forming a so-called panel). Longitudinal surveys among recent migrants generally cover the first several years after arrival.

The growing interest in studying mechanisms of immigrants' incorporation in the host country using longitudinal data is understandable, given the fact that questions in this field often revolve around processes of change over time. Until rather recently, assessing integration dynamics was often done by comparing migrants who had been in the host society longer to those who had arrived more recently. Length of stay in the host country has in those instances generally been used as a proxy for what researchers actually want to study, which is intra-individual change over time. In addition, change is often studied by comparing migration generations (foreign-born versus native-born from immigrant parents). Compared to cross-sectional studies comparing cohorts or generations, longitudinal data is often considered far superior, as it allows researchers to draw causal conclusions, and to sketch a more detailed picture of these presumably dynamic early years. At the same time, collecting longitudinal data is very costly and time consuming, and analysing this type of data in the right way can be complex. It is therefore important to assess which insights longitudinal research on the first years after migration has yielded. Is this first period really as dynamic as we think? And, what has the increased availability of longitudinal data so far meant for the key questions in the field of migration studies?

In this contribution we, first of all, provide an overview of the longitudinal surveys that have been executed worldwide to follow new migrants in their first years after migration. Then, we examine the body of knowledge on this first phase, providing a brush-strokes overview on integration dynamics across domains. We focus on three important domains for new immigrants: socio-economic domain, health and wellbeing, and the socio-cultural domain.[1] Did we gain more knowledge into patterns of change? And what challenges still need to be overcome? We conclude this contribution with some lessons learned on the dynamics of early immigrant integration.

Importantly, this study is not meant as a systematic review; rather it brings together studies based on longitudinal surveys among recent migrants, and provides a birds-eye view to insights gleaned from these studies regarding early integration dynamics across domains. We mainly focus on patterns of change in this contribution. The question as to what can be learned about explanations of these individual-level changes certainly deserves attention, but goes beyond the scope of this contribution.

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[1]    We restrict ourselves to some key elements of these three domains, thereby neglecting some other issues which were studied as well, like housing, educational attainment of children and income position.

**Overview of longitudinal surveys of new immigrants**

The question as to what happens over an important part of the life course of individual immigrants – namely the first phase after migration – long remained a black box in migration research. Starting with the influential New Immigrant Survey (NIS) in the US this gradually changed. The New Immigrant Survey was a longitudinal survey of new legal immigrants (and their children) to the United States. The first full cohort of immigrants was sampled in 2003, and these individual migrants were reinterviewed within 4 to 6 years after their migration on issues such as migration behaviour, schooling, employment, child rearing, and health (see e.g., Massey, 2011). The NIS survey ended after the second wave in 2009, and to our knowledge, remains the only large-scale longitudinal survey among recent immigrants in the US. This is remarkable considering the large inflow of immigrants into the country. There have been a number of longitudinal surveys among the general population in the US which also address specific immigrant groups, like the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) with an oversampling of Hispanics and the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Survey (CILS) aimed at the immigrant second generation.[2] However, these panel surveys sample among the total group of immigrants or immigrant children and do not aim at *new* – i.e. recently arrived – immigrants specifically and, therefore, fall outside the scope of this contribution (see introduction section).

In the other important Anglo-Saxon immigration countries Canada, Australia and New Zealand, a number of longitudinal surveys among recent immigrants have been carried out. The first of these was already held during the early 1990s in Quebec, Canada: the *Enquête sur l'établissement des nouveaux immigrants* (ENI). The first wave of interviews occurred within the first year of residence in Quebec, with a noticeably low response rate of only 19% (Renaud et al., 1992). The same immigrants were interviewed one, two, three, and ten years after their arrival in Quebec. Like the NIS in the US, the ENI survey asked respondents a number of questions related to their activity in their country of origin and resettlement in the new society (Renaud, 2003). In later years, comprehensive longitudinal surveys were carried out nationwide in Canada (the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)) as well as in Australia (the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA)) and New Zealand (the Longitudinal Immigrant Survey for New Zealand (LisNZ)). These surveys were all carried out by the governments or statistical agencies of these three traditional immigration countries (Statistics Canada, 2003; Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Australia, 2019; Statistics New Zealand, 2008).

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2 For an overview see: https://nap.nationalacademies.org/read/4942/chapter/7 Longitudinal Studies of Immigrants | Statistics on U.S. Immigration: An Assessment of Data Needs for Future Research | The National Academies Press (nap.edu)

Longitudinal surveys are not limited to 'classic' immigration countries. In Europe from 2010 onwards, increasingly, longitudinal data have been collected among new immigrants. Among the first was the SCIP-survey (Causes and Consequences of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe), which is a cross-national survey on new immigrants. In four European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland, and the UK) selected immigrant groups (see Table 1)[3] were followed over time to examine early integration trajectories (See Diehl et al., 2010). This was followed up by new longitudinal surveys in both the Netherlands and Germany. In the Netherlands, four new immigrant groups were followed in the four-wave NIS2NL longitudinal survey to cover their first five years in the destination country (see Lubbers et al., 2018). In Germany, more recently, a new immigrant survey – the ENTRA study – started, also among some specific immigrant groups important in the German context (Kristen & Seuring, 2021). In that same context, the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) has followed specific migration samples over time (Brücker et al., 2014). In contrast to the surveys in the classic immigration countries, Western European surveys mostly have been initiated by individual researchers from universities, mostly financed through funds from national or European science foundations.

Finally, Japan – a country with a much more recent immigration history – has recently started the Panel Survey of Immigrants to Japan (PSIJ), which is aimed at international students and (highly skilled) labour migrants.[4] This survey is conducted by the Japanese National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, and fits into the more recent discussion in Japan on labour shortages as a consequence of the massive aging of the population (see Korekawa 2015; Tokudome et al., 2016).

A significant subset of longitudinal research on new immigrant groups is aimed specifically at refugee groups. This started out in the 1980s with the annual survey of refugees in the US. This survey was actually set up as a repeated cross-sectional survey on different groups of recently migrated refugees, which means that every year a fresh sample of new immigrants was questioned (Urban Institute, 2018). More recently in some other countries, refugee groups are followed in "true" longitudinal designs (the same new immigrants are interviewed multiple times) during their first years in several destination countries. Some good examples are the three-wave Survey of New Refugees (SNR) in the United Kingdom (Cebulla et al., 2009), the five-wave survey Building a new life in Australia (BNLA) (see Rioseco et al., 2017), and the multiple-wave IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees

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[3]   The reason for a selection of migrant groups is that in order to minimize selectivity in the response immigrant groups are surveyed in their own specific languages.

[4]   See: https://www.ipss.go.jp/projects/j/PSIJ/index_psij.html

(see Kroh et al., 2016). These are all large-scale surveys executed by government agencies among a cohort of *all* refugees entering in a particular time span. In addition, in the Netherlands a (planned) four-wave longitudinal survey among *one group* of refugees, i.e. Syrians, is worth mentioning (WODC, 2021). Finally, in Germany and Australia longitudinal surveys among young refugees – especially aimed at educational decisions and developments have been carried out (see Table 1).

A final type of longitudinal data collection among recent immigrants worth mentioning here, is based on censuses or population registers in which specific recently entered immigration cohorts are followed in successive censuses or population registers. Worth noting is the Netherlands, where Statistics Netherlands constructed immigrant cohorts and was able to follow for example the labour market position of recently migrated refugees (CBS, 2018). In this case, registration data could be combined with survey information (and with information on return migration), making it a powerful source of information on longitudinal processes of immigrant settlement processes. Similarly, in Germany occupational records from registers were added to the SOEP migration sample (Brücker et al., 2014).

Table 1 presents an overview of the conducted panel surveys among new immigrants around the world.[5]

Assessing all of these longitudinal surveys, a few things stand out. First, they differ in the groups targeted. While the traditional countries of immigration tend to focus on all (legal) immigrants entering within a certain time period, the European surveys sample a selection of specific immigrant groups. One reason may be that in the traditional migration countries the national statistical agencies mostly executed the surveys (e.g., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). These organisations have access to population registers and more funds to execute large surveys. Another reason is that language problems are less of an issue in these English-speaking countries, since most migrants speak (a little) English, rendering translations into many different languages less of a prerequisite. A second observation is that most of the existing longitudinal surveys stopped after two or at most three waves. Reasons are high initial non-response, high panel attrition (partly due to return migration), and high financial costs of these kind of surveys. Only a very high initial N or a panel which is continuously refreshed (by sampling new respondents along the way) can provide for a larger time span, and, therefore truly follow migrants during their first years in a destination country. The question is, however, how selective these resulting panels will be

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[5]    Our search was restricted to publications and documentations in the English language.

**Table 1:** Longitudinal surveys of new immigrants, 1980s to present

| Country | Survey | Years [a] | # Waves | Initial N | Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Outside Europe* | | | | | |
| Australia | Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) [b] | 1994-now | 3 | 5,200-9,800 | All recent immigrants |
| | Building a new life in Australia (BNLA) | 2013-2018 | 5 | 2,399 | All new refugees |
| | Good start for recently arrived youth with refugee background | 2004-2008 | 4 | 120 | Young refugees |
| | Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants (CSAM) | 2013-present | 2 (since 2019: 3) | Varies by cohort-year; 18,567 in the most recent iteration (2018) | All new regular migrants (Skills and Family), 18+ |
| Canada | Enquête sur l'établissement des nouveaux immigrants (ENI) | 1989 | 5 | 1,000 | All immigrants in Quebec |
| | Longitudional Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) | 2000-2005 | 3 | 12,000 | All recent immigrants |
| Japan | Panel survey of immigrants in Japan (PSIJ) [c] | 2017-2025 | 5 | 371-1,103 | New student and labour migrants |
| New Zealand | Longitudinal Immigrant Survey for New Zealand (LisNZ) | 2005-2009 | 3 | 7,137 | All new immigrants (excluding refugees) |
| USA | New Immigrant Survey (NIS) | 2003-2009 | 2 | 8,573 (810 children) | All recent immigrants (including children) |
| | Annual Survey of Refugees (ASR) | 1984-present | 1 | 1,500 | Each year's arrivals of refugees |
| *Europe* | | | | | |
| Germany | Socio-cultural integration processes among new immigrants in Europe (SCIP) | 2010-2013 | 2 | 2,644 | Poles and Turkish |
| | IAB-SOEP Migration Sample (M2) [d] | 2015-2020 | 6 | 1,096 households | All new immigrants (mainly from Eastern Europe) |

**Table 1:** *Continued*

| Country | Survey | Years [a] | # Waves | Initial N | Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Recent immigration processes and early integration trajectories in Germany (ENTRA) | 2019-2021 | 2 | 4,600 | Turkish, Polish, Italian, Syrian young adults |
| | IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees [e] | 2016-2019 | 4 | 4,465 | All new refugees |
| | Refugees and their early Integration in Society and Education (RISE) | 2017-2021 | 4 | 600 | Young refugees |
| | Refugees in the German Educational System (ReGES) | 2017-2021 | 2 | 9,600 | All refugee children and adolescents |
| Ireland | Socio-cultural integration processes among new immigrants in Europe (SCIP) | 2010-2013 | 2 | 1,058 | Poles |
| Netherlands | Socio-cultural integration processes among new immigrants in Europe (SCIP) | 2010-2013 | 2 | 3,355 | Poles, Bulgarians, Turkish, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans |
| | New Immigrant Survey to the Netherlands (NIS2NL) | 2013-2018 | 4 | 4,808 | Poles, Bulgarians, Turkish, Spanish |
| | Longitudinal cohort study refugees (LOCS) | 2016-present | 4 | 3,000 | Syrians |
| UK | Socio-cultural integration processes among new immigrants in Europe (SCIP) | 2010-2013 | 2 | 1,529 | Poles and Pakistani |
| | Survey of New Refugees (SNR) | 2005-2009 | 3 | 5,600 | All new refugees |

[a] Year of first wave, not year of sampling. Most waves are conducted shortly (within 2 years) after entrance or admission to a country.
[b] LSIA contains three panel studies starting in 1996 (two waves, initial N=5,200), in 2000 (three waves, initial N=3,120) and in 2005 (2 waves, initial N=9,800).
[c] PSIJ contains yearly samples in which respondents are followed over time in yearly waves: in 2017 (N=371), in 2018 (N=533), in 2019 (N=1,270), in 2020 (N=1,286) and in 2021 (N=1,103). Four more samples are planned. For the 2017 data 5 waves are available, and 4 more are planned, etc. as long as the N permits new waves.
[d] This is a series of specific samples of new immigrant households within the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP). The first wave of the first sample (M1) was conducted in 2013 among 2,723 households (4,964 adults and 2,481 children).
[e] This is a series of specific samples of new refugee households within the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

(see later on in this contribution). A final observation, as mentioned above, is the relatively large amount of longitudinal studies specifically aimed at refugee groups (more than a third of the worldwide number of longitudinal surveys among new immigrants).

For the aim of this contribution, it is important to note that the longitudinal surveys being held worldwide among new immigrants differ in many respects: in terms of the country of destination, reasons for migration (asylum, work or family reasons), countries of settlement, and thematic focus. This makes it quite challenging to compare their results. Nevertheless, in the following section, we attempt to sketch some general trends.

### Early integration dynamics across domains

The literature offers several explanations for why especially the first phase after migration should be more volatile than later periods. In short, this has to do with the breaking of routines and with the context-dependent nature of human capital (see Esser, 2009; Diehl et al., 2016a). Migrants have to do a lot in these first years. They have to learn the language, to find a house and a job, to interact with receiving-country nationals, and to deal with the dominant values in their new countries. Much of what happens later on can be expected to be shaped by these early experiences. For example, the first job may affect later opportunities on the labour market, the new housing situation may influence later social contacts, and the (high) expectations on arrival – sometimes labelled as 'immigrant optimism' – may influence later feelings of in- and exclusion (Kao & Tienda, 1995). These are all important reasons why migration scholars started to focus on these early dynamics.

Now, what have longitudinal studies among recent migrants taught us about the first years after migration? Is this first period really as dynamic as we think? We focus on three important domains for new immigrants: the socio-economic domain (work and language[6]), health and wellbeing, and the socio-cultural domain.[7] Do we see different developments in these different domains? Outcomes like the labour market position may change faster than for example values. Immigrants simply need to find a job to be able to survive in their new country, while values are deeply engrained during primary socialisation and can be expected to change more slowly (see e.g., Alwin & Krosnick, 1991).

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[6] Language attainment can of course also be seen as part of sociocultural integration.
[7] Of course the dynamics in educational attainment after migration are also important, but this is particularly relevant for children of immigrants or study-migrants. Both groups certainly deserve more attention in research on the dynamics of immigrant integration, but are not the topic of this contribution.

It is important to note that the number of countries in which longitudinal data are available is still relatively limited, and that the same goes for the number of origin groups studied. We should therefore be careful to extrapolate findings beyond the context in which they were studied.

*Dynamics in socio-economic position*

The most well-researched factor in immigrants' integration is the *labour market position*. According to general assimilation theories, one would expect immigrants' position on the labour market to gradually improve with longer length of stay. But what happens in this first critical phase just around migration? A first important indicator is whether immigrants find a job right after migration. Of course an important factor here is the reason for migration. Migrant workers will more often have a job right after migration, since this is the reason they moved, while for other types of migrants the picture will be different. However, also for migrant workers, obtaining and keeping a job will depend on supply side factors like regulations and restrictions on the labour market, as well as cyclical economic circumstances (e.g. Engbersen et al., 2013). For labour migrants moving to the Netherlands, an increase in labour participation rates is found when comparing the situation before and right after migration (Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2016) and this either remained stable or further increased – in an economically difficult situation – several years later (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015). Across receiving societies, cohorts of refugee groups also show increases in labour market participation with enduring length of stay, though at much lower levels (Brücker et al., 2019; Bakker, 2015; Dieleman et al.,2021; Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2017).

Since migration is often associated with occupational downgrading, another important labour market indicator to study is the level of job status. According to Chiswick et al. (2005) the occupational status follows a U-curved shape. Shortly after migration, migrants are expected to experience downward mobility, whereby the status of their last job before migration was higher compared to their job shortly after migration. The main reasons for this loss of status lie in the fact that human capital acquired abroad (for instance in terms of educational qualifications) is generally valued less in new host societies (e.g., Friedman, 2000), and the initial mismatch between the skills of recent immigrants versus the skills required on the yet unfamiliar labour market in the destination country (e.g., language skills). Investing in capital that is specific to the destination country, is thought to elevate migrants' occupational status to the level immediately prior to migration. Longitudinal studies among new immigrants find strong support for the U-curved trend in occupational status, across host societies ranging from Australia (Chiswick et al., 2005; Mahuteau & Junankar, 2008) and the US

(Akresh, 2006, 2008), to the Netherlands (Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2016) and Spain (Simon et al., 2011).

Most evidence on the development of host country *language proficiency* based on cross-sectional research indicates that the longer migrants have lived in the host country, the stronger their language proficiency (see e.g., Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009). Longitudinal research on language proficiency – not surprisingly – reaches similar conclusions, among a range of origin groups in Australia (Chiswick & Miller, 2004, 2007), The Netherlands (WODC, 2021; Gijsberts & Lubbers 2015; Gijsberts et al., 2016), Germany (Kirsten & Seuring, 2021), and other European countries (Kirsten et al., 2016). Longitudinal studies do point to differential rates of language acquisition across origin groups. For instance, in the Netherlands, language proficiency clearly improved among new Polish, Bulgarian, and Spanish migrants that were followed over time, but less so among recent Turkish immigrants (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015; Gijsberts et al., 2016). In Germany, a comparison of refugees from Syria with new arrivals from Italy, Poland, and Turkey also reveals that Syrians experience a faster learning curve than other immigrant groups (Kirsten & Seuring, 2021). Though the pace of improvement differs across groups and contexts, the general conclusion seems to be that most immigrant groups gradually improve their destination language proficiency with longer stay.

To conclude, and in line with classic assimilation theories, developments in socio-economic position seem to follow an upward trajectory in the first period after migration. Regarding occupational status, the longitudinal evidence confirms the importance of the first period after migration, since the occupational status increases after initial downgrading: Human capital investments in this first phase seem to pay off. Also, language proficiency (which in turn positively affects the labour market position) clearly increases among most immigrant groups. All in all, longitudinal studies on socio-economic changes among new immigrants provide a strong empirical base for long-standing hypotheses in the field of migration research.

### Changes in health and wellbeing after migration

Health and wellbeing are important prerequisites for structural factors like participation on the labour market. There have been quite some studies on immigrant *health* after migration.[8] An important hypothesis in this field is the

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[8]    In this contribution, we restrict ourselves to the general measure of self-reported health; particular types of health (such as mental health) are beyond the scope of this article. For example, for longitudinal studies on mental health among refugees in the UK see for example Campbell et al., 2018 and James et al., 2019. For Australia see Chen et al., 2019.

healthy immigrant effect. As a consequence of selection effects, i.e. more healthy immigrants are more likely to migrate, migrants who enter a country (irrespective of their sometimes lower socio-economic position on arrival) will rate their health better than the native population does (e.g. Kennedy et al., 2015). The health decline hypothesis consequently predicts that this initially strong health will deteriorate after longer stay, which is sometimes explained by the notion of acculturation to an unhealthy lifestyle (Antecol & Bedard, 2006). Another explanation may be that immigrants rate their health less positively after longer stay, because they start to compare their health with native residents instead of with people from their home country. Longitudinal evidence for this decline has been found in the US, in Canada and in the Netherlands: Self-rated health declines with longer stay (Antecol & Bedard, 2006; McDonald & Kennedy, 2004; Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2019). However, other longitudinal studies refute a decline in reported health among immigrants to the US and Australia (Lu et al., 2017; Jatrana et al., 2018) and for refugees in Germany (Ambrosetti et al., 2021). So, evidence is mixed and may depend on destination country, immigrant group, and time of entry.

Not only health but also health-related factors pertaining to subjective wellbeing, such as life satisfaction, feeling at home, and perceptions of discrimination are important for new immigrants. Theories of immigrant optimism predict initially high levels of well-being, and low levels of perceived discrimination shortly after migration, as optimism about the new surroundings and the opportunities it might bring is high (Kao & Tienda, 1995). As time progresses, negative experiences on, for example, the housing market and the labour market, and with the majority population may dampen this optimism. Longitudinal studies seem to by and large support this idea. For example, initially high satisfaction with living in the Netherlands has been found to decline with length of stay, for Bulgarians, Poles, Turks, and Spaniards (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015) as well as for Syrians (Maliepaard & Noyon, 2020). At the same time, there are some anomalies. Feeling at home in the destination country, for instance, stays rather stable both among the European migrants and the Syrian refugees. And patterns of perceived discrimination differ across groups and contexts, with some immigrant groups showing an increase over time, and some a decrease (McGinnity & Gijsberts 2016; Diehl et al., 2021).

It is clear though that well-being and health tend not to increase over time, but rather stay stable or decline. It seems unlikely that these trends are due to the ageing of the population, as the timespan of most studies is under five years and recent immigrants tend to be younger than the average population. Negative experiences in the host country may account for (part of) this downward trend

(McGinnity & Gijsberts, 2016; Diehl et al., 2021). This confirms the importance of the context of the receiving country: The attitudinal climate and national discourses may also play an important role in understanding different patterns of subjective wellbeing among immigrants in different receiving countries.

*Sociocultural change*
Most if not all surveys among recent migrants include sections on labour market participation and language acquisition. This is indicative of the importance attached to (studying) changes in the structural position of migrants after migration. Health is an additional factor that is frequently included. Far fewer studies address (changes in) the socio-cultural domain. Quantitative, longitudinal studies we have found that do include socio-cultural factors are mostly Western European (particularly Dutch and German). In this paragraph, we will focus on social contacts, host country identification, value orientation, and religion.

Following migration to a new country, migrants develop new *social contacts* or networks. To what extent these social networks involve ties to host-society natives, is a question that has historically interested migration scholars. Interethnic ties are deemed important, as they are thought to enhance the opportunities migrants have in the host society (gaining access to the labour market, acquiring the language of the host society, see e.g. Kanas et al., 2012); but (positive) interethnic contacts are also thought to be beneficial to society as a whole, as they reduce prejudice and conflict (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Based on cross-sectional studies, longer stay is generally associated with more interethnic ties, although some groups have more interethnic contacts than others (see for instance Martinovic et al., 2009). Findings from longitudinal studies tell a slightly less straightforward story. In the Netherlands, for instance, there does not seem to be a uniform upward trend in interethnic social contacts in the first years after arrival. Across a host of different groups, the overall trend seems to be ranging from no change (Gijsberts et al., 2016) to a (slight) decrease in contacts over time (Rijk & Lubbers, 2020; Damen & Huijnk, 2020c). In Canada, a study on interethnic friendships shows a slight increase in the very first period, followed by stability in the relative number of cross-ethnic friendships (Martinovic et al., 2011). The development of interethnic social ties seems to be a rather slow-going process, which is not adequately captured in the short time-span of these longitudinal studies. Alternatively, cross-sectional studies might have (partly) captured period or cohort effects, rather than intra-individual change.

Cross-sectional studies comparing migrants that have been in (European) host societies longer to those who arrived more recently, or comparing migrants to those who did not migrate (e.g. Norris & Inglehart, 2012) suggest by and large that, with

time and across generations, *value orientations* of immigrants move closer to the orientations held in the host society. However, these 'changes' may to some extent reflect selection effects (migrants are more liberal than those who remained in the country of origin), or cohort effects (migrants who arrived earlier were more liberal to begin with), rather than change at the individual level. Longitudinal studies might solve this issue. Two domains that are frequently studied are attitudes toward gender roles, and attitudes toward homosexuality; both domains in which there are generally large discrepancies between (Western European) host and (Non-Western or Eastern European) immigrant origin countries. Looking at the early years after migration, existing studies based on longitudinal data provide a nuanced view of changes in values. Attitudes toward homosexuality, for instance, seem to be relatively stable in the first years after migration (Damen & Huijnk, 2020a; Röder & Lubbers, 2016; Gijsberts et al. ,2016), with some groups becoming more negative over time (Rijk & Lubbers, 2020). A similar view of relative stability arises from the limited number of studies into gender role attitudes (Gijsberts et al., 2016); although there are also examples of groups which became more egalitarian in their gender-role attitudes in the first period (Damen & Huijnk, 2020a). Although the number of studies is relatively limited, it seems that in the first years after migration, attitudes remain relatively stable, overall. As values are deeply engrained during primary socialisation, it might not be surprising to see little change (see e.g., Alwin & Krosnick, 1991). Though exposure to gender-egalitarian settings may result in shifting value attitudes (e.g., Davis & Greenstein, 2009), it seems safe to conclude that these values shifts may take some time.

A small number of surveys have assessed *host country identification* among recent migrants over time, mostly measured by single items such as "to what extent do you feel [Dutch]" or "I feel that I belong to [host society]". Interestingly, host country identification starts out relatively high among various recent immigrant groups (Rijk & Lubbers, 2020; Diehl et al., 2016b; Maliepaard & Noyon, 2020). This is striking, given that first waves of these surveys are often collected within the first two years after arrival. Trends in host country identification seem to differ quite strongly across ethnic groups. For some groups, host country identification is stable (Gijsberts et al., 2016), among others host country identification decreases (Rijk & Lubbers, 2020; Diehl et al., 2016), but there are also groups which show increasingly high levels of identification over time (Maliepaard & Noyon 2020; Diehl et al., 2016b). Clearly, there is no linear trend towards increasing host country identification across origin groups in the first years after migration. Theories on ethno-religious boundaries and perceived exclusion have sometimes been used to explain these differential trends. However, the existing evidence is limited.

Finally, does religiosity change as a result of migration? This is a question that has been addressed by a host of studies in the last decade (for an overview, see Fleischmann, 2022). Unfortunately, most studies focusing on religious change among immigrants, particularly Muslim immigrants, have had to rely on data not ideal for studying change, such as (repeated) cross-sections used to compare cohorts, or parent-child dyads. As a result, most studies have assessed change through the lens of inter-generational shifts in levels of religiosity. Results from these studies have been somewhat mixed, with most studies showing stability, some showing decline, and a few noting higher levels of religiosity among the second generation. Part of the reason for the mixed results might be the differential composition of groups that are compared, in terms of age, origin country, and differential selection bias into survey research (Fleischmann, 2022). How individual religiosity changes after migration is a question that could not be conclusively answered by these studies. Findings from studies based on longitudinal data show that religious membership (or self-identification) is largely stable. There is more variation when it comes to the way religion is expressed. However, the trend seems to vary across dimensions of religiosity, as well as across groups. For instance, attendance seems to decline in the early years after migration, particularly when compared to levels prior to migration, as is evidenced by multiple studies (Connor, 2009; Diehl & Koenig, 2013; Damen & Huijnk 2020b; Gijsberts & Lubbers 2015; Gijsberts et al., 2016; van Tubergen, 2013). However, in some groups this initial decline is followed by an increase, whereas in others it continues to further decline or stabilizes. Thus, it seems that moving from one country to another causes a rupture in attendance, from which not everyone recovers. Based on these studies following migrants in the early years, there is no clear uniform trend towards either secularization or religious revival.

It is clear that the rather uniform, linear upward trend in socio-economic attainment reported in the previous paragraph, is not mirrored when it comes to socio-cultural characteristics. There is far less change, and a clear trend that holds across groups and contexts is lacking. One explanation may be that language acquisition and labour market participation are seen as prerequisites for participation in the host society and crucial to this first period, and it is likely that recent migrants (as well as policy makers) mostly invest in these domains. Secondly, for social contacts, it takes two to tango (cf., Kalmijn, 1998). Preferences of immigrants for interethnic contacts may not always align with their contacts in practice – increasing contacts over time may be hampered by (homogamy) preferences of the majority population. Finally, cultural preferences and behaviours may by their very nature be expected to change far more slowly

and gradually than the structural factors, and these changes are therefore less likely to be detected in the short timespans of most longitudinal surveys.

### Longitudinal studies among recent immigrants: benefits and challenges

The previous section has shown that longitudinal data have the potential to provide important descriptive knowledge on the first steps on the path of integration among recent immigrants. However, these type of data also have the potential to answer explanatory questions on dynamics. What individual-level changes determine dynamics in different domains of integration? Why do some immigrants follow different integration paths than others? Do changes in the first phase of migration speed up changes later on in life? Longitudinal data can answer these kind of questions and have been heralded as the solution to methodological problems faced by studies based on cross-sectional data. However, they bring with them their own unique set of challenges. In this section, we address both benefits and challenges of the existing longitudinal research among new immigrants. We focus on two issues: Firstly, the question as to what can be learned regarding causal mechanisms in these early years, and secondly, the issue of panel attrition.

*Making causal claims*
One of the main benefits of having longitudinal data is, of course, overcoming issues of causality that haunt research based on cross-sectional data. Based on longitudinal data in which individuals are followed over time, statements about individual change can be made, the temporal order of things can be more easily disentangled, and conclusions can be drawn as to which factors are causing changes in the outcomes under study. These benefits are an important reason why the cost and hassle associated with collecting panel data are deemed worth it for researchers. In the section above, we have mainly focused on (gross) trends, but longitudinal studies of course also allow for mapping individual trends and, importantly, explaining these individual trends. Some of the studies mentioned above focus on finding causal relations between different domains of integration. For instance, some people become more liberal, others more conservative over time, what explains these diverging individual trends? Or why do some people learn the language faster than others? Longitudinal data have the potential to answer these questions. Longitudinal data collected among new migrants in recent years have allowed researchers to study, for instance, the differential impact of language courses on language learning among different groups (Kirsten & Seuring, 2021), of host country media exposure on attitudes toward

homosexuality (Röder & Lubbers, 2016), and of negative experiences in the host country on perceptions of group discrimination (McGinnity & Gijsberts, 2016). Cross-sectional studies had already given us some idea of these relations, but had been unable to disentangle cause and effect. Particularly in cases where the influence may be bidirectional (or the direction is disputed), longitudinal data may provide a solution. For instance, do people with more native friends learn the language better as a consequence, or does speaking the language facilitate interethnic friendships?

These are undisputable benefits of longitudinal data. However, longitudinal surveys among recent migrants generally consist of few waves (see Table 1). This has two important consequences. Firstly, in order to strictly test for causal relations in longitudinal data with a low number of waves, only models can be used that can take into account cases in which there actually is change.[9] This means that we can only study variables in which there is sufficient dynamics in these first years. As we have seen above, this is not the case for all domains of integration. Secondly, the limited number of waves severely limits the timeframe. Changes that occurred before the first wave or after the last are not considered. It is therefore quite a strict test of causes of change (change may take longer, or effects may become visible after a longer period). The longer the timeframe, the smaller of course this problem. However, unfortunately, the timeframe (particularly the number of waves one is able to collect) is frequently restricted by the limited availability of funding. Nevertheless, these methods do have the potential to (dis)confirm longstanding hypotheses on the mechanisms behind integration trajectories.

### Panel attrition

One of the main challenges facing migration research is the fact that migrants, by definition, are a mobile population. A study in the Netherlands showed that among student-, labour- and family migrants, the majority had left the Netherlands again within ten years (78%, 70%, and 51% resp.); and that even among refugees one third no longer lived in the Netherlands after a decade (Maliepaard et al., 2018). In longitudinal studies among recent migrants, this results in (high) attrition rates. Attrition is an issue in longitudinal surveys in general, but seems to be a particular challenge for surveys among migrants. Attrition is due to both return/onward migration as well as to other reasons like the unwillingness to

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[9]  When testing models with two waves, causal relations can be established by using *fixed effects* models (Allison, 2009). Of course, other models can be tested, such as *hybrid* or *random effects* models, but in doing so we lose the benefits of being able to strictly test for causality. As the number of waves increase, so do the modelling options. It is outside the scope of this paper to go into the different approaches.

cooperate or the fact that new migrants often move within the country in the first years after migration.

The longer the time span migrants are followed, the higher attrition rates. This a catch 22 of sorts: Either the research has a short time span (lower number of waves or having waves in a short time period) with its own attendant issues (e.g. insufficient change), or the research has a longer time span of multiple years but potentially high attrition levels. Depending on the type of migrant, this can be a larger or smaller issue. Surveys among refugees with residence permits generally report lower attrition rates than surveys among labour migrants, as labour migration is more often temporary in nature. In the Netherlands, the NIS2NL survey among migrants from Spain, Poland and Bulgaria dealt with attrition of 80% between waves 1 and 4 (Rijk & Lubbers, 2020). Attrition is also likely to be selective on the topics under study; for instance, it is likely that when labour migrants are unable to support themselves, they are more likely to re-migrate (or otherwise move on).

In cases where there is reliable information regarding re- and onward migration within the panel, the problem of attrition can be turned into a source of valuable information. It allows researchers to study in a better way than previously possible, which characteristics are associated with certain migration patterns, and which characteristics are associated with permanent settlement. However, when attempting to chart early integration patterns, selective attrition does form a problem that needs to be acknowledged and addressed in research.

To conclude, a final note on the way dynamics after migration are studied: To truly benefit from the longitudinal character of these type of data, researchers should focus even more on individual change, on the temporal order of things, and on the factors that determine change – or even speed up change – in the outcomes under study. This is where longitudinal data can really yield new insights compared to cross-sectional work. However, when studying all documentation and literature on these surveys we observe a relatively low number of publications on these important questions. This especially holds for some surveys executed by national statistical agencies or government institutions. A lot of effort and budget seems to be put into gathering these data repeatedly over time, and reporting on descriptive gross trends. Though this has resulted in a rich body of information, the mapping and, importantly, explaining of individual trends deserves more attention in future research.

**Conclusions: lessons learned from longitudinal research**

We started out with the notion, underlying most of the initiated longitudinal studies on new immigrants, that longitudinal studies are crucial in understanding the first dynamic process of adaptation. Based on the longitudinal surveys that have been held worldwide to follow new migrants in their first years after migration, we examined the body of knowledge on this first presumed dynamic phase. What can be learned from this exercise? We come up with five lessons.

*1. Differential dynamics in the first phase after migration*
Theories of assimilation assume a gradual increase in adaptation to the host country over time across different dimensions. Of course developments differ between different origin groups, different destination countries, and possibilities and restrictions of individual migrants, but overall the evidence based on the longitudinal surveys among new immigrants seems to point to differential trajectories across domains, with a clear increase in the socio-economic position with longer stay, but a relatively stable or even reverse trend for the socio-cultural domain, health and well-being.

*2. More grip on causal mechanisms is needed*
An important argument for longitudinal surveys is that they enable to truly study causal mechanisms in explaining immigrant adaptation from dynamics in presumed explanatory factors. Of course, this argument is a general one, pertaining to the explanation of all sorts of individual-level changes. However, the argument is that it is especially relevant to study changes in the first phase after migration, since this is a rather dynamic phase with many changes for individual migrants. As we have shown, dynamics in some domains may however be more limited than previously assumed. In addition, the question remains whether the first period after migration is inherently different than other phases in the lives of migrants. This expectation is often used to legitimize longitudinal studies among recent migrants but has not been convincingly empirically established (see Diehl et al., 2016a). In terms of disentangling cause and effect in different integration domains, to our knowledge, no attempt has yet been made to compare results from longitudinal surveys among settled migrants to those among recent migrants. We suggest that such an effort might benefit to our understanding of immigrant integration trajectories.

*3. Longitudinal immigrant surveys face many difficulties*
An important lesson from all longitudinal surveys on new immigrants is that it is a very difficult exercise. Though all longitudinal surveys suffer from (selective)

panel dropout, this is particularly problematic in surveys among recently arrived immigrants. In the first phase after migration many immigrants move around in the host country, move on to another country or return. This makes it hard to maintain adequate response rates. Because of the high panel attrition, it is almost impossible to follow the recently migrated individuals over a longer period of time. The resulting group is mostly very small and highly selective. The only way to (partly) overcome these problems is to start with a very high initial sample (preferably with continuous refreshment samples, including new respondents over time), like the longitudinal immigrant surveys in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia did. This makes it a very costly matter, and not surprisingly, in these traditional migration countries the surveys are financed by government and executed by the national statistical agencies. Preferably, population registers should be used as well, either as standalone longitudinal studies or combined with the survey data. Examples can be found in the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada.[10]

## 4. What policy makers need

In many countries with a large inflow of immigrants (both refugees and other migrants) policy makers are keen on receiving information based on longitudinal studies. This explains the funding and efforts made by national governments and statistical agencies. Considering the high costs of these surveys, the question seems legitimate as to what knowledge is most valuable or needed by governments or policy makers. All things considered, a repeated baseline measure on all immigrants entering the country may in some cases be more important for policy makers than a longitudinal survey among one or few specific groups entering at that specific moment in time. For designing policies governments need to know on a regular base which type of migrants enter the country. A good example is the *Annual Survey of Refugees* (ASR) in the US, which is a cross-sectional yearly survey of (a sample of) all refugees entering. Based on the characteristics of the new immigrants policies can be designed. Following the same migrants longitudinally may, however, be particularly relevant for governments to examine whether policy interventions work. In that instance longitudinal surveys should be designed as impact evaluation studies.

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[10] For the Netherlands, *Cohortstudy Refugees*, see CBS, 2018; for Germany, see Brücker et al., 2014; for Canada see the *Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)*, see https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=5057.

## 5. There is a wealth of data out there

As we conclude this overview of existing longitudinal data collected among recent immigrants, we end with a final 'lesson', and that is the realisation that a lot of effort and budget is put into gathering longitudinal data all over the world, resulting in a rich body of information. As researchers who have worked on the topic of recent immigrant integration for many years, in writing this contribution we found a number of datasets that we had never encountered previously. We hope that our overview of these existing datasets will work towards increasing awareness of research taking place across the globe on this topic, and that this might result in increased use of these data. Of course, the longitudinal surveys being held worldwide among new immigrants differ in many aspects: In terms of countries of destination, reasons for migration (asylum, work, or family reasons), countries of settlement, and thematic focus. This makes them a priori difficult to compare. However, the body of knowledge on the dynamics of early immigrant integration would benefit from more exchange of knowledge between statistical agencies and research groups (and countries), and, perhaps even, from pooling resources. One large-scale and long-lasting longitudinal survey among all immigrant groups may yield more knowledge on immigrants' adaptation than several smaller-scale surveys among specific groups, thereby better contributing to the important question why some migrants succeed while other migrants face many difficulties in building a new life in the host society.

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# Negotiating the hyphen: dual identity compatibility among immigrants and their offspring

Fenella Fleischmann

## Introduction

How can I be different and still belong? This is a question occupying many immigrants and their (grand-)children (Gharaei, 2022). As minority members who differ from the mainstream due to their migration background[1], they are exposed to or even socialised in a different country than the heritage country of their (grand-)parents. Identification with their specific minority group – whether this is defined in ethnic, religious or other terms – is often interpreted by majority members as an exclusive orientation towards their minority group as majority members, particularly in Europe, tend to rely on a binary representation of cultural orientations and identifications (Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2012). Accordingly, majority members regularly ask 'Why can't they just be Dutch?' (or Belgian, German, Danish, etc. for that matter) when confronted with minority members' claims to the national identity of their destination country despite maintenance of identification with the minority group The majority expectation of privileging

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[1]  Throughout this chapter, I use the term 'minority' to refer to people with a migration background (irrespective of whether they migrated themselves, i.e., they belong to the first generation, or are born to immigrant parents or grandparents in their family's destination country, i.e., the second and third generation). Accordingly, 'majority' here refers to the population without a migration background. This terminology reflects the dominance of non-migrant populations in defining the content and boundaries of the national identities of migrants' destination countries rather than expressing numerical group relations. In fact, some cities and neighbourhoods in Europe today are so-called 'majority minority' contexts, where persons with a migration background outnumber those without one.

the national over one's minority identity is particularly challenging for those minority members who are phenotypically different from the majority, or stand out due to particular accents or (religious) attire that marks their minority group membership. They struggle to be recognized as 'simply Dutch' (or Belgian, German, etc.) and frequently experience their claims to the national identity being denied through a continued questioning of where they are (really) from, or abundant compliments with their proficiency in a langue that actually is their mother tongue (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Thus, although a sense of identification with their destination country emerges among immigrants with increasing length of stay (De Vroome, Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014), and for their offspring, during their socialisation in schools and mixed peer networks (Kende et al., 2021; Leszczensky, Stark, Flache & Munniksma, 2016), the membership of immigrants and their children in the national community of the destination country is frequently not validated or accepted by the majority that claims exclusive ownership of the national identity.

The contestation of the boundaries of national identity and the urgent question whether immigrants (or better put: which ones and under what conditions) can become part of the nation of their new residence country points out the fundamentally social nature of group identities, of which immigrants' dual identities as simultaneous members of the 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983) of their origin country and their destination country are a specific example. As such, the study of immigrants' dual identity provides an excellent opportunity to emphasize the usefulness of the social identity approach (Reicher, Spears & Haslam, 2010) for understanding the specific identity constructions and identity dynamics among immigrants and their offspring. This emphasis, and the consistent and comprehensive application of the social identity approach to the field of migration studies, is one of the key scientific contributions of Maykel Verkuyten to the social psychological literature on immigration (e.g., Verkuyten, 2018a), the developmental psychological literature on identity formation (Verkuyten, 2016) and to migration studies (e.g., Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2021) and therefore may not be missing in a book honouring his scholarship.

Maykel Verkuyten's research on migrants' dual identity builds naturally on his earlier work on ethnic identity (among such divergent groups as the Karen of Myanmar, the Polish Tatars, as well as South Moluccan, Turkish and Chinese minorities in the Netherlands, cf. Verkuyten, 1999, 2005, 2018b), which was followed by an in-depth investigation of national identification among immigrants (e.g. Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012a). What research on these two forms of identification has in common is the question how particular identity constructions and the way they are negotiated in specific social contexts can result in multiple

social identities being perceived as compatible and harmonious – in contrast to scenario's in which identifying with one's origin national group is perceived to come at the cost of identification with the destination national identity, and vice-versa. The research interest in the conditionality of social identities experienced by people who could potentially be 'both', but are not always interested in, or allowed to be, simultaneous members of two national groups has been a great inspiration for my own research agenda. Starting from one of my first scientific works, written initially as Master's thesis in the programme Migration, Ethnic Relations and Multiculturalism under Maykel Verkuyten's supervision, up until this day I have tried to further the scientific and societal understanding of how minority groups deal with their multiple group identities.

In this chapter, I will review this line of research structured around two core research questions. The first concerns the conceptualisation and measurement of immigrants' dual identity, and the second concerns the study of identity compatibility, or more specifically the question when and why immigrants' multiple identities are perceived to be incompatible, and when and why they are experienced as blended or even mutually reinforcing. Thus I approach immigrants' dual identity focussing on two identities in the same domain, namely the national identity of immigrants' origin and the national identity of their destination country (e.g. Moroccan and French, Turkish and German, Pakistani and British). As such, the research focus differs from the intersectionality approach (e.g. Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1999; Settles & Buchanan, 2014) which emphasises how the combination of multiple identities in *different* domains (e.g. gender, race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, ability) affects the experience and enactment of these specific identities, as well as the structural disadvantages or privileges resulting from these.[2] The empirical basis of the work reviewed here rests on research conducted primarily in Europe with minorities of non-European origins, and covering several migrants generations and age groups. Given the dual nature of the identity construct under study, I will specifically consider two types of audiences that may affect immigrants' claims to dual identity, namely the majority in-group and the minority in-group. Finally, I will discuss how the definition of identity contents – both those shared with the majority and those specific to the minority group – may hamper or facilitate 'being both'.

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[2]  In the psychological literature on identity multiplicity, the concept of intersectionality is also applied in the social identity complexity approach (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). There, it refers to an exclusive identification with others who share the same two group memberships (e.g. French and Senegalese) without identifying with the larger groups (all French, or all Senegalese).

**Researching immigrants' dual identity**

*A social identity perspective on dual identity*

According to Social Identity theory (SIT), individuals partly define their identities with regard to the social groups they belong to and are emotionally invested in (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When group identities are salient, individuals assimilate their personal self to the attributes and behaviours of the group, thus expressing their group membership and belonging by acting in ways that are expected of group members. How individuals think and feel about themselves thus also depends on the shared representations of their group identities. Group representations refer to group boundaries, i.e., who is (and who is not) considered an in-group member, as well as identity contents such as important group values and behavioural norms. Thinking in terms of group membership (us and them) instead of individual identities (me and you) thus has important repercussions for individuals' orientations towards those who belong to the in-group and various out-groups, involving behavioural expectations, loyalty to the group and its norms and values, as well as a concern for the relative status of the in-group in the wider society.

For immigrants and their children, identification with their origin and destination national groups is particularly important. Indeed, when living in a new country, immigrants can decide to maintain some attachment to the country of origin, while, at the same time, acquiring a connection to the destination country (Berry, 1997). The form of identification that combines immigrants' membership in both the origin and the destination society communities is defined as dual identity (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Accordingly, the study of dual identity among immigrants and their children concerns three fundamental questions: (1) the way in which they themselves think and feel about their origin and destination national group memberships; (2) how other members of these groups perceive them and behave towards them (e.g., include or exclude them); and (3) the result of the negotiations between the self and the members of their multiple in-groups in terms of how group boundaries and identity contents are defined (Verkuyten, 2018b). Regarding the last question, it is of particular importance whether the component identities are defined in compatible or incompatible ways. Developing dual identification can be difficult when immigrants perceive that the destination and the origin national identities are hard to express at the same time (Sindic & Reicher, 2009; Sixtus et al., 2019). Expressing multiple identities can be cognitively demanding and stressful if the behavioural expectations of the distinct identities do not align (Hirsh & Kang, 2016).

*Different approaches to and measures of dual identity*

Translating these theoretical questions into empirical research requires the operationalisation of immigrants' dual identity, which is not straightforward. Indeed, different scholars have used different conceptualisations and measures of dual identity, and this sometimes causes confusion or hinders the integration of scientific knowledge from different fields. In the following, I will first review different empirical approaches to the study of immigrants' dual identity and their underlying conceptualisation, and subsequently describe research comparing these different approaches.

Three distinct empirical approaches to dual identity can be distinguished in the literature: a first classifies dual identifiers based on the combination of high origin national (or ethnic) and high destination national identification (e.g. Fleischmann, Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2013; Klandermans, Van den Toorn & Van Stekelenburg, 2008); the second explicitly measures self-categorisation as dual identifier and the strength of identification with the dual identity ("I [strongly] feel Turkish-German", cf. Simon & Ruhs, 2008); the third, more indirect, approach considers the associations between immigrants' origin and destination national identification. In this approach, positive associations are interpreted as reflecting identity compatibility, and negative associations as a situation of identity conflict which imply an either-or choice between immigrants' identification with the origin and destination national group (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016).

The first approach is typically adopted in the acculturation literature, where it represents the strategy of integration in the domain of identification, by combining high levels of cultural heritage group identification with high identification with the new society (Hutnik, 1991; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). The second was pioneered by Bernd Simon and colleagues who argued that the requirement for ethnic and national identification to be both high might be too restrictive and that "[a]gainst the backdrop of a strong Turkish identification, a moderate level of German identification may already acquire sufficient self-relevance to prompt a sense of dual identity" (Simon & Ruhs, 2008, p.1355). Other researchers assessed how strongly individuals of immigrant origin identify with a blended (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) or merger identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), and subsequently related these identifications to the level of identification with the two component identities, to investigate whether dual identity is more than the sum of its parts (Mosaico, 2020; Ng Tseung Wong & Verkuyten, 2013; Verkuyten, 2014). This analytical strategy aims to empirically examine the claim that combined categories of identification (e.g. British Muslim) are qualitatively different from the sum of their parts (i.e., feeling British and Muslim; cf. Hopkins, 2011; Verkuyten et al., 2019). How such merger identities that define a new,

third group can be achieved and socially validated is an important question in contemporary migrant receiving societies.[3]

In light of existing conceptual and empirical confusion, we compared the distinct approaches to the study of immigrants' dual identity across two studies. The first included nation-wide samples of six minority groups in the Netherlands, and the other Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). Specifically, we classified minority members as dual identifiers based on their distinct identification with their origin (e.g. Turkish) and destination (i.e., Dutch) national identity, and we compared this to explicit measures of self-categorisation as equally Turkish and Dutch (in Study 1), and to the strength of identification with a merger (Turkish-Dutch) identity (in Study 2). Moreover, we related these distinct approaches to dual identity to immigrants' perceptions of intergroup relations and their psychological adjustment. Our findings revealed that, in the context of the Netherlands, dual identity is typically a qualified form of Dutch national identification. This conclusion rests on two findings: first, the level of dual identification is more strongly related to Dutch identification than to origin national (e.g., Turkish) identification. Second, levels of dual identification are significantly predicted by factors that go together with greater Dutch national identification, such as more contacts with Dutch people, better Dutch language skills and more positive feelings towards the Dutch and Dutch society (De Vroome et al., 2014). These results are in line with the argument that any, even a minimal, level of identification with the destination country's national community, even if lower than the identification with the origin nation, carries a sense of dual identity for immigrants (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). However, when examining the strength of identification with a merger identity and relating this to the identification with its components among Turkish minorities in the Netherlands (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016) and among recent immigrants

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[3] In a symposium on dual identity at the General Meeting of the European Association of Social Psychology in Grenada, 2017, it was proposed that European national identities would become more inclusive and accessible to their citizens of migrant origin if the dominant group would also systematically be referred to in a hyphenated way (similar to the usage of 'European Americans' or 'Anglo Australians'). This terminology serves to emphasize that, despite their greater numbers and historical dominance, the majority group is also just a subgroup of the wider national category. Appealing as this sounds, most European societies today lack a linguistic repertoire that would allow making such a distinction. Therefore, when people speak of e.g. Germans or French, they implicitly tend to refer only to those with ancestry in the respective country, thus excluding those with of more recent migrant origin. This usage can also be observed among minority members who are motivated to identify with the destination nation but tend to see themselves not as 'true nationals' or even use labels such as 'foreigners' to describe themselves (Gharaei, 2022). In societal contexts that do not commonly use dual or hyphenated identity labels, it is not clear what is captured by a measure such as "I feel Turkish-Dutch". Therefore, in European immigrant destinations that typically do not recognize immigrants' dual identities, the explicit identification as 'being both' may be less viable as an object of study, and instead the association between the two component national identities might be a more adequate – though conceptually distinct – approach to dual identity.

from four countries (Mosaico, 2020), we also find support for the notion that dual identification is more than the sum of its parts. This is based on the findings of significant interactions between origin and destination national identification in the prediction of dual identification, such that the association between dual identification and destination national identification was stronger at higher levels of origin national identification, and the other way around. The interaction model fitted the data better than a more simple additive model, in which origin and destination national identity independently predicted dual identification. At the same time, in both studies, the level of Dutch identification was much more strongly related to dual identification than origin national identification, which supports the conclusion that in the context under study, dual identification is a qualified version of Dutch national identification. Taking into account that origin national identification is generally higher than destination national identification (Phinney, Berry, Vedder & Liebkind, 2006), this suggests that immigrants develop dual identities when a sense of identification with their new country emerges on top of an existing identification with the origin national group.

**What shapes dual identification? Boundary conditions to (in-)compatibility**

For immigrants to experience a sense of 'being both', it is thus necessary to achieve a minimal sense of identification with their new society while maintaining a significant identification with their origin group. Particularly in European immigrant-receiving societies, this proves to be a challenge, and I will discuss how majority and minority in-group dynamics can facilitate or hamper dual identification among immigrants and their offspring, as well as the specific identity contents of the categories involved that make for more or less identity compatibility.

Given the social nature of group identities, identity constructions need to be recognized to become viable (Klein, Spears & Reicher, 2007). For dual identifiers, two audiences are particularly relevant in recognizing their claims of 'being both' – or alternatively denying their membership in one of their (aspired) in-groups based on their simultaneous membership in the other group. I will first review work on the role of the majority in-group, on which much of the previous literature has focused, and its power to define the national identity in ways that can exclude those of migrant origin. Although this perspective is clearly important in understanding dual identity, the role of minority groups is equally important in achieving a socially validated sense of 'being both' (cf. Verkuyten, 2018b). I will therefore also review a line of work which relates minority in-group dynamics to dual identification among their members.

*Interactions with majority group members*

Perceived discrimination has repeatedly been identified as a threat to immigrants' identity compatibility. For instance, across several European societies, Muslim immigrant minorities who reported more instances of perceived discrimination, or perceived more anti-Islamic attitudes in their receiving country, were more strongly identified with their origin national and religious community and displayed lower levels of identification with, or even dis-identification from, the nation of residence (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016; Kunst et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012b; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). These findings can be explained by the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999). It has been observed more broadly that perceptions of discrimination are positively related with identification with the target group of the unfair or hostile treatment (e.g., Badea et al., 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Moreover, immigrants were found to lower their destination national identification and to evaluate the majority group less positively in response to perceived discrimination, which has been described as rejection-disidentification (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Empirical studies across a broad range of immigrant-receiving societies found a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and destination national identification (e.g., Bobowik et al., 2017; Mähönen et al., 2010; Wiley, 2013). Extending these findings on destination national identification to identity compatibility, research that simultaneously studies minorities' origin and destination national identifications found that perceived discrimination goes together with more negative associations between these identities (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016; Fleischmann et al., 2019).

In addition to experiences of unfair treatment of oneself and one's minority in-group, a perceived lack of sub-group respect has been identified as detrimental to dual identification (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). Both are indicative of a hierarchical intergroup context, in which the majority acts as dominant group and appropriates the national identity of which it "feels a particularly keen sense of ownership" (Peña & Sidanius, 2002, p.783), compared to co-nationals with a migrant origin. Proponents of Social Dominance Theory have argued that in situations of strong intergroup hierarchy, identification with a higher-level category that is appropriated by the dominant group also implies the acceptance of the social hierarchy that prevails within this context. Identification with the national identity of the destination country then confirms the high status of the majority group within the social hierarchy, thus providing majority members with a positive in-group identity. In contrast, "for subordinates, the rejection […] of the whole society may be necessary in order to facilitate positive group identity" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p.246). Therefore, the more immigrants and their children experience

their position to be that of a subordinate group within their new country, the more their national identification with the destination country will occur at the expense of identification with their origin national identification.[4] In line with this reasoning about contextual differences in compatibility of destination national with origin national identification, the destination national identification of immigrants tends to be stronger in European societies with more multicultural policies (Igarashi, 2019) where this intergroup hierarchy is attenuated.

*Interactions with minority group members*

Majority members' unequal or hostile treatment of immigrants can thus be understood as an attempt to maintain their dominant position and exclusive ownership of the national identity. From the minority perspective, such experiences weaken their claim, and motivation, to belong to the national community of their destination country. Yet dual identifiers do not only need to deal with a potential lack of recognition of 'being both' from majority members. Their specific identity construction can also be hampered by dynamics within the minority group that interpret a simultaneous identification with the destination and origin national groups as a lack of loyalty to the minority in-group and exert pressure to conform to important in-group norms (Verkuyten, 2018a). Accordingly, across two studies of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, we found that those who more strongly expressed a dual identity were more often described as "too Dutch" by their minority in-group, illustrating the negative repercussions of dual identification for the acceptance within the minority group by way of identity misgivings (Cárdenas, Verkuyten & Fleischmann, 2021). Similarly, among Alevi (but not Sunni) Muslims in the Netherlands and Germany, dual identifiers were more inclined to support Muslim minority group rights – an important behavioural expression of their identification with and loyalty towards the minority in-group – the more pressure

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[4]   The informed reader will recognise a passage here from Fleischmann, Verkuyten & Poppe (2011), which resulted from my 2007 master's thesis in the programme Migration, Ethnic Relations and Multiculturalism. After following Maykel Verkuyten's course on social identity in early 2006, I proposed to write a thesis to empirically examine the hitherto untested claim of Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) regarding the contextual variation in the association between group-specific ('communal') and shared ('common') identities depending on the level of intergroup hierarchy. We examined the proposition that identification patterns of majority and minority groups would be more similar, and the association between communal and common identities more positive, the less strong the intergroup hierarchy (expressed by more equal group sizes and lower levels of perceived threat from the respective out-group) using comparative survey data collected in several republics of the Russian Federation and Ukraine, including Crimea. Since the contexts under study were rather distinct from the situation of immigrant minorities living in culturally diverse European societies, we did not link this research to the work on immigrants' dual identity back then. Looking back, the notion that dominant groups experience a particularly keen sense of ownership of the national identity, and that they will emphasise their exclusive right to define who is a member of the nation more strongly if they perceive their dominant position to be under threat is clearly applicable to the topic under study here: the question under which conditions immigrants' minority identity can be included in the representation of national identities.

they experienced to stick to minority group norms (Cárdenas, 2019). In addition, we found that origin and destination national identification were consistently more negatively related at higher levels of perceived minority pressure across six immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands (Cárdenas & Fleischmann, under review). Pressure to conform to minority group norms and the policing of group boundaries by minority members can thus be equally important obstacles to identity compatibility than discrimination and hostility from the majority group.

### Identity contents

Similar to the question of who decides whether dual identifiers belong to the destination and origin national in-group, also regarding the question of what group membership means at least two identities need to be examined for dual identifiers: the destination national identity, i.e., what is required to be considered e.g. Dutch, German or Danish, and the origin national identity or related categories of identification that are typically construed to be at odds with national identification in European societies, most importantly Muslims' religious identification.

### Identity contents: the destination nation

National identity contents have been described in terms of ethnic versus civic definitions (Brubaker, 1992), and this distinction has more recently been complemented with a cultural definition, such that sharing core cultural traits like the national language, but also the Christian religion, is regarded by a substantial share of European majority populations as a necessary condition to claim national belonging (Reijerse et al., 2013). An ethnic definition of the national identity, or a cultural one that emphasizes cultural traits that exclude (specific) immigrant groups, makes the boundary of destination national identity rather impermeable for immigrants and their children. Yet the perception of greater permeability of the boundaries of national identity can foster immigrants' dual identification by signalling that membership in the national group is within reach, despite their migrant origin and identification with their minority group. Previous research among ethnic minorities and immigrants indeed found that perceived permeability is associated with higher destination national identification (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012; Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008) and greater compatibility between origin and destination cultural orientations (Sixtus, Wesche & Kerschreiter, 2019).

While the majority perspective on what it takes to belong to the nation has been studied widely, there is much less knowledge about the minority perspective on the national identity contents of their receiving societies. Qualitative work among the Moroccan-Dutch second generation revealed that national identity

can have multiple meanings (e.g. participation in society, attachment to specific (local) areas), and does not necessary relate to positive feelings towards Dutch people (Omlo, 2011). Survey-embedded vignettes presenting profiles of youth who do or do not combine an orientation towards their Turkish origin culture with Belgian national identification and cultural participation moreover revealed that the perception that those who are culturally distinct can be considered as 'real Belgians' facilitates minority youth' identification with the destination national identity (here, feeling more strongly Belgian; Gharaei, Phalet & Fleischmann, 2018). An important avenue for future research will be to examine minority definitions of national identity contents (e.g. in ethnic vs. civic terms) and relating their specific definitions to perceived identity compatibility and adjustment (e.g. in terms of school performance or well-being).

*Identity contents: the origin nation and Muslims' religious identity*
Similar to a lack of knowledge on minority perspectives on national identity contents, there is relatively little work on the contents of specific minority identities and how they are contested within minority groups. However, just as the question what it means to be Dutch is important for minorities' ability to develop and get recognized for their dual identification, being e.g. Turkish or Muslim can be defined in different ways that allow for more or less compatibility with European national identities. For instance, focusing on the complexity of identity representations, it was found that the more Turkish minorities perceived their Turkish identity to be overlapping with their religious identity as Muslims, the less they identified with the destination national identity in Germany and the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012b). Less complex representations of minority group identities, in which origin national and religious group membership are more overlapping rather than being perceived as distinct and separate aspects of one's identity, therefore seem to undermine compatibility with the destination national identity, and hence the development of dual identification.

This study on the complexity of minorities' identity representations among Turkish Muslims shows that the religious identity of this group is an important aspect of their identification pattern. Moreover, European public discourses on immigration, diversity and social cohesion tend to problematise Muslims' religious belonging even more than the different ancestry of immigrants (Brubaker, 2015). Accordingly, Muslim immigrant youth identify even less strongly with their destination national identities than otherwise similar non-Muslim immigrant peers (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2018). In addition to the question of how origin national identities are defined, and whether these definitions allow for a simultaneous identification with the destination national identity, it

is therefore relevant to study the identity contents of Muslims' religious identity in immigrants and the extent to which they facilitate or hamper compatibility with identification with European nations.

Several authors have created typologies of different ways of being a Muslim, resting on different combinations of high religious identification with specific religious practices and attitudes (e.g. Phalet, Fleischmann & Stojcic, 2012; Huijnk, 2018), resulting in more or less homogeneous profiles of Muslim identity (cf. Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2021). However, research relating these different types of Muslims to national identification or identity compatibility is still scarce. So far, we know that a strong sense of belonging to the 'ummah', i.e., the global fellowship of Muslim believers, as a specific definition of Muslims' religious identity content, together with fundamentalist religious beliefs, goes together with low Dutch national identification and even dis-identification from the Dutch (Maliepaard & Verkuyten, 2018). It has also been argued that, to the extent that Muslims adhere to more orthodox or fundamentalist variants of their belief, these beliefs will be less compatible with destination national identification in Western societies due to the latter's emphasis on liberal values such as gender equality and sexual minority rights (Eskelinen & Verkuyten, 2018; Maliepaard & Verkuyten, 2018). The counterpart to fundamentalist or literal interpretations of religion is symbolic religiosity (Wulff, 1997; Fontaine et al., 2003; Krysinska et al., 2014). Religious persons who take a symbolic approach to religion emphasize the need to interpret religious texts in their historical context and acknowledge the validity of multiple worldviews. Similar to civic definitions of destination national identities, such more symbolic and non-fundamentalist definitions of what it means to be a Muslim should facilitate the simultaneous identification with (historically non-Muslim) European societies, but this reasoning still awaits an empirical test (Fleischmann, 2022). A closer examination of different religious identity contents among Muslims (but also of other religious minority groups) has the potential to shed more light on the question of how identity compatibility can be facilitated based on more inclusive definitions of specific minority identities.

## Conclusion

Research on immigrants' (and their children's) dual identity always revolves around the question of identity compatibility: who is willing and allowed to claim to be 'both'? The specific identity construals that immigrants embrace, and the patterns of associations between their identification with their multiple groups, always reflect the social context in which these negotiations take place, and the relative power position of migrant and non-migrant groups to impose their definition of

the nation they jointly inhabit and the origin country they left behind on fellow group members and those who aspire group membership. The emphasis on the social nature of immigrants' dual identity explains why much research has focused on the position of the powerful majority group. Yet if applied in a one-sided way, this focus limits our understanding of the fundamentally *dual* nature of dual identity that needs to be recognized and validated (or can be denied) by at least two distinct, only partly overlapping and oftentimes oppositional, audiences. This makes dual identities more complex to develop and maintain, and it renders dual identifiers more prone to identity threats that affect their adjustment and e.g. school achievement (Baysu, Phalet & Brown, 2011; Deaux et al., 2007). Despite this complexity, a better understanding of immigrants' dual identity and the boundary conditions for identity compatibility contributes to addressing the important societal question of how minority members can be different and still belong.

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# Social networks in ethnic relations: New perspectives on integration research[1]

Tobias Stark & Verena Seibel

### Introduction

The integration of newcomers entails the formation of relationships between natives of the host country and members of these new minority groups. In fact, integration policies in Western Europe have increasingly focused on this "social integration" instead of only stimulating "structural integration" into the local job market or educational system because social relationships facilitate language acquisition and the understanding of the local culture and procedures (Collet & Petrovic, 2014). Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that integration researchers have long focused on the consequences of social relationships, such as friendships, between members of majority and minority groups. For instance, already in the 1940s/1950s were theories developed that predicted that this "intergroup contact" would reduce negative stereotypes about minority groups and promote positive intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Williams Jr., 1947). Despite this long tradition, research on intergroup contact continues to produce new insights, such as into the role of negative contact experiences (Schäfer et al., 2021), contact through mass media (Zhou et al., 2019) or imagined contact experiences (Miles & Crisp, 2013).

Another strand of research does not explore the consequences of interethnic relations but the factors that facilitate or prevent the formation of such relations.

Most of this work departs from the framework of opportunities, preferences, and third parties (Kalmijn, 1998). The idea is that people have interethnic contact if they find themselves in contexts where they have the chance to interact with members of other ethnic groups (opportunities), if they want to have such interactions (preferences), and if relevant others (third parties) accept such interactions (Damen et al., 2021). Research has generally found support for this framework. For instance, interethnic contact was more likely in ethnically more diverse workplaces (opportunities; Kokkonen et al., 2015), among people with less prejudice toward the ethnic outgroup (preferences; Binder et al., 2009), and among secondary school students if their parents approved of the contact (third parties; Munniksma et al., 2012).

Many of the central concepts in research on intergroup relations such as interpersonal relationships, opportunities to interact, preferences for interactions, and third parties, reflect dynamics in social networks. Yet, only very recently have researchers realized that thinking about the role of social networks and applying a social network analysis approach may be helpful in understanding integration. For instance, the extended contact hypothesis posits that having indirect contact with an outgroup member, for instance by having an ingroup friend in common, also leads to less prejudice (Wright et al., 1997; Zhou et al., 2019). Although this hypothesis is more or less explicitly about a social network process (triadic closure: a friend of a friend is a friend), this realization has entered the literature only relatively late (Munniksma et al., 2013). And by modeling extended contact explicitly with social network data, Stark (2020) could recently show that indirect contact is only associated with less prejudice if people also have direct contact with an outgroup member.

Making the role of social networks and the processes that take place within these networks explicit by analyzing either ego-centric network data or whole (complete) network data (see Box 1) can highlight shortcomings of earlier work and often offers a new perspective on intergroup relations. For instance, most research on intergroup contact has overlooked that this contact takes place in social networks and is thus not independent from each other. In other words, it does not only matter with whom you have contact, but also with whom your peers within your network have contact. One ego-centric network study (see Box 1) found that intergroup contact has a weaker effect on prejudice if your ingroup friends are also friends with your outgroup friends (Stark, 2016). Perhaps the ethnic outgroup membership is less salient if such an intergroup friendship is part of a dense social network. Moreover, your ingroup friends who are less prejudiced because they have outgroup friends may influence your intergroup attitudes (Zingora et al., 2020). This social influence may be the reason why

extended contact has been found to change perceived ingroup norms ("we like them") and outgroup norms ("my friend told me that they like us"), and also why extended contact affects psychological factors such as less stress or anxiety about future interactions with the outgroup (Zhou et al., 2019). Social influence may also work in the opposite direction. Recent network research with whole network data (see Box 1) showed that friends' influence is a stronger predictor of attitudes toward an outgroup than having contact with a member of this group (Bracegirdle et al., 2021). Hence, reducing prejudice is not just about having contact with minority members; it is more important that your friends approve of the outgroup to achieve attitude change.

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**Box 1: Social network data**

- Social networks consist of a set of actors (called nodes) who are connected via relations (called ties or edges).
- Relations in a social network can be undirected (e.g., mutual friendships) or directed (e.g., emotional support).
- *Ego-centric network* studies ask their respondents (called egos) for the names of their social contacts (called alters) and then ask the respondents follow-up questions about these alters (e.g., their ethnicity) and the network structure (e.g., which alters know each other). The alters are typically not interviewed.
- *Whole network* studies interview all members of a social context (e.g., a school class) about their own characteristics (e.g., their ethnicity) and their relationships with all other members of the context. The whole social network is then constructed from each person's self-reported ties.

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Also the structure of a social network can affect individual outcomes. For instance, that less prejudiced people are more likely to form friendships with ethnic outgroup members may look like a preference for intergroup contact (Binder et al., 2009), but it can also be the consequence of a network process. A whole network study showed that those with less prejudice tend to befriend ingroup members who already have outgroup friends and subsequently befriend the outgroup friends of their ingroup friends (triadic closure) (Stark, 2015). Hence, less prejudiced people do not seek out intergroup contact, but they are more likely to meet outgroup members.

These examples show how highlighting social network mechanisms can help us understand the interdependence and complexity of social processes that affect integration dynamics. In the following, we will discuss several research streams (identity formation, acting white, and social support) in which intergroup relations are analyzed from a social network perspective. We show how making the role of social networks explicit has led to new insights in research on intergroup

relations. Moreover, we discuss existing research gaps and highlight avenues for future research.

### National identity formation

Social identity theory holds that people strive to belong to and identify with a social category that is evaluated as being distinct and positive in comparison to other categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Yet, many (grand)children of immigrants who grew up in European countries struggle to find their place between the culture of their parents and the West (Roy, 2004). A majority of the second and third-generation immigrants express a sense of belonging to both the ethnic group of their parents (ethnic identification) and the country of settlement (national identification) (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2018).[2] However, experiences of discrimination, structural inequalities, and exclusion in European societies suggest to many of them that they do not truly belong to the national category (Verkuyten, 2018).

Highlighting the importance of "social integration" that we mentioned above, a central finding in this literature is that ethnic minority members who have more relationships with the native majority group tend to identify more strongly with the national category (de Vroome et al., 2014; Munniksma et al., 2015; Phinney et al., 2006). Yet, the causal order behind this association remained unknown for a long time. Did ethnic minority members first form relationships with majority members and adjusted their identification due to this experience? Or did ethnic minority members who identified more strongly with the national category seek out friendships with majority members? Or, also possible, were majority members more open to friendships with ethnic minority members who identified more strongly with the national category?

Traditional research methods cannot disentangle these processes because they are often unobserved and happen simultaneously. Moreover, alternative social processes may affect friendship formation that may lead to an overestimation of the importance of people's preferences (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). For instance, a majority group member may befriend a minority member due to this person's strong national identity. Subsequently, the majority group member will get to know the new friend's minority friends and perhaps also befriend them. These latter friendships are driven by a social network process (triadic closure: a

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2    We use the term "ethnic" in Weber's (1968 [1922]) sense of the belief in common descent and ancestry. In the European context, the "native" population is then also an ethnic group similar to other ethnic (minority) groups. For instance, the label "Dutch" refers to both the ethnic group of Dutch "natives" and the national group in the Netherlands.

friend of a friend is a friend) and not by national identification. To draw accurate conclusions about the importance of national identity for friendship formation, such network processes need to be accounted for (Leszczensky & Stark, 2019).

Social network analysis (see Box 2), and particularly longitudinal stochastic actor-oriented models based on whole network data, enable researchers to disentangle social influence from selection processes (preferences), while simultaneously accounting for the opportunity for interethnic friendships and the role of social network processes such as triadic closure (Snijders et al., 2010). Recent social network research has then also been able to provide some insights into the causal process underlying the association between ethnic minority members' national identification and their interethnic friendships (for an overview see, Leszczensky et al., 2019). The first study on this topic using whole network data found that Dutch majority group classmates based their friendship choices, in part, on national identification as they were more likely to befriend minority classmates who identify more strongly with the nation (Leszczensky et al., 2016). Another whole network study (see Box 1) in Germany found that minority members with stronger national identification were more likely to befriend majority members, but only if they had sufficient opportunity to choose among many majority peers (Leszczensky, 2018). Importantly, none of these longitudinal social network studies found evidence that interethnic friendships influence people's national identity. Identification with the national category seems to be a prerequisite for social integration and not a consequence of it.

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**Box 2: Social network analysis**

- There are broadly two types of social network analysis.
- The first type treats networks as independent variables. Characteristics of people's networks (e.g., how dense it is), their position in the network (e.g., how central people are), or relationships in the network (e.g., how many ethnic minority contacts people have) are measured and used to explain individual outcomes in standard statistical models (e.g., linear regression).
- The second type of social network analysis treats networks as dependent variables and explains why certain relationships exist (e.g., interethnic ties), why they change over time, or how they affect behavior over time (influence).
- People are influenced by their network contacts in their behavior (e.g., friends start smoking when their friends smoke) and relationships (e.g., a friend of a friend is a friend). This is why treating networks as the dependent variable violates the basic assumption of statistical regression methods that observations are independent of each other. Advanced statistical methods have been developed to account for these dependencies in cross-sectional analysis (e.g., exponential random-graph models) and longitudinal analysis (e.g., stochastic actor-oriented models).

In line with social identity theory, a study relying on whole-network data recently pointed out that the preference for friends with a certain level of ethnic (not national) identification depends on people's own strength of ethnic identification: high identifiers prefer friends who also strongly identify whereas low identifiers avoid high identifiers as friends (Leszczensky & Pink, 2019). Future research should extend this relational approach to the study of national identity and explore if the strength of self-identification is also important for the formation of interethnic friendships. Other research with whole social networks in Greece highlighted that selection and influence processes among minority and majority members can differ for different dimensions of national identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020). For instance, higher national identity resolution (i.e., the sense of clarity regarding their national identity) increased the likelihood of being chosen as a friend whereas friends were found to influence the extent of each other's national identity exploration (i.e., to what extent they had tried to learn more about the national society). To get a better understanding of these different aspects of identity formation and their association with social integration, more social network research is needed that can disentangle processes of social selection and social influence.

### Perceived ethnic identity

Identifying with an ethnic or national group is one thing, a completely different question is to what extent this self-identification is recognized by others (Verkuyten, 2018). Research found that perception of others' ethnicity depends on the context in which people interact (Chen et al., 2018) and can vary between individual perceivers (Saperstein & Penner, 2012). Unfortunately, the literature has documented extensively that biracial people and people with a migration background who also identify with the national category (i.e., dual identifiers) often feel not recognized as majority group members (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Pauker et al., 2018). This experience of "identity denial" by majority group members has been linked to poorer mental health outcomes (Albuja et al., 2019) and affects dual and national/majority identification (Cárdenas et al., 2021). While this research into perceived identity denial based on regular survey data is valuable, it leaves open the question of who denies others an identity, whether people are actively denying an identity, and why this is the case.

Self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985) states that social identities are context-dependent and, accordingly, that the subjective salience of one's ethnic, national, or dual identity varies depending on where one is and who is around. Dual identifiers are often not inclined to highlight their dual belonging because

dual identification can raise concerns about group loyalty (Kunst et al., 2019; Verkuyten, 2018). For instance, dual identifiers have been found to adjust the expression of their identity to the person they are interacting with (Barreto et al., 2003; Gaither et al., 2015). And dual identifiers have been found to often keep their social networks ethnically segregated by interacting separately with friends from the ethnic and national groups (Nibbs, 2016; Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2018). In fact, people's perceptions of others' ethnic/national identifications often do not align with the self-identifications of those others (Boda & Néray, 2015; Roth, 2016). But given the flexibility and context-dependency of dual identities, it is not clear that not recognizing a claim to a dual identity reflects an act of denial.

The social network perspective offers a novel approach to understanding who is recognizing dual identifiers and why they might be inclined to (not) do so. We would like to illustrate the novel insights the network perspective can generate with a small proof-of-concept trial that we conducted among a highly ethnically diverse sample of young adults from two vocational training schools in the Netherlands (*N*=54, mean age=18.9). Using a whole networks approach, we found large disparities between the self-identification of dual identifiers and others' perceptions. Students were asked to self-identify with one or more ethnic groups and to indicate to which ethnic groups (one or more) each of their classmates belonged. 60.1% of the sample had a migration background and 46.2% self-identified both as a Dutch national majority group member and a member of an ethnic minority group. However, only 15% were perceived to be dual identifiers.

Even students who were themselves dual identifiers classified only 20.3% of their dual identifying classmates as dual identifiers (see the first bar in Figure 1). Instead, they were about equally likely to perceive them as ethnic minority (40.6%) or national majority group members (39.1%). Dutch majority group members identified the highest percentage (26.5%) of the dual identifiers as such. In contrast, students who identified only with an ethnic minority group were the least likely to recognize the dual identifiers (6.9%).
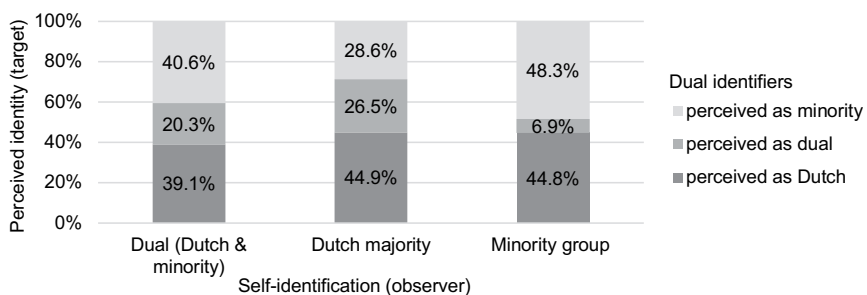


**Figure 1:** Perceived identity of classmates who identified as dual (Dutch national majority & ethnic minority) by ethnic self-identification of the observer.

These results highlight the difficulty of using others' self-reports of their ethnic identity in the study of interethnic relations (Boda, 2019; Roth, 2016). Self-identification is subjective and context-dependent (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016; Verkuyten, 2018), and someone can identify dual and yet behave in a way that highlights more their ethnic or national identity in a given situation. For instance, a Turkish-Dutch student could identify as dual but highlight her Turkish identity in school to fit into her group of friends with a Turkish background (Van de Weerd, 2020). Accordingly, what looks like a misrecognition might actually be an accurate perception of the context-dependent ethnic identity that does not reflect all aspects of a person's self-identification. Future research could use this network approach to reveal mismatches of context-specific ethnic identities. Such social network studies would allow teasing apart who is recognizing dual identifiers and the circumstances under which this explains feelings of identity denial.

The network approach to perceived ethnic identity could also be used to overcome the assumption of most previous work that others' ethnic background or ethnic self-identification is generally known. That is, many network researchers determine ethnicity by the self-reported country of birth of participants' parents (e.g., Leszczensky & Pink, 2019; Stark et al., 2015) or participants' self-identification (e.g., Stark et al., 2017) and then assume that all other network members are aware of it. However, a small number of social network studies using data from Hungary have shown that the perceived ethnicity of others is more strongly related to positive and negative interpersonal relationships such as friendships (Boda & Néray, 2015) and bullying (Kisfalusi et al., 2020), than ethnic self-reports. Thus far, these studies are limited to one minority group (Roma in Hungary) and more network research is needed to find out whether this finding applies to the multi-ethnic context of other European countries.

### Acting white

Identity denial has also been the focus of oppositional culture theory (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1978) in the realm of academic achievement research among minority students. The theory maintains that experiences of discrimination and structural disadvantages convince some minority students that achieving a high education will not pay off. These students consider high grades in school a characteristic of the majority group and develop an oppositional culture in which positive school norms are rejected. Other minority students who endorse positive school norms are considered traitors to the minority because they adopt the majority norm. In the United States, where oppositional culture theory

was developed, some Black minority students have been found to consider academically successful Black peers to be "acting white" (Downey, 2008). Sometimes these successful Black students are called "Oreos" (being "black" on the outside but "white" on the inside) (Tyson et al., 2005). Oppositional culture theory thus predicts that low-performing minority students befriend others with similar low grades and reject high achieving peers more so than majority students would do. Moreover, low-performing minority students should influence their peers to also have poor grades whereas high achievers should exert much less influence.

Despite being around for decades, without social network analysis, oppositional culture theory had, until recently, never been properly tested. The reason is that, just like in research on national identity (see above), traditional methods of statistical analysis could not tease apart processes of opportunities, friendship selection, and social influence. First, because minority students are typically also a numeric minority in their school, they tend to have fewer opportunities to make ingroup friends who are high achievers than majority group students (Flashman, 2012b). Second, the homophily principle highlights that people prefer to befriend those who are like them (McPherson et al., 2001). This leads to a preference for friends with the same ethnic background (Leszczensky & Pink, 2015; Stark & Flache, 2012) and also a preference for peers who perform similarly in school (Flashman, 2012a; Quillian & Campbell, 2003). Third, research has also shown that friends influence each other's performance in school (Kindermann, 2007; Rambaran et al., 2017). Since all three processes can lead to similar outcomes (friendship groups of low achieving minority students), social network analysis is needed to test which process underlies such data patterns.

Social network research found little evidence for the "acting white" proposition of oppositional culture theory. A study in the U.S. that accounted for minority students' opportunity to befriend ingroup peers found that minority and majority students were equally likely to form friendships with high-achieving peers (Flashman, 2012b). One network study analyzing whole network data in Germany found that minority students were less likely to select friends with higher grades than majority group students (Stark et al., 2017). However, this effect was mainly driven by a preference of majority group students to befriend high achieving peers. In contrast to the prediction of oppositional culture theory, minority students did not reject ingroup peers with high grades, they just seemed to care less. Another German whole network study found that both German majority and Turkish minority students preferred high-achieving peers as friends, but Turkish students had fewer of them because they had fewer opportunities to select peers with good grades (Lorenz et al., 2021). This research also found that

majority and not minority group students socially excluded those who reported high effort in school.

More research is needed to understand the causes and consequences of differential preferences and social influence on academic achievement between minority and majority group students. The two German network studies suggest that different processes drive the friendship formation in these groups (Lorenz et al., 2021; Stark et al., 2017). To some extent, this seems to be driven by the ethnic composition of schools. More research is needed that explores minority students' friendship choices in contexts where they have sufficient opportunity to form same-ethnic friendships. Moreover, differences are likely to exist between different minority groups in their aspiration for high education as, for instance, parents' (third parties) reason for migrating might lead to variation in the focus on upward mobility. Research comparing social networks of racial groups in the U.S. and different ethnic minorities in European countries could shed light on this possibility.

### Social support among migrant networks

A common explanation for the benefits of certain networks or social relationships is that they provide social support in terms of information, but also financial support or emotional support, which are expected to facilitate ethnic minorities' integration chances. Because of its positive connotation, social support is also often framed as 'informal social protection' (Bilecen, 2017; Bilecen et al., 2018). Although recent research acknowledges the relevance of transnational social protection offered across borders (Bilecen & Cardona, 2018; Bilecen & Lubbers, 2021; Faist et al., 2015), the large majority of research focuses on social protection mechanisms within the country where immigrants settled. One of the most prominent examples is the theoretical distinction between bonding ties to co-ethnics and bridging ties to natives. Bonding ties are expected to enhance solidarity and trust (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993) and to provide access to trusted information (Flap, 2004). Bridging ties reflect social integration in the host country (Collet & Petrovic, 2014) and are expected to provide access to non-redundant information that can enhance ethnic minorities' integration chances (Lancee, 2010). Generally, the literature finds strong support that particularly bridging ties are beneficial for ethnic minorities: they increase migrants' chances of (adequate) employment (Griesshaber & Seibel, 2015) and psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2018). Natives not only possess more human capital in terms of higher education, language skills, and a higher likelihood of employment (Lancee, 2010; Li & Heath, 2017); they possess

a cultural familiarity with the host country, thereby accumulating host-country specific knowledge which is assumed to be valuable to ethnic minorities.

Whereas conventional research focusing on interethnic relations is not able to assess the amount and quality of social support exchanged between and within ethnic groups, social network analysis can provide new and insightful perspectives on these matters. First, social network analysis can assess whether it is the ethnicity that matters for providing social support or other characteristics that are strongly tied to certain ethnic groups, such as education, language skills, or access to resources. Second, social network analysis helps us to understand whether it is not only specific relationships that matter but also the network structure in which these relationships are embedded. For instance, larger networks might provide different resources than smaller networks and it might matter with which other groups of people within the network one's friends have contact. Third, by applying a social network approach, we come much closer to the content and the quality of social support, which is exchanged within social networks. With social network analysis, we can understand, for example, which type of support is provided by whom and whether the exchange of social support depends on reciprocal behavior (Faist et al., 2015). In addition, social network analysis can identify network structures that are particularly suited (or not suited) to provide specific types of resources. As Bilecen and Lubbers (2021) put it, a "network that gives emotional support may […] be differently composed than a communication network" (p.839).

The questions of which social networks are most valuable to migrants and why this is the case have been addressed by only a few social network researchers. Such research explored the role of certain positions that people can occupy in a network (see Box 2). For instance, "brokers" connect otherwise unconnected social networks and can thus control the information that flows between these networks (Burt, 2004). Vacca and colleagues (2018) examined ego-centric networks among various migrant groups in Spain and Italy and found that cultural adaptation is facilitated by contacts that serve as brokers between various networks that differ in their ethnic and geographical composition. Brokers thereby provide migrants with access to cultural entities and identities, which otherwise would be not accessible to them. Research also found that the overall structure of a social network matters. Migrants' economic outcome depends strongly on their access to networks characterized by "diversity within closure". According to Vacca et al. (2018), diversity and closure combine two relevant and beneficial aspects of networks: mutual trust and reciprocal social support from closed networks and access to people of various nationalities and geographical backgrounds, thereby facilitating the exchange of trusted, but non-redundant, information.

Bilecen and Cardona (2018), also analyzing ego-centric network data, focused on social support within networks of Turkish migrants in Germany. The type of social support provision and reception did not only depend on migrants' gender, but also their age and location. Women were more likely to provide social support than men and family ties were mainly responsible for providing support in the form of money and also care. This finding was also shared by Kornienko et al. (2018) who examined the financial and emotional support in close personal ties among Central Asian migrant women in Russia. Vacca et al. (2021) confirmed for Roma migrants in France the finding that both emotional and financial support is a family matter; however, native ties also play a crucial role, particularly in providing legal and administrative support. Vacca et al. (2021) also found that most ties provide only one type of support (such as financial support or legal support) and are not involved in multiple support domains.

Whereas the studies mentioned above look at general support mechanisms, Bojarczuk and Mühlau (2018) focused on a very specific type of support, namely childcare, by analyzing ego-centric networks of Polish migrant mothers living in Dublin, Ireland. Again, transnational ties played a crucial role: although access to family members living in the home country was strongly limited by the geographical distance, part of this disadvantage was "compensated by the strength of these transnational ties" (p.109). In the case of childcare, strong ties living in Poland, particularly grandmothers, were involved in childcare provision in Ireland by commuting back and forth between these two countries. Moreover, local networks consisting of both, native and co-ethnic ties also served as 'safety 'nets', particularly when migrant parents were spontaneously in need of childcare due to unforeseen circumstances.

These studies demonstrate that it is worthwhile to go beyond the bonding-bridging aspect applied in much of the contemporary social capital research. By having a closer look at the relation between network structure, network composition, and social ties characteristics, social network analysts can evaluate the value of these social relations, particularly for the social support they provide within networks.

So far, most research focuses on the potential gains for migrants when they engage in certain networks (what resources can they access and are they beneficial?). Future research should focus on natives' incentive to get in contact with migrants and whether natives also receive social support from the migrant community. In addition, most of these studies focus on very specific migrant groups such as Polish migrant mothers (Bojarczuk & Mühlau, 2018), Roma migrants in France (Vacca et al., 2021), or Turkish migrants in Germany (Bilecen & Cardona, 2018). A comparative approach examining various migrant groups,

such as followed by Vacca et al. (2021) can contribute to our understanding of the relevance of the national and ethnic-related context, within which social networks are embedded. In addition, most of the existing studies rely on rather small samples ranging from 100 respondents (Bilecen & Cardona, 2018) to 607 respondents (Kornienko et al., 2018). This is a natural consequence of social network data collection, which is burdensome to both, the researcher and the respondent. However, recent developments of visualized network-data collection tools such as GENSI (Stark & Krosnick, 2017) and Network Canvas (Birkett et al., 2021) provide a promising alternative to previous options of tedious and repetitive data collection approaches. These tools are specifically designed to survey complex personal networks by visualizing their structure and using drag-and-drop functions to answer questions about the network. This reduces respondents' participation burden significantly (Stark & Krosnick, 2017). Such visualization tools can strengthen researchers' capability to examine social networks of different migrant groups in various countries.

## Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted how the social network perspective can provide new insights into well-established domains of intergroup relation research. The past decade has seen an increasing number of social network analyses that enabled social scientists to think differently about intergroup contact, identity formation, perceived identity, identity denial, social influence, and social support exchange. Yet, for each domain, we have identified open questions and provided directions for future research that hopefully will inspire researchers to embrace the network perspective in their own work.

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# II

## Cultural diversity and its consequences

# Collective psychological ownership and intergroup relations

Borja Martinović

**Introduction**

I am not a poet, never aspired to be one. But back in 2002, while on a semester abroad at Deakin University, Australia, I entered a poem writing competition, the theme of which was 'My country'. I was triggered by the title and felt I should rebel against its main premise, so this is how my poem started: "There is no such thing as 'my' country. The country where I come from cannot be owned or claimed". Coming from Croatia, which had only about ten years earlier separated from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and was then for another five years a battlefield, with Croats on one side and Serbs on the other fighting for and dying for the same territory, I really had an issue with anyone putting forward territorial claims of any kind. I thought we, as humanity, should abandon this idea altogether.

Whether it was a matter of clairvoyance and destiny or otherwise a matter of chance or even pure irony (we will never be able to tell), in 2011 Maykel Verkuyten offered me a postdoc position on a topic that resonated very much with the content of my poem but differed completely in valence. The idea was to examine how the belief in autochthony, or entitlements for country's alleged first inhabitants, shapes people's reactions toward groups that arrived later. So instead of denying it, we set off to prove that a sense of country ownership is very important and that it shapes relations between groups. After some encouraging evidence from this postdoctoral project, we embarked on a long and inspiring research journey along which we

discovered that a sense of collective ownership of a place (just as of an object or an idea) is omnipresent – not only among different ethnic groups living in different countries (our populations of interest) but also among various scholarly disciplines. During this journey we took a peek at Political Theory, stopped at Geography, dropped by Environmental Psychology, stayed for a while at Anthropology and Organizational Psychology, and overstayed our visit at Developmental Psychology (children can teach us incredibly much about psychological ownership). Armed with the conceptual, theoretical, and empirical knowledge from these disciplines and three excellent PhD students, we offered social psychologists, our home discipline, a new angle for understanding intergroup relations.

Our empirical evidence comes from different national contexts, ranging from European nation states (the Netherlands and the UK), to settler societies (Australia, New Zealand, Chile and South Africa) and conflict settings (Kosovo, Cyprus and Israel/Palestine). In this chapter I will provide an overview of our main findings across these contexts, but also draw on a few additional studies conducted by our colleagues in Finland (Brylka et al., 2015) and USA (Selvanathan et al., 2021; Wright, 2018). I will do so following Maykel's favorite set of research questions that, applied to any topic in fact, are incredibly helpful for structuring ideas, findings, and implications. I will write about the 'what', 'who', 'why', and 'so what' of collective psychological ownership.[1]

### *What* is collective psychological ownership?

In our modern capitalist world we agree that those who buy something (a house, a car, a jacket) own it. There is a contract or a receipt confirming the purchase and providing a legal testament of ownership. However, even in the absence of such formalized ownership, people tend to view objects, places, and ideas as belonging to them ('mine'). This state of mind is called *psychological ownership* (Pierce et al., 2001). We laugh when Sheldon Cooper, the awkward and hilarious character from the Big Bang Theory series, repeatedly claims a particular seat on the couch in a shared household for himself, or a particular time-frame in the morning for using the bathroom, but all of us do this regularly. If it is not a seat

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[1]  Another of Maykel's favorite questions is the 'when' question, that is, under what conditions or for whom does a particular process hold. We have done some research on ownership threat and shown that ownership feelings (in this case, autochthony beliefs, see the 'why' section) only translate to less positive attitudes toward immigrants for those ethnic majority participants who feel that the minorities are getting out of place and threatening the status quo of the majority (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013). And we have shown experimentally that ownership threat drives negative reactions toward the 'intruders' (Nijs et al., 2022a). As we have not examined more extensively the 'when' of ownership, I will not devote a separate section to this question here.

on the couch or the bathroom schedule, then it is the side of the bed we sleep on, the desk at the office that we regularly use, or a spot on the beach where we prefer to swim. In my home town, Rijeka, beaches nowadays get crowded before dawn because people are getting up increasingly early to reserve their favorite spot. And I know this because my dad's hobby is fishing (from the coast, in the early morning hours), and he has been complaining lately that the 'annoying bathers' arrive earlier and earlier, which interferes with him peacefully fishing from 'his' spot. According to evolutionary theories, such a sense of ownership is inherent to people (Ellis, 1985), while developmental theorists see it as socially learned (Furby, 1978). Whatever the origin, two-year old children already reason about ownership of objects (Rossano et al., 2011), making a distinction between 'mine' and 'yours'.

However, ownership can also be experienced on a group level. We often see ourselves as group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and what we think we own as a group ('ours') becomes important to us. Think of our coffee-bar, our company, our department, our park, our neighborhood, our country. Comparatively less is known about such group-based ownership beliefs. Organizational scientists have coined the term collective psychological ownership (CPO, Pierce & Jussila, 2010) to refer to a sense that something is 'ours', and they have shown, for instance, that people can have a sense of ownership over the work they are performing within a team (Pierce et al, 2020).

In our research, Maykel and I have argued (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017) and empirically shown that collective psychological ownership is particularly relevant with respect to territories – such as neighborhoods (Torunczyk-Ruiz & Martinovic, 2020, Nijs et al., 2022b) and countries (e.g., Nijs et al., 2021; Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a; Storz et al., 2020) – and in the context of ethnic relations. Importantly, not only do people vary in their ingroup ownership beliefs, but they can also recognize an outgroup as owning the territory in question to a lesser or greater degree. Developmental researchers have shown that even young children are already able to recognize that someone else is the owner of an object (Kanngiesser et al., 2020). Whereas in some studies we focused on ingroup ownership only, in others we compared ingroup and outgroup ownership perceptions.

Table 1 summarizes the mean scores for ingroup and outgroup ownership beliefs across contexts and groups. Our findings in conflict contexts did not surprise us. Both among Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, Jews and Palestinian citizens of Israel, and among Greek Cypriots, we found rather high levels of ingroup ownership beliefs (Storz et al., 2020, 2022a; Warnke et al., 2022). We can conclude that in such contexts ingroup ownership is the default and few people would say that the land does not belong to their ingroup. Also in rather peaceful West European nation-states such as Finland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, where territories

are not much contested, members of ethnic majorities hold strong, even though comparatively lower, beliefs that the country belongs to them, namely to ethnic Finns, Dutch and Brits (Brylka et al., 2015; Nijs et al., 2021). But interestingly, even in settler societies where Europeans have colonized the lands already inhabited by Indigenous Peoples, descendants of settlers still on average endorse the belief that the territory belongs to their ingroup. We find moderate levels of ownership among European-origin inhabitants of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. We can conclude that collective psychological ownership of territories is widespread and the belief that 'this land is ours' is a rule rather than an exception.

When it comes to recognizing outgroup ownership, the pattern of findings differs clearly between recent (or current) conflict settings and settler societies. In conflict settings people are rather reluctant to recognize the rival outgroup as (also) being entitled to and owning the land. Table 1 shows that the average levels of endorsement of outgroup ownership beliefs are in all the studied samples below the midpoint of the scale. When using a scale directly measuring shared ownership among Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo (e.g., 'I feel that Kosovo belongs to both Albanians and Serbs'; Storz et al, 2022a), we find somewhat higher scores but still the average endorsement of shared ownership is low, around three on a seven-point scale.

In settler societies, however, descendants of European colonizers tend to see the Indigenous Peoples as also being entitled to the territory in question at least to the similar extent as their own ingroup (i.e. in Australia and South Africa; Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a), and in New Zealand people of European origin even perceive the country to belong more to the Indigenous Peoples (Mori) then to their own ingroup (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022b). These findings in settler societies make sense given the violent ways in which the land was taken away from the indigenous groups in the past, and we have shown in another study in Australia that collective guilt and shame are important correlates of ownership beliefs (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a). Interestingly, the correlations between ingroup and outgroup ownership are negative in conflict settings, whereas the two are either unrelated (Australia) or even positively related (moderately so in New Zealand and very strongly in South Africa). This shows that ownership beliefs are a zero-sum game in contexts of very recent or ongoing conflicts (i.e., only one group can own the land), whereas in settler societies it is possible and rather common to perceive both groups as being entitled to the land.

We delved into this issue further by examining ownership profiles in New Zealand and in Israel using a person-centered approach (Osborne & Sibley, 2017), with the aim of getting a more nuanced understanding of how people combine ingroup and outgroup ownership beliefs. For Jewish Israelis we found

**Table 1:** Average ingroup and outgroup ownership scores and correlations across national contexts

| | Ingroup ownership beliefs | Outgroup ownership beliefs | Corr. between the two | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conflict settings | | | | |
| Kosovo Albanians | 6.62 (0.89) | 1.96 (1.11) | -.21* | Storz et al., 2022a |
| Kosovo Serbs | 6.60 (0.79) | 2.15 (1.10) | -.46*** | Storz et al., 2022a |
| Israeli Jews | 6.42 (1.01) | 2.33 (1.45) | -.46*** | Warnke et al., 2022 |
| Palestinian citizens of Israel | 4.90 (1.83) | 3.74 (1.63) | -.19** | Warnke et al., 2022 |
| Greek Cypriots | 5.07 (1.69) | - | - | Storz et al., 2020 |
| Settler societies | | | | |
| Anglo-Celtic Australians | 4.49 (1.43) | 5.28 (1.27) | .12 | Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a |
| White South Africans | 4.35 (1.58) | 4.42 (1.56) | .90*** | Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a |
| New Zealand Europeans | 4.36 (1.55) | 4.37 (1.65) | .50*** | Nooitgedagt et al., 2022b |
| North/West Europe | | | | |
| Dutch | 4.78 (1.65) | - | - | Nijs et al., 2021 |
| Brits | 5.05 (1.58) | - | - | Nijs et al., 2021 |
| Finns | 4.40 (0.82) | - | - | Brylka et al., 2015 |
| Russian immigrants in Finland | 3.62 (0.88) | - | - | Brylka et al., 2015 |

*Note.* Ownership beliefs were measured on a 7-point scale with a higher score standing for stronger ownership beliefs; *$p$<.05, **$p$<.01, ***$p$<.001.

that participants could be grouped into two profiles only, with a large majority (87%) perceiving exclusive ingroup ownership of the contested land and a minority of 13% perceiving shared Jewish and Palestinian ownership (Warnke et al., 2022). In New Zealand, the picture was much more complex. Most New Zealand Europeans (75.9%) perceived shared ingroup and Mori ownership and only 8.2% perceived exclusive ingroup ownership (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022b). Furthermore, we detected a profile with exclusive outgroup (Mori) ownership (6.4%) and a group of participants who believed the land does not belong to any of the two groups (i.e., the 'no ownership' profile, 9.4%). These findings confirm

that the understandings of ingroup and outgroup ownership can differ across groups and settings.

In West European nation-states we did not yet examine perceptions of outgroup ownership, namely, whether the Dutch or Brits see ethnic minority groups such as Turks and Moroccans or, respectively, Indians and Pakistanis, as also being entitled to the country. This is a missing piece in the puzzle and one that we aim to learn about in our future research. However, we know from a study by Brylka and colleagues (2015) that the Russian-speaking immigrant minority in Finland does not have a pronounced sense that Finland is 'their' country (see Table 1). It would also be interesting to examine whether established immigrant-origin minorities tend to believe that the country they live in belongs more to them than to recent immigrants.

### *Who* are the 'owners'?

Next, we set out to identify individuals who are more likely to have a stronger sense of collective ownership of a country. To start with, to be able to experience something as 'ours' there needs to be a sense of 'us' (Pierce & Jussila, 2010). Collective psychological ownership can only be experienced by virtue of group membership. The main social identity approaches in social psychology, namely self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) distinguish between identification 'as' and identification 'with'. Category membership, or identification 'as' is a prerequisite for ingroup ownership beliefs as it provides a lens for seeing the world from the perspective of that group. If I do not see myself as belonging to the Japanese people, I also cannot have a sense that the disputed island of Senkaku (or in Korean Diaoyu, see Igarashi, 2018) belongs to 'us Japanese' and not to South Koreans. For this reason, in our research we always examine collective psychological ownership among participants who self-categorize as members of the group that inhabits or has vested interests in the territory under study.

However, the strength of identification with the group in question (identification 'with') is theoretically more interesting because it can tell us which group members will more strongly claim a territory for their ingroup. We have focused primarily on ethnic groups, and across national contexts that we studied we have repeatedly found that higher ethnic identifiers had a stronger belief that the country belongs to their ingroup (Kuipers et al., 2022; Nijs et al., 2021; Storz et al., 2020; Storz et al., 2022c; Straver et al., 2022). Other researchers have found similar evidence in the context of Finland (Brylka et al., 2015) and the United States (Wright, 2018). Importantly, ethnic identification was not

only related to ingroup ownership beliefs for members of ethnic majorities but also for indigenous minorities. In Chile, Mapuche's attachment to their group identity was related to stronger beliefs that the territory belongs to their ingroup (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b).

In the studies mentioned above, identification was measured in terms of *attachment* to one's ethnic group. However, identification can take different forms (Ashmore et al., 2004), and we argued that ingroup *superiority* – the feeling that one's group is better than other groups (Roccas et al., 2006) – would be particularly relevant for outgroup ownership beliefs. Indeed, we found, in the context of Israel and among Jewish participants, that those who felt that Jews were superior to other groups showed lower levels of recognition of Palestinian ownership of the disputed territory (Storz et al., 2022c). Net of the effect of superiority, pure ingroup attachment was not related to outgroup ownership beliefs. On the bright side, people who identify more strongly with the overarching national category (for instance, with the national New Zealander identity instead of with one of the White ethnic groups that live in New Zealand) are the ones who show higher outgroup (Mori) ownership beliefs (Kuipers et al., 2022). Similarly, those who identify more strongly with humanity as a whole, also tend to claim the territory less for their ethnic ingroup (Hasbún López et al., 2019).

Apart from group identification, we have shown that men and women differ in ingroup ownership beliefs. In a study where we compared the Netherlands, the UK and Australia we consistently found that men tend to have a stronger sense of collective psychological ownership than women (Straver et al., 2022). This might have to do with men's focus on dominance and their stronger endorsement of policies promoting group-based hierarchies, compared to women (Pratto et al., 1997). Our findings also resonate with the finding from organizational science that men, compared to women, express higher levels of organizational ownership (Ozler et al., 2008). Furthermore, in all three contexts, people oriented more toward the political right also report stronger beliefs that the country belongs to their ethnic compatriots (Straver et al., 2022). Similarly, Jewish Israelis with a more right-wing orientation believed more strongly that the disputed territory from the Jordan river to the Mediterranean Sea belonged their ingroup, and they showed weaker recognition of Palestinian ownership (Storz et al., 2022c). This could be due to the fact that right-wing oriented people are more conservative – a characteristic that goes along with a stronger need for control (Aichholzer & Zandonella, 2016), and a sense of ownership can fulfil this need (Pierce & Jussila, 2010). Finally, there is some evidence from the UK (Straver et al., 2022) and Israel (Storz et al., 2022c) that lower educated individuals tend to claim the territory more for their ethnic ingroup. Since lower educated are less

likely to be employed in autonomous and well-paid jobs that give people a sense of control over the work process and their finances (Ross & Reskin, 1992), they might experience feelings of powerlessness. Claims of country ownership may be a way for them to fulfil the need for efficacy. Altogether, we can conclude that people who believe that the land belongs to their ethnic ingroup tend to be higher ethnic identifiers and weaker global identifiers, men, individuals with right-wing political ideology, and lower educated individuals.

### *Why* do people claim collective psychological ownership of a territory?

In our research we further considered the arguments that people use to claim a territory for their ingroup and to get their claims validated by other groups. This is the 'why' question of collective psychological ownership. Why or on what grounds can 'we' argue that the land belongs to 'us'? And what claims of other groups would convince us that the land (also) belongs to them? Territorial ownership claims are usually inferred from and legitimized by general principles that guide ownership inferences not only of places but also of objects and ideas, and that people endorse to differing degrees. For instance, just as *individual* ownership of objects is inferred from prior possession (Friedman & Ross, 2011) and past investments (Beggan & Brown, 1994), we argue that group members often resort to historical arguments to claim ownership of a territory for their ingroup. The most common ones include first arrival (so-called *autochthony*; Geschiere, 2009), past investment, and formation (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017). Additionally, in religion-centered conflicts we also considered the 'God-given' principle. We measured these principles as general beliefs, using statements such as 'any land belongs primarily to its first inhabitants', or 'people who have invested most in a territory are most entitled to it'. We then examined how these context-free, general beliefs about the bases for ownership, relate to ownership inferences in specific intergroup settings.

First, according to the autochthony principle, a place is seen as belonging to its original inhabitants who are, by virtue of 'being there first', considered to be entitled to decide about the place. Anthropologists have shown that autochthony is a very powerful argument, used in different intergroup settings, ranging from Africa to Western Europe to Asia (see also 'sons of the soil' conflicts; Fearon & Laitin, 2011), and that this argument is often presented as self-evident and even natural (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2004; Geschiere, 2005). It is in fact so powerful that people usually do not question the validity of the autochthony principle as such (Gans, 2001), but they tend to disagree about which group was 'here first' and hence which group can be seen as the owner of the territory. The argument

of first possession is also discussed in political theory (Murphy, 1990), and in international law the concept of 'terra nullius' (no man's land) has been used (but also misused) to argue that the land inhabited by a particular group had not been previously occupied by another group.

Experimental research among children has shown that, when no additional information about an object is presented, children assume that the first person seen to hold the object is its owner (Friedman et al., 2013). Similarly, with a set of experimental studies, we have shown that children (Verkuyten et al., 2015) and adults (Martinovic et al., 2020) infer territorial ownership from first arrival. Furthermore, in Australia and South Africa, autochthony belief was among Anglo-Celtic Australians and White South Africans related to stronger outgroup ownership beliefs (Aboriginal and Black South African, respectively) and in Australia it was also related to weaker ingroup ownership beliefs (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a). Importantly, our correlational study in Chile revealed that a stronger agreement with the autochthony principle was related to the belief that the land belonged more to Mapuche than to non-indigenous Chileans, and this was found both among the descendants of settlers and among members of the indigenous Mapuche communities (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b).

Second, according to the *investment principle*, investing one's resources and effort into creating or changing and developing an object is a valid argument for claiming ownership over that object (Beggan & Brown, 1994). Analogously, those who have been cultivating and developing a piece of land can be considered its rightful owners. This is based on the idea by the political theorist Locke (see Day, 1966) that everyone owns the labor of one's body, and therefore has the moral right to also own the products of this labor. Importantly, there is evidence that investment can trump first possession. Experimental research has found that children perceive their own investment into an object as a legitimate reason for transferring ownership from the first possessor to themselves (Kanngiesser et al., 2010). Similarly, in settler societies the argument of investment has been used as a powerful counter-argument to autochthony. Both in Australia and South Africa, for instance, settlers argued that ownership of the land originated from the cultivation of the land, and because the colonizers claimed that Indigenous Peoples – even though they were there first – did not cultivate the land, they argued that they also did not own it (Boisen, 2016; Short, 2016).

In our studies we found consistent evidence that the descendants of settlers who endorse more strongly the investment principle tend have a stronger belief that the country belongs to their ingroup and simultaneously see the indigenous outgroup as owning the country less. We have confirmed this association among Anglo-Celtic Australians and White South Africans (Nooitgedagt et al.,

2022a). Furthermore, using a person-centered approach and studying ownership profiles in New Zealand, we found that New Zealand Europeans in the 'ingroup ownership' profile were characterized by a stronger endorsement of the investment principles compared to those in the 'outgroup ownership', 'shared ownership', and 'no ownership' profiles (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022b). Similar results were found for Jewish Israelis: those in the 'ingroup ownership' profile were characterized by stronger endorsement of the investment principle compared to those in the 'shared ownership' profile (Warnke et al., 2022). For Palestinian citizens of Israel we found the opposite, with those in the ingroup ownership profile endorsing the investment principle less than those in the shared ownership profile. This finding makes sense to the extent that Jews are seen as a more resourceful group and one that that 'made' the country of Israel into what it is today. Interestingly, the indigenous Mapuche members in Chile reasoned differently about administrative investment and development investment. Whereas agreement with the idea that those who have managed and organized a territory can be seen as its owners was related to relatively *weaker* indigenous ownership beliefs, agreement with the idea that owners are the ones who have developed the land was related to relatively *stronger* indigenous ownership beliefs (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b). This shows that indigenous minorities might have a different understanding of what development entails. For instance, taking care of the land (guardianship, Kawharu, 2000) can also be seen as an aspect of investment.

Third, the *formation principle* refers to the meaning of a territory for the collective identity of the residing groups, and political theorists have argued that this represents another historical basis for claiming rights to the land (Gans, 2001; Murphy, 1990). In contrast to autochthony, the formation principle is not about the primacy of the group on the territory but about the primacy of the territory in constituting or forming the identity of one's group throughout its history. For instance, in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, early experiences of Jews on the contested land can be considered formative in their collective identity as these shaped and made them who they are today. But the territory is also central to the Palestinians' collective identity, that is strongly tied to their 'homeland' (Pinson, 2008). Whereas autochthony and investment principles (that is, investment understood in terms of land use and development), tend to play a contrasting role in informing ownership beliefs, with the former being related to perceptions of indigenous and the latter of settler ownership, we argued that the formation principle might be particularly inclusive. This is because it might be easier to recognize that the identity of various groups has been shaped by the territory they have historically inhabited, even if they were not there first and if they have not cultivated the land.

We have examined the formation principle in the context of Australia, South Africa and Israel. For the descendants of settlers in Australia and South Africa, we found that a stronger endorsement of the formation principle was related to both stronger ingroup and stronger indigenous ownership beliefs (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a). In line with this, the latent profile analysis among Jewish Israelis showed that participants who endorsed the formation principle were more likely to fall in the 'shared ownership' profile than in the 'ingroup ownership' profile. However, for Palestinian citizens of Israel formation principle was not a correlate of profile membership (Warnke et al., 2022). We can conclude that the formation principle mostly has an inclusive function, and in some cases it does not inform ownership inferences. Both of these findings, however, suggest that the formation principle does not result in polarized ownership beliefs.

Lastly, the *God-given principle* represents the belief that the land belongs to the group to which it was divinely promised, and therefore this group can be seen as entitled to occupy the land. This is, for instance, a central claim for the legitimacy of Israel – the contested land is understood as the 'promised land' for Jews (Rouhana, 2004). However, the land is also of religious importance for Palestinians, as it is home to holy sites of their denominations. The God-given principle has not received much scholarly attention, but it might be an important one for inferring and claiming ownership in religion-based territorial conflicts. As religion represents a bright boundary between groups and implies the ultimate truth, we expected the endorsement of the God-given principle to go hand in hand with ingroup ownership of the land. We have only examined this in the context of Israel and found, as expected, that Jewish Israelis who fall in the 'ingroup ownership' as opposed to 'shared ownership' profile tend to endorse more strongly the God-given principle. Interestingly, for Palestinians, the God-given principle had the function of inclusivity: those in the 'shared ownership' profile were subscribed to this principle more than those in the 'ingroup ownership' profile (Warnke et al., 2022).

*So what?* **The consequences of group-based territorial ownership beliefs**

Having shown that ingroup ownership beliefs are widespread and that people resort to historical principles to infer territorial ownership, the remaining question is: what are the societal implications of territorial ownership beliefs? Why should we bother to study this concept? As most of the wars are being fought over contested territory (Toft, 2014), studying territorial ownership beliefs can help us understand intergroup conflicts and ultimately also improve relations between ethnic groups. Ownership of territory is an inherently social phenomenon that determines not only how people relate to a territory but also how groups of people

relate to each other with regards to the territory (Blumenthal, 2010; Meagher, 2020). We know from earlier research in organizational science that feelings of personal ownership can have a bright and a dark side: psychological ownership improves individuals' self-esteem and involvement, but it can also impede sharing and cooperation, thereby damaging interpersonal relationships (Pierce et al., 2001). Similarly, feelings of group-based ownership can motivate civic involvement and strengthen solidarity within ethnic groups, while representing a barrier to favourable intergroup relations. That is, ownership can have both positive *intra*group outcomes and negative *inter*group outcomes. We argued that these two contrasting outcomes are guided by perceived group responsibility on the one hand and exclusive determination right on the other hand.

First, people might feel a moral obligation to take care of what is theirs. For instance, employees who have a sense of ownership over their work report more personal responsibility for work outcomes (Pierce & Jussila, 2011). Moreover, what we own can define who we are, and taking care of what is 'ours' is then a way to maintain or enhance the self (Pierce & Jussila, 2011; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017). And just as individuals can feel responsible for what they personally own, they can also feel that their group is responsible for what it collectively owns. There is already some evidence that collective psychological ownership of products and jobs is associated with higher personal responsibility (e.g., Kamleitner & Rabinovich, 2010) but little is known about the link between collective psychological ownership and perceived *group* responsibility. Furthermore, a sense of group responsibility can motivate people to engage in stewardship behavior, that is, act in the best interest of the collectively owned target (Hernandez, 2012; Pierce et al., 2017). Organizational psychologists have demonstrated that employees who have a sense of personal ownership of their work are more likely to commit to extra-role behavior (e.g., Van Dyne & Pierce, 2004). Similarly, environmental psychologists have shown that a sense of ownership of public natural areas increases the willingness to personally clean the area (Peck et al., 2021) and oppose exploitation (Preston & Gelman, 2020).

We examined the bright side of collective psychological ownership for the ingroup in the context of Western Europe, specifically among the native majority populations in the Netherlands and Great Britain. We conducted a series of studies across different territorial targets of collective ownership (local park, neighborhood, and country), and we used cross-sectional as well as experimental designs. Our findings show that a sense that a park, neighborhood, or country belongs to 'us' was related to a higher sense of group responsibility. That is, Dutch people who felt that this was their group's territory also thought that they and their ingroup members should take care of it. Collective psychological ownership was further indirectly,

via group responsibility, related to higher intentions to engage in stewardship behavior, such as supporting a local charity by volunteering or donating money (Nijs et al., 2022b). In another study, we showed among native Brits that collective psychological ownership of a neighborhood was related to higher civic involvement, such as organizing local gatherings or joining a neighborhood association (Toruczyk-Ruiz & Martinovic, 2020). And there is evidence from the United States (Wright, 2018) that a sense of ownership is related to a stronger support for ingroup symbols (the flag) and to preference for buying national products over comparable international ones, even when the former are more expensive than the latter. These findings altogether attest to the important role that a sense of collective ownership of a country plays in strengthening *intra*group cohesion.

Second, according to philosophers and legal scholars, ownership is accompanied by specific rights. These include the right to use one's property, transfer it to others, and exclude others from using it (Snare, 1972). Merrill (1998) and Katz (2008) argued that the latter is the central defining feature of ownership: owners are entitled to determine who uses the object and how it is being used. Studies on personal ownership have shown that young children understand that the person who controls the use of a toy is its owner (Neary et al., 2009). The perception that 'we' have an exclusive determination right can in turn lead to the behavioral tendency to exclude outsiders. Such exclusionary behavior is a form of anticipatory defense response to prevent infringement of a group's ownership (Brown et al., 2005). By this logic, established inhabitants might perceive themselves to be the rightful owners of a territory and therefore entitled to exclude outsiders, such as international migrants or people who are not local to a neighborhood.

With our studies in the Netherlands and Great Britain we have shown that collective psychological ownership of the country or neighborhood is related to more negative attitudes towards outsiders (Nijs et al., 2021; Toruczyk-Ruiz & Martinovic, 2020), and the same has been confirmed in Finland (Brylka et al., 2015). In Great Britain, collective psychological ownership of the country was also related to a higher likelihood to have voted 'leave' in the Brexit referendum (Nijs et al., 2021). Furthermore, Dutch natives who believed the country was 'theirs' tended to see their ingroup as having the exclusive right to determine matters that concern their country, and this was indirectly related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants but also stronger Euroscepticism (Nijs et al., 2021). In four studies on collective ownership of a local park, neighborhood, and country (Nijs et al., 2022b) we found that collective psychological ownership leads to perceived determination right, and indirectly to the exclusion of outsiders.

We also examined intergroup relations (but not stewardship behavior) in settler societies and conflict contexts. In Australia and South Africa ingroup ownership

was related to less and outgroup ownership to more willingness to territorially compensate the Indigenous Peoples (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022a). Using a relative scale of settler-indigenous ownership, in Chile we found that the more participants thought the land belonged to the indigenous groups, the more they were willing to return the land and grant autonomy to Mapuche (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b). For the Mapuche participants, we found that higher relative indigenous ownership was related to stronger demands for territorial restitution. Our latent profile analyses in New Zealand revealed that New Zealand Europeans in the 'outgroup (Mori) ownership' profile were most willing to territorially compensate the Mori, followed by those in 'shared ownership' and 'no ownership' profiles, whereas people in the 'ingroup ownership' profile were least supportive of compensation (Nooitgedagt et al., 2022b). In this study we also found that perceived Mori determination rights were highest and perceived NZ European rights the lowest among individuals in the 'outgroup (Mori) ownership' profile. Finally, there is evidence that ownership beliefs motivate collective action in settler societies. Selvanathan and colleagues (2021) have found that ownership beliefs predict support for reactionary counter movements, such as Australia Day celebrations by White Australians as a response to Invasion Day protests held by and on behalf of Aborigines. Settlers and indigenous inhabitants tend to disagree about how to refer to the day whey settlers arrived by boats to Australia.

Moving on to conflict contexts, ingroup territorial ownership beliefs were related to less willingness to forgive the rival ethnic outgroup or to promote good relations with outgroup members in Kosovo, Israel/Palestine and Cyprus (Storz et al., 2020). In Israel, we also examined political solutions to the conflict. We found less support for negotiations among individuals higher on collective psychological ownership (Storz et al., 2022c), and our analysis of ownership profiles (Warnke et al., 2022) showed that Jews in the 'ingroup ownership' profile were less supportive of land division compared to those in the 'shared ownership' profile. This includes both opposition to the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel and to the creation of a binational state with equal rights for both groups. Similarly, Palestinian citizens of Israel in the 'ingroup ownership' condition opposed the Israeli annexation of the occupied territories more strongly than those in the 'shared ownership' condition.

In sum, our findings across different national contexts show that country ownership beliefs – even though important for strengthening *intra*group cohesion – can represent a barrier to favourable *inter*group relations, and this includes resistance to newcomers, unwillingness to offer territorial compensation to the first (indigenous) inhabitants, and reluctance to engage in reconciliation in ongoing conflicts. On a bright note, our correlational studies from Kosovo and

Israel show that a sense of shared ownership ('this land belongs both to Albanians and Serbs') is related to a stronger support for joint political decision making (Storz et al., 2022b) and we have experimental evidence from Kosovo that shared ownership increases reconciliation intentions (Storz et al., 2022a). Emphasizing shared ownership (instead of ingroup ownership only or no ownership) might be the way forward to help retain the positive outcomes of involvement and at the same time improve intergroup relations.

### Closing thoughts

With our work on collective psychological ownership, Maykel and I have, in collaboration with colleagues from different parts of the world, developed a scientifically innovative and societally relevant line of research. We have only discovered the tip of the iceberg and my hope is that our research will inspire many intergroup relations scholars, including but certainly not limited to social psychologists, to advance this line of research further.

Rewind 20 years back to year 2002 and my idealistic self in Australia. To my great surprise, I won the 'My country' poem writing competition and my poem was published in the Deakin University newspaper. The jury bought into my denial of country ownership. With the findings from our research on country ownership beliefs across national contexts, I am now quite sure that I would not have won the competition had I been on student exchange in Israel, Kosovo, or Cyprus. And chances are high I would have won it in New Zealand, for instance. Australia and New Zealand are countries where outgroup (indigenous) ownership perceptions are present, where a large proportion of the settler population perceives 'shared ownership', but where we also found a small but not negligible group of people who subscribe to the 'no ownership' rhetoric. Most importantly, though, the research that Maykel and I have conducted in the past decade has taught me how widespread and how important country ownership feelings are across the globe, and that such feelings can also be beneficial for community engagement. Importantly, a sense of shared ownership can even improve intergroup relations. With this knowledge in mind, I would not even dare to write a poem again that denies the existence of 'my' (or 'our') country.

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# Historical representations of national identity and intergroup relations

Anouk Smeekes

**Introduction**

The past is crucial to our sense of identity. Without the ability to recall our own past we are not able to understand who we are in the present. In the case of my personal past and the development of my academic identity, Maykel Verkuyten, to whom this book is dedicated, played a crucial role. We first met each other in 2008, when I was a Bachelor student at University College Utrecht and followed his course on 'Ethnic Relations'. It was one of my favorite courses and therefore Maykel recommended the Research Master Migration, Ethnic Relations and Multiculturalism (MERM) to me, which I completed in 2009 with a Master thesis supervised by Maykel. In this Master thesis we set the first steps for what would become a joint research line on historical representations of national identity and intergroup relations, which we further developed during my PhD and Postdoc at ERCOMER. I was lucky to have Maykel Verkuyten as a true mentor who taught me a great deal and supported me in all the different steps of my academic career. In this chapter, I will give an overview of our research in the Dutch context on historical representations of national identity and intergroup relations.

In our research we propose that the past is not only important for our sense of personal identity, but also for the sense of identity that we derive from our memberships in social groups; in particular national identity. Awareness of collective history helps people to understand where 'we' come from and hence what constitutes 'our' shared cultural heritage. Scholars stress the importance

of history particularly in relation to national identity, because a common history is necessary for the emergence of nations (Smith, 1998) and a belief in origin and common descent is what underlies the notion of being '*a* people' (DeVos, 1995; Weber, 1968). The historical basis of national citizenship has also become an important topic in Western European debates on immigration and cultural diversity. Politicians have argued that, as a result of the increasing diversity of cultures and religions in Western European societies, people are less aware of their shared national culture and heritage, and therefore lack a sense of collective belonging (Duyvendak, 2011; Miller & Ali, 2013). This so called 'crisis of national identity' has contributed to a political and public discourse that strongly focuses on the national past as a means to define who 'we' are as a national community, and what it means to be a national citizen.

Similar to other Western European countries, the Netherlands has witnessed a strong focus on the historical roots of national identity in public and political debates during the last decades (Grever & Ribbens, 2007). The development of a historical and cultural canon of the Netherlands for Dutch schools and the expansion of national history museums are visible manifestations of this focus on national heritage. Dutch politicians and opinion makers have nourished this focus on the national past by claiming that greater knowledge of national history and heritage would strengthen the cohesiveness of Dutch society, because familiarity with national history and traditions would help both natives and immigrants to feel more at home in a society that is becoming increasingly culturally diverse (WRR, 2007). However, the public discourse on the historical basis of national identity and immigration has become quite nostalgic and exclusionary. Politicians across the spectrum have argued that native majority members have lost their national home to newcomers and therefore increasingly long for those good old days when it was 'just us' (Duyvendak, 2011). In their view, a stronger focus on cultural heritage would not only foster immigrants' assimilation, but also help natives to feel less displaced and nostalgic. Although the focus on historical roots and cultural heritage may foster feelings of national belonging among native majority members, it can form a problem for the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants. The reason is that immigrants have no roots in the host country and are thus not part of this shared national history. As such, the historical roots paradigm that is evoked in public discourses on national identity and immigration runs the risk of favoring those 'who have always been here', hereby marginalizing the position of immigrants.

These public debates raise new questions for social scientific research on the consequences of historical representations of national citizenship for current group dynamics in culturally diverse societies. Which historical representations

of national identity are dominant in political discourses on immigration and cultural diversity? How and when do such historical representations impact intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies? Against the background of these broad questions, Maykel and I developed a research line that investigated how and when a Christian and religious tolerant representation of national identity affect attitudes towards Muslims among native Dutch majority members in the Netherlands.

Specifically, in our research we focused on how such historical representations can explain differences in attitudes of native Dutch towards *expressive rights for Muslims*. In most Western European countries, including the Netherlands, the debate about national identity and cultural diversity is mainly focused on the presence of immigrants with Muslim backgrounds, who form the majority of the immigrant population in Western Europe. Muslims are often portrayed and perceived as having ways of life that are irreconcilable with those of native populations and as forming a threat to national identity (Brubaker, 2017; Duyvendak, 2011). The changes that accompany the increasing religious and cultural diversification of Dutch society are particularly visible in the public environment. Therefore, the strongly debated questions evolve around concrete rights and expressions of Islamic religion in the public domain, such as the building of mosques and Islamic schools, and the use of religious symbols, such as the headscarf.

The chapter will be structured as follows. In the first section, I will present a theoretical framework for understanding why history is important for national identity and intergroup relations and discuss the scientific relevance of our approach. Subsequently, I will present our empirical research on the relationship between a Christian and religious tolerant representation of national identity, perceptions of continuity threat and attitudes towards Muslims. In the last section, I will focus on our empirical research that looked at the mobilizing potential of these two historical representations.

### Why is history important for national identity and intergroup relations?

According to the social identity perspective (Turner & Reynolds, 2001), incorporating both Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner et al., 1987), individual's self-concept can be defined along a continuum that ranges from self-definition in terms of personal identity to self-definition in terms of social identity. Personal identity refers to self-understandings which are unique to the individual. Social identity concerns the sense of self that one derives from memberships in social groups.

Moreover, there is a corresponding behavioral continuum, where personal identity is seen to motivate interpersonal behavior, while social identity is seen to underlie (inter)group behavior. It is furthermore proposed that individuals strive for a positive self-concept. As part of the sense of self is derived from group membership, individuals seek to belong to groups that satisfy this need. One way to achieve a positive social identity is by positively differentiating one's own social group (the in-group) from other groups (out-groups). That is, through intergroup comparisons individuals seek to positively distinguish their in-group from relevant out-groups, because this helps them to achieve or maintain a positive social identity. Scholars have argued that historical understandings of national identity are particularly well-suited to provide native majority members with a positive national identity (Jetten & Hutchison, 2011). The reason is that in reflecting on national history the unique heritage of the national in-group becomes salient, and this underscores how the in-group is different and positively distinct from out-groups and can hence boost a sense of collective self-esteem.

However, later theories provided motivational extensions of the social identity perspective and proposed that group membership fulfills more needs than self-esteem. One prominent integrative theorical model is Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011), which proposes that people are not only motivated to maintain a sense of self-esteem (the self-esteem motive), but also to perceive themselves as continuous over time (the continuity motive), as being different from other people (the distinctiveness motive), as being competent and capable (efficacy motive), as included and accepted within their social contexts (belonging motive), and as having a meaningful life (the meaning motive). The central idea of MICT is that, next to physiological needs (e.g., food, water), people also have psychological needs related to their identity, called identity motives. These identity motives apply to both our personal and social identities and guide processes of identity construction and maintenance.

Historical understandings of national identity are particularly well-suited to satisfy people's need for self-continuity – a sense of connection between one's past, present and future self. The reason is that nations are mainly defined and understood as communities that live and move together through time (Anderson, 1983; Bhabha, 1990), and are often perceived as sharing a culture and identity that is passed on from generation to generation (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Sani, 2008). Moreover, research indicates that people tend to perceive their national and ethnic groups in essentialist terms with possessing immutable and fixed cultural characteristics (Condor, 1996a, 1996b; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). In our research (for an overview see Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015), we have shown that perceiving one's national group as having cultural endurance over time

affords majority members with a sense of collective self-continuity – that is, the feeling that being a national group member ensures continuity between one's past, present and future self. In addition, we demonstrated that this sense of collective self-continuity (next to self-esteem and belonging) forms an important and unique reason for why majority members identify with their national group. Specifically, we found that when national identification was regressed on national identity motives of continuity, self-esteem, belonging, distinctiveness and efficacy simultaneously, only continuity, belonging, and self-esteem were unique significant predictors, whereas distinctiveness and efficacy had no significant effects. Taken together, this means that majority members want to identify with national groups that are perceived as having a shared cultural heritage that persists through time, because this satisfies their basic psychological needs for self-esteem, continuity and belonging.

Since people find comfort in the belief that their national in-group has historical endurance, they are also strongly affected when the continuity of this group is threatened (Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). In the context of national identity, politicians often describe developments such as immigration and globalization as threatening the continuity of national culture. However, this historical cultural content of national identity is not self-evident and can be defined in different ways. In the Western European context, there are ongoing debates about the customs, symbols and traditions that constitute 'our' shared national heritage. This means that people do not merely understand their national identity as a collective historical entity that moves together through time, but also have ideas about the historical contents of their national identity. This latter aspect is relevant for the study of intergroup relations, because depending on the particular historical content that is seen to provide the roots of national identity, native majority members may perceive continuity threats from immigrant out-groups, and hence position themselves favorably or unfavorably towards the presence of such out-groups in society.

The idea that the content and meaning that people ascribe to their group membership is crucial for understanding intergroup dynamics is another key premise of the social identity perspective. The perspective argues that people have an understanding of what defines their group (i.e., the contents and meanings of their group identity), such as a shared ideology, and group norms, and that these specific meanings influence the particular ways in which group members behave. During the last two decades, empirical work within the social identity perspective started to examine how particular contents of national identity guide intergroup dynamics. Specifically, there has been a large body of research that has looked at the difference between ethnic and civic understandings of national

identity in predicting attitudes towards immigrants (e.g., Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson et al., 2009; Wakefield et al., 2011). The ethnic understanding defines national identity in terms of ancestry and descent, and has been shown to predict prejudice towards immigrants. The civic understanding, on the other hand, refers to a definition of national identity in terms of citizenship, participation and commitment, and this understanding is found to be related to more positive attitudes towards immigrants (e.g., Reijerse et al., 2013).

While these findings indicate that out-group attitudes depend on the content that people ascribe to national group membership, the ethnic versus civic dichotomy is limited in capturing the different meanings of national identity that exist within societies (Billig, 1995; Brown, 1999). That is, the meanings of national identity may be specific for different countries as they depend on the situated historical and cultural context. By reducing these specific meanings of national identity to an ethnic versus civic dichotomy the particular cultural and historical context is not taken into account (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). In our research, we sought to bridge this gap by considering how specific historical representations of national identity that are salient in the Dutch context predict attitudes towards Muslim expressive rights among Dutch natives.

### Christian and religious tolerant representations and attitudes towards Muslims

We focused on two different historical representations of national identity that figure prominently in Dutch debates on cultural diversity and national identity; namely that of being a nation that is rooted in Christianity versus being a country that has its roots in a long tradition of religious tolerance. Both historical representations of national identity are invoked in public debates in order to argue whether the increasing presence and visibility of Islam poses a threat to the continuation of national culture and identity.

On the one hand, politicians and scholars have described European national identities as being deeply rooted in Christian heritage (Foner & Alba, 2008; Zolberg & Woon, 1999). Even though the Netherlands is considered to be one of the most secular countries in Europe (Becker & De Hart, 2006), Christian heritage has become a so called 'cultural religion' that is more about belonging than believing (Demerath, 2000). That is, while there is a small number of people who subscribe to Christian religious beliefs or go to church, there is a large part of the population who considers Christian norms, values and traditions as an important part of their national culture and identity (Brubaker, 2017). Research indicates that people who identify as Christian but report low levels

of religiosity – so called 'nominal Christians' – have more a more exclusionary ethnic understanding of national identity compared to religious Christians and non-Christians (Storm, 2011). This means that, even though these nominal Christians are hardly religious, they feel that people can only truly belong to the nation when they adhere to Christian values and traditions. In this way, Christianity has acquired ethnocultural significance that is often used to mark boundaries between national majority members and immigrant out-groups with a different religious background, particularly Muslims. In increasingly secular Western societies where Christianity is still the dominant cultural religion, Muslims are often portrayed as the most visible 'others'. For example, Geert Wilders, leader of the Dutch populist-radical right 'Party for Freedom', has often stated that the Judeo-Christian roots of Dutch society are threatened because of the increasing presence of Islam. A similar rhetoric is used by populist radical-right parties in other Western European countries, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen in France (Hafez, 2014).

On the other hand, tolerance of different worldviews and religions is often described as a self-defining element of Dutch history and identity. Tolerance means that one is putting up with something that one disapproves of. It means that one accepts beliefs or practices that one considers dissenting (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017) can therefore be considered an ideological dilemma. This is also visible in debates about national identity and immigration, where a historical narrative of tolerance is used to promote the inclusion as well as exclusion of immigrant out-groups. In the latter narrative, it is proposed that the continuity of 'our' national culture of tolerance is threatened by the intolerance of newcomers, in particular Muslims (Bowskill et al., 2007; Verkuyten, 2013). In the former inclusionary narrative, it is emphasized that the presence and visibility of Muslims in Dutch society is in line with national histories of religious diversity and tolerance. For example, in response to the release of an anti-Islam movie by the populist radical-right Party for Freedom, former Dutch prime minister Jan-Peter Balkenende said during a press conference in 2008: "The Netherlands is characterized by a tradition of religious tolerance, respect and responsibility. The needless offending of certain convictions and communities does not belong to this. . . .The Dutch government will honor this tradition and issues an appeal to everyone to do the same" (Dutch Government Archive, 2008).

Following the social identity perspective, we predicted that stronger endorsement of a Christian representation of national identity among Dutch native majority members would be associated with more opposition to Muslim expressive rights, because Muslims are more likely to be perceived as threatening the continuity of national identity. In contrast, we expected that stronger

endorsement of a religious tolerant representation of national identity would be related to lower opposition to Muslim expressive rights, via lower levels of perceived threat to the continuity of national identity. We tested these predictions in a survey (among a sample of native Dutch young adults) and an experimental study (among a representative sample of native Dutch adults), in which we respectively measured and manipulated the Christian and religious tolerant representation (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014; Studies 2 and 3). In line with these expectations, the results of the survey indicated that stronger endorsement of the Christian representation was associated with more opposition to Muslim expressive rights, via stronger perceptions of continuity threat, whereas the pattern of results was reversed for the religious tolerant representation. In the experimental study, we found that, in line with the results of the survey, the salience of the religious tolerant representation (vs. a control group) decreased opposition to Muslim expressive rights via lower perceived continuity threat. The salience of the Christian representation (vs. a control group), however, increased opposition to Muslim expressive rights via continuity threat, but only among the youngest age cohort (18-35) and not among older ones. These findings indicated that while the religious tolerant representation decreased opposition to Muslim expressive rights (via lower perceived continuity threat) across different age cohorts, the Christian representation increased opposition to Muslim expressive rights only for the youngest age cohort.

One possible explanation for this cohort effect is that the meaning ascribed to Christian national identity, particularly in relation to immigration and religious diversity, varies between different generations. Since Christian religiosity was very strong in the Netherlands until the beginning of the 1970s but sharpy declined afterwards (Dekker, 2007), the oldest cohorts have more often been raised in a Christian fashion compared to the younger ones. Therefore the older cohorts are more likely to be religious Christians, who tend to be more accepting of religious out-groups (Storm, 2011), potentially because they share a common identity of being religious. On the other hand, the younger cohorts are more likely to be nominal Christians or non-Christians, who understand Christian national identity in more exclusionary ethnic terms in relation to which Muslims constitute a threatening 'other' (Storm, 2011). For these younger generations, the salience of a Christian national identity may therefore foster the perception that Muslims pose a threat to the continuity of this national identity and therefore result in stronger opposition towards Muslim expressive rights.

**The mobilizing potential of historical representations of national identity**

We demonstrated that historical representations of national identity can have positive and negative consequences for Dutch natives' evaluation of Muslims depending on what people perceive to be the particular historical content of this identity. It is likely that these historical representations interact with national identification in guiding intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Namely, research within the social identity tradition has shown that the level of *group identification* determines whether group members act and interpret the world according to the group's norms, values and ideological beliefs (e.g., Doosje et al., 1999; Haslam et al., 2010). The social identity perspective (Turner & Reynolds, 2001) proposes that particularly people who strongly identify with their in-group (higher identifiers) are likely to be concerned about their in-group and act in line with in-group norms, but there have also been studies showing that lower identifiers can be mobilized to protect their in-group against social forces and groups that potentially undermine it (e.g., Fosh, 1993; Sibley et al., 2008; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000).

On the one hand, this means that while lower (compared to higher) identifiers are generally less predisposed to hold negative attitudes towards immigrant out-groups (Wagner et al., 2010), they might become mobilized against such groups when they feel that the continued existence of their group identity is at stake. Lower identifiers have been found to psychologically distance themselves from their in-group in situations of intergroup conflict (Ellemers et al., 1997), but research has also demonstrated that lower identifiers can be 'brought on board' when existential threats to their group identity become salient (Veenstra & Haslam, 2000). Since identity continuity is a basic psychological need (Vignoles, 2011), and most national citizens care about their national identity and culture, we proposed that lower identifiers should be willing to respond to developments that undermine the continuity of national identity. The increasing presence of visible signs of Islam in Western Europe is often presented and perceived as undermining the continuity of Christian national identity (Brubaker, 2017). We therefore predicted that lower native Dutch identifiers would increase their opposition to Muslim expressive rights when a historical Christian representation of their national identity is salient. We tested this prediction in three experimental studies in which a historical Christian representation of national identity was manipulated and compared to a control condition (see Smeekes et al., 2011). All studies showed that lower identifiers increased their opposition to Muslim expressive rights to equal levels of higher identifiers when national identity was framed as rooted in a tradition of Christianity. For higher identifiers, the salience of this representation did not alter their level of opposition to Muslim rights. A possible reason for this finding is that the Christian representation is

in line with higher national identifiers' tendency endorse more exclusionary understandings of national identity and to be more prejudiced towards immigrant out-groups than lower identifiers (e.g., Wagner et al., 2010). Hence, the salience of the Christian representation may therefore not alter their attitudes towards immigrant out-groups.

On the other hand, according to the social identity perspective, higher identifiers are more likely to act in accordance with in-group norms than lower identifiers. This means that while higher (compared to lower) national identifiers are more predisposed to be negative towards immigrant out-groups, they could be mobilized to become more accepting of such out-groups when a shared group norm of openness and acceptance of out-groups is salient. This idea is in line with existing research showing that high nationalistic individuals can become more positive towards Muslims when egalitarian national values are salient (Butz et al., 2007). We predicted that when a historical tolerant representation of national identity is salient this would increase the acceptance of Muslim expressive rights among higher native Dutch identifiers, because this would result in lower perceptions of continuity threat from Muslims.[1] The reason is that when national identity is perceived as rooted in a tradition of religious tolerance, the presence of religious out-groups is in line with 'who we have always been' and should hence not be perceived as a threat to the continuity of national identity.

We tested this prediction in a survey and experimental study among samples of university and high school students (see Smeekes et al., 2012; Studies 2 and 3) by respectively measuring and manipulating a representation of historical religious tolerance. The results of both studies demonstrated that, for higher identifiers, the endorsement and salience of historical tolerance resulted in more acceptance of Muslim expressive rights via lower perceptions of continuity threat. Furthermore, we found that, compared to lower identifiers, higher identifiers were more negative about Muslims when the salience and endorsement of this historical tolerant representation was low. Yet, both groups of identifiers displayed comparable attitudes towards Muslims when the salience and endorsement of this tolerant historical representation was high.

Taken together, these studies indicated that historical representations of national identity can mobilize: (a) people who are not ordinarily concerned about their national identity (i.e., lower identifiers) to become more opposed to Muslims, as well as (b) people who are concerned about their national identity

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[1]   In this paper (Smeekes et al., 2012) we label this construct as 'perceived identity incompatibility between the Dutch and Muslim way of life' instead of 'perceptions of continuity threat from Muslims', but the measurement that we used for this is similar to the one we have used for perceived continuity threat in Smeekes and Verkuyten (2014).

(i.e., higher identifiers) to become more accepting of Muslims. More specifically, these results showed that rather than increasing the intensity of their initial position towards Muslims (i.e., galvanizing), historical representations of national identity were able to mobilize lower and higher identifiers respectively against or in favor of Muslims (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). This implies that bringing historical representations of national identity to the fore can spark a reaction among native majority members who are predisposed to be concerned about their national identity as well as among those who are not ordinarily concerned about it. However, whether this reaction is inclusionary or exclusionary towards Muslims depends on the particular contents of these historical representations.

### Conclusion and future directions

The historicization of national identity has become a focal point in Western European debates on cultural diversity and immigration. In many countries, including the Netherlands, there has been an emphasis on national heritage and traditions in debates about the presence and influence of Muslims. Politicians have argued that people lack a sense of collective consciousness and belonging (see Duyvendak, 2011) and that greater knowledge of national history would strengthen the cohesiveness of Western European societies. In Dutch debates on national identity and cultural diversity the national past is put forward as a means to define who 'we' are as a national community, and what it means to be a national citizen.

These public debates formed an important basis for the research line that I developed with Maykel, on the historical basis of national citizenship for current group dynamics in culturally diverse settings. We took a social psychological perspective and analyzed how different historical representations of national identity affect attitudes towards Muslims among native majority members in the Netherlands. We focused on two historical representations of national identity that figure prominently in Dutch discourses on cultural diversity, namely that of being a nation rooted in Christian heritage, and being a nation rooted in a tradition of religious tolerance and openness. We found that the Christian representation is linked to more negative attitudes towards Muslim expressive rights, via stronger perceived threats from Muslims to the continuity of national identity. Moreover, we showed that the religious tolerant representation is linked to more acceptance of Muslim expressive rights, because this representation is related to lower perceptions of continuity threat from Muslims. In addition, we demonstrated that the Christian representation can mobilize lower identifiers and younger people to become more negative towards Muslim expressive rights. On

the other hand, we showed that the religious tolerant representation can mobilize higher identifiers to become more supportive of Muslim expressive rights.

These findings highlight the importance of historical representations for national identity and intergroup dynamics. Native majority members draw on the national past to understand 'who we are', and this subsequently informs their attitudes towards out-groups in the present. As such, our research demonstrated that a focus on perceptions of history is important for understanding national identity and group dynamics in contemporary multicultural Western European societies.

Future work could examine whether the Christian and religious tolerant historical representations of national identity hold relevance and have similar consequences for attitudes towards Muslims among native majority members in other Western countries. Recent research has highlighted how the Christian representation of national identity has been 'hijacked' by populist radical-right parties to mobilize their voters against Islam (Brubaker, 2017; Marzouki & McDonnel, 2016). Prospective research could examine whether and for whom the salience of a Christian representation of national identity results in more support for these parties. Another interesting avenue for future research is to investigate to what extent these two historical representations affect attitudes towards different out-groups. For example, opinion makers have recently noticed the more welcoming attitude of Western Europe towards Ukrainian refugees (of which a majority has a Christian background) compared to Syrian refugees (of which a majority has an Islamic background) (Buruma, 2022). Future studies could investigate whether the difference in attitudes towards, and perceived threats from, Ukrainian and Syrian refugee groups can be explained by a Christian understanding of national identity.

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# Competition on the radical right – explanations of radical right voting in the Netherlands in 2021

Marcel Lubbers

The radical right has established itself as a party family to stay. It must have been around the time that professor Verkuyten made his first steps in academia, that Jean-Marie Le Pen, father of the current party leader Marine Le Pen, founded the *Front National* more than 40 years ago in France to become one of the first successful radical right-wing parties in Europe. Ever since its foundation, the party has focused on the defence of the French national identity – although it has never clearly demarcated what it refers to in the party program. Professor Verkuyten (e.g. 2004) did lay bare how the concept of identity can be understood and how it plays a central role in the understanding of intergroup relations and exclusion of perceived outgroups, something that will be addressed in this chapter as well, providing empirical evidence for voting for the radical right.

The *Front National* has gone through a transition eventually changing its name into *Rassemblement National* (RN), with which Marine Le Pen tried to reinvent the party taking out its most radical positions, but with that also leaving space on the more radical side of the political spectrum that is recently filled by Éric Zemmour. Nonetheless also today, the RN is considered to belong to the radical right party family, with its key ideological focus that is defined by its nativism. The party remains focused on a fundamental nationalist agenda that has characterized the radical right party family, with an exclusionary ideology on elements that threaten the nation (Mudde, 2007; Rydgren, 2007). Most often, the central foci in radical right parties' programs are the perceived threats to the

nation stemming from immigration. Their nationalist agenda is mainly directed towards establishing an ethnically homogeneous nation. Ethnic nationalism is therefore considered a core feature in the ideology of the radical right (Rydgren, 2007; Bonikowski, 2017; Bar-on, 2018).

Getting for the second time into the final round of the Presidential elections in 2022, it was a unicum for the radical right that more than 40% voted for a radical right party in a European country. Le Pen is in the media often labelled 'extreme right', where other parties are labelled more often as 'radical right' or 'far right'. But with the rise of a competitor on the radical right in France, Zemmour, who takes a more radical position on topics of migration than Le Pen, has taken over the label of being the extreme right in France. This seems to contribute to Le Pen's goal to reframe her party in order to provide it with a less radical image. Research does, however, still show that restrictive immigration attitudes keep being the main explanation of the vote for the party (De Sio & Paparo, 2018).

The recent competition over voters on the radical right in France mirrors the situation in the Netherlands, where different parties emerged that bid for voters mainly with a focus on the protection of national identity and the linked immigrant-critical or outright anti-immigrant perspective. The Party for Freedom (PVV), from Geert Wilders, represented in Dutch parliament since 2006, received competition from Forum for Democracy (FvD). Both serve a nationalist agenda and focus on threats to a homogeneous nation. A split in FvD, because members perceived the party to radicalize, created the party JA21, which is also immigrant-critical, although little is known about whether their voters differ in that respect from PVV and FvD voters.

In the rich literature on radical right voting, one of the first questions was 'who votes for the radical right and why?' (Mudde, 2013). It did not address that much yet the supply side of politics: the extent to which parties differ in what they offer and what characteristics the parties take with them, which constitutes a second wave of research. In a third wave of studies, the attention was drawn to the consequences of radical right-wing party success, for instance on other parties' stances on immigration (Muis & Immerzeel, 2017). Not only is it relevant to answer the first question again for the situation in 2021, with the competition of various radical right parties, an answer to first question may also establish what differences exist between electorates of parties within the party family. In this chapter, I empirically answer the question to what extent the voters for radical right parties differ in their socio-economic profile with respect to level of education, social class and income from voters for other parties (Lubbers et al., 2002) and how the voters for the different radical right parties vary amongst each other in this profile. To answer the *why* question, I turn to the central theories that have found support

to explain radical right voting. I hereby focus on ethnic nationalism, referring to the importance of national ancestry as a marker of national membership, from which negative attitudes towards immigrants would follow (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012). Also patriotic attitudes have been considered a relevant motive for people to vote for the radical right, since radical right parties focus on the importance of having pride in the nation. However, the discussion here is whether voters for the radical right indeed have pride in the nation as it is today, or would like to have pride again in that nation that they feel has changed given the multicultural societies they have turned into and that radical parties blame current European societies for (Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013). Finally, radical right-parties would attract voters because they take a populist, anti-elitist position, representing the common people (Akkerman et al., 2017). A populist position can come along with every ideology. However, radical right-parties, having opposed established politics, from liberals to social-democrats, have turned out to be a vehicle also because of their anti-immigration position, to mobilize on protest against the elite that often formed a block to refrain from criticizing migration (Goodwin, 2011).

In much of the literature on understanding radical right-wing voting, voters for the radical right have been compared to all other voters (often including non-voters as well) (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012) or to radical left-wing voters in particular (Halikiopoulou et al., 2012; Rooduijn et al., 2017). This ignores the idea that some of the explanations of radical right voting would not hold for specific contrasts, that are relevant in multi-party systems. That religious people are less likely to vote for the radical right may not signal anything specific about the electorate of radical right parties, but that is mainly a side-effect of religious people voting for religious parties instead; the underrepresentation of religious voters also holds for voting left-wing parties. Comparing radical right to left-wing voters then shows that religiosity has no effect on that contrast. Situating this study in the multiparty context of the Netherlands, I will provide evidence for which of the explanations holds for the contrast with the radical right to the liberal VVD, the Christian-democratic CDA, the social-Christian CU, the Christian-orthodox SGP, the progressive centre-left (D66, PvdA, GL), the socialist SP and voters for the Party for the Animals, and then find out what different explanations exist in the vote between the three parties competing on the radical right (PVV, FvD and JA21).

### Theories

One of the recurring theoretical perspectives on radical right-voting is that of "the losers of globalization" perspective (Betz, 1994), which states that people who would not profit directly from globalization would come to oppose it, of which

anti-immigration stances would be one of the core expressions (Rydgren, 2007). The nation as a known and safe entity with which people can identify would come under pressure due to internationalization, characterized by increased international trade, liberalization of world markets, increased mobility and internationalization of politics. This would have created a backlash among people who would have fewer capital to exploit in an expanding worldwide economy and who lose state protection, due to cuts in welfare provisions that were deemed necessary to stimulate international economic expansion (Betz & Johnson, 2004). People with lower levels of education, from manual working classes and people on lower incomes would be more likely to vote for anti-globalization, nationalist radical right parties. Indeed, this is found over and again, with a particular strong cleavage in education (Ivarsflaten & Stubager, 2012). For income, this has been supported less often, putting some doubt on whether it was actually an economic motivation for people to vote for the radical right. Indeed, research has focused on whether the explanation of radical right voting has an economic dimension after all, or is merely cultural (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012; Vlandas & Halikiopoulou, 2019). In this tradition, the cultural explanation is related to the strong anti-migration attitudes effects on radical right voting (Oesch & Rennwald, 2018), that explain differences between lower and higher educated, and lower and higher social classes. Here it is suggested that voters do not face an economic threat from globalization with its consequential increase in migration, but a cultural one, since the cultural homogeneity of a nation would be under threat. More and more people with other daily customs and traditions would come to live in a country, which would lead to a collision of the ways of life between people already living in a country who define their way of life as being the national way of life (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009) and newcomers. Since lower educated people and lower social classes would have experienced the direct impact of immigration the strongest, given their shared socio-economic position with a large share of immigrants, they would be more likely to turn to parties that aim to reduce migration and insist on assimilation (Lubbers et al., 2002). Given the consistent findings in the literature on the role of assimilationist attitudes, anti-migration attitudes, and migration and ethnic threat attitudes (although not often carefully disentangled in the studies), these migration-related attitudes have become a defining feature of radical right parties (Rydgren, 2007). If their electorates do not score high(er) on these issues, it is doubted whether the parties belong to the radical right.

In the Netherlands, it has been discussed whether the new radical right party FvD forms a new sort of radical right party, since it would have attracted also people with a higher level of education, from higher social classes and with higher incomes than the more established PVV (e.g. Damhuis, 2020). Although research

found effects of these features on voting for the radical right, it still means that a share of the higher educated and higher social classes voted for the radical right. The PVV being known as a party to attract merely lower educated voters, voters with a higher level of education would, based on that fact alone, be likely to dissociate with the PVV. A new party, like FvD (and later JA21), that targeted a broader group of voters, could have been more attractive to higher educated and people from higher social classes. I do expect that higher educated and higher social classes are less likely to vote for the radical right than for other parties and that this holds stronger for the PVV than for FvD and JA21. As for the attitudinal motives to vote for the radical right, assimilationist attitudes will predict voting for the radical right, but there are no clear conditions of why it would have a stronger effect on voting for any of the three radical right parties. Perceptions of economic and cultural migration threat are expected to affect radical right voting as well, with a stronger effect of cultural than economic migrant threat in line with earlier studies (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012). As for the role of economic migration threat, I expect this to be a more important explanation for voting PVV as compared to FvD and JA21, whereas cultural threats may differentiate the voters for the radical right parties from voters for other parties, but discriminate less so between the radical right electorates.

A related, but addressed as separate explanation of radical right voting, is ethnic nationalism. This refers to a conception of belonging to the nation based on ethnicity. It is considered as the core defined ideological feature of the radical right (Bar-On, 2018). Programs in the European radical right party family do vary however in what they define as national and what is needed for belonging to the nation (Miller & Ali, 2014). Some of the more radical or extreme parties create a division based on ancestry and blood relations: only people who have (grand)parents being a national would qualify to become a national citizen. In other programs, the focus is more on sharing national customs and traditions. Although it is not often defined in the programs what those national customs and traditions are, by targeting defined outgroups in the campaigns, there is a suggestion on what groups exhibit customs and traditions that is considered not to belong to the nation. In most of the radical right-wing party programs, expressions of Muslim religiosity, for example, are suggested not to belong to the nation. But also stereotypical practices of other groups (e.g. East-European immigrants in West-Europe, African immigrants in Europe) are defined as non-national. It is also relevant to mention here that the radical right is not the only party family with its focus on customs and traditions as prerequisite for becoming a national citizen. Most European countries have developed integration programs that include knowledge on these kind of customs and traditions as a prerequisite for naturalization (Joppke, 2007). These integration

programs still focus strongest on the importance of learning a national language in order to become a national citizen. The majority of political parties in Europe demand from immigrants that they have some proficiency in the language of the country of destination, and radical right parties are no exception to that.

Radical right parties have been defined by their ethnic nationalism specifically, but also in the broader sense by their nationalism. The parties would insist on the re-evaluation of the nation and to make the nation great again. This would imply that the voters of the radical right would not have pride in the nation today, but mainly in an earlier version of the nation, when it figured on the world stage in one way or another and had economic grandeur. The better version of the nation is also defined in terms of supposed homogeneity that is thought to have been present more so in the past than in the present. National nostalgia would therefore be an important predictor of radical right voting (Betz & Johnson, 2004; Smeekes et al., 2021; Lubbers & Smeekes, 2022). However, with its strong use of national symbols (most radical right parties use the national colours in their campaigning), also people who have pride in the nation today (are patriotic), or see the country as superior to other countries (are chauvinistic), are likely to be attracted by the radical right party family. This duality of the role of pride in the nation may have been a reason that empirical studies have often found relatively weak associations between patriotism, chauvinism and radical right voting (Lubbers & Coenders, 2017). Given that the new party JA21 seems to refer less to pride in the past, it is expected that national pride and chauvinism will affect voting for JA21, but not the voting for PVV and FvD.

Finally, theories on political protest have been successfully applied to radical right voting (Akkerman et al., 2017). The initial discussion in the radical right literature on whether people voted for these parties out of ideological reasons or only out of political protest (Lubbers et al., 2002), has shifted towards a refinement of the ideological reasons for why people vote for the parties (Mudde, 2007). Support for an ethnic nationalist ideology has been framed to stem from a threat to people's interest. Hardly having experience with government responsibilities, the radical right parties form for many voters a legitimate vehicle to express discontent with political parties and politicians responsible for making policies. The political protest from radical right parties stretches further than merely discontent with implemented policies. It is the idea that parties and politicians in power do not represent the interests of the population. Here it is referred to the 'common man', the 'pure people', although it is not defined who belongs to those people. I expect populism, which includes measures of political cynicism, affects voting for the radical right and equally so for the three radical right parties in the Netherlands.

**Data and methods**

The Dutch Parliamentary Election Study is a survey collected around the parliamentary elections of 2021 (Jacobs et al., 2021). This dataset is administered by the Dutch Elections Research Foundation, which is a collaboration from political and social science departments from Dutch universities, Statistics Netherlands and the Netherlands Institute for Social Research. In the month before the elections of 2021 a national representative sample was invited to participate in an online survey. In the month after the elections, the respondents that participated in the pre-election survey were invited again to fill out a questionnaire (Sipma et al., 2021). Since I mostly test here explanations of voting behaviour, I make use of the post-elections sample (*N*=4,001). This sample is weighted such that it is representative to the outcomes of 2021 elections.

*Measurements*

Respondents were asked what party they had voted in the parliamentary elections. Non-voters are left out from the analyses here. I differentiate between radical right-voters (PVV, FvD and JA21), Liberal right-wing (VVD) voters, Christian Democratic (CDA) voters, Social Christian (CU) voters, Fundamentalist Christian (SGP) voters, Progressive centre-left-wing voters (D66, PvdA and GreenLeft), Socialist or radical left-wing (SP) voters and the Party for the Animal voters. To test for differences between radical right voters, I differentiate between PVV, FvD and JA21 voters.

Education was measured in highest level of education attained, differentiating in University (wo), Tertiary higher vocational (hbo), General higher secondary (havo/vwo), Tertiary intermediate vocational (mbo) and Lower education (vmbo-t/k, mavo and primary). Social class was measured by subjective self-identification of class, distinguishing between manual workers' class, higher manual workers' class, middle class, higher middle class and higher class. Respondents could indicate their level of monthly-based net household income, which have been recode into five categories of lower (<€1,501), low-medium €1,500-2,500), medium (€2,500-3,500), medium-high (€3,500-5,500) and high income (>€5,500).

To measure respondents' insistence on immigrant assimilation, they were asked to indicate whether they support preservation of own culture for foreigners and or that they should fully adapt, on a seven-point scale. Economic migrant threat was measured with the single item: 'Immigrants are generally good for the Dutch economy', on a five-point Likert-scale, which is recoded such that a higher value implies stronger perception of economic threat. Cultural threat was measured on a five-point Likert scale, with the wording 'Dutch culture is threatened by immigrants'.

To test the role of ethnic nationalism, respondents were asked to indicate how important they think 'Dutch ancestry' is for being a real Dutchmen. To address other criteria for nationhood, respondents indicated whether it is important 'to follow Dutch norms and traditions' and 'to be able to speak the Dutch language'. Answer categories ran from 1 '*very important*' to 4 '*not important at all*', which were reversed such that a higher score means thinking the criteria to be more important.

Patriotism was measured by the single measure 'I am proud to be Dutch' and chauvinism with the single measure 'There is no better country than the Netherlands'. Both were measured on a five-point Likert scale, in which a higher score indicated stronger agreement.

Populism is the only scale included here, and consists of the mean of seven items, with a Cronbach's alpha of .72, with items such as 'Politicians do not care about people like me', 'People, not politicians should make our most important policy decisions' and 'Politicians should be guided by the will of the people'.

*Analyses*

Descriptive analyses will show to what extent the electorates of the different parties vary in their education level, social class composition and level of income. Subsequently, I describe what the differences are between the electorates in their assimilationist attitudes and perceptions of economic and cultural threat, their conceptions of nationhood, patriotism and chauvinism. Multinomial logistic regressions have been performed to test what explanations affect the likelihood to vote for one of the alternatives versus the radical right, and subsequently, how these affect the differences within voting for one of the three parties within the radical right. All the analyses are weighted by a weight included in the dataset, that weights to the voting population in terms of gender, age and country of origin as well as by the election outcomes of 2021.

**Descriptive results**

In 2021, the educational gradient in voting for the radical right is replicated (Figure 1). However, the electorate of the socialist party does not differ from the radical right's electorate in level of education. I do find evidence that the electorate of FvD and JA21 is less characterized by lower education than that of the PVV (Figure 1). However, also for FvD and JA21, the share with a low and medium education is larger than for the liberal VVD, the Christian Union, the progressive left and the party for the animals.
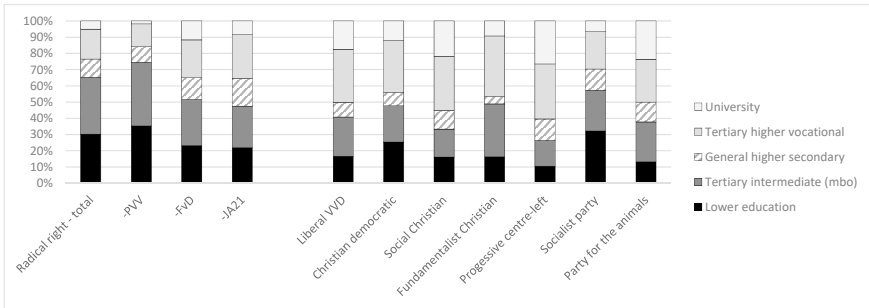
**Figure 1:** Educational level by party electorates (Source: DPES 2021).

The picture is somewhat similar with respect to social class. The share of the electorate that identifies as (higher) working class is substantial only among the voters for the radical right and socialist party (Figure 2). Different from the findings on education, here I find that lower social classes are better represented among the electorates of both the PVV and FvD and less so among JA21's electorate (Figure 2).
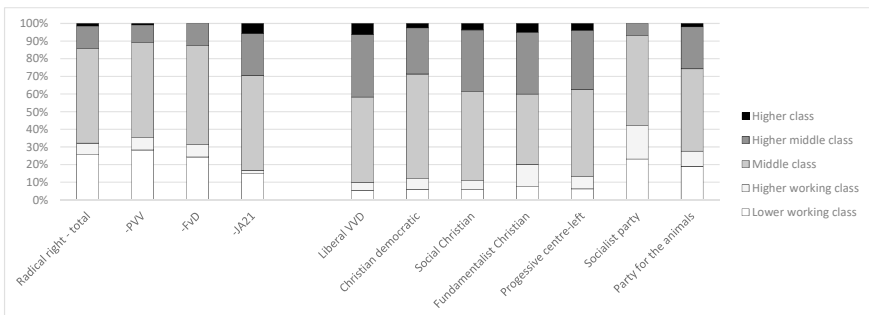


**Figure 2:** Subjective social class by party electorate (Source: DPES 2021).

The share of voters with a low income is largest within the electorate of the socialist party, followed by both the radical right and the party for the animals (Figure 3). Just as with social class, the electorate of the PVV and FvD do not differ from one another, whereas for JA21 there is a higher share of richer people voting for the party (Figure 3).
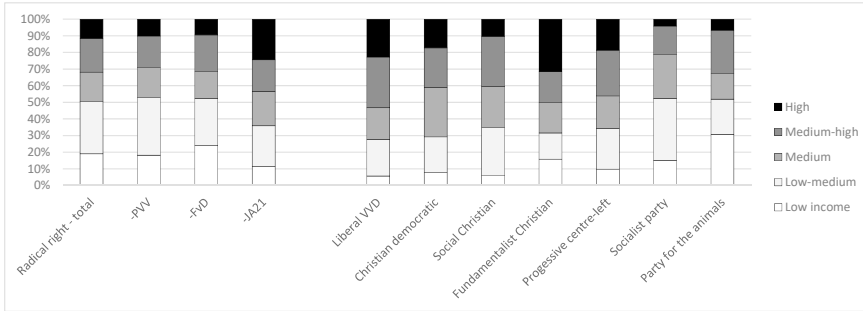
**Figure 3:** Household income by party electorate (Source: DPES 2021).

Voters for the radical right are more in favour of assimilationism than any other electorate (Table 1). The differences between the radical right electorates, with the FvD voters scoring somewhat lower on assimilation, are not significant (tested in bivariate regression analysis). Also the attitude that immigration is not good for the economy is supported the strongest by the radical right electorate and other than expected, the differences between the radical right party electorates is negligible. This is different with respect to the perception of cultural threat. Again, each of the radical right electorates scores higher than any of the other electorates, but the FvD-electorate scores significantly lower than that of the PVV-electorate. And the FvD-electorate does not score significantly higher than the SGP-electorate.

**Table 1:** Differences between electorates in attitude on assimilation, whether immigration is not good for the economy and whether immigration harms culture

|  | Pro-assimilation (1-7) | Immigration is not good for the economy (1-5) | Immigration harms culture (1-5) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Radical right | 5.63 | 3.44 | 4.04 |
|    PVV | 5.74 | 3.47 | 4.21 |
|    FvD | 5.42 | 3.41 | 3.78 |
|    JA21 | 5.58 | 3.40 | 3.92 |
| VVD | 4.63 | 2.87 | 3.22 |
| CDA | 4.49 | 2.79 | 3.24 |
| CU | 4.21 | 2.67 | 2.75 |
| SGP | 5.04 | 3.05 | 3.63 |
| Progressive centre-left | 3.63 | 2.45 | 2.30 |
| SP | 4.16 | 2.77 | 3.01 |
| PvdD | 3.61 | 2.46 | 2.34 |

Source: DPES 2021.

The SGP-electorate also takes a special position when criteria for nationhood are evaluated (Table 2). Ethnic nationalism, the idea that Dutch ancestry is a relevant criterium for being Dutch, is supported strongest among this electorate, although the difference with the radical right, that scores somewhat lower, is not significant. Also the differences with the CDA, CU and VDD-electorate are not significant. Dutch customs and traditions as criterion to be truly Dutch is supported strongest by the radical right PVV voters and JA21 voters, together with SGP-voters. Voters for FvD score a bit lower, and are more in line with VVD and CU-voters here. Language as an important criterium for being Dutch is supported more broadly. Radical right voters score highest (3.70), but score significantly higher only as compared to centre-left progressive party voters (3.28) and party for the animal voters (3.19). Radical right voters are among the lowest in their patriotism and chauvinism; only party for the animal voters score noticeably lower.

**Table 2:** Attitudes to criteria for nationhood, patriotism and chauvinism

| | Dutch ancestry as criterion (ethnic nationalism) (1-4) | Dutch customs and traditions as criterion (1-4) | Dutch language as criterion (1-4) | Patriotism (1-5) | Chauvinism (1-5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Radical right | 2.55 | 3.39 | 3.70 | 3.69 | 3.02 |
| PVV | 2.63 | 3.50 | 3.69 | 3.71 | 3.14 |
| FvD | 2.39 | 3.18 | 3.68 | 3.52 | 2.71 |
| JA21 | 2.56 | 3.36 | 3.77 | 3.90 | 3.05 |
| VVD | 2.25 | 3.07 | 3.59 | 4.07 | 3.44 |
| CDA | 2.38 | 3.05 | 3.50 | 4.14 | 3.57 |
| CU | 2.17 | 2.82 | 3.49 | 4.01 | 3.16 |
| SGP | 2.76 | 3.20 | 3.67 | 3.93 | 3.32 |
| Progressive centre-left | 1.81 | 2.55 | 3.28 | 3.81 | 3.15 |
| SP | 2.06 | 2.84 | 3.43 | 3.77 | 3.14 |
| PvdD | 1.89 | 2.36 | 3.19 | 3.28 | 2.90 |

Source: DPES 2021.

**Explanatory results**

To understand which of the socio-economic indicators and motives are most decisive for voting radical right, multiple multinomial logistic regressions are performed. First, the likelihood to vote for one of the non-radical party families versus a vote for the radical right is estimated. Second, the likelihood to vote for the relatively new FvD or JA21 versus PVV is estimated in a multinomial logistic regression.

Social class seems to be the stronger discriminator between voting for the liberals and conservative right versus the radical right (Table 3), with the higher the social class the more likely to vote for all of these options as compared to the radical right. Also in the contrast between the progressive centre-left and the radical right this association is found. Here, however, the effect of education outperforms the social class effect: the higher the level of education, the more likely to vote for the progressive centre-left as compared to a vote for the radical right. A similar interpretation holds for the role of education in the contrast between a vote for the party of the animals and the radical right. The role of income is limited to the contrast between a vote for the liberal right and the radical right, with an increasing likelihood to vote the liberal right versus the radical right with higher levels of income. The party of the animals is opted less for with increasing levels of income as compared to the radical right, possibly indicating the higher share of students voting for this former party. None of the socio-economic indicators affects the contrast between the socialist party and the radical right, implying that the socio-economic profile of the radical right and socialist party, or radical left, are very similar, replicating findings from earlier studies (Rooduijn et al., 2017; Visser et al., 2017).

Table 3b includes the attitudinal explanations of the vote for different parties versus the radical right. If the immigration-related issues are combined in one single scale of 'unfavourable attitudes to migration', a multiple multinomial-regression analysis shows that the migration-attitudes are most decisive in predicting radical right support. However, in the model presented here, with the different dimensions of the immigrant related attitudes (assimilationist attitude, economic ethnic threat and cultural ethnic threat), it is the populism scale that has the strongest effect, showing that populism decreases the vote for each party alternative as compared to a vote for the radical right. This effect is the strongest in the comparison between the governing party VVD-vote and the vote for the radical right and the smallest in the comparison between a radical left SP-vote and a vote for the radical right.

Assimilationist attitudes, perceived economic migrant threat and perceived cultural threat also decrease the likelihood to vote for most of the alternative party options as compared to the radical right, but it does not reach significance in the contrast between the state-reformed SGP and the radical right (possibly due to the relatively small number of voters for the SGP). Perceived cultural threats are the most decisive in the prediction of the likelihood to vote radical right when compared to vote the left-wing parties, whereas assimilationist attitudes and perceived economic threats are more decisive in the prediction of the likelihood to vote radical right when compared to vote for the right-wing parties. In these

**Table 3a:** Multinominal regression analysis of voting for party alternatives versus voting for the radical right

| | VVD | | CDA | | CU | | SGP | | Prog. Left | | SP | | PvdD | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | 0.121 | * | 0.054 | | 0.396 | *** | 0.110 | | 0.504 | *** | 0.127 | *** | 0.544 | *** |
| Social class | 0.749 | *** | 0.539 | *** | 0.556 | ** | 0.771 | ** | 0.389 | *** | -0.139 | *** | 0.048 | |
| Income | 0.179 | ** | 0.132 | | -0.017 | | 0.105 | | 0.012 | | -0.153 | | -0.307 | ** |

Source: DPES 2021; *** p<.001; ** p<.01 ; * p<.05.

**Table 3b:** Multinominal regression analysis of voting for party alternatives versus voting for the radical right

| | VVD | | CDA | | CU | | SGP | | Prog. Left | | SP | | PvdD | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | 0.023 | | 0.023 | | 0.278 | * | 0.130 | | 0.288 | *** | -0.046 | | 0.194 | |
| Social class | 0.517 | *** | 0.350 | * | 0.358 | | 0.651 | * | 0.157 | | -0.180 | | 0.232 | |
| Income | 0.047 | | 0.004 | | -0.134 | | 0.119 | | -0.072 | | -0.204 | | -0.304 | * |
| Assimilationism | -0.225 | *** | -0.314 | *** | -0.223 | * | -0.172 | | -0.403 | *** | -0.318 | *** | -0.491 | ** |
| Economic immigration threat | -0.327 | ** | -0.488 | *** | -0.522 | * | -0.452 | | -0.657 | *** | -0.376 | * | -0.503 | * |
| Cultural imm. threat | -0.302 | ** | -0.281 | * | -0.802 | *** | -0.370 | | -0.843 | *** | -0.513 | *** | -0.887 | *** |
| Patriotism | 0.198 | ** | 0.260 | | 0.542 | * | 0.187 | | 0.079 | | 0.070 | | -0.415 | * |
| Chauvinism | 0.344 | * | 0.499 | *** | -0.037 | | 0.094 | | 0.220 | | 0.173 | | 0.088 | |
| Imp: Dutch ancestry | 0.269 | * | 0.394 | ** | 0.551 | * | 0.888 | ** | 0.196 | ** | -0.017 | | 0.046 | |
| Imp: Dutch customs | -0.239 | | -0.459 | * | -0.795 | ** | -0.119 | | -0.592 | *** | -0.602 | ** | -0.580 | * |
| Imp: language | -0.285 | | -0.304 | | -0.368 | | 0.631 | | -0.706 | *** | -0.546 | * | -0.420 | |
| Populism | -2.465 | *** | -1.715 | *** | -1.515 | *** | -1.828 | *** | -1.967 | *** | -0.499 | * | -1.440 | *** |

Source: DPES 2021; *** p<.001; ** p<.01 ; * p<.05.

analyses, where is controlled for the assimilationist attitude and perceptions of threat, it turns out that an ethnic perception of nationhood increases a vote for VVD, CDA and CU as compared to a vote for the radical right, which is in contrast to the expectations. Also patriotism and chauvinism *increase* voting VVD and CDA as compared to a vote for the radical right. It is the importance attached to Dutch customs and traditions to become Dutch that is relevant for the vote for the radical right. Compared to left-wing voters, also the attached importance to Dutch language as criterion for being truly Dutch is more prominent among the radical right voters.

Table 4 provides evidence on the differences within the radical right electorate and informs us on the hypotheses on the competition within the radical right. In the analyses here, the PVV serves as reference category. A higher level of education increases the likelihood to vote for FvD and for JA21 as compared to a vote for PVV. Interestingly, this effect remains when controlling for the attitudes. In particular for FvD voting as compared to PVV voting, the perception of a cultural threat plays a role: the stronger the cultural threat perception, the less likely to vote for FvD and the more likely to vote PVV. This plays a smaller role in the contrast between JA21 and PVV; the effect of perceived cultural ethnic threat is marginally significant at *p*<.10. The only other effect that is significant is that of populism. Populism increases the likelihood to vote FvD as compared to voting PVV, but it reduced the likelihood to vote JA21 as compared to voting PVV.

**Table 4:** Multinominal regression analysis of voting for radical right FvD and JA21 versus PVV

|  | Model 1 FvD |  | Model 2 FvD |  | Model 1 JA21 |  | Model 2 JA21 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education | 0.524 | *** | 0.588 | *** | 0.326 | * | 0.370 | * |
| Social class | -0.225 |  | -0.256 |  | 0.275 |  | 0.137 |  |
| Income | 0.010 |  | 0.102 |  | 0.235 | ~ | 0.180 |  |
| Assimilation |  |  | 0.066 |  |  |  | -0.038 |  |
| Economic immigration threat |  |  | -0.184 |  |  |  | 0.159 |  |
| Cultural immigration threat |  |  | -0.641 | *** |  |  | -0.406 | ~ |
| Patriotism |  |  | 0.080 |  |  |  | 0.254 |  |
| Chauvinism |  |  | -0.294 |  |  |  | -0.204 |  |
| Imp: Dutch ancestry |  |  | -0.143 |  |  |  | 0.050 |  |
| Imp: Dutch customs and traditions |  |  | -0.203 |  |  |  | -0.070 |  |
| Imp: Dutch language |  |  | 0.206 |  |  |  | -0.289 |  |
| Populism |  |  | 0.984 | *** |  |  | -0.870 | * |

Source: DPES 2021; *** *p*<.001; ** *p*<.01 ; *p*<.05 ; ~*p*<.10.

**Discussion and conclusions**

In an ever changing political landscape it has become evident that the radical right party family will not soon disappear. For decades now, the parties have found representation and its share is increasing as a party family in the European Parliament. In some countries, the rise of the radical right has led to competition within the party family. Little is known yet how this competition leads to mobilization of different parts of the electorate. If so, it may have the potential to increase the overall share in the electorate that votes for the party family.

In this chapter I focused on the Dutch case, where since 2021 three radical right parties that mainly target immigration issues are represented in Dutch parliament: PVV, FvD and JA21. Taken together, the voters of these radical right parties differ from the electorate of alternative parties with respect to their lower level of education and an overrepresentation of manual workers, except when compared to the socialist party (SP), with which they share their socio-economic profile. The electorates of the radical right have stronger immigrant assimilationist stances, stronger perceptions of economic and cultural migration threats, stronger attached relevance to customs and traditions for Dutch nationhood and express higher levels of populism, reassuring earlier findings that have described these electorates throughout Europe in the last decades.

A puzzling and interesting finding is that ethnic nationalism did not increase a vote for the radical-right. Moreover, patriotism and chauvinism were just like ethnic nationalism decreasing the likelihood to vote radical right as compared to right-wing liberal and conservative voting. Together with the relative importance attached to Dutch customs and traditions for criteria to become Dutch, the assimilationist stance and perceptions of cultural threat, it shows that radical right voters do not have a positive association with Dutch society today. Although it may seem that their national identity is defined mainly by what they do not appreciate, it suggests the role of a framed historical identity as key driver of the success of radical right parties, as shown in the work by Smeekes and Verkuyten (2015).

This contribution paid special interest in what differences exist between the voters for the three radical right parties that are represented in Dutch parliament. Education turned out to be a marker between the three radical right parties – although education decreases the vote for each of these parties as compared to all other voters, it does much less so for the vote on the FvD and JA21. Whereas the PVV seems to have become a non-credible option for higher educated voters, this seems to be less the case for FvD and JA21. A focus on the role of network conformity seems promising here to get an understanding how norms on voting for parties within groups of lower or higher educated in the network stimulate or

restrain the voting. This may also provide a better understanding of how populism spreads. Populism turned out to be more important for voting FvD than for PVV and least for JA21. Whereas the electorates of the three parties share stances on assimilation and economic threat, cultural threat was expressed less so by FvD and JA21 voters than among PVV voters, showing that competition between the parties makes different voter groups to be drawn to this party family. Overall, however, it shows that an assimilationist position and perceptions of economic migrant threat are shared within the different radical right electorates.

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# Gender matters in prejudice and discrimination of Muslim women and Muslim men

Edwin Poppe & Iris Andriessen

Survey studies on prejudice and discrimination towards ethnic or religious minority groups have paid relatively little attention to gender differences (see e.g., Hosoda et al., 2003; Spanierman et al., 2012), while research on gender stereotypes and attitudes does not tend to focus on ethnic or religious outgroups (see e.g., Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). Although gender studies have shown that men are generally evaluated more negatively than women (e.g., Eagly & Mladinic, 1994), there are hardly any studies on differences in attitudes or behavior towards males and females of ethnic or religious minority groups. To address this gap, we use theoretical and empirical insights from gender studies and social psychology to derive and test hypotheses about gender differences in attitudes towards male and female Muslim minority members in the Netherlands. In addition, we will examine gender differences on a behavioral measurement. The focus is on youngsters in the Netherlands, in correspondence to the scholarly attention of Maykel Verkuyten (see e.g., Verkuyten, 2006; Verkuyten et al.,1984).

Previous research has shown that attitudes towards Muslims are rather negative in the Netherlands among the general population (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2009; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007) and among youngsters (Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001), and more negative compared to other minority groups (Spruyt & Elchardus, 2012). Yet, it is unknown whether this relative negative attitude towards Muslims in general holds similar for Muslim men and Muslim women, and among Dutch male and female youngsters, and

whether gender matters for various measures of intergroup relations. More specifically, we focus on gender differences in various attitudinal measures such as the feeling thermometer, social distance, and willingness to have contact with Muslim men and Muslim women, and on gender differences in a behavioral measurement, namely reactions of employers on an internship application of young Muslim, versus Dutch native, men and women. Internships are an important step for youngsters on their way to the labor market as about half of the youngsters get a job at the company of the internship, and internships provide a realistic idea about a profession and future career (Kuijpers & Meijer, 2013).

*Theories and earlier findings on gender differences in attitudes and behavior towards male and female outgroup members*

From a few theoretical perspectives, it may be argued that attitudes towards Muslim men are more negative than attitudes towards Muslim women among the Dutch majority group. According to the 'out-group male target hypothesis', derived from social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 1994), negative attitudes are directed more towards out-group men than towards out-group women (Navarrete et al., 2010) because fear of being dominated by an out-group is related more to males than to females (cf. 'the male warrior hypothesis', McDonald et al., 2012). A study on prejudice towards a racial minority group in the US confirmed that out-group men were evaluated more negatively than out-group women (Navarrete et al., 2010).

Alternatively, social role theory (SRT; Eagly et al., 2000) argues for the 'women are wonderful effect' (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Women would be evaluated more favorably than men because they are perceived as being more caring and communal due to their traditional domestic and child caring roles. A study by Eagly and Karau (2002) suggested that women are viewed more favorably than men as long as they remain in these traditional roles. However, traditional roles for females may also be perceived as resulting from male dominance and gender inequality more generally. This 'women as victims effect' might be particularly relevant for western attitudes towards Muslim men and women. On the basis of their large-scale cross-national research, Norris and Inglehardt (2004, p.155) concluded that 'The most basic fault line between the West and Islam … involves issues of gender equality and sexual liberalization'. Western liberal values of gender equality and individual freedom are perceived to be contradictory to the dominance of Muslim men over women, exemplified in their control over the female body and sexuality and in cultural-religious practices such as gender segregation, enforced arranged (early) marriages, and forced veiling (Fernandez, 2009; Spruyt & Elchardus, 2012). Studies in the Netherlands indicated that

native Dutch people dislike the dominant position of Muslim men and the related perceived oppression of Muslim women (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2009; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). In sum, we expect that attitudes towards Muslim men are more negative compared to attitudes towards Muslim women (Hypothesis 1).

The next question is whether Dutch men and Dutch women differ in their attitudes and behavior towards Muslim men and Muslim women. According to the 'out-group male target hypothesis', gender differences in negative attitudes towards male out-groups are the result of differential underlying motives such as aggression and striving for dominance for men and fear of sexual coercion for women (Navarrete et al., 2010). Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argues that people, in order to achieve or maintain a positive social identity, have less positive negative attitudes towards out-groups compared to their in-group and when out-groups differ on two categories rather than only one, both categories may be used to identify with and to differentiate out-groups from the in-group (Brown & Turner, 1979). Studies on cross-categorization effects (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007) confirmed that double out-group members (i.e. other gender and religion) are evaluated more negatively than single out-group members (i.e. same gender and other religion). In other words, Dutch women, compared to Dutch men, may be more positive towards Muslim women due to the shared gender category, whereas Dutch men may be more positive towards Muslim men compared to Dutch women. However, given the underlying competing motives (such as aggression and striving for dominance) with respect to attitudes and behavior towards outgroup males, we assume that the shared gender category does not imply a strong common identification in the case of men. If we apply these general theoretical notions to the case of Muslim outgroups from a Dutch native perspective, we expect that attitudes towards Muslim women are more positive among Dutch women than among Dutch men (Hypothesis 2). Furthermore, we will explore whether attitudes towards Muslim men differ between Dutch women and Dutch men.

In addition, we will examine gender differences on a behavioral measurement by focusing on reactions of real life employers towards internship job applications of (fictitious) Muslim female and male students. On basis of the outgroup male target hypothesis (Navarrete et al., 2010), we expect that the underlying motives for more negative attitudes towards male outgroup members, such as the fear of domination, may also result in relatively more negative behavior towards male outgroup members such as discrimination, compared to female outgroup members. Some previous studies on discrimination on the labour market in the Netherlands indicated that female applicants from an ethnic minority group are more likely to be invited for a job interview than male applicants (e.g. Andriessen

et al., 2010). We will examine whether this also holds for a group of youngster who apply for an internship, for their intermediate level of vocational education. In sum, we expect that Muslim men are more discriminated compared to Muslim women (Hypothesis 3).

### Method and results

Various data sets will be used in this chapter. Most of the data sets have already been used by scholars resulting in various publications on prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims in the Netherlands. The part of the data measuring prejudice and discrimination towards male and female Muslims has not received much attention yet.

*Prejudice towards Muslim women and men*
Study 1 was part of a survey collected among adolescents from several secondary schools by several social science students, supervised by Verkuyten and Poppe, in 2006. The questionnaire addressed various societal topics including attitudes towards Muslim immigrants living in the Netherlands (see for more details of methods, Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008). In total 379 adolescents participated, all indicated that they considered themselves Dutch on an open question about their ethnic origin, and the age ranged from 13 to 17 years ($M$=14.81, $SD$=.85) among which 201 (53%) were females. Prejudice towards Muslim men and Muslim women were assessed by means of the well-known 'feeling thermometer' (Abelson et al., 1982). The wording of the instruction was: "Use the 'feeling-thermometer' to indicate whether you have positive or negative feelings about Muslims living in the Netherlands. You may mark any degree between 0 and 100. Fifty degrees represents neutral feelings. Markings above 50 degrees indicate positive or warm feelings, and markings below 50 degrees indicate cold or negative feelings". The feeling thermometer is a reliable and valid (Alwin, 1997) global measure of out-group attitudes which has been frequently used in studies in which multiple social groups are compared (see e.g., Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010).

The data analysis of Study 1 showed various gender differences in prejudice towards Muslim men and Muslim women. Multivariate within-subject analysis of variance showed a significant main effect of gender of target: feelings towards Muslim men were more negative ($M$=33.19; $SD$=21.43) than feelings towards Muslim women ($M$=48.18; $SD$=21.43). As the interaction effect of gender of target and gender of participant was also significant (see notes in Table 1 for details of results of analysis), follow up tests were conducted to examine whether the gender of target effect is significant for the Dutch male participant group and for

the Dutch female group. The so-called simple effect analysis revealed that both participant groups had more negative feelings towards Muslim men than towards Muslim women, and that this difference in gender of target was particularly strong for Dutch women. These findings are in line with Hypothesis 1.

The findings from univariate analyses of variance showed that the feelings towards Muslim women were generally less negative among female Dutch participants compared to male Dutch participants, in line with Hypothesis 2. Furthermore, the relatively more negative feelings towards Muslim men did not differ between Dutch male and female participants.

**Table 1:** Feelings towards Muslim women and men

| Gender target group | Gender participant group | | | | |
| | Dutch women | | Dutch men | | |
| | $M$ | $(SD)$ | $M$ | $(SD)$ | $F$-value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim women | 50.92 | (19.78) | 45.08 | (21.76) | 8.11** |
| Muslim men | 31.69 | (21.87) | 34.89 | (20.86) | 1.62 |

*Note*. Values range between 0 and 100; a higher score indicates more positive feelings. $N$ (Study 1)=382 ($N$ women=202; $N$ men=180); * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$. Analysis of variance: Main effect gender target: $F(1, 380)=251.51***$. Interaction effect gender target x gender participant: $F(1,380)=23.67***$. Simple main effects: Dutch females: $F(1,380)=228.68***$; Dutch men: $F(1,380)=56.94***$.

Study 2 was part of a survey among adolescents in secondary schools in 2013. The participants attended the highest level of secondary school in 2 cities in the middle of the Netherlands. Participants who indicated that they did not consider themselves to be Dutch ($N$=10) were excluded from analyses. The remaining number of participants was 122: 62 Dutch adolescent girls and 60 Dutch adolescent boys. Age ranged from 15 till 18 years ($M$=16.07; $SD$=.47). Prejudice towards Muslim women and Muslim men was measured by the feeling thermometer, similar to Study 1.

The data analysis of Study 2 indicated that the feelings towards Muslim men were more negative ($M$=43.19; $SD$=18.76) than the feelings towards Muslim women ($M$=50.49; $SD$=17.53), in line with Hypothesis 1. The findings from univariate analyses showed that the feelings towards Muslim women were less negative among Dutch women compared to Dutch men (see Table 2), in line with Hypothesis 2. The more or less negative feelings towards Muslim men did not differ between Dutch women and men.

**Table 2:** Feelings towards Muslim women and men among Dutch women and men

| Gender target group | Gender participant group | | | | |
| | Dutch women | | Dutch men | | |
| | M | (SD) | M | (SD) | F-value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim women | 54.48 | (19.78) | 46.00 | (21.76) | 8.22** |
| Muslim men | 45.48 | (17.05) | 40.83 | (20.27) | 1.88 |

*Note.* Values range between 0 and 100; a higher score indicates more positive feelings. *N* (Study 2)=122 (*N* women=62; *N* men=60); * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$. Analysis of variance: main effect gender target: $F(1, 120)=27.88^{***}$. Interaction effect gender target x gender participant: $F(1,120)=2.32$; $p>.05$.

*Social distance towards Muslim women and Muslim men*
Social distance towards Muslim women and Muslim men was measured in Study 3 collected by 2 students at the department of Interdisciplinary Social Science at Utrecht University for their bachelor theses (den Bakker, 2020; Nikkessen, 2020). Fellow students and friends were approached via social media platforms (i.e. Facebook and WhatsApp) and invited to fill in an online survey about attitudes towards certain groups in the Netherlands if they were Dutch and between 18 and 30 years of age. In total, 163 people participated: 114 young female and 49 male participants. The average age of the participants was 21.60 (*SD*=1.84). The majority of the participants indicated to be students (74.4%) and were highly educated (97.3%). Prejudice was measured by the so-called social distance measurement based on the original social distance scale from Bogardus (1924). The question wording was adapted to suit the living situation of people between 18-30 years: suppose you live in a house with fellow people and the room next to you becomes available. How would you like it to live together in a house with a Muslim man? A similar question followed with respect to living together in a house with a Muslim woman. The answers given on a five-point scale ranging from (1) *very negative* to (5) *very positive* were recoded in a reverse score in line with social distance: a higher score means more social distance.

The data analysis revealed that Dutch women indicated to maintain more distance towards Muslim men than towards Muslim women; Dutch men did not differ in social distance towards Muslim men and women (see Table 3 for details of results of analysis). The finding of Dutch women is in line with Hypothesis 1.

Subsequently, the findings from the univariate analysis showed that the relatively negative feelings towards Muslim men did not differ between male and female Dutch participants, whereas the feelings towards Muslim women were generally less negative among female Dutch participants compared to male Dutch participants (see Table 3). This latter finding supports Hypothesis 2.

**Table 3:** Social distance towards Muslim men and Muslim women

| Gender target group | Gender participant group | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Dutch women | | Dutch men | | |
| | *M* | (*SD*) | *M* | (*SD*) | *F*-value |
| Muslim women | 2.32 | (.95) | 2.96 | (.84) | 14.19*** |
| Muslim men | 2.71 | (1.05) | 3.02 | (.88) | 3.29 |

*Note. N* (Study 3)=163 (*N* women =114; *N* men=49). The values range from 1 (*very negative*) to 5 (*very positive*). Value range is from 1 to 5, higher values means more social distance. * *p*<.05; ** *p*<.01; *** *p*<.001. Analysis of variance: main effect of gender target: $F(1, 161)=16.86^{***}$; Interaction gender target x gender participant: $F(1,161)=9.02^{**}$. Simple main effects analysis: Dutch women: $F(1,161)=42.02^{***}$; Dutch men: $F(1,161)=.043$ $p>.05$.

### Willingness for contact with Muslim women and Muslim men

The gender differences in the more general measures of prejudice in terms of (negative) feelings and social distance towards outgroups may also hold for conative intergroup attitudes such as willingness for positive intergroup contact. A first measurement of willingness for intergroup contact in Study 3 was adapted from previous studies (Awale et al., 2018; Esses & Dovidio, 2002). Before answering questions about their willingness to have contact, participants read about the following situation: "Mohammed and his wife Fatima have recently moved into your neighborhood. They have two young children and are both Muslims. Mohammed works at the municipality, Fatima takes care of the children". Subsequently, participants were asked 6 questions on their willingness to have contact with Mohammed, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not willing*) to 7 (*completely willing*) and thereafter the same 6 questions with respect to Fatima. For example, to what extent would you be inclined to….'greet Mohammed as a neighbor', 'become good friends with Mohammed'. Cronbach's alpha for willingness to have contact with Muslim men (i.e. Mohammed) was .907 and with Muslim women (i.e. Fatima) .902, indicating that the items were internally consistent. The mean sum scores for the scales willingness for contact with Muslim men and women were calculated by summing up the six items and dividing it by the amount of items. A higher score indicated a higher level of willingness for intergroup contact with Muslim men and/or women.

Multivariate analysis of variance indicated that the willingness to have contact with Muslim men (*M*=5.21; *SD*=1.11) was not significantly lower than towards Muslim women (*M*=5.31; *SD*=1.04). This finding is not in line with Hypothesis 1. Subsequently, the findings from the univariate analysis showed that the willingness to have contact with Muslim men did not differ between male and female Dutch participants, whereas the willingness to have contact with Muslim

women was higher among female Dutch participants compared to male Dutch participants (see Table 4). This latter finding supports Hypothesis 2.

**Table 4:** Willingness to have contact with Muslim women and Muslim men

| | Gender participant group | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dutch women | | Dutch men | | |
| Gender target group | M | (SD) | M | (SD) | F-value |
| Muslim women | 5.43 | (1.03) | 5.05 | (1.02) | 4.66* |
| Muslim men | 5.23 | (1.13) | 5.14 | (1.07) | .28 |

*Note.* N (Study 3)=163 (*N* men =49; *N* women=114). The values range is from 1 to 7, higher values means more willingness to have contact. * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$. Analysis of variance: main effect gender target: $F(1, 161)=2.03$, $p>.05$); Interaction gender target x gender participant: $F(1,161)=14.96$, $p<.001$). Simple main effects analysis: Dutch women: $F(1,161)=23.29$***; Dutch men: $F(1,161)=2.13$, $p>.05$.

Finally, participants in Study 3 indicated their willingness to work or study together with a Muslim man and Muslim woman on a five-point scale ranging from (1) *very negative* to (5) *very positive*.

Multivariate analysis of variance indicated that the willingness to work or study together with Muslim men (*M*=3.66; *SD*=1.05) is lower than towards Muslim women (*M*=3.79; *SD*=.97), in line with Hypothesis 1. Subsequently, the findings from the univariate analysis showed that the relatively lower willingness to work with Muslim men did not differ between male and female Dutch participants, whereas the willingness to work with Muslim women was higher among female Dutch participants compared to male Dutch participants (see Table 5). This latter finding supports Hypothesis 2.

**Table 5:** Willingness to work together with Muslim women and Muslim men

| | Gender participant group | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dutch women | | Dutch men | | |
| Gender target group | M | (SD) | M | (SD) | F-value |
| Muslim women | 3.91 | (.84) | 3.49 | (.79) | 6.12** |
| Muslim men | 3.73 | (.87) | 3.49 | (.82) | 1.95 |

*Note.* N (Study 3)=163 (*N* women =114; *N* men=49). The values range from 1 (*very negative*) to 5 (*very positive*), higher values means more willingness to work together. * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$. Analysis of variance: main effect: gender target: $F(1, 161)=5.04$*; Interaction gender target x gender participant: $F(1,161)=5.04$*). Simple main effects analysis: Dutch women: $F(1,161)=16.77$***; Dutch men: $F(1,161)=.00$; $p>.05$.

*Discrimination of Muslim men and Muslim women in applying for an internship*
Discrimination towards young Muslim men and women was measured in Study 4 by means of a correspondence test, a form of a field experiment (Andriessen et al., 2021). Discrimination was assessed by means of reactions of employers to 144 matched pairs of fictitious resume applications for an internship for students at intermediate level of vocational education in sectors such as IT, health and wellbeing, construction and technology and business services. The pairs of resume applications were similar in level of education, age and work-related skills, but different in terms of gender (male vs female) and ethnic/religious background (Muslim vs native Dutch). Both variables were manipulated via the names of the fictitious students: Kevin van Loon (Dutch male), Wendy de Koning (Dutch female) Yusuf zcan (Muslim men) and Samira Tahiri (Muslim women). In addition, religious background was manipulated via descriptive part in the application resume: volunteer work in a mosque such as helping with Quran-lessons and helping to organize at Iftar meals (for the Muslim applicants) or in a religiously neutral setting (for the Dutch control group) such as organizing a tournament in a sports club or helping with homework in a community centre. Furthermore, all the resume applications mentioned that the student was born in the Netherlands and had completed all previous education in Dutch schools (see for more details (Andriessen et al., 2021). Reactions of employers were assessed by collecting the written responses to personal email accounts of the fictitious students and by call-backs to voicemail boxes connected to mobile telephone numbers) and coding them as a positive reaction (i.e. invitation for an interview, request to send more information, request to contact the company at a later time, any attempt to get into contact with the student) or a negative one (i.e. rejection or no reaction). The coding corresponds to previous studies (e.g., Pager, 2007) in which the positive reactions are labelled as call-backs.

Most of the positive reactions in Study 4 concerned invitations for an interview (>80%), while most of the negative reactions concerned rejections (60%). The majority of all the 286 reactions of employers were negative (67%), on applications of fictitious Muslim students (67%) as well as on applications of native Dutch students (67%). Hence, this finding indicates that Muslim and native Dutch students have generally equal chances to be invited for an internship. Table 6 presents the findings on positive reactions (call-backs) by including gender of the fictitious applicants. The findings showed that employers reacted positively in about 39% of the applications of Muslim women, which is similar to the call-back rate for native Dutch women, and in about 23% of the applications for Muslim men, which does not differ from the call-back rate of 27% for Dutch men (see Table 6 for more details of the analysis). In other words, the findings

indicated that the chances of a positive reaction did not differ between Muslim and native Dutch students. It does matter, however, whether the application concerned a male or female student: female students had a significant higher chance of getting a positive reaction than male students, and this was the case for Muslim and native Dutch students. In sum, the finding suggests that being a Muslim or native Dutch does not matter as a selection criteria for internships for employers, it is gender of the applicant that matters.

**Table 6:** Estimated probability of getting a positive reaction Muslim and native Dutch male and female students

|  | Religious/ethnic background | | | |
|  | Muslim | | Native Dutch | |
| Gender | *EP* | (*SD*) | *EP* | (*SD*) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Female | 3.91 | (.84) | 3.49 | (.79) |
| Male | 3.73 | (.87) | 3.49 | (.82) |

*Note. N* (Study 4)=286, (*N* Muslim=143, *N* native Dutch=143). Logistic regression analysis: main effect gender: $b$=-2.24 (*SE*=1.06), $p$<.05.; main effect of ethnic/religious background: $b$=.07 (*SE*=.80), $p$>.05. interaction effect ethnic/religious background x gender: $b$=0.63, $p$>.05. Several control variables were included such as distance in kilometers from the student's home address to the internship location, company size, sector.

## Discussion

The present study examined gender differences in prejudice towards Muslims among Dutch youngsters and discrimination towards young Muslim men and women among employers in the Netherlands. The findings showed gender differences on various measurements of intergroup relations. Firstly, prejudice and discrimination were generally larger towards Muslim men compared to Muslim women. Dutch youngsters in 3 studies, collected in 2006, 2013 and 2020, had relatively more negative attitudes towards Muslim men in terms of general feelings, preferred to maintain more social distance and indicated to be less willing to work together with Muslim men. There was no gender difference on one measure of intergroup relations: the willingness to have contact with Muslim men did not differ from the willingness to have contact with Muslim women. This measurement, however, refers more to an interpersonal context namely of a neighboring family on which the willingness to have contact did not appear to differ with respect to the husband and his wife. Furthermore, the findings of the field experiment indicated that Muslim men were more discriminated compared to Muslim women in applying for and internship. However, a similar gender difference appeared to be the case for a Dutch control group. Hence, it was gender that mattered in call-

backs for internships, in a similar way for Muslims and native Dutch applicants. However, the sample size was rather small, and it might be that the difference between call-backs for young Muslim men (about 23%) and young Dutch men (about 27%) is significant in a larger sample of companies, or that the recruiter(s) involved in the selection procedure were mainly female. Future studies may involve a larger sample and include gender and ethnicity of the recruiter(s) involved in the selection procedure in order to test the interaction effect of gender of target and recruiter in understanding discrimination of Muslims male and female students.

Second, the findings indicated that the relatively more negative attitudes towards Muslim men did not differ between native Dutch men and women, whereas prejudice towards Muslim women was lower among Dutch women compared to Dutch men. Hence, the female participants in our studies had, compared to male participants, more warm feelings towards Muslim women, preferred to maintain less social distance and were more willing to have contact and work together with Muslim women. The findings on intergroup attitudes show the importance of attending to gender of both target and participants in studies on prejudice towards particular ethnic or religious outgroups such as Muslims in the Netherlands. Acknowledging the limitations of the present study, we argue that the present study opens up an avenue for future studies on prejudice and discrimination towards ethnic or religious groups.

Future studies may examine whether these gender effects can be generalized to other target groups, participant groups, and across different measurements of prejudice and of discrimination in labor market or other sectors such as housing, education or leisure activities such as invitations for night clubs. For instance, studies may focus on different target groups and examine whether the differences between male and female members of target group apply to other religious out-groups with traditional or patriarchal norms and values (e.g., certain Christian groups) or are more universal in line with the "outgroup male target hypothesis" (Navarrete et al., 2010). Furthermore, future studies may be conducted among different participant groups than the adolescents and young adults of our study for whom gender roles and norms might be particular salient (see e.g., Horn, 2007; Pleck et al., 1994) and for whom attitudes towards outgroups such as religious outgroups and same-sex and other-sex groups develop (Poteat et al., 2007). Finally, future studies may use different evaluative measurements than the affective thermometer feeling in our study. For instance, by distinguishing evaluative content dimensions such as competence and warmth or morality (see e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Phalet & Poppe, 1998) which are seen as the basic dimensions in the intergroup literature, or hostile and benevolent forms as commonly used in the sexism literature (see e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996).

The differences in prejudice and discrimination towards Muslim men and women calls into question whether the overall group of Muslims can be considered as a psychological meaningful group (cf. Clausell & Fiske, 2005). Our findings warrant that future studies on religious or ethnic out-groups should focus on attitudes and discrimination towards both gender subgroups, instead of focusing on Muslims in general. For instance, survey studies measuring attitudes towards immigrant groups (e.g., European Social Survey, European Value Studies) may include separate questions about males and females of a particular ethnic or national group.

In order to examine explanations of prejudice towards each gender subgroup of a particular ethnic or religious group, theoretical insights from the fields of gender studies and intergroup relations should be integrated. For instance, it could be interesting to examine whether the explanatory variables derived from social role theory of prejudice and social dominance theory have similar effects on prejudice towards each gender subgroup of a particular ethnic or religious group. Furthermore, it may be investigated whether other intergroup relations explanations of prejudice towards Muslims such as symbolic threat, national identification and intergroup contact (see e.g. Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008), are similar in predicting prejudice towards Muslim men and Muslim women. Moreover, future studies may focus on the intersectionality of social identifications (Cole, 2009; Frable, 1997) by including social identification with the gender category in addition to ethnic or national or religious category and may experimentally manipulate salience of one of these social identifications (see e.g., Huang & Liu, 2005) in order to examine its effect on prejudice towards male and females of a particular ethnic, religious or national out-group.

Finally, scholars may examine in a longitudinal way whether certain consequences of (perceived) prejudice and discrimination will be different for Muslim men and women. These studies could focus on health outcomes (Paradies et al., 2015; Williams & Mohammed, 2009), well-being (Pascoe & Richman, 2009), social ties (Andriessen et al., 2020) and trust in institution such as justice, police and politics (Andriessen et al., 2020). Based on our findings it might be suggested that Muslim men in particular are more likely to develop more health problems, lower well-being, less ties with natives and lower trust in national institution in the Netherlands.

In sum, the findings of the present study have important implications for the field of inter-ethnic relations. Scholars should pay more attention to gender in prejudice and discrimination towards ethnic or religious out-groups by focusing on gender of target group and of participants.

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# Teaching children about prejudice and discrimination: Recommendations based on Self-Determination Theory

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## Introduction

The Dutch Volkskrant Magazine has a section called "What would you do?" in which readers can ask other readers for practical advice about social matters. The question in issue 1052 (November 6, 2021) came from a mother with a 12-year-old daughter ("born to two white parents") who would love to have African American hairstyles like cornrows and box braids just like her friend ("a girl with Surinamese roots"). The mother was in doubt whether she should explain to her daughter that it was inappropriate for white persons to wear those hairstyles, as this would be a form of cultural appropriation. On the one hand, she found it important to do so, but on the other hand, she did not want to create group divisions as her daughter did not make such distinctions herself. The reactions to this dilemma were quite diverse. One reader (a known social scientist) stated that the mother should definitely teach her daughter about cultural appropriation and its painful history, as this could explain why some people have problems with white persons wearing cornbraids. Yet, another reader suggested that the mother should freely encourage her daughter's decision to have a black hairstyle. That reader made the point that the girl's spontaneous interest in this hairstyle should be welcomed, precisely because Dutch people of color (among whom she counted herself) had been forced to assimilate to the culture of "the colonial motherland".

Our current multiethnic societies are heavily polarized when it comes to matters of immigration and cultural diversity (Albada et al., 2021), but as indicated by the

above mentioned example, disagreement can also exist among those who are concerned and worried about prejudice and discrimination. Many social scientists are explicitly committed to preventing and combatting social injustices, and various (education-based) initiatives and intervention attempts have been suggested and examined promote positive intergroup relations in children. However, disagreements such as those illustrated above raise the important question of what children should be taught about ethnic prejudice and discrimination. In the present chapter, I address this question from the perspective of Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). I will focus on children in preadolescence (age 7-13) which is an important period for the promotion of positive intergroup relations: Group attitudes are increasingly dependent on social contexts then (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), and no longer affected by cognitive limitations (Aboud, 1988).

My starting point is that it is important to teach children about prejudice and discrimination, given the wide-spread evidence for the harmful effects of these phenomena (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2014) and the need to acknowledge past and current wrong-doings and their contributions to current inequalities (e.g., Ramos et al., 2021). Yet, I also maintain that these teachings need to promote a consensual, "objective" understanding, which might be more contestable given disagreements about the possibility and even the desirability of universal social knowledge (see Pluckrose & Lindsay, 2020). Rather than stirring up these disagreements, I take a practical perspective by discussing what might or might not "work". I will not give a systematic overview of the effectiveness of available programs or diversity teachings, because such overviews do already exist in the literature (see e.g., Beelmann & Lutterbach, 2021), and also because it is not always clear what the programs or teachings involved communicate about prejudice and discrimination.[1] Instead, I will use SDT to make theoretically informed recommendations for such communications. Before presenting those recommendations, I will introduce and explain Self-Determination Theory, address some debates around prejudice and discrimination, and discuss children's knowledge and perceptions of these problems.

### Self-Determination Theory

Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000) is a theory about human motivation and well-being that is widely used in psychology.

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[1]    Another reason is that research evidence for particular interventions does not guarantee their effectiveness in practice (see Biesta, 2007). They may be more effective, for example, for children of parents who provide informed consent for participating in a study on prejudice reduction rather than of parents who refuse this.

It is particularly well suited to the study of intergroup relations – as I will explain later – although it has only to a limited extent been applied in that domain. Motivation involves the question of what moves people, and SDT addresses this quetion by proposing a particular structure of more versus less productive forms of motivation, and by specifying the conditions that promote or impede those forms.

**Structure of motivation.** A traditional assumption in motivational psychology is that people are either intrinsically or extrinsically motivated to do the things they do (Lepper et al., 2005). When intrinsically motivated, they do things because they find them inherently interesting and pleasurable. This intrinsic valuing is considered to be a strong and reliable motivational force. When people are extrinsically motivated for a particular activity, they want to use it as a means to obtain valuable outcomes. Because the reason for performing the activity lies outside that activity itself, extrinsic motivation is generally considered as less effective than its intrinsic counterpart.

SDT challenges the traditional dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in two ways. First, it states that rather than being either intrinsically or extrinsically motivated, people can also be not motivated at all. This is important because earlier research has measured intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on a bipolar scale, which makes it impossible to distinguish a mixture of both from the absence of motivation (see, Lepper et al., 2005). This absence is referred to as *amotivation* in SDT.

Second, SDT stresses that intrinsic motivation is not always possible or realistic (not all tasks and activities are inherently interesting) and challenges the notion that extrinsic motivation is generally ineffective. It proposes four different forms of extrinsic motivation that can be placed on a continuum of self-determination between *amotivation* (least self-determined) and *intrinsic motivation* (most self-determined). These forms are all extrinsic in the sense that the activity concerned is seen as a means to an end. However, they differ in the degree to which the value and the regulation of the activity are internalized, that is to say the extent to which people find it personally important and experience it as originating from within. In case of *external regulation*, the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, behaviors are performed to comply with external demands (e.g., to obtain rewards or to avoid punishments). With *introjected regulation*, the second-least self-determined form, people do things for ego-involved reasons (e.g., to feel proud or to avoid guilt) which imply some internalization of external demands, but still indicate that motivation is controlled rather than free. On the higher end of the self-determination continuum lie *identified regulation* and *integrated regulation*. These forms involve obtaining separable outcomes that

are, respectively, personally important, and integrated with the self-concept (i.e., self-defining and fully self-chosen). SDT assumes that self-determined motivation comes natural to people, and that the experience of it is conducive to their well-being (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

**Conditions for self-determined motivation.** According to SDT, the experience of self-determined motivation depends on the satisfaction of three fundamental psychological needs: the need for competence, the need for relatedness, and the need for autonomy. When these needs are satisfied, intrinsic motivation is fostered, the less self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation (extrinsic and introjected regulation) are internalized or integrated with the self, and amotivation is diminished (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

The need for competence involves the experience of effectiveness and mastery (Vansteenkiste et al., 2020). People feel competent when they succeed at tasks that are optimally challenging (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Relatedness involves people's sense of belonging and their experience of being securely connected to their social environment. When they experience this connection they are more likely to follow their interests and adopt the standards of others. (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Autonomy refers to the experience of volition and willingness (Vansteenkiste et al., 2020). This third need might seem redundant as self-determination is often described as relative autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Yet acknowledging this need is important as the ways of supporting it are unique. Whereas competence and relatedness can be promoted, respectively, by providing structure (via clarity, guidance, and encouragement), and showing involvement (via affection, attunement, dedicating resources, and being dependable), autonomy can be supported by providing choice, fostering relevance, and showing respect (Stroet et al., 2013).

### SDT applied to prejudice and discrimination

Few researchers (e.g., Legault et al., 2007) have applied SDT to the study of prejudice and discrimination and the attempts to counter those problems, yet it provides a promising framework for doing so. As Devine (1989) argued in her seminal paper about the automatic and controlled components of stereotypes and prejudice, it takes (at least some) effort to be non-prejudiced. This effort requires motivation, and such motivation can be quite diverse: It can involve internalized or self-defining concerns with justice and fairness (integrated or identified regulation) but also fears of being a bad person (introjected regulation) or being branded a racist (external regulation). SDT accommodates these different concerns and explains their antecedents and consequences. As such, it offers clues on how to prevent motivationally counterproductive effects of attempts to

address negative intergroup relations. Moreover, SDT claims that the needs for competence, relatedness, and autonomy, and the effects of their fulfillment are universal (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Vansteenkiste et al., 2020). The idea that there are common motivational underpinnings of non-prejudiced behavior aligns well with the idea that prejudice and discrimination are common human problems, a notion I will address later in this chapter.

**Motivations to be non-prejudiced.** More than two decades ago, Plant and Devine (1998) developed an instrument to measure people's motivations to control prejudice that has been used in various studies. This instrument contains a subscale for internal motivation that refers to internalized beliefs about the value of equality and the non-acceptability of prejudice (e.g., "Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong"), and a subscale for external motivation that entails concerns with possible rejection and disapproval by others should one express prejudice (e.g., "I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others"). Although these authors did not use the SDT framework, their work and the studies that used their measure are in line with its key propositions. Whereas their internal motivation to control prejudice scale appears to capture the most self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation (identified and integrated regulation), their external scale involves its least self-determined form (external regulation). And whereas their internal motivation scale has been consistently associated with less prejudice in both private and public situations and less implicit bias, their external motivation scale has been related to more positive outgroup attitudes in public situations but also to more private prejudice, more implicit bias and more intergroup anxiety (for reviews, see Butz & Plant, 2009; Jargon & Thijs, 2021).

Legault and colleagues (2007) were the first to explicitly apply SDT to the study of prejudice and intergroup relations. They developed the Motivation to be Nonprejudiced Scale (MNPS) which contains reliable subscales for intrinsic motivation, amotivation, and each of the four extrinsic motivation types. Consistent with the theory, they found that only the more self-determined motivations (intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, and identified regulation) were associated with less prejudice, whereas external regulation and amotivation were related to more prejudice (Legault et al., 2007; see also, Legault, Green-Demers & Eadie, 2009).

Arguably, the exact taxonomy of SDT is rather complex for preadolescents. In fact, the six-factor structure of the MNPS seems too refined even for older youth (14-to-18-year-olds), who have been found to "merely" distinguish between strongly self-determined motivation (identified regulation, integrated regulation,

and intrinsic motivation), weakly self-determined motivations (external regulation, and introjected regulation), and amotivation (Thijs et al., 2016). Still, the distinction between internal and external motivation is meaningful to children.

Hughes et al. (2016) adapted Plant and Devine's (1989) measure and used it in two interview studies with 7-to-12-year-olds. They found that the internal and external scales had adequate psychometric properties, and that the former was associated more positive ethnic outgroup attitudes, less ethnic bias and less interethnic anxiety, and the latter with less ethnic bias but also with more interethnic anxiety. Another study among preadolescents (age 7-13) used a newly developed instrument for children's anti-prejudice motivations (Jargon & Thijs, 2021). This measure consisted of an internal and an external scale as well. However, it was administered in an anonymous survey, and in line with SDT, the internal scale did not only assess children's internalized notions of fairness and equality, but also their desire to know and interact with outgroup others. Results showed that the relation with children's outgroup attitudes was strong and positive for their internal motivation, and weak yet negative for their external motivation.

Obviously, more research with these kinds of measures is needed to fully grasp the relevance of anti-prejudice motivations for children's intergroup relations. Yet, the evidence so far indicates that is important that children want to be nonprejudiced for the "right reasons". Anti-prejudice motivations appear to be considerably more effective at regulating prejudice when self-determined rather than controlled, and in the latter case they may even have negative consequences.

### Debates about prejudice and discrimination

It might seem not too difficult to teach children about prejudice and discrimination as they appear to be relatively unambiguous concepts. The former is typically considered as a negative and irrational feeling toward members of particular groups, and the latter as unjustified unequal group-based treatment (Chryssochoou, 2004). Moreover, there is (still) considerable agreement that both prejudice and discrimination are morally wrong and socially unacceptable (see e.g., Newman et al., 2021). Still, there is debate about when prejudice and discrimination play a role. There are at least two reasons for this.

The first is that prejudice and discrimination can come in disguised forms. Due to the strong negative connotations of both concepts, people are inclined to hide their biased attitudes. Moreover, people are not always aware of their discriminatory behaviors and the origins of those. Researchers have approached this problem by focusing on subtle forms of prejudice (see Chryssochou

2004) or discrimination (e.g., racial micro-aggressions; Sue et al., 2007) and by using implicit attitude measures to predict biased behavior (Gawronski, 2019). Those approaches have found their way to the general public and added to the understanding of the persistence and pervasiveness of prejudice and discrimination. Yet, at the same time they have spurred disagreement. There have been disputes, for example, as to whether subtle prejudice, which involves elements like overstating cultural differences and defending traditional values, really is prejudice (see, Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), and about the degree to which implicit prejudice measures capture prejudice rather than automatic knowledge about stereotypes (Arkes & Tetlock, 2004).

A second and related reason for debate is that ethnic prejudice and discrimination are often connected to racism, which is conceived of as a form of individual prejudice but also as a systemic phenomenon (Salter et al., 2018). In the latter capacity, racism had been defined as "a system of power entwined with practices and beliefs that produce and maintain an ethnic and racial hierarchy" and described as "one-way street in which the role of the perpetrator is associated with those at the top of the ethnic and racial hierarchy, who are in positions of power and privilege". Some authors, like Fish and Syed, have claimed that prejudice and discrimination can only be truly understood by taking racism into account, and this could suggest that these problems exclusively involve majority group perpetrators and minority victims. Yet although it is clear that its predominantly minorities who suffer from discrimination (see e.g., Andriesen et al., 2020) majorities can do so too, at least in theory, despite the fact that notions of "reverse racism" are highly contested and used to maintain privileged positions (see Nelson et al., 2018; Okuyan & Vollhardt, 2022).

### Children's knowledge and perceptions

The aforementioned debates raise questions about what preadolescent children should be taught about prejudice and discrimination. Before addressing these questions from the perspective of SDT, I will discuss research that has examined children's knowledge and perceptions of these problems. Most of it has focused on discrimination.

**Discrimination understandings and stereotype awareness.** Twenty-five years ago, Verkuyten and colleagues (1997) published a pioneering study in which they examined whether and how 10-13 years-olds in the Netherlands understood the term discrimination. The large majority (92%) of their respondents indicated to know the meaning of the term. The prototypical example of discrimination given by the children was a situation where an ethnic majority child called an

ethnic minority peer names without a valid reason, and participant's own ethnic background had little effect on their understandings. The findings of this study show that children conceive of discrimination as an interpersonal rather than a structural phenomenon yet also demonstrate an awareness of power and status differences in society at large. They also suggest that children's understandings of discrimination reflect shared social representations that are relatively independent of the groups (minority or majority) they belong to.

Still, the term discrimination itself seemed to be rather abstract for the participants: Substantial numbers of participants considered intragroup situations (e.g., a native Dutch child calling another native Dutch child names) discriminatory – where group-based discrimination is highly unlikely –, and more ethnic minority than ethnic majority children were unfamiliar with the concept (Verkuyten et al., 1997). Yet, even though they may not always know discrimination as a term, children are clearly aware of its problematic nature. Research has shown that children generally condemn excluding others merely because of the groups they belong to. For instance, children regard race-based exclusion as wrong when directly asked about this (Killen et al., 2010; Ruck et al., 2011), and children who assume that the exclusion of ethnic others is group-based are more likely to reject it (Thijs, 2017). In addition to this, children reject the exclusion of outgroup others when it appears to be based on group membership only (Killen & Stangor, 2001). Whereas this rejection of group-based exclusion is present in all children, it is sometimes stronger among minority groups, possibly due to their own experiences with discrimination (see Cooley et al., 2019).

During late childhood children also increase their understanding of the cognitive underpinnings of prejudice and discrimination. One study found that children became more aware of negative societal stereotypes about stigmatized groups and that this awareness was stronger for minority children, presumably because these stereotypes have more relevance for their daily lives (McKown & Weinstein, 2003). However, another study did not find majority minority differences in stereotype awareness, and found it to be unrelated to their personal experiences with discrimination (McKnown & Strambler, 2009; see also Copping et al., 2013).

**Recognizing discrimination.** Rejecting discrimination is different from deciding that it takes place. The exclusion of outgroup others is not necessarily group-*based*, because it could be due to interpersonal factors unrelated to group membership, for example, a lack of shared interests. Recognizing discrimination can be hard, as it is not always clear what others think and believe, and perpetrators of discrimination may be motivated to hide their prejudices. Situations of intergroup exclusion can be attributionally ambiguous, and children's perceptions of discrimination depend on cognitive, situational,

and individual factors (Brown & Bigler, 2005). The cognitive factors include abilities that are generally acquired before preadolescence and therefore not further discussed here (such as understanding that people's actions do not always match their beliefs), but also their awareness of stereotypes. Children who have this awareness are more likely to interpret situations as discriminatory (McKnown & Strambler, 2009).

The situational factors include contextual characteristics that influence the likelihood that behavior is perceived as discriminatory. One potentially relevant characteristic is the combination of group identities of the persons concerned. Paralleling findings obtained among adults (O'Brien et al., 2008), both Verkuyten et al. (1997) and McKown and Strambler (2009) found that children were most likely to judge hypothetical scenarios as discriminatory if those involved ethnic majority perpetrators and ethnic minority victims. This is not surprising as minority group members are considerably more often victims of discrimination than majority group members (Andriesen et al., 2020) Related to this, children appear to be aware of institutional discrimination and the fact that this affects some groups more than others. Elenbaas and Killen (2017) used a vignette study to examine children's reactions to resource-based inequalities between institutions (schools and hospitals) that either served African American or European-American children. Children were more likely to attribute these inequalities to differential treatment when African Americans were disadvantaged than when European Americans were disadvantaged. Moreover, children who made differential treatment attributions were also more likely to regard the inequality as unacceptable (Elenbaas & Killen, 2017).

Another contextual characteristic factor is the situational relevance of the stereotype (Brown & Bigler, 2005). For example, stereotypes about academic ability are more likely to explain discrimination by teachers than stereotypes about athletic ability. Importantly, however, stereotypes can also be used to justify outgroup exclusion if children personally endorse them. Thus children may condone the exclusion of an outgroup peers by referring to assumptions about their groups (e.g., "a Black student likes different music", Killen, 2007). Technically, they wouldn't see the exclusion as discrimination (*unjustified* group-based) in that case.

A potentially relevant individual factor is children's membership in (non) stigmatized groups (Brown & Bigler, 2005). There is evidence that minority children perceive more discrimination than majority children (e.g., Rashighi & Harris, 2017; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). These perceptions are group-specific in the sense that they involve discrimination of the self or one's ingroup members, but whether minority children and majority children perceive the same situations

as discriminatory is a different question. One study among adults found that minority group members were more likely than majority group members to evaluate prototypical situations (with majority perpetrators and minority victims) as discriminatory (Simon et al., 2013), but research among preadolescent children did not replicate this pattern (McKown & Strambler, 2009; Thijs, 2017). Likewise, research has found that majority children were equally likely to perceive institutional discrimination as minority children (Elenbaas & Killen, 2017), although this might change in adolescence (see Elenbaas et al., 2016).

**Summary.** We do not know what children in the abovementioned studies had been taught about prejudice and discrimination. Yet, taken together, their findings indicate that preadolescents are *capable* of understanding the nature of discrimination (although the term itself may be quite abstract for them), knowing that minority groups suffer more from interpersonal and insitutional discrimination than majority groups, and being aware of negative stereotypes about these groups. Although minority children have been sometimes found to have more stereotype awareness and more problems with group-based exclusion than their majority peers, the latter tend to reject discrimination as well. Moreover, both groups were equally likely to recognize discrimination, indicating the possibility of arriving at a shared understanding of it.

## Recommendations based on SDT

In this section, I will refer to the needs for, respectively, competence, relatedness, and autonomy, to argue that teachings about prejudice and discrimination should present these problems as *demarcated*, *common*, and *intrinsically relevant*.

**Prejudice and discrimination as demarcated problems.** Within SDT, feeling competent is crucial for the experience of self-determination. Thus, a productive motivation to be non-prejudiced requires the confidence that one can (eventually) control (some of) one's biased tendencies. Accordingly, a recent study found that children who believe that prejudice is not a fixed individual quality, but rather something that can be changed, are more open to cross-racial interactions (Tai & Pauker, 2021). Competence here also implies the ability to identify prejudice and discrimination, and the abovementioned research on children's knowledge suggests that preadolescents are clearly capable of this. However, trusting that one can counter one's own contribution to these problems also requires a clear demarcation of them. Thus, children also need to know when they are *not* biased and do *not* discriminate outgroup others. Such quite demarcation can be difficult due to the sometimes hidden nature of prejudice and discrimination. But this does not mean that it is impossible or unimportant.

Attention for the less overt manifestations of prejudice and discrimination is crucial for understanding the persistence, pervasiveness, and harmful consequences of these problems. Yet, a potential drawback of this focus is that it could undermine the notion that these problems could be objectively approached and consensually known and addressed. The research on racial micro-aggressions, for example, clearly shows that the subtle, everyday manifestations of prejudice can be very stressful and harmful for their recipients (Sue et al., 2019). Yet, these micro-aggressions are ambiguous by their very nature, and that can make it difficult to reach consensus about them. Sue et al. (2007), for example, wrote that micro-insults (a form of micro-aggressions) "represent subtle snubs, frequently *unknown* to the perpetrator, but *clearly* convey a *hidden* insulting message to the recipient of color" (p.274; italics added). Additionally, the denial of racism and prejudice and egalitarian statements like "We are all human beings" are sometimes considered as micro-aggressions (Steketee et al., 2021; Sue et al., 2007). This is understandable given people's motivations to deny or mask their biases, but problematic if people are genuinely unbiased and committed to equality.

One subset of racial micro-aggressions involves everyday oppressive nativist discourses which stress the superiority of natives over nonnatives. These discourses can be a serious source of stress for students of immigrant origins (Steketee et al., 2021) and it is important to teach children about their harmfulness. Yet, in doing so the conceptual distinction between prejudice and ingroup positivity (in natives as well as other groups) should not be overlooked. It has long been acknowledged that ingroup love is not outgroup hate, but unfortunately this distinction is not always made, also in research. For instance, Raabe and Beelman's (2011) widely cited meta-analysis on prejudice in childhood and adolescence does not differentiate studies on outgroup evaluations from studies on ingroup preference.

In sum, if we want to make children feel competent enough to counteract their prejudicial and discriminatory tendencies, they need to know what they are up against. Educators should stimulate children's sensitivity to subtle manifestations of prejudice and discrimination, but also provide them with the ability and the confidence to decide whether and when these problems are not at play. Of course, children can make mistakes with this. What is discrimination does not always seem discrimination, and vice versa. Yet, to correct such mistakes, prejudice and discrimination need to be presented as problems that can, in principle, be objectively identified and addressed, even if they are denied or minimized, and even though some groups are more (directly) exposed to them than others. Fortunately, the aforementioned research indicates that majority and minority children's understandings of these problems largely converge.

**Prejudice and discrimination as common problems.** The second precondition for self-determined motivation, relatedness, seems to have particular relevance for children's self-determined motivations to be non-prejudiced. This is because they are clearly aware that there are strong social norms against prejudice and discrimination (e.g., De França & Monteiro, 2013). The possibility that one can be prejudiced and act unfairly to outgroup others implies that one can be morally inadequate, or perceived as such, and thereby threaten one's connection to others. When children become excessively concerned about this they can develop external, less productive motivations (Hughes et al., 2016; Jargon & Thijs, 2021).

Such external motivations could be prevented by teaching children that prejudice and discrimination are *common* human problems. To this end, educators could use the very notion that biases can work in implicit ways, and the idea that all of us have tendencies to make evaluative group distinctions (Tajfel & Turner, 1981). Children are probably less concerned about appearing unprejudiced to others knowing that it is human to make mistakes in intergroup interactions and that doing so not necessarily makes them bad persons. Clearly, such teachings can and should still make the point that acts of prejudice and discrimination are wrong and problematic. In fact, making the distinction between people's acts and their character is essential for developing the notion that prejudice is not a fixed individual quality (see Tai & Pauker, 2021).

The notion that prejudice and discrimination are common human problems also implies that various groups can be perpetrators and victims. Unfortunately, the conceptual blending (by some) of interpersonal discrimination with systemic discrimination obscures this point. Despite the fact that some groups suffer considerably more from these problems than others, they are conceptually independent from structural power relations (Nelson et al., 2018). This means that powerless groups can be prejudiced as well. The research discussed above indicates that both minority and majority children are aware that it is predominantly minority group members who are victims of discrimination (by majority group members). Yet for the latter, it could be quite demotivating to learn about prejudice and discrimination as problems with exclusively majority perpetrators. The message that one belongs to the "bad guys" can undermine one's sense of relatedness, and thereby not stimulate a genuine, self-determined desire to be open toward ethnic others.

Interestingly, this notion is consistent with two lines of social psychological research (mostly among adults) seemingly unrelated to SDT. Studies on exclusive versus inclusive multiculturalism have shown that majority group members may feel left out if their group is not positively acknowledged in multiculturalist messages. This can have the counterproductive effect of making them less

positive toward diversity (Jansen et al., 2015; Plaut et al., 2011). Next, research on stereotype threat examines how the fear of confirming negative stereotypes can undermine the functioning of otherwise capable persons. This is typically done to explain negative test outcomes for stigmatized minorities. Yet, the fear of proving negative stereotypes (e.g., "whites as racists") can also explain why majority group members (prejudiced and non-prejudiced alike) feel inadequate in interactions with minorities and distance themselves from them (Steele, 2011).

It is important that children learn that prejudice and discrimination have contributed to large inequalities and group injustices, and still do so today. It would also be unreasonable and incorrect to claim that majority groups have suffered from these problems to a remotely equal extent as minority groups. Yet, although prejudice and discrimination are especially present and harmful in contexts of majority oppressors and minority victims, their irrational and unjust nature are not confined to such contexts. Thus, children should be also taught that discrimination is wrong independent of the actors involved.

**Prejudice and discrimination as intrinsically relevant problems.** The need for autonomy can be supported, among other things, by fostering relevance and providing choice (Stroet et al., 2013). In their research among adults, Legault and colleagues (2001) clearly showed that individuals experienced more self-determined motivation to be nonprejudiced when presented with arguments for the importance of prejudice reduction and reminded of freedom of choice. However, the opposite was true when those individuals were pressured to comply with social norms against prejudice. Likewise, one of the studies among children (Jargon & Thijs, 2021) found that the perception of a prescriptive anti-prejudice norm ("You should be nice and honest to people from other cultures") was uniquely associated with a stronger external anti-prejudice motivation, and thereby with less positive outgroup attitudes. However, the perception of a shared message explaining why prejudice and discrimination are problematic ("People from all cultural groups are equal") was uniquely associated with a weaker external motivation and a stronger internal one, and as a result, with more positive outgroup attitudes.

Together these findings indicate the importance of presenting prejudice and discrimination as intrinsically relevant problems. Fortunately, many (though not all) people regard them as such, but it is the inherent, irrational problematic nature of prejudice and discrimination that should be stressed and not such much their normative unacceptability. Researchers working from the so-called cognitive domain perspective have shown that, from a fairly young age, children make the distinction between acts that harm others and therefore are intrinsically wrong (immoral), and acts that are wrong merely because there are norms or rules against them (unconventional) (Smetana, 2006). The studies on children's

understandings of discrimination and group-based exclusion indicate that they easily regard these behaviors as morally wrong, despite their tendencies to make evaluative group distinctions.

Consistent with SDT, and similar to what has been found in research on adults (Legault et al., 2007) and adolescents (Thijs et al., 2016), the intrinsic appreciation of positive outgroup interactions and the personal endorsement of anti-prejudice beliefs are positively correlated ingredients of children's internal anti-prejudice motivations (Jargon & Thijs, 2021). Thus, to the extent that being open to others comes naturally to children, endorsing equality does so too. Related to this, there is some evidence that children who generally empathize with others are more likely to positively evaluate peers from a stigmatized outgroup, especially if they perceive that others are biased against that group (van Bommel et al., 2020). This indicates that children can have rather intuitive, self-evident reasons for rejecting prejudice and discrimination. Educators should help them to freely discover those reasons.

### Conclusion: What would you do?

When a white girl wants to wear cornrows and box braids just like here black friend, this could be explained to her as a form of cultural appropriation. Yet, based on the existing literature on SDT and prejudice in children outlined above, this may not be the best option. One reason is that doing so might inadvertently weaken the girl's confidence in her ability to recognize and control her own prejudiced tendencies. It might also thwart her sense of relatedness, especially to her friend, and diminish her enthusiasm for interacting with ethnic others. Ultimately, this could undermine her self-determined motivation to be non-prejudiced. In this case, it may be more productive to appreciate the girl's desire to look like her friend. The other reader of the Volkrant Magazine (introduced at the beginning of this chapter) wrote: "Today, cornrows and box braids contribute to a white teenage girl's ideal of beauty. Who would have thought that? Wonderful!"

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# The role of gender in the recognition of social and political rights of ethnic minorities: a reflection on its implications for research on tolerance

Valentina Di Stasio

## Introduction

Societies characterized by increasing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity are tasked with the challenge of promoting social cohesion while at the same time regulating the accommodation of group differences in the public sphere (Koopmans & Statham, 1999). In Western Europe, the debate about integration largely focuses on Muslim immigrants and their descendants, people whose values and traditions are perceived as fundamentally at odds with the norms and values of secularized and originally Christian societies (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Foner, 2018). In this context, Muslim practices such as the wearing of the headscarf, the ritual slaughtering of animals according to Islamic law, the building of Mosques, or the founding of religious schools are hotly contested. Interestingly, even people who are generally positive or neutral towards Muslims as a group show a reluctance to accept specific practices because they consider them objectionable or controversial, often on the basis of secular convictions (Helbling, 2014; Imhoff & Recker, 2012).

While intergroup differences in what constitutes the good life can hardly be erased, and dissenting views and practices are unlikely to be endorsed by people who hold fundamentally different convictions, they can still be tolerated. Various understandings of toleration have been discussed in the field of social psychology, inspired by contributions from philosophy and political theory (for recent reviews see: Verkuyten et al., 2019, 2020). Acknowledging that tolerance

is still a "contested concept" (Ziztmann et al., 2021, p.2)[1], the focus of the current study is on respect-based tolerance. From this perspective, tolerance presupposes a basis of respect and acknowledgment of equal rights.

In this study, I contribute to an emerging line of research on the boundaries of tolerance and focus on the gender of the tolerated outgroup. Recent studies have analyzed whether individuals' willingness to tolerate a practice depends on the type of practice they are asked to tolerate. The starting point of my analysis is the observation that many of the practices that are contested in society are not only Muslim practices, but also heavily gendered ones, the wearing of the headscarf being a case in point. Gender is likely to be especially salient for practices enacted by Muslims, as the public discourse on the integration of Muslims in European societies is centered on gender-related issues such as the acceptance of gender equality and task divisions within families (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018). Furthermore, stereotype content research has consistently found that Muslim men are perceived as oppressive, violent, and aggressive (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012; Wiemers & Di Stasio, 2022) and public opinion studies have documented particularly hostile attitudes towards Muslim men (Bansak et al., 2016; Ward, 2019). To the extent that the negative stereotyping of Muslim men induces feelings of threat, people might be reluctant to recognize them as equal fellow citizens. In the following, I bring together research on toleration with research on social dominance, group threat, and multiple categorization (described below in more detail) to examine whether the basis for respect-based toleration, i.e. the acknowledgment of fellow citizens as equals, varies depending on the gender of the tolerated outgroup.

### *Respect-based tolerance of gendered practices and gender gaps in equality recognition*

According to the disapproval–respect model of tolerance (Simon & Schaefer, 2016; Simon et al., 2019), outgroup toleration is only possible when the disapproval of others' beliefs, dispositions or practices perceived as objectionable is counterbalanced by feelings of respect and equality recognition. Although people may disapprove of specific outgroups' practices or beliefs, they may still be willing to tolerate the ways of life of ethnic and religious minorities out of respect for them as equal fellow citizens, thus restraining their disapproval without removing it. In other words, respect functions as the overriding reason for suspending interference (Galeotti, 2015): a "powerful restraining force" (Simon, 2020, p.157) counterbalancing disapproval.

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[1]  Different notions of toleration have been discussed in the literature. The focus of this study is on a respect-based understanding of tolerance, which differs from a permission-based understanding of toleration, or from forms of intuitive tolerance as it implies a more equal relationship between groups.

The hypothesized positive relationship between outgroup respect and tolerance – i.e., the outgroup respect–tolerance hypothesis – has been examined in several recent studies. Longitudinal research has confirmed that respect for disapproved outgroups is a causal antecedent of outgroup tolerance among both ethnic and religious minorities (Simon & Schaeffer, 2016) as well as majority groups (Simon et al., 2019). The link between respect and outgroup toleration has also been supported experimentally (Simon et al., 2019). A recent meta-analysis has taken stock of this emerging field of research, showing that the effect of respect on tolerance is both positive and substantial across a range of studies conducted in different countries and focusing on different outgroups (Ziztmann et al., 2021).

Respect-based tolerance is based on the principled belief that all citizens are autonomous members of society with equal rights (Velthuis et al., 2021). It implies that the tolerating parties recognize one another as morally and politically equal, even when fundamentally disagreeing about what constitutes the good life (Forst, 2012). While respect-based toleration presupposes the recognition of others as fellow citizens with equal rights, it does not require the approval of the outgroup beliefs and practices one is tolerating (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Instead, the recognition of outgroup members as different equals requires one to take into consideration what members of different groups in society value and to make reasonable accommodations (Simon, 2020), accepting their "right to their own way" (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017, p.76).

Among different sources of respect, the recognition of people's standing as equals, also known as equality recognition, has proven to be the strongest predictor of outgroup tolerance (Simon et al., 2019; Ziztmann et al., 2021), in line with Honneth's (1995) recognition theory. Respect toleration on the basis of equality recognition is the acknowledgment that specific practices, customs, and traditions are to be seen as legitimate options in the context of pluralist societies, to the extent that they are harmless and do not infringe on the rights of others. Respect guarantees the full inclusion of minorities in society on an equal footing as the majority group, and their entitlement to full participation in society without having to abandon their different lifestyles, beliefs, or practices (Forst, 2012).

Next to establishing the source of tolerance, recent works have focused on the limits of tolerance and whether toleration depends on the type of practice one is asked to tolerate (e.g. Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Dangubi et al., 2020). To answer this question, researchers compared tolerant judgments across a range of different practices. For example, Gieling and colleagues (2010) found that participants were least tolerant of a homophobic statement made by a religious authority and most tolerant of the wearing of a headscarf, with the cases of the

schools and the shaking of hands in between. They interpreted these differences as an indication that practices that violate strong moral norms are perceived as wrong and unacceptable. In line with this finding, a homophobic statement was also the least tolerated practice in the study by Hirsch et al. (2019). Similarly, Sleijpen et al. (2020) reported the lowest level of tolerance for an anti-abortion statement made by an imam. Instead, practices that are associated with the personal domain, such as the wearing of religious dress, were better tolerated (Dangubi et al., 2020; Gieling et al., 2010).

As shown in Table 1, however, the practices that were compared in the studies just described also varied with regard to the gender of the Muslim actor who was performing the act, with the least (most) tolerated practices being also the ones

**Table 1:** Operationalization of Muslim practices in tolerance research

| Study | Muslim practices to be tolerated | Results in relation to actor's gender |
|---|---|---|
| Gieling, Thijs & Verkuyten (2010) | - wearing of a headscarf<br>- female Muslim teacher not shaking hands with men<br>- founding of separate Muslim schools<br>- imam voicing harmful opinions about homosexuals | Participants were least tolerant of a homophobic statement (<u>male actor</u>) and most tolerant of the wearing of a headscarf (<u>female actor</u>), with the cases of the schools and the shaking of hands in between. |
| Hirsch, Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran (2019) | - founding of religious primary schools<br>- exclusion of women from religious boards<br>- homophobic statements by religious authorities, i.e. imam/priest | Participants were least tolerant of a homophobic statement (<u>male actor</u>) and most tolerant of founding religious schools, with the exclusion of women in between. |
| Dangubi, Verkuyten & Stark (2020) | - Muslim/Christian religious education in public schools for those who want it<br>- wearing of visible religious symbols (veil/nun's habit) in public schools | Participants showed less discriminatory rejection of Muslim practices when evaluating religious dress codes (<u>female actor</u>) |
| Sleijpen, Verkuyten & Adelman (2020) | - wearing of a religious necklace by a civil servant<br>- organization of religious lessons in a community centre<br>- requesting a quiet room at the workplace for praying<br>- a religious authority (minister/imam) equating abortion with murder | Participants were rather intolerant towards the anti-abortion statement made by a religious authority (<u>male actor</u>), while they were more likely to accept the other three practices than to forbid them |

*Note.* The list of studies is not meant to be exhaustive.

performed by men (women). Interestingly, Gieling et al. (2010) also found, based on a sample of Dutch adolescents, that girls were more tolerant than boys for practices enacted by Muslim women and less tolerant than boys for the practice enacted by Muslim men.

A confounding of actor's gender with practice type may overestimate or underestimate differences in tolerance across practices, depending on the gender of the person enacting the practice. Research on multiple categorization has highlighted that ethno-racial and gender categories are perceptually and psychologically intertwined; as a result, they interact to determine the meaning of group membership, how people with intersecting identities are perceived, and what they experience in intergroup contexts (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). In particular, the subordinate male target hypothesis (SMTH), derived from social psychological theories of social dominance, posits that individuals have an evolutionary tendency to support non-egalitarian group-based hierarchies and that outgroup males are the primary targets of intergroup aggression and discrimination (Sidanius et al., 2018). Because ethnic hierarchies result from a competition over scarce symbolic and material resources largely involving males, it is men from subordinate groups (e.g., outgroup males) that disproportionately lose out in the race. From this perspective, racial and ethnic bias is primarily directed towards outgroup men, who are treated with hostility by other men out of rivalry while at the same time being avoided by women out of perceived threat and fear of sexual coercion (Navarrete et al., 2010).

The SMTH is consistent with the more hostile attitudes against immigrant men found in survey experiments conducted among natives (e.g., Gereke et al., 2020; Ward, 2019). Extending this intersectional perspective to research on tolerance, it is plausible that the egalitarian pre-condition that is at the basis of respect-based tolerance would less easily apply to outgroup males than to outgroup females. Hence, I hypothesize:

> *Hp1: All else equal, equality recognition is lower if directed towards outgroup men compared to outgroup women.*

Gender gaps in equality recognition should be particularly pronounced for outgroups associated with gender inequality and male dominance. Muslims, in particular, are one of the most stigmatized groups in Europe, victims of negative stereotyping (Wiemers & Di Stasio, 2022), overt discrimination in access to scarce resources (Di Stasio et al., 2021; De Vries & Di Stasio, 2020) and subtler forms of interpersonal distrust (Aranguren et al., in press). The traditions and ways of life of Muslims are often seen with suspicion and interpreted as a symbolic threat to national identity or national security. These fears are fueled

by episodes of radicalization among European-born Muslims, typically men. A recent field experiment found that anti-Muslim discrimination is exacerbated in male-dominated occupations: to interpret this finding, the authors speculated that in contexts where masculinity is salient, Muslim males might be perceived as particularly threatening (Di Stasio & Larsen, 2020). Moreover, in the public debate on integration, Muslim men are typecast as misogynist and aggressive, and Muslim women as submissive and in need of liberation (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Wiemers & Di Stasio, 2022). Combining this line of research on group threat with the literature on toleration, I draw the following hypothesis:

> *Hp2: Gender gaps in equality recognition are more pronounced for Muslim outgroups than for non-Muslim outgroups.*

## Method

### *Data and participants*

The data used for this study were collected in December 2020. An online survey was administered by a survey agency to a nationally representative sample of the Dutch majority population (i.e. people born in the Netherlands with both parents born in the Netherlands) aged 18 years and older and regularly taking part in online panels. Originally, these data were collected for a different project on the topic of gendered ethnic stereotypes. The project received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Science of Utrecht University (FETC 20-516).

Of the 2,344 panelists who were invited to participate, 83 refused to provide informed consent and were excluded from the study. At the beginning of the survey, the remaining 2261 participants were randomly assigned to a group. Ten groups were varied between-subjects: Chinese, Indians, Moroccans, Dutch, Polish, Spanish, Somali, Syrians, Turkish, and a group of Muslims (with ethnic origin unspecified). These groups were presented either in generic terms (e.g., Chinese people living in the Netherlands), or in gendered terms (e.g., Turkish women, Polish men living in the Netherlands). The study also included a generic group of men and women, with national origin unspecified, for a total of 32 groups. Participants were first asked to provide a list of the stereotypes that they thought people in the Netherlands associated to the group they were assigned to, and then responded to a series of questions worded in relation to the specific group.

For the analysis, I retained the participants assigned to the gender-by-origin groups only (e.g., Muslim men; Muslim women). I further excluded those assigned

to the ingroup (Dutch women; Dutch men), as for them, the item I used as the dependent variable in the analysis was worded in relation to ethnic minorities in general, with no reference to gender. The remaining sample consists of 1266 participants, aged between 20 and 80 ($M_{age}$=50.59; $SD_{age}$=15.83) and with a medium-to-high level of education (44% highly educated; 88% with at least a basic qualification). Approximately half of the sample (51%) was female. After excluding cases with missing values on the dependent variable, the sample used for the analysis consists of 1,254 participants, 1,209 of which had no missing values on the relevant measures.

*Measures*

**Dependent variable.** Equality recognition was captured with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*) measuring agreement with the question '*[Target group] should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch*'. The recognition of these rights is crucial for both political tolerance and social tolerance, with some studies even using equality recognition as a proxy for tolerance itself (e.g. Miklikowska, 2016). As equality recognition is a causal antecedent of tolerance (Schaefer et al., 2021; Simon & Schaeffer, 2016; Simon et al., 2019) and considering the distribution of this variable is heavily skewed, I distinguished between those who agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (1) and the rest (0). My focus is on differences between groups in the extent to which they are granted equal rights as the majority group: a dichotomized dependent variable reflects the respect understanding of tolerance, according to which equality recognition is a pre-condition for being tolerated. In the appendix (Table A3), I also report the results of analyses that rely on two different operationalizations, discussed below.

    **Independent variables.** My main interest is in the effect of the gender and origin of the target group, and of their interaction, on equality recognition. A dummy variable distinguishes between male target groups (1) and female ones (0). Ethnic groups were recoded into a set of dummies differentiating between Asians (Chinese and Indians; the reference category), Europeans (Polish and Spanish), guest workers' descendants (Moroccans and Turks), recent refugees (Syrians and Somali) and Muslims. Two model specifications are presented below: one that pools together groups originating from Muslim-majority countries (Moroccans, Turks, Syrians, Somali, Muslims) and compares them with the rest; and a region-specific one that differentiates between Asians, Europeans, Moroccans/Turks (i.e., groups associated with post-war migration and guest workers programs), Syrians/Somali (i.e., groups associated with refugee flows) and Muslims (ethnic origin unspecified).

**Controls.** Attitudes towards the target group were measured with a group-specific feeling thermometer ranging from 0 (*as cold and negative as possible*) to 100 (*as warm and positive as possible*), with the mid-point indicating neutral feelings. Contact with the target group was measured on a 7-point scale (1=*never*, 7=*very often*). Beliefs that the target group suffers from discrimination in Dutch society were measured on a 7-point scale (1=*not at all*, 7=*very much*). These variables are not, strictly speaking, control variables: as participants were randomly assigned to the target groups, the coefficients for the gender and ethnic origin of the target are not expected to change after including the controls. Rather, I have decided to include these variables to show how they relate to equality recognition. Due to the random assignment of respondents to target groups, the results are robust to the inclusion of controls for respondents' gender, age and level of education (these variables are not added to the models presented below).

*Analytic strategy*
For the analysis, I estimated a series of linear probability models (LPMs) with robust standard errors to deal with violations of the homoscedasticity assumption. Cases with missing values were listwise deleted. Note that results are identical when using logistic regression models, but LPMs were preferred due to the more straightforward interpretation of both main and interaction effects (Hellevik, 2009; Mize, 2019). Coefficients from LPMs can be interpreted as the percentage point increase in the probability that the target group is seen as deserving of the same social and political rights as the Dutch.

**Results**

Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2, according to the gender of the target group. The majority of participants agreed or strongly agreed that the group they were assigned to deserved the same social and political right as the Dutch. This rather high level of endorsement of equality recognition (a pre-condition for outgroup tolerance: Simon et al., 2019) is consistent with the strong levels of respect-based tolerance found in previous research in the Netherlands (Velthuis et al., 2021). At the same time, and in line with expectations, endorsement was significantly higher for the female target groups, $\chi^2(1, N=1,254)=12.19$, $p<.001$. Participants also reported significantly warmer feelings for the female target groups, $t(1231)=-8.36$, $p<.001$. Frequency of contact and perceived group discrimination were comparable across target groups, regardless of gender.

**Table 2:** Descriptive statistics, by gender of the target group

|  | N | Mean/% | SD | Min | Max |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Female target groups** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Deserving same rights | 627 | 66.83 | - | 0 | 1 |
| Feeling thermometer | 619 | 59.41 | 20.01 | 0 | 100 |
| Contact with target group | 619 | 2.74 | 1.65 | 1 | 7 |
| Perceived group discrimination | 627 | 4.47 | 1.44 | 1 | 7 |
| **Male target groups** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Deserving same rights | 627 | 57.26 | - | 0 | 1 |
| Feeling thermometer | 614 | 49.78 | 20.44 | 0 | 100 |
| Contact with target group | 618 | 2.82 | 1.68 | 1 | 7 |
| Perceived group discrimination | 627 | 4.43 | 1.52 | 1 | 7 |

The results of the LPMs are displayed in Figure 1 (the regression tables are provided in Table A1 in the Appendix). In these models, I collapsed groups associated with Muslim-majority populations (Moroccans, Turks, Syrians, Somali, Muslims) into a single category and compared them with non-Muslim groups (Chinese, Indians, Polish, Spanish). On average, participants were less likely to agree that the target group should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch if the target group was Muslim. At the same time, net of the type of minority group considered, equality recognition was significantly lower for male groups than for female groups, in line with Hp1. The interaction between gender and religion was statistically significant ($b$=-0.12, $SE$=0.04, $p$=.026; see model 2 in Table A1): while non-Muslim groups were considered similarly deserving of equal rights, regardless of gender, equality recognition was significantly lower for Muslim men than it was for Muslim women. As shown in Figure 1, gaps are far from negligible: the predicted probability of agreement that the target group should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch was 66% for Muslim women, but only 51% for Muslim men. Hp2 is also supported. The inclusion of the control variables did not affect the results. Unsurprisingly, participants were more likely to agree that the target group deserved equal rights the lower their prejudicial attitudes toward the group. At the same time, it should be stressed that the differential recognition of equal rights by gender and for Muslim and non-Muslim groups is independent of participants' prejudicial attitudes towards these groups. Interestingly, frequency of contact was not associated with equality recognition.
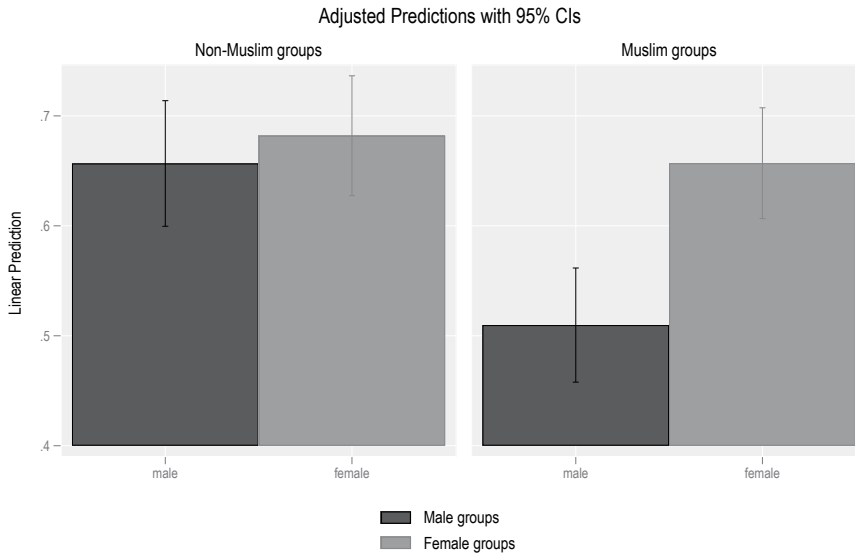
**Figure 1:** Predicted equality recognition for Muslim and non-Muslim groups, by gender.
*Note.* Predicted probabilities were calculated with the margins command in Stata, from model 2 of Table A1 in the Appendix.

In additional analyses (available upon request), I included a control for party ideology. Participants reported their voting behavior at the previous national elections and I assigned to each party a score on a scale ranging from 0 (left) to 10 (right), based on the Populism and Political Parties Expert Survey (POPPA; Meijers & Zaslove, 2020). This cross-national survey measures the positions of 250 parties on key attributes related to populism, party ideology, and party organization, based on information provided by country experts. As some respondents could not vote, voted blank, preferred not to say, or voted for parties not included in the POPPA dataset, about one fifth of cases had a missing value on this variable. People voting for more conservative parties were less likely to agree that the minority groups deserved equal rights as the Dutch. Still, the gaps in equality recognition based on the gender and origin of the target groups are unaffected by the inclusion of the conservative ideology proxy (which is to be expected, given the random assignment of groups to participants). This analysis also shows that conservatism and outgroup prejudice have independent negative associations with equality recognition.

Furthermore, I re-ran the same models using two alternative operationalizations of equality recognition, namely the original continuous measure (though heavily skewed) and a dichotomized measure of denial of equality recognition, which distinguished those who strongly disagreed or disagreed with the original statement (1) from the rest (0). Results are reported in Table A3 in the Appendix.

When measured on a 5-point scale, equality recognition is still significantly lower for Muslim outgroups and for male outgroups, but the interaction is no longer statistically significant. Moreover, respondents were more likely to deny the recognition of equal rights to Muslim outgroups, especially if male (the interaction term is statistically significant: $p$=.004). The predicted probability of opposing or strongly opposing that the target group should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch was 17% for Muslim men, but only 12% for Muslim women. No gender differences were present for non-Muslim target groups. Overall, the interpretation of results is largely consistent with that of the main analysis: male outgroups were perceived as less deserving of equal rights than female outgroups. Overall, in two of the three operationalizations examined, the lower equality recognition granted to male outgroups was particularly pronounced for groups originating from Muslim-majority countries.

In the next set of LPMs, I disaggregated the Muslim and non-Muslim groups into ethnic categories differentiating between Asians, Europeans, Moroccans/ Turks, Syrians/Somali, and Muslims (ethnic origin unspecified). Asians, often considered a model minority (Kuipers & van der Ent, 2016), were the reference category in the regression models. Results are displayed in Figure 2 (the regression tables can be found in Table A2 in the Appendix). Compared to Asians, equality recognition was significantly lower for all other groups. This
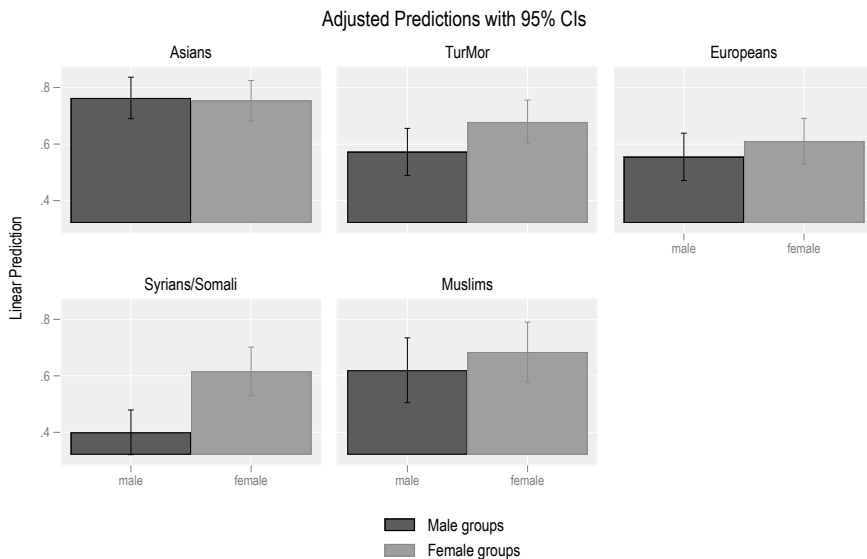


**Figure 2:** Predicted equality recognition, by gender and origin group.
*Note.* Predicted probabilities were calculated with the margins command in Stata, from model 2 of table A2 in the appendix.

result is quite interesting, considering that the data collection took place during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic, at a time when Asian minorities faced a heightened risk of harassment and discrimination. Gaps in equality recognition are especially sizeable for Europeans (i.e. Polish and Spanish minorities) and the refugee groups (i.e. Syrians and Somali). It is plausible that the reasons for limiting their social and political rights differ across groups. Although this explanation cannot be tested with the current data, Europeans are probably more likely to evoke feelings of ethnic competition and realistic threat, while Syrians and Somali may trigger symbolic threat (Hellwig & Sinno, 2017). Interestingly, equality recognition was not lower for the Muslim group when the ethnic origin of the group was unspecified: this result is in line with previous research by Velthuis et al. (2021), which relied on broad category labels (e.g. Muslims, non-Western immigrants) and did not find differences across groups.

With regard to the effect of gender, male target groups were perceived as significantly less deserving of equal rights than female target groups, net of ethnic origin. Furthermore, the models with interactions reveal significantly more pronounced gender gaps in equality recognition for the Syrian and Somali groups than for Asians. The predicted probability of agreement that Syrians and Somali should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch decreased by one third for men compared to women of the same groups. The interaction term for Turks and Moroccans is also marginally significant in the last model, indicating sizeable gender gaps in equality recognition for these groups, too (the $F$ test for the joint significance of all interaction terms is marginally significant: $p$=.073; note that the hypothesis was one-directional). Interestingly, equality recognition is higher for the female groups within all outgroups expect for Asians, the ethnic origin less strongly associated with masculinity (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012).

## Discussion

From a respect-based understanding of toleration, outgroup tolerance is made possible when feelings of respect towards others as equal fellow citizens can balance one's disapproval of outgroups' beliefs, preferences and practices. People whose practices are tolerated are recognized as "different equals" (Simon, 2020) who belong to a different religious, cultural, or ethnic group but are still granted equal rights by virtue of their membership in the same society. The findings from this study, however, show a selective pattern of equality recognition: Muslim women, and Syrian and Somali women in particular, were more readily recognized as fellow equal citizens by members of the Dutch majority population than males of the same outgroups.

Considering the outgroup respect-tolerance link established by previous research, and the role of equality recognition as a causal antecedence of respect-based tolerance, one implication of these findings is that dissenting practices enacted by Muslim men might be less tolerated than dissenting practices enacted by women. This double standard is characteristic of forms of intuitive tolerance (Verkuyten et al., 2020), whereby people accept the practices of one group (e.g., Muslim women) while rejecting the same practices when enacted by another group (e.g., Turkish men). As the authors explain: "intuitive intolerance implies intergroup differentiation whereby only some groups are denied their equal rights and freedoms" (p.469). In line with this interpretation of tolerance, my findings suggest that Muslim men may less likely be treated according to a respect-based understanding of toleration.

Empirically, given the gaps in equality recognition found in the current study, the gender of the tolerated may be a confounder in research designs that compare different dissenting practices enacted by actors of different gender (see Table 1). To avoid confounding, researchers are advised to opt for gender-neutral items as a way to operationalize dissenting practices, e.g. "the wearing of Islamic dress" (e.g., Adelman et al., 2021). If the research focus is on a practice associated with only one gender, such as the wearing of the headscarf, the comparison is obviously limited to practices enacted by females (e.g., Velthuis et al., 2022). If a mix of gendered practices is examined, equality recognition could be added to the analysis as a mediator to parse out the part of the association that is rooted in respect-based tolerance.

Lastly, a question to be addressed in future research is whether the extent to which a particular practice is tolerated depends on the gender of the tolerated. One-act-multiple-actors or multiple-acts-multiple-actors experimental designs (e.g., Dangubi et al., 2020) can vary the type of practice and the gender of the actor engaging in the practice independently, in order to differentiate between rejection of the practice itself (equal rejection) and a double standard in judgment (discriminatory rejection). Based on the gender gaps in equality recognition found in the current study, higher levels of tolerance are expected for practices enacted by women. These gaps might also depend on the gender of the tolerator.

Another fruitful avenue of inquiry is the extent to which Muslim women can leverage the gendered pattern of toleration shown in this study through political mobilization, advocacy and religious activism (Lewicki & O'Toole, 2017). Group-based claims-making plays a key role in minorities' struggles for recognition, but the literature has focused more on group demands and less on the process of claims-making and the agency of the actors involved. An interesting question

is whether the accommodation of minority rights depends on the gender of the actor engaging in acts of political mobilization and persuasion.

With this study, I hope to have contributed to the debate on the boundaries of tolerance and I conclude with a call for a sharper analytical distinction in future studies between the practices to be tolerated and the actors engaging in dissenting practices.

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## Appendix

**Table A1:** Deserving equal rights: Muslim vs. non-Muslim groups

|  | Model 1 Main effects | Model 2 Interactions | Model 3 With controls |
|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim groups | -0.086** | -0.025 | -0.017 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.038) | (0.037) |
| Male groups | -0.094*** | -0.025 | 0.039 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.040) | (0.039) |
| Muslim X male |  | -0.122* | -0.103* |
|  |  | (0.055) | (0.052) |
| Thermometer |  |  | 0.008*** |
|  |  |  | (0.000) |
| Contact |  |  | -0.005 |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |
| Perceived discrimination |  |  | 0.032*** |
|  |  |  | (0.009) |
| Constant | 0.715*** | 0.682*** | 0.070 |
|  | (0.024) | (0.028) | (0.054) |
| N | 1,254 | 1,254 | 1,209 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Stereotype data, 2020. * $p$<.05, ** $p$<.01, *** $p$<.001.

**Table A2:** Deserving equal rights: gender-by-origin groups

| | Model 1 Main effects | Model 2 Interactions | Model 3 With controls |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Origin (ref. Asian):* | | | |
| Turks/Moroccans | -0.131*** | -0.075 | -0.035 |
| | (0.039) | (0.054) | (0.054) |
| Europeans | -0.174*** | -0.144** | -0.094+ |
| | (0.040) | (0.055) | (0.054) |
| Syrians/Somali | -0.254*** | -0.138* | -0.108+ |
| | (0.040) | (0.057) | (0.056) |
| Muslims | -0.105* | -0.069 | -0.047 |
| | (0.047) | (0.065) | (0.057) |
| Male groups | -0.088** | 0.010 | 0.088+ |
| | (0.027) | (0.052) | (0.051) |
| *Origin X Male:* | | | |
| Turks/Moroccan males | | -0.116 | -0.128+ |
| | | (0.078) | (0.076) |
| European males | | -0.065 | -0.091 |
| | | (0.079) | (0.077) |
| Syrian/Somali males | | -0.226** | -0.213** |
| | | (0.079) | (0.076) |
| Muslim males | | -0.074 | -0.047 |
| | | (0.095) | (0.087) |
| Thermometer | | | 0.008*** |
| | | | (0.001) |
| Contact | | | -0.014+ |
| | | | (0.008) |
| Perceived discrimination | | | 0.033*** |
| | | | (0.009) |
| Constant | 0.801*** | 0.754*** | 0.138* |
| | (0.029) | (0.036) | (0.060) |
| *N* | 1,254 | 1,254 | 1,209 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Stereotype data, 2020. + *p*<.10, * *p*<.05, ** *p*<.01, *** *p*<.001.

**Table A3:** Deservingness of equal rights: alternative coding of the dependent variable

| | Continuous variable (1-5) | | Dummy (disagree vs. rest) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Main effects | Interactions | Main effects | Interactions |
| Muslim groups | -0.216*** | -0.163* | 0.067*** | 0.019 |
| | (0.057) | (0.074) | (0.019) | (0.022) |
| Male groups | -0.108* | -0.0485 | 0.016 | -0.037+ |
| | (0.054) | (0.074) | (0.018) | (0.021) |
| Muslim X male | | -0.106 | | 0.095** |
| | | (0.103) | | (0.033) |
| Thermometer | 0.022*** | 0.022*** | -0.005*** | -0.005*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Contact | -0.023 | -0.023 | 0.013* | 0.013* |
| | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Perdiscr | 0.101*** | 0.100*** | -0.020** | -0.0195** |
| | (0.021) | (0.021) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| _cons | 2.320*** | 2.296*** | 0.429*** | 0.450*** |
| | (0.125) | (0.128) | (0.045) | (0.045) |
| $N$ | 1,209 | 1,209 | 1,209 | 1,209 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Stereotype data, 2020.
+ $p<.10$, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.

# Tolerance and being tolerated: State of the field, challenges, and future directions

Kumar Yogeeswaran & Levi Adelman

**Opening message**

Throughout his illustrious career, Professor Maykel Verkuyten conducted in-depth research into ethnic, religious, and national identities and intergroup relations. With a voracious appetite for knowledge from across multiple disciplines, his work has been motivated by an intrinsic drive to make sense of the world with a complete disregard for the extrinsic rewards of academia. In early 2015, Maykel had a rare sabbatical that gave him the time to do some big picture thinking. It was during this time, he began thinking further about a noticeable gap in psychology on tolerance and toleration. Maykel traveled to New Zealand to visit Kumar Yogeeswaran and shared his thoughts about this topic he felt was lacking attention in psychological research. Toleration was a strategy for managing diversity, but differed considerably from the dominant prejudice-based perspective in psychology research. The topic emerging from political science and philosophy resonated with Kumar's understanding of Indian history and philosophy on religious tolerance going back centuries. As Maykel and Kumar worked on their first theoretical paper considering the social psychology of intergroup toleration, Maykel decided to apply for a large grant from the European Research Council because he had become bored of another grant application he had written a year earlier. After successfully getting this large grant to study intergroup toleration, Maykel had the funds to expand the tolerance team to bring in a postdoctoral scholar and three PhD candidates. This postdoctoral scholar,

Levi Adelman, would bring many things into Maykel's life over the next four years: intellectual stimulation, comic relief, and the occasional (or perhaps not so occasional) regret over his hiring decision. Nevertheless, the work they would do together would soon become a crown jewel in Maykel's research portfolio resulting in several publications in the very best psychology journals including *Psychological Review*, *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *European Review of Social Psychology*, and *Personality and Social Psychology Review*. This research would examine the importance of tolerance for pluralistic societies, its boundaries and limits, the necessity of an in-depth psychological, sociological, anthropological, and communications-based investigation into the nature of tolerance, and the implications of tolerance for those being tolerated. While suffering through such collaborators to achieve scientific greatness was doubtlessly more painful than simply being hit on the head by an apple, it nonetheless opened a new area of research, which we shall discuss in the following retrospective review and prospective theorizing.

> "*Regarding LGBT: I don't want to say anything negative because we all live together in an open society where each one can choose the language they want to speak, their ethnicity, and their sexual orientation. Leave those people be, for God's sake!*"
>
> – Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy responding to a question about whether he would ban homosexuality and prostitution[1]

In diverse and pluralistic societies, people with a multitude of values, beliefs, worldviews, and practices grounded in their religious, ethnic, national, or ideological group identities live side-by-side. While the presence of such diversity can offer many benefits to society (Carter & Phillips, 2017; Galinsky et al., 2015; Stahl et al., 2010; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2020), sometimes these beliefs and practices are incompatible and mutually exclusive. For example, how does a devout atheist reconcile their disapproval of a sibling choosing to religiously school their children when they personally feel that religion should have no role in schooling? How does an animal rights activist endure a cultural group wishing to practice ritual animal slaughter? How does a staunch feminist come to accept religious attire when they view it as a symbol of oppression? Pluralistic societies face an inherent quandary in trying to be a unified: we must allow difference to be pluralistic; but incompatible beliefs, values, and practices can undermine our ability to be unified. How can this be managed? How can diverse societies avoid conflict and maintain unity without sacrificing pluralism and diversity?

One answer to managing such irreconcilable differences that are inevitable in a truly pluralistic society is that of tolerance. Unlike acceptance of everything, which might prove impossible for a society with incompatible beliefs or practices, or rejection of all differences and forced assimilation, tolerance does not mandate that people give up their deeply held beliefs. Rather, tolerance acknowledges the disapproval and difference, but calls on people to reflect and act upon the reasons to nonetheless allow others to live their lives as they wish such as considering the outgroup's right to free expression, their freedom of religion, etc.

Although there have been extensive writings in political philosophy and political science on the nature of toleration and political tolerance (Cohen, 2004; Gibson, 2006; Forst, 2013; Furedi, 2011; Oberdiek, 2001; Sullivan et al., 1999; Vogt, 1997; Walzer, 1997), there had been little psychological research on the topic prior to Maykel Verkutyten's exploration of the topic. This is rather surprising given the extant work on managing differences in pluralistic societies

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[1]    https://twitter.com/Hromadske/status/1183378101788540928

and research on diversity, prejudice reduction, and intergroup relations in psychology. Nevertheless, this noticeable gap, which may have left Maykel with many sleepless nights, allowed him to lay the foundation for what would become an important research area within social psychology. The current chapter will not delve deeply into exploring the meaning, implications, and varied understandings of tolerance and intolerance, as we have already written about this across multiple theoretical and review articles. For example, while our first foray into the topic (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017) introduced the topic of intergroup tolerance to social psychology and examined its nature and components, our subsequent work considered the implications of intergroup toleration for culturally and religiously diverse societies (Verkuyten et al., 2019). We then contrasted a prejudice-reduction approach to improving intergroup relations with a toleration-based approach to achieving the same goal (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). And finally, we recently began to unpack different understandings of tolerance and intolerance by considering its intuitive and deliberative nature (Verkuyten et al., 2020b; Verkuyten et al., 2022a). However, in parallel to these theoretical writings, Maykel has worked with collaborators, including PhD students, to empirically delve into the nature and implications of toleration (e.g., Velthuis et al., 2022, 2021; Dangubic et al., 2022, 2021) and also consider developmental aspects of toleration (for a review, see Verkuyten & Killen, 2021). An overview of all this work can be found in a recent review article (Verkuyten et al., 2022c), while a comprehensive examination of the topic can be found in Maykel's upcoming book (Verkuyten, in press). Here we will instead focus on another branch of Maykel's research relating to intergroup tolerance, which considers the implications of being tolerated, or the psychological impact of being the object of toleration (see Verkuyten et al., 2020c). This chapter summarizes all of the recent empirical work on the implications of being a target of toleration.

### Being tolerated

In this work, we define intergroup tolerance as forbearance, where a person disapproves or objects to an outgroup practice or belief, but considers reasons (such as freedom of expression, religion) why despite their disapproval, these should nevertheless be allowed in society. In doing so, the person may decide not to negatively interfere with the expressions of those practices and beliefs (Verkuyten et al., 2022b, 2019). For example, a person might strongly disapprove of ritual slaughter or animal sacrifice practiced within some religions, but they apply forbearance tolerance by reflecting on the importance of freedom of religion in a diverse society. After considering, both their disapproval, and their reasons

not to interfere, this person opts to be tolerant, not by eliminating their objection or their own values, but by carefully considering reasons not to interfere. This conception of tolerance maps onto a classical understanding of tolerance evident in extant writings from philosophy and political science (Cohen, 2004; Forst, 2013; Walzer, 1997). While the above conceptualization of tolerance fits well with extensive academic work on the topic, it is important to note that the meaning of tolerance over time has been very contextual. For example, tolerance during the Ottoman empire would be considered limited by modern standards, or "separate, unequal and protected", where minority religions, while protected were mandated to remain separate and deferent to Islam (Barkey, 2005). However, at the time, it was perceived by minority religious groups as tolerant with some seeking refuge in the empire to avoid persecution elsewhere (Schmidt, 2001). In the following research review, we shall focus on tolerance as non-interference described above.

Why should we study the effects of being tolerated? After all, one might argue that, whether or not people are appreciative of others, tolerance is still better than rejection or exclusion, and provides a realistic alternative to relativism devoid of values. However, such an approach misses the reason for tolerance: tolerance seeks to stabilize unstable societies. A society where everyone is on the same page about all important issues is the most stable. There will be no need for conflicts, power struggles, or tolerance. But such a society will not exist without erasing diversity. With freedom of thought and action, it becomes necessary to find agreed-upon rules to manage the instability of difference. Tolerance seeks to offer that stability. Rather than a constant power struggle to restrict the beliefs, practices, and behaviors of others, which would inevitably lead to conflict, tolerance tries to strike a balance by accepting the diversity, but inserting the value of non-interference and respect. This tolerance will only be fit for purpose, if the people who are the target of that tolerance do indeed experience it as sufficiently good that they don't feel the need to resort to action to improve their position. Thus, it is crucial that the experience of being tolerated is, in itself, tolerable to those who are being tolerated, thus enabling relative stability. This is why it is so important to fully understand the experience of being tolerated and its consequences.

*The distinction between being tolerated versus accepted or rejected*
People can feel that they are merely tolerated when beliefs, norms, or practices emerging from their ethnic, cultural, sexual, religious, or ideological outgroup identities are disapproved of, but nevertheless endured by others. Being tolerated differs from being rejected or discriminated against, and it also differs from feeling fully accepted or included. Being tolerated, for example, is distinct from

rejection or discrimination because although it shares a negative attitudinal component, it refers to a negative attitude toward one's group-based beliefs, norms, or practices and not toward a category of people. Importantly, it is also distinct from discrimination or rejection because it involves behaviorally granting them the same rights and freedoms without interference despite the negativity. By contrast, it is distinct from full scale acceptance because despite behavioral inclusion, it follows from disapproval of one's beliefs, norms, or practices.

Although we had called for research into the psychological implications of being tolerated, or being the object of toleration back in our 2017 theoretical paper (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017), it was not until 2020 that we published a more comprehensive model examining the implications of being tolerated (Verkuyten et al., 2020c). In this work, we proposed that being tolerated can threaten social identity needs to self-esteem, belonging, control, and certainty, and this can have downstream effects for those tolerated at the intrapersonal (i.e., well-being, identity management), interpersonal (i.e., social costs, withdrawal), and intergroup levels (i.e., collective action, perceived injustice). For those being tolerated, the perceived devaluation of one's beliefs, values, or practices, as well as the nature of non-interference (depending on whether this is seen as arbitrary and an expression of dominance on the part of the tolerator) can affect the extent to which tolerated people are negatively impacted.

*Implications of being tolerated with real-world minority groups*
While theoretical discussions of the experience of being tolerated have been rather rich (Brown, 2006; Verkuyten et al., 2020c), empirical research into how people actually experience tolerance had been non-existent. A signature trait of Maykel Verkuyten's career is his willingness to use any, and all, possible methodologies to answer research questions of interest. In this fashion, Maykel worked with a number of collaborators on a broad range of empirical studies to better understand the psychological implications of being tolerated. For example, in collaboration with a PhD student, Sara Cvetkovska, they qualitatively explored how gender non-binary people in the Netherlands understood and experienced being tolerated in a country with a long and rich history of being tolerant or at least perceiving itself as tolerant (Cvetkovska et al., 2022). Their work revealed three main components of the experience of being tolerated: tolerance can perpetuate inequity, tolerators often do not understand the targets and what they're tolerating, and that people take a range of strategies to cope with being tolerated (e.g., isolating, protesting, or educating). In other work with a Master's thesis student, Rachel Kollar, Maykel examined discursive usage of both tolerance and intolerance and this was examined for those who tolerate and those who are

tolerated. Specifically, they found that people flexibly use varied understandings of both tolerance and intolerance to make distinctions between 'us' and 'them', and they find that different cultural meanings of these concepts can be used for progressive or oppressive purposes (Verkuyten & Kollar, 2021).

Alongside such work, many correlational and experimental studies from multiple nations have furthered our understanding about the implications of being tolerated. For example, using members of three stigmatized groups in Turkey including LGBTI people, people with disabilities, and ethnic Kurds, Bagci and colleagues (2020) showed that perceived tolerance of one's group was associated with threats to social identity needs, including to one's esteem, meaning, belonging, continuity, and efficacy, even while accounting for perceived discrimination. These increased threats were in turn related to reduced positive well-being (captured by measures of global self-worth and flourishing), and higher negative well-being (captured by measures of anxiety and depression). These studies further demonstrated that being tolerated and being discriminated both had independently negative implications for minority groups.

In other work using a nationally representative sample of ethnic minority group members in the Netherlands, Cvetkovska and colleagues (2020) found that the experience of being tolerated was related to greater well-being through increased national identification, while controlling for the experiences of being accepted or rejected. However, compared to perceiving one's group as accepted in society, seeing one's group as tolerated resulted in lower national identification and reduced well-being (see also Cvetkovska et al., 2021, Study 1, involving U.S. racial and ethnic minorities). Across all of these correlational studies using varied minority groups from different countries, perceived experiences with being tolerated were seen as distinct from both being discriminated against, and from being accepted; and such experiences related to negative outcomes for minority groups.

While such studies provided valuable insights into the experiences and psychological correlates for real minority group members who feel their beliefs, norms, and practices are merely tolerated in society, the use of cross-sectional surveys limits our ability to establish causality. Therefore, we subsequently conducted various experimental studies to better understand the implications of being tolerated. For example, in one study (Cvetkovska et al., 2021, Study 2), racial and ethnic minority Americans were asked to recall an experience where they or someone they knew was merely tolerated, accepted, or discriminated against and participants spent a few minutes describing the situation (i.e., who was involved, where it happened, etc.) Participants then completed a series of well-being measures including those relating to positive and negative affect about

the situation they recalled, general measures of life satisfaction, self-esteem, and sense of control. Analyses revealed that reflecting on experiences of being tolerated led to situationally lower positive affect than reflecting on experiences of acceptance, but recalling experiences of discrimination resulted in the lowest positive affect of all. However, recalling experiences of being tolerated had no negative impact on relatively general aspects of well-being such as one's self-esteem, sense of control, and life satisfaction relative to being accepted suggesting that being tolerated may have more situationally negative implications for minority groups without spillover effects into their global self-assessments.

In another experimental study involving racial and ethnic minorities from the USA (Cvetkovska et al., 2021, Study 3), participants were randomly assigned to read a vignette and imagine themselves in the scenario. These vignettes described working in a new organization (that is predominantly White) where employees are allowed to dress as they wish for 'casual Fridays'. The scenario then described the participant wearing a t-shirt one of those Fridays with symbols of their ethnic group. In response, participants are told about one of three reactions that the shirt elicited from their boss: in the acceptance condition, participants are told their boss expresses approval of your decision to wear the shirt while affirming their support for diversity in the workplace. In the tolerance condition, participants are told their boss expressed disapproval of the shirt because they saw it as divisive, but they decided to nevertheless allow it because they believe in their freedom of expression. And in the discrimination condition, participants are told their boss rejects the shirt because they think it is too 'ethnic', and they are asked not to wear the shirt again to work. Following this, participants completed a series of measures assessing threats to their social identity needs, followed by positive and negative affect measures that were specific to the experience (and not general well-being measures). Data revealed that being tolerated resulted in more positive affect, and less negative affect compared to feeling discriminated against. However, being tolerated resulted in less positive affect and more negative affect related to feeling accepted. Importantly, these analyses revealed that higher threats to social identity mediated the link between being tolerated (relative to being accepted) and the increased negative affect, but not changes in positive affect.

*Implications of being tolerated with experimental minority groups*
While the above research was useful in better understanding the psychological implications of being tolerated for minority affect and well-being in the real-world, there are obvious limitations to relying on such hypothetical or recalled experiences of being tolerated. For example, our above experimental approach

relies on real-life minority groups describing a range of experiences or imagining themselves in specific scenarios that will have varying impact on individuals. To address this limitation, we developed a novel paradigm that would allow us to experimentally simulate the experience of being tolerated, and contrast this with simulated experiences of being rejected or accepted.

Across these studies, participants would initially complete some demographic questions about themselves before completing a brief questionnaire that we described as assessing their work style as "people-oriented" or "task-oriented". Participants then waited as the computer program diagnosed their work style personality, and in all cases, the computer came back with a diagnosis that they were "people-oriented". All participants were then asked how they felt about working with "task-oriented" people by choosing from one of three options where they could either indicate a willingness to work with anyone, disapproval for working with task-oriented teammates, but a willingness to nevertheless put up with them, or a complete unwillingness to work with task-oriented teammates. After participants selected their preference, they waited as the computer searched for other players on the platform before they were introduced to their three alleged teammates with whom they would complete the team activities. To introduce their teammates, the computer would provide a brief profile of each including their first name, age bracket, years of work experience, work style type, and their preference for who to work with using the options above (all of these were questions participants were themselves asked at the start of the study). It is at this stage that participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. While the information about the teammates including their name, age, years of work experience, and work style (i.e., that they were task-oriented) remained the same, we manipulated the team preferences using comic strips. In the acceptance condition, all three teammates indicated that they liked working with both task-oriented and people-oriented teammates as both bring something valuable to the table. In the tolerance condition, all teammates indicated that they did not like working with people-oriented teammates because they felt they were too focused on making other people happy, but they indicated that they would nevertheless put up with them as teammates. However, in the rejection/discrimination condition, all teammates indicated that they did not like working with people-oriented individuals because they are generally not as good, so they avoid working with them when possible.

Following this, participants were told they would complete a team-building exercise with their new teammates. Participants then proceeded to complete a cyberball game (Williams & Jarvis, 2006) where players tossed a virtual ball back and forth between each other. In both the acceptance and tolerance condition,

the ball was equally tossed between all the players involved in the game. However, in the rejection/discrimination condition, the participant was included only on the first set of trials and then the other players started to toss the ball only amongst themselves while excluding the real participant. Following this experience, participants completed a series of team tasks that involved one of their alleged teammates to strengthen the study's cover story. These involved various workplace situations designed around the prisoner's dilemma, and participants were asked to indicate how they would handle each situation (these tasks were simply distracters that promoted the cover story of the study). Participants were then asked to respond to a series of Likert type items about their experience and how they felt in the team including: (a) future expectations for how they would be treated, including how open-minded they felt their teammates would be to their suggestions, how much their teammates would value their opinions, etc.; (b) well-being and identity needs such as belonging, sense of control, self-esteem, and meaning; and (c) minority voice, or the extent to which participants were willing to speak about their treatment and experience (in one study, this was measured by asking participants to post on a fictitious website about their experience).

Across four studies using samples from the USA and Netherlands, and varied measures, we found that the experience of being tolerated was significantly better than the experience of being discriminated against or rejected for well-being and future expectations. By contrast, the experience of being tolerated was significantly worse for well-being and undermined future expectations relative to being accepted. Interestingly, despite the differentiation between the experience of being accepted and tolerated on well-being and future expectations, those tolerated were no more willing to speak out against their treatment than those accepted. This suggests that being tolerated, while better than the experience of discrimination or rejection, may have a depoliticizing effect where despite its negative impact for those tolerated does not increase the willingness to complain about one's treatment unlike discrimination and rejection that elicits a willingness to call out one's negative experience (Adelman et al., 2022).

Since this initial work examining the implications of experiencing tolerance (compared to discrimination and acceptance), we have conducted several other studies to better understand its nuances. For example, in one study, women experienced rejection, toleration, or acceptance from an all-male team similar to above before completing measures of their expectations for future treatment, voice, and collective action tendencies through assessing their intention to contact internal authorities, participate in a focus group, and show active support for gender equality organizations. As found with fictitious groups, being tolerated was more detrimental for future expectations than being accepted, but better

than being rejected. However, being tolerated led to increased willingness to voice one's grievances and recommend exclusion of one's teammates relative to being accepted, but less than being rejected. Interestingly, being tolerated had no impact on one's willingness to participate in a focus group to discuss such issues, contact authorities about one's treatment, and had no impact on support for gender equality organizations relative to both being accepted and rejected.

Taken together, it appears that being tolerated is a distinct experience from being discriminated against or rejected and also from being included or accepted. Being tolerated is a significantly better experience compared to being rejected or discriminated against, but it is more detrimental for well-being and the future expectations of minority group members than being accepted. While results seem equivocal on the impact of being tolerated for minority group members' willingness to speak out and take action, the implications for well-being are evident in both real groups as well as fictitious groups.

### Future directions on the psychological implications of being tolerated

While our initial research using real minority groups and fictitious groups sheds some light on the implications of being tolerated for minority emotions, well-being, self-esteem, future expectations, and minority voice, this work has not examined the boundaries and moderating conditions of such effects. Moreover, relative to the large literature on the psychological implications of perceived discrimination, there remain many new venues for future exploration to examine when and why being tolerated has varying implications for minority groups. In the section below, we provide some potential directions for future work.

*Relevance of normative social context*
One avenue we believe that is ripe for future research is examining whether the normative context of intergroup relations moderates the impact of being tolerated (relative to being discriminated against or accepted) for minority outcomes. While being tolerated may have more negative implications for minority well-being, self-esteem, and emotions relative to being accepted, we recently found these effects were moderated by the normative expectations of minority group members. Using the fictitious paradigm described earlier, we found that when participants had low expectations that they would be treated well during the game (manipulated through alleged online comments of fellow ingroup members), the negative effects of being tolerated for minority identity needs, emotions, and future expectations were blunted relative to when they expected to be treated fairly during the game (Yogeeswaran et al., 2022). It may be that the negative implications of being

tolerated are more pronounced in contexts where the normative expectation is one of intergroup acceptance and the climate is one that claims to be egalitarian. By contrast, in normatively anti-egalitarian or hierarchical contexts, being tolerated may be less detrimental for minority outcomes as minority group members perceive discrimination as the widespread alternative which makes tolerance a relatively preferable option. Future work should delve further into examining the role of the perceived normative context for considering the implications of being tolerated on minority outcomes by not only examining these effects in artificial contexts as we have, but also by testing whether the implications of being tolerated (relative to acceptance and rejection) vary depending on the hierarchical versus egalitarian social norms present across contexts (i.e., neighborhoods, communities, or countries).

*Examining the antecedents of perceptions of tolerance*
Another important avenue for future research is to better understand the antecedents of perceptions of being tolerated. Tolerance is an inherently difficult experience to identify and respond to because it involves disapproval of one's group-based beliefs, norms, or practices, but without negative interference. While there is a large literature on perceptions of discrimination and its antecedents that highlight the role of psychological factors such as vigilance bias, minimization, and stigma consciousness (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Pinel, 1999; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997), no research to our knowledge has shed light on how targets become aware that they are merely tolerated rather than accepted or rejected by others. This is a crucial area of inquiry, as, in its purest form, one might expect tolerance to be somewhat hidden as it involves equal treatment in behavior. However, in practice tolerance is often unlikely to be so hidden. The tolerated may become aware of others' disapproval, or respond to the absence of statements of explicit support or value. However, it is likely to be the case that the experience of being tolerated requires judgments and interpretations of an opaque space where the intentions and beliefs of the tolerators is not unambiguously understood. Therefore, future research would benefit from building on the literature regarding the antecedents of perceived discrimination to shed light on the factors that might lead members of minority and marginalized groups to feel that they are tolerated, and to develop an understanding of how people determine that they are being tolerated.

*Unpacking different meanings of being tolerated*
Another important direction for future work is to examine the implications of being tolerated when tolerance has different meanings and takes on varied forms. As described in the wider literature on tolerance (Forst, 2013), tolerance can take

on multiple forms. In addition to the fairly hierarchical permission-based form of tolerance where the dominant group gives 'permission' to a less powerful minority group to have their disapproved beliefs, norms, or practices in society, tolerance can also be based on the principled belief that all individuals have equal rights, dignity, and civil liberties (i.e., respect-based tolerance), or tolerance can be based on a more pragmatic acceptance of minority way of life in order to avoid conflicts and maintain the peace (i.e., coexistence-based tolerance; Forst, 2013; Velthuis et al., 2021). While Maykel has conducted research examining the implications of these differing forms of tolerance for the acceptance of minority group practices (Velthuis et al., 2021), future work would benefit from examining how the psychological implications of being tolerated may differ depending on how minority group members feel they are tolerated by others. While our earlier work did not systematically explore these distinctions, our paradigms largely reflect a more hierarchical permission-based form of tolerance that reinforces the unstable and condescending nature of being tolerated by the majority. Therefore, it is possible that the earlier described findings are specific to this form of tolerance and the implications of being tolerated in its respect-based form may be more benevolent than earlier work suggests. Future work would greatly benefit from systematically exploring the implications of being tolerated depending on whether tolerance is perceived to be in its permission, respect, or coexistence forms.

*Implications for minority identification*
Finally, another venue worthy of future exploration is understanding the implications of being tolerated for minority group identification. While previous research on the rejection-identification model (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999) reveals that perceived discrimination among racial and ethnic minorities increases racial and ethnic group identification, it is less clear how perceived toleration or experiences of toleration influence minority group identification. In a related vein, while research on the rejection-disidentification model (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009) reveals that perceived discrimination decreases national identification among immigrant minority groups, it is unclear how being tolerated as a minority group member within a superordinate group (irrespective of whether that is a team in our experimental work, or a national identity in the context of immigrant or ethnic minority groups) impacts superordinate group identification. On the one hand, the disapproval involved in toleration may result in similar effects to that found in the rejection-(dis)identification literatures. However, on the other hand, the equal behavioral treatment involved in toleration may limit any changes in group identification at the subgroup or superordinate level. Future

work would benefit from examining whether toleration sits between acceptance and discrimination, or if they relate more to the experiences of one or the other.

*Conclusion*

"*Toleration makes difference possible; difference makes toleration necessary*" (Walzer, 1997, p.xii). Throughout his career, Maykel Verkuyten has made important contributions to our understanding of the psychology of tolerance, a millennia old conception for how to live with difference. Tolerance is a necessary ingredient for a pluralistic society to manage conflict. While this chapter cannot do justice to all the extensive contributions of Maykel's research on this topic, here we have zoomed in on his work specifically exploring the implications of being tolerated. Using a range of methodologies and data from multiple populations, this work examines the psychological consequences for those who are the target of toleration. Maykel's contributions to the topic of toleration reflect his complex scientific mind that is able to both see the promise and pitfalls of any approach. The academic disciplines Maykel has contributed to will have a difficult time filling in the large intellectual gap that his retirement will leave.

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**Degrees**

MA social psychology, University of Leuven, Belgium (1979). MA Cultural Anthropology, University of Nijmegen (1981). PhD (1988), Erasmus University Rotterdam with the dissertation entitled 'Zelfbeleving en identiteit van jongeren uit etnische minderheden'.

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This book highlights current directions for theory and research in the field of migration and ethnic relations, the academic habitat of Professor Maykel Verkuyten. Maykel joined Utrecht University's department of Interdisciplinary Social Science in 1993, and has been a central figure within the European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) ever since its inception in 1994. His fascination for ethnic identity, cultural diversity, and intergroup relations has resulted in an impressive record of articles and books. Without exception, his work stands out as strong, clear, and versatile, reflecting his training as a social psychologist and anthropologist, his interdisciplinary focus, his creativity, and his intrinsic desire to understand the social world. This book reflects his interest in 'Migration and Ethnic Relations' and contains chapters written by current ERCOMER staff members, as well as colleagues who (recently) left ERCOMER and/or closely collaborated with Maykel. The different contributions address key questions related to immigration and integration, cultural diversity and intergroup relations.