

Do “opposites” attract?

An analysis of ethnic homophily amongst natives and first- and second-generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants in the Netherlands

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**‘We want to go together, we want
to go hand in hand, but we are not
given a chance’**

Abstract

Interethnic contact is considered to be pivotal for the integration of migrants as it can help them learn both the language and the norms and values of their host society (Martinovic, 2011). Therefore, it is important to examine what factors contribute to or hinder interethnic contact. Previous research has predominantly focused on the role of migrants in interethnic contact. However, as interethnic contact requires the cooperation of migrants *and* natives, this research focused more on the role of natives in interethnic contact. By examining the preferences and opportunities for contact of natives and first- and second-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants, this research aimed to identify potential differences between these ethnic groups in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in. In addition, this study examined whether religiosity played a role in the amount of interethnic contact natives and migrants engaged in. Studying religiosity in relation to interethnic contact is especially important, as religion has been ‘identified’ as a crucial cause of the lack of integration of migrants by Dutch politicians (Mepschen, 2016). This study made use of a mixed methods approach in order to present a comprehensive understanding of the influencers of interethnic contact for both natives and migrants. For the quantitative analyses, data stemming from the NeLLS dataset ($N=5312$) was used. This study proved that natives and first- and second-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants differ significantly from each other: natives engage in far less interethnic contact than migrants. Furthermore, whereas the amount of interethnic contact migrants engaged in seemed to be dependent on certain opportunities or contextual factors, this was less the case for natives. This raised the question whether there were other factors, which were not included in the quantitative analyses, that could explain their low amount of interethnic contact. In order to examine the reasoning behind the choices individuals made regarding interethnic contact, five semi-structured interviews were held. This study suggests that while migrants focus more on accepting differences, natives focus more on pointing out differences. Furthermore, this study challenges Allport’s contact theory (1954) that interethnic contact reduces prejudice towards the entire out-group as evidence was found that natives rather regard the ‘good’ migrants they know as the exception rather than the rule. In addition, this research highlights the privileged position natives have in the Dutch society. It appears that natives have the power to decide whether, and on what terms, they engage in interethnic contact. More research on this topic is required in order to disclose whether low amounts of interethnic contact are indeed, partially, due to a lack of willingness of natives.

Keywords: Interethnic contact; mixed methods approach; Turkish and Moroccan migrants; natives; the Netherlands

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1. Introduction

‘We want to go together, we want to go hand in hand, but we’re not given a chance’

– Naziha (research participant)

For migrants, emigration generally implies leaving behind long-standing relations with acquaintances, friends and family. Consequently, migrants often have to establish new relations with either natives or other migrants. Whether migrants engage in contact with natives or not vastly affects their integration as it can enhance their understanding of both the language and the norms and values of the host society (DiPrete, 2011; Martinovic, 2011). The integration of migrants is not only important for migrants themselves, but also crucial for the cohesion of the population at large. As interethnic contact constitutes such an important factor in the integration of migrants, it has attracted a lot of political interest and interference (Crul & Schneider, 2010). Dutch politicians have ‘identified’ religion to be a crucial cause of a lack of integration of, particularly Muslim, migrants (Mepschen, 2016). According to these politicians, Muslim migrants are more focused on interacting with individuals who hold the same (religious) values, which, in the Netherlands, are mostly other migrants instead of natives. However, such strong assumptions, with a potentially negative impact on the image of religion, have yet to be examined for their validity. Partially due to the political interest, a lot of academic research has been conducted on interethnic contact (Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006). However, previous research on interethnic contact has predominantly focused on the role of migrants (Martinovic, 2011). To address this gap in the literature, this study will focus on migrants and natives alike, in order to get a better understanding of the reasons to engage in or refrain from interethnic contact. This way, this study aims to contest the idea present in both academic and public discourse that a lack of interethnic contact can be assigned to (religious) migrants exclusively. Interethnic contact requires engagement of both migrants and natives as it is a two-way street. Therefore, the ‘chance’ or opportunity for interethnic contact should be provided by migrants and natives alike.

In the Netherlands, Turkish and Moroccan migrants form a particularly interesting group to examine when studying integration and interethnic contact, as no integration policy was implemented by the Dutch government upon their arrival in the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s (Crul & Doornik, 2003). As they were labour migrants, both the Dutch government and the migrants themselves anticipated that they would return to their countries of origin after a few years of work (Crul & Doornik, 2003). However, the opposite occurred and individuals with a Turkish or Moroccan background now constitute an undeniable part of the Dutch population. Yet, as the Dutch government assumed that the stay of these labour migrants would be temporary, no formal integration policy for this specific group was initially formulated. The only area

in which their integration was deemed necessary, the labour market, was already considered complete by the government (Crul & Doornik, 2003). Yet, by the end of the 1980s, when it became apparent that these labour migrants were settling in the Netherlands, a formal integration policy was finally formulated (Crul & Heering, 2008). However, these migrants already lived geographically isolated from the native population, which made chances of interacting with natives, and thus chances for integration, more difficult (Musterd, 2003). This group of migrants persisted to have a considerably lower amount of interethnic contact than other migrant groups, such as Surinamese and Antilleans (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). Nowadays, the second-generation of this group of labour migrants is discussed in the media as ‘isolated’ and ‘problematic’ (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). The negative discussions on this group mostly revolve around their Muslim identity since their religion is often identified as the main obstacle for their integration (Thomson & Crul, 2007). This type of media coverage, which may shape public belief, often stresses the role of migrants in integration and interethnic contact. This is in accordance with the Dutch trend in which integration is increasingly considered to be a task of migrants solely (Vasta, 2007). Yet, as was previously indicated, interethnic contact requires cooperation of migrants and natives alike.

Therefore, this study will explore the preferences and opportunities for interethnic contact of both Turkish and Moroccan migrants *and* Dutch natives. In order to do so, the preferences and opportunities theory (Kalmijn, 1991) will be utilized. This theory argues that individuals’ social contacts are dependent on the preferences of these individuals, on the one hand, and the structural constraints of the environment these individuals are in, on the other hand. This study will explore the following research question:

‘Which social and demographic factors impact engagement in interethnic contact between Dutch natives and first and second generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants, and *how* and *why* do these factors affect interethnic contact?’

Contrary to most studies on interethnic contact, this research question is answered by incorporating both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This way, this study will be able to display, generalizable, factors contributing to interethnic contact, yet also provide a deeper understanding of why certain factors are important for interethnic contact according to natives and migrants themselves. For the quantitative part of this study the sub-question ‘*how do natives and first- and second-generation migrants differ from each other in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in, and what is the role of religiosity on this potential difference?*’ is examined. In this phase, potential differences between natives and first- and second-generation migrants in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in will be examined. These ethnic groups are expected to differ from one another as certain ethnic groups experience more structural constraints to solely interact with co-ethnics than other ethnic groups (Kalmijn, 1998; Martinovic,

2011). Furthermore, the influence of religion on the amount of interethnic contact individuals engage in will be analysed more closely. Previous research has indicated that religious individuals might differ from non-religious individuals in their preferences as they differ in the cultural norms and values they deem important (Roccas, 2005). Furthermore, religious migrants are thought to have fewer opportunities for interethnic contact than non-religious migrants (Fleischmann & Dronkers, 2010). Therefore, this study specifically focusses on the influence of religion on the opportunities and preferences for interethnic contact. The quantitative research will be conducted by using the NeLLS dataset (de Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp & Monden, 2011).

The qualitative part of this study aims to further examine the results of the quantitative phase. This phase of the study answers the how and why part of the research question by examining the following sub-question: *‘what are the motives of migrants and natives for engaging in or refraining from interethnic contact?’*. In order to explore the reasoning behind the engagement in interethnic contact, five semi-structured interviews were held. In addition, this phase discusses perceived differences between natives and migrants in order to see whether, and if so how, perceiving others to be different influences engagement in interethnic contact (cf. McPherson et al., 2001).

Before presenting the results of this study, a literature review and a theoretical framework will be provided in Chapter Two and Three. As this study follows a sequential explanatory method, Chapter Four will elaborate on the quantitative methods adopted for this project. Chapter Five will present the results of the quantitative analyses. Based on these results, the qualitative methods will be discussed in Chapter Six. The results of the qualitative analyses will be presented in Chapter Seven. In Chapter Eight, the research question will be answered by discussing the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses. In addition, the limitations and recommendations for further research will be presented in this chapter.

2. State of the art: Assessing the gap

In migration studies, interethnic contact is considered to be an important marker of integration, as it requires frequent social interaction and a strong acceptance between the members of different ethnic groups (Kalmijn, 1998; DiPrete, 2011; Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). Interethnic contact can be characterized as contact between individuals outside of their ethnic group (Martinovic, 2013). Through interethnic interactions, migrants learn about the norms and values of the receiving country and additionally become more proficient in the language (Martinovic, 2013). Furthermore, interethnic contact can function to facilitate access to the mainstream labour market (Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006) and reduce prejudice, which ultimately benefits the integration of migrants (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011; Valentine, 2008). Integration is a process in which individuals adapt to the dominant culture, yet also maintain their bonds with their cultural background (Berry, 1998). It is important to differentiate integration from assimilation, as these two concepts are frequently entwined (Bhatia, 2002). The assimilation strategy is often defined as a strategy that occurs when individuals decide to seek contact with the dominant population without maintaining their cultural identity (Berry, 1998). However, assimilation is not solely a strategy migrants pursue, but it can also be a matter of state policy. To illustrate, Vasta (2007) found that, since 1988, the Netherlands has introduced numerous compulsory acculturation programmes for migrants as a way to ensure their acculturation to a much larger degree than before. These assimilative pressures are predominantly focused on restricting non-Christian religions, such as Islam, as European countries consider these religions to jeopardise the integration of migrants and the social cohesion of the societies at large (Crul & Schneider, 2010). Similarly, integration, cannot be attributed to the choices of migrants solely as integration also requires the cooperation of the host society (Bhatia, 2002).

Pettigrew et al. (2011) furthermore found that the effect of interethnic contact on reducing prejudice generalizes to not only the entire out-group, but even to other out-groups. Hence, interethnic contact is pivotal for the integration of migrants and for the functioning of a society as a whole. The importance of integration, and thus of interethnic contact, has become increasingly apparent as the Dutch population has primarily been growing due to immigration (CBS, 2017). Despite the positive effects of interethnic contact, in the Netherlands, social networks of individuals are predominantly ethnically homogenous (de Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp & Monden, 2011). Ethnicity thus composes a strong division in social networks and individuals of the same ethnic background are inclined to actively, or passively, attract each other (Smith, McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2014).

This tendency of individuals to engage in relations with individuals who are similar to them is called *homophily* in social network theory (Borgatti, Everett & Johnson, 2013). Homophily

can either stem from preferences individuals have or from the fact that these ‘likeminded’ people are more prevalent in their environment and thus that the possibility for homophily is bigger (Borgatti et al., 2013, Kadushin, 2012). There are two types of homophily, namely status-homophily and value-homophily (Kadushin, 2012). Status homophily can be either ascribed to individuals on the basis of their age, ethnicity or sex or can be acquired by individuals based on occupation or educational level (Kadushin, 2012). Value homophily is based upon beliefs and attitudes individuals have towards certain things that shape behaviour (Smith et al., 2014). Religion is an important example of value homophily as religion may strongly condition individuals’ values (Adida, Laitin & Valfort, 2015). However, the most common type of homophily, and perhaps the most detrimental type, is ethnic homophily (Smith et al., 2014; Ryan, 2011; Savekoul, 2011). Most researchers of social networks agree that the principle of homophily exemplifies the tendency of social networks to bolster existing inequalities and instigate prejudice and segregation (Kadushin, 2012; Ryan, 2011).

Ethnic homophily is the most prevailing when individuals feel as if they are part of a minority group (Mollica, Gray & Trevino, 2003). Following this argument, migrants, being the minority group in a host society, would thus be most prone to refrain from engaging in interethnic contact. Ethnic homophily amongst either migrants or natives can hinder integration, as it hinders interaction of migrants with both the Dutch language and its norms and values. It is therefore socially relevant to study what factors contribute to ethnic homophily and how ethnic homophily could potentially be reduced.

This research will contribute to the field of migration studies, and in particular to understanding ethnic homophily. A lot of research has already been conducted on how migrants differ from natives regarding their preferences and choices for interethnic contact (e.g., Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). However, less research has been done on the difference between first- and second-generation migrants in comparison to natives. This research will focus on both the difference between first- and second-generation migrants and the difference with natives. Most scholars of social networks have focused on ethnic homophily amongst ethnic minority groups exclusively (Ryan, 2011; Savekoul, 2011; van den Berg, 2007). This reaffirms the idea in public discourses that ethnic homophily is solely due to the preferences of ethnic minority groups. Yet, interethnic contact includes both migrants *and* natives. Therefore, as Martinovic (2013) pointed out, more research should focus on the preferences and opportunities for ethnic homophily of natives. In fact, natives may have a bigger influence on the level of interethnic contact within a country than migrants as they have less structural constraints that prevent them from acting on their preferences for ethnic homophily (Martinovic, 2013).

In addition, this research will contribute to the field of religious studies, as it will take into account the potential influence of *religion* and *religiosity* on the relation between ethnicity and

interethnic contact. Research has heretofore shown that religious individuals seem to ‘attract’ each other (Smith et al., 2014; de Graaf et al., 2011; Kalmijn, 1998). However, whether religiosity enhances the preferences or opportunities of different ethnicities for interethnic contact has yet to be further researched (Hindriks, Coenders & Verkuyten, 2014). Nevertheless, there has been research conducted which supports the idea that religion influences that relation between ethnicity and interethnic contact (Carol, 2013). To illustrate, Zolberg and Woon (1999) found that natives presume Muslim migrants to more strongly support a culture that differs from the “host society’s culture” than non-religious migrants. In public discourse, Islam is often considered to be violent, sexist, chauvinist and, above all, a threat to Western values (Foner & Alba, 2008; Bracke, 2012). Due to these assumptions, natives are less inclined to seek interethnic contact with Muslim migrants, as it is expected that migrants of that religious affiliation differ more strongly from them (Zolberg & Woon, 1999). In addition, Muslims constitute a clear and visible ‘other’, and they are thus more easily ‘identified’ than non-religious migrants or migrants from a different religious affiliation as potential or non-potential contacts (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Qasmiyeh, 2010; Zolberg & Woon, 1999). However, religious migrants themselves can be more inclined to refrain from interethnic contact as well (Foner & Alba, 2008). This is due to the fact that Dutch natives are, perhaps rightly, presumed to be mostly secular (Zolberg & Woon, 1999; Foner & Alba, 2008). Following the homophily theory of McPherson et al. (2001), expectations of “otherness” of out-groups may lead both religious migrants and non-religious natives to be more likely to refrain from interethnic contact. In this research, religion is operationalised as both religious affiliation *and* religiosity since solely identifying as Muslim could have an entirely different effect than being strongly religious. To account for this potential difference, religious affiliation and religiosity will be treated as separate moderators in the analyses.

Additional factors influencing interethnic contact that have been researched include age, educational level, employment, gender, political preference, ethnic pride, experienced discrimination, command of Dutch and level of urbanisation. Firstly, much research has been conducted on the role of *age* on the amount of interethnic contact individuals engage in (e.g. Titzmann, 2014; Martinovic, 2013). Research has shown that older individuals are more prejudiced towards ethnic minorities and are therefore less likely to engage in interethnic contact than younger individuals (Martinovic, 2013). Furthermore, the influence of the *educational level* on interethnic contact has been researched extensively (Lancee & Dronkers, 2011; Martinovic, van Tubergen & Maas, 2008). Highly educated individuals are more likely to find themselves in positions in which they are mainly exposed to natives, such as at the university or at work (Martinovic et al., 2008; Kalmijn, 1998). This suggests that educational level can play a significant role in, at least, the opportunities for interethnic contact. In addition, whether migrants are *employed* also influences the opportunities for interethnic contact (Granovetter, 1973; Martinovic

et al., 2008). Even though employment might not influence the level of interethnic contact for natives, it is likely to affect the level of interethnic contact for migrants in a positive way. In addition, *gender* has been researched as a factor influencing interethnic contact (Martinovic, 2013). Especially first-generation migrants from collectivistic cultures, in which the emphasis is on sense of community and family ties (Merz, Özeke-Kocabas, Oort & Schugel, 2009), often have more set gender roles, allocating women to the role of child-carer and housewife, which makes these immigrant women have less opportunities for interethnic contact than men (Martinovic, 2013). Another factor that is assumed to correlate with interethnic contact is *political preference* (Zick, Pettigrew & Wagner, 2008; van der Waal, de Koster & Achterberg, 2013). According to these researchers, people who support right-wing parties, that are often anti-immigration, are expected to have stronger preferences to refrain from interethnic contact. Following this, *ethnic pride* has also been assumed to influence interethnic contact (Brüß, 2005). Brüß (2005) found that if individuals are more proud of their ethnic background, they favour contact with individuals from the same ethnic background and are more likely to evade interethnic contact. Additionally, *experiencing discrimination* has been frequently linked to a withdrawal from interethnic contact of migrants (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009; Martinovic, 2013; Zick et al., 2008). These researchers found that experiencing discrimination lead to a reduction of trust in the outgroup which in its turn leads to less preference and willingness for interethnic contact. Another important factor determining the level of interethnic contact is the *command of the Dutch language* as not being able to speak the Dutch language hinders migrants from interacting natives (Martinovic et al., 2008). Last, the *level of urbanisation* has been studied in regards to the level of interethnic contact (Savelkoul, Tolsma & Scheepers, 2015; Andersen, 2017; Tselios, McCann & van Dijk, 2016). As migrants from Turkish and Moroccan descent are more prone to be concentrated in cities (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009), it is plausible that those migrants have less interethnic contact than for example migrants who live in rural areas, as it is easier to act on their preferences for *intra-ethnic* contact if there are more opportunities to do so. However, such assumptions deriving from the existing literature need to be further critically examined. Therefore, in this study, all the above-mentioned factors will be taken into account in order to review their importance and impact on interethnic contact.

Furthermore, while much research on interethnic contact has been conducted via either quantitative or qualitative research methods, not many have tried to incorporate both (Bolíbar, Martí & Verd, 2015). However, some scholars have argued social networks concepts, such as interethnic contact, should be studied using mixed methods (Fushe & Mützel, 2011; Bolívar et al., 2015). These advocates of mixed methods argue that social networks, and the involved processes, are ‘constructed realities’, meaning that because individuals define networks as real they are real in their consequences (Burt, 2002). Following this, these scholars argue that it is necessary to look

at network phenomena from different methodological angles in order to get a more detailed account of the complexity of this social phenomenon (Fushe & Mützel, 2011). This research will contribute to this field of study by incorporating both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Due to this approach, this research is able to disentangle *which* factors impact ethnic homophily and additionally provide an insight into *how* and *why* these factors affect ethnic homophily. Hence, this research will allow a more nuanced and precise understanding of interethnic contact and ethnic homophily among natives and first- and second-generation migrants, with a particular focus on the importance of religion.

3. Theoretical framework: Addressing the gap

As discussed, there has already been research conducted on why ethnic homophily is the most prevailing type of homophily (Smith et al., 2014) and, additionally, many factors contributing to ethnic homophily have been examined (Kalmijn, 1998; Martinovic, 2013; Pettigrew et al., 2013). However, the difference between different generations of migrants or individuals of different cultural backgrounds has not extensively been researched (Crul, Schneider & Leslie, 2013; Martinovic, 2013). Based upon the preferences and opportunities theory of Kalmijn (1991; 1998), the first sub-question *‘how do natives and first- and second-generation migrants differ from each other in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in, and what is the role of religiosity on this potential difference?’* will be examined. The preferences and opportunities theory of Kalmijn (1991) entails the idea that the networks, and thus social contacts, of individuals are dependent on the preferences of individuals, on the one hand, and the structural constraints of the environment individuals are in on the other hand. Furthermore, the influence of religious affiliation and religiosity on the preferences and opportunities for interethnic contact will be discussed.

3.1 Ethnicity and ethnic homophily

3.1.1 Preferences and opportunities for ethnic homophily

The preference for ethnic homophily has been widely discussed by several scholars (Smith et al., 2014; Ryan, 2011; de Graaf et al., 2011). Ethnic homophily occurs when individuals primarily interact with other individuals for the same ethnic background, which makes the networks of these individuals ethnically homogenous (de Graaf et al., 2011). All individuals have the tendency to prefer to interact with ‘likeminded’ others (Borgatti et al., 2013). According to Mäenpää and Jalovaara (2015), individuals are most prone to interact with people from the same cultural background, as they regard cultural background to be an important determinant of the success of potential relations. In addition, individuals often consider interacting with people of the same ethnicity as ‘easier’ due to their shared values and worldviews, which help facilitate mutual understanding between individuals (Kalmijn, 1998; Mäenpää & Jalovaara, 2015). However, even though all individuals are assumed to have a preference for ethnic homophily, these preferences can vary for different individuals due to several factors.

First, it must be stressed that migrants have an important motivation for bonding, instead of bridging, social ties and thus focus on contact with other migrants (Ryan, 2011; Ryan et al., 2008). The need for such ties can, partially, be explained by the fact that migrants might wish to share their experiences with other migrants who have already domiciled themselves in the host society (Bhatia, 2002). In addition, interacting with individuals with the same cultural background

can help migrants to adjust to another society whilst simultaneously staying close to their cultural heritage and identity (Quero, 2016). The globalized and modernized world has made it significantly easier for migrants to maintain transnational connections as a way to keep in touch with their country of origin (Schiller, 2004). These transnational connections can even lead to dense transnational communities of migrants that surpass political borders by engaging in lives and cultures of more than one country (Schiller, 2004; Bolibár et al., 2015). However, even though migrants are able to maintain transnational relations, the focus lies on ‘tangible’ relations with individuals who are in their close environment (Riedel, 2016). According to Quero (2016), relations with individuals from the same ethnic background can help migrants counter feelings of loneliness and isolation when they arrive in an entirely new environment. Hence, holding on to contact with individuals who are similar in, for instance, cultural background might help anchor individuals upon integrating into a new society at first. However, ethnically homogenous relations might also be a way of second-generation migrants to keep a connection to their cultural heritage (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). Phinney et al. (2001) found that second-generation migrants may at times become deeply interested in their cultural heritage and want to experience the sense of belonging to their ethnic groups. Therefore, these individuals are prone to preferring to interact with individuals who share their cultural background, as this type of contact is an important part of their identity (Phinney et al., 2001).

Similarly, natives are also more favorable towards ‘in-group’ relations than towards interethnic relations (Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Martinovic, 2011). This is not, per definition, due to dislike of other ethnic groups, but rather based on the assumption that communicating and building a relation is easier with people from the same cultural background (Masson & Verkuyten, 1993). Furthermore, according to Savelkoul (2011), experiencing a threat of the (size of an) ethnic group may also make individuals focus more on social bonds with individuals of their ‘own’ ethnic group. The media and public discourse seem to have a somewhat orientalist outlook on migrants (Doomernik, 2017). Migrants are herein portrayed as an ‘ultimate other’, which leads to the idea that migrants are vastly different from natives, which could then lead to less interethnic contact (Baumann, 2004). Moreover, as natives (being the majority) are less likely to come into contact with people of other ethnicities, the, maybe not so different, ‘other’ might be considered to be far more ‘alien’ than he or she in fact is. To illustrate, de Graaf et al. (2011) found that second-generation migrants and natives differ very little from each other in the values that they find important. Hence, the assumption that individuals from different cultural backgrounds have completely different normative frameworks is erroneous. Yet, both migrants and natives seem to still act upon this assumption. Thus, following these arguments, it would appear that *all* ethnic groups have a somewhat similar preference for ethnically homogeneous relations.

However, there are some structural constraints that need to be taken into account in

researching interethnic contact. The context of an individual shapes, to a certain degree, whether individuals can act upon their preferences for interethnic or homogenous relations (Martinovic, 2013; Kalmijn, 1998). Hence, there are structural constraints hindering, and opportunities facilitating, individuals in their preferences. An important contextual factor is the size of one's own ethnic group in comparison to the ethnic outgroups (Martinovic, 2013). For natives, it is easier to solely focus on intra-ethnic contact as they form the majority group in terms of numbers. However, as migrants are minority groups in the Netherlands, they have fewer opportunities for engaging in intra-ethnic, ethnically homogenous, relations. This is especially the case for migrants who live in less segregated neighbourhoods as they are 'obliged' to interact with individuals from the ethnic outgroup (Lazear, 1999). Lazear (1999) approached interethnic contact from an economic perspective by emphasizing that interethnic contact is not a rational choice in a segregated neighbourhood, as it would cost migrants more energy and effort to interact with natives than with individuals from their ethnic in-group. It would thus not be efficient for first-generation migrants to invest in learning the majority language and culture if they are provided with the opportunity to primarily interact within their ethnic group (Lazear, 1999). However, second-generation migrants might also experience more difficulties with mastering the Dutch language if they live in segregated neighbourhood as they are less exposed to the native language in their early years (Vervoort, Dagevos & Flap, 2012). Yet, the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood is not the only factor determining whether individuals have interethnic contact. Opportunities for interethnic leisure contact are also an important factor to take into account (Boschman, 2012). Leisure contact might be even more important to look at in examining interethnic contact, as people are more or less able to choose with whom they spend their leisure time. However, not speaking the native language plays an important part in preventing migrants from engaging in interethnic contact, whether it is in leisure activities or neighbourhood contact.

This constraint is more apparent for first-generation than for second-generation migrants. In the 1960s, individuals from Turkey and Morocco came to the Netherlands as *guest workers* (labour migrants) who anticipated on returning to their countries of origin after a few years. Accordingly, these migrants had little incentives to integrate into their temporary host country and thus little incentives to interact with the native population (Musterd, 2003; Crul & Doornik, 2003). These migrants lived almost entirely segregated from the native population, which made opportunities for interethnic contact slim (Trappenburg, 2003). First-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants had little opportunities for interethnic contact and, in addition, experienced structural constraints in their interaction with natives due to linguistic and cultural barriers (Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006). Furthermore, the Dutch government had not formulated any policy to benefit the integration of these migrants (Crul & Doornik, 2003). The lack of formal policy for the integration of these migrants in all areas but the labour market caused them to

‘clique’ together (Crul & Doornik, 2003), which thereby unintendedly favoured ethnic homophily. Even after having lived in the Netherlands for several years, first-generation migrants still experience more difficulties with engaging in interethnic contact (Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). In contrast, second-generation migrants have more interethnic contact as they are born in the Netherlands and hence have a better command of the Dutch language and a better understanding of “Dutch” norms and values (Martinovic, 2013). Furthermore, Boschman (2012) found that second-generation migrants are more willing to interact with people outside of their ethnic group than first-generation migrants.

In short, natives and migrants are considerably similar in their preferences for ethnically homogeneous relations. However, natives have more opportunities than migrants to act according to those preferences and are thus able to focus on interacting with other natives. Furthermore, first-generation migrants experience more structural constraints in engaging in interethnic contact due to segregation and language and culture barriers. Following the preferences and opportunities theory, we can thus derive two hypotheses:

H1: Migrants have more interethnic contact than natives.

H2: Second-generation migrants have more interethnic contact than first-generation migrants.

3.2 Religion as a moderator of preferences and opportunities for ethnic homophily

3.2.1 The impact of religion on the preferences for ethnic homophily

Ethnic homophily mostly manifests due to the fact that people seek out individuals that are like them in term of cultural values (Smith, McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2014). Yet, cultural differences cannot solely be attributed to ethnicity. Differences in norms and values, which partially constitute social behaviour, can also be attributed to religion (Smith et al., 2014; Roccas, 2005). According to Roccas (2005), religious and non-religious individuals differ from each other in the norms and values they find meaningful. As individuals tend to seek out individuals with similar values and beliefs, this might mean that religious and non-religious individuals are less likely to interact with one another or that individuals from different religious groups do not interact with each other.

Religion is often pivotal in the lives of religious individuals and the lives of devoted individuals often revolves around their religious beliefs and practices that provide a sense of belonging, certainty and meaningfulness (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). For strongly religious individuals it can be even more important to interact with individuals who support the same values and live accordingly (McPherson et al., 2001). Migrants from Turkish and Moroccan descent are mostly Muslim (Maliepaard, Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2010), whereas the native Dutch are

primarily non-religious or Christian (Bernts & Berghuijs, 2016). These migrants have less cultural similarity with the native population than for example migrants from former Dutch colonies, such as Surinamese and Antilleans (Martinovic et al., 2008). Therefore, it can be assumed that natives and Muslim migrants alike have less preference for interreligious and interethnic contact.

Furthermore, Scheepers, Gijsberts and Hello (2002) found that host societies frequently feel threatened by religiously distant migrants and that those migrants are often received more negatively. Following this, natives prefer to refrain from interacting with migrants with a dissimilar religious background. This is especially harmful as migrants, in particular Muslims, have become increasingly racialized and essentialized (Joshi, 2016). Essentialization entails that migrants are reduced to solely one aspect of their identity, in this case to their religious affiliation (Joshi, 2016). Turkish and Moroccan migrants are herein seen as an undifferentiated homogeneous Muslim community who think and act alike. Thus, as all migrants are presumed to be Muslims, and as Muslims are often considered as ‘threatening’ or ‘different’, the choice of natives for interethnic contact is even more hampered. This assumption is not only detrimental to the integration of these migrants, but can furthermore support existing prejudices as it hinders interethnic contact (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Contact theory, originally introduced by Allport (1954), holds that intergroup contact reduces prejudice as it leads to more empathy and greater knowledge of the outgroup. Hence, the effect of interethnic contact on the reduction of prejudice is not only done at an individual level, but the effect is often generalized to the entire out-group. Therefore, not engaging in interethnic or interreligious contact can be detrimental to the integration of migrants.

However, not solely natives are hesitant towards interethnic contact on the basis of (a lack of) religious beliefs. According to Martinovic (2010), religious migrant families or religious communities can at times hinder the interaction of their ethnic group members with natives as they see them as a threat to their traditional culture and values. These ‘third parties’ are able to set the norms for social interaction and can shape the preferences of individuals (Kalmijn, 1998). In addition, religious migrants often find their religion very important as a means to hold on to their cultural background (Bhatia, 2002). Cheadle and Schwadel (2012) suggest that religious migrants prefer to interact with individuals who adhere to the same religious affiliation as those migrants presume they would respect their cultural background, which entails their religious values. However, this preference to seek out individuals who hold the same (non-)religious affiliation is, seemingly, not the only factor influencing the amount of interethnic contact individuals engage in. There are also opportunities and structural constraints influencing the engagement in interethnic contact, which need to be taken into account.

3.2.2 The impact of religion on the opportunities for ethnic homophily

Religiosity is often looked at by examining the frequency of praying of individuals or the frequency in which individuals attend religious services (van Tubergen & Sindradóttir, 2011). While rituals of prayer, in Europe, are often considered to be individualistic (van Tubergen & Sindradóttir, 2011), attending religious services is often linked to interacting with others (Lancee & Dronkers, 2011). Practising religion requires participation in religious activities and interacting with others of the same faith (Muttarak, 2014). Thus, being religious, and attending religious services, can enhance an individual's social interactions. However, whether these interactions are inter-ethnic is highly dependent on the religious affiliation people have.

As the majority of the Dutch population is non-religious or Christian (Bernts & Berghuijs, 2016), Christian migrants would have more opportunities for interethnic contact if they would attend Church services. However, Maliapaard et al. (2010) established that the vast majority of Turkish and Moroccan migrants are Muslim. Thus, for both natives and these migrants, being religious leads to more opportunities for intra-ethnic contact and less opportunities for interethnic contact. In addition, Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) found that religious migrants integrate not as well as non-religious migrants due to the fact that they are more likely to stay within their religious, and thus mostly ethnic, homogenous in-group. This tendency can become even more apparent if migrants or natives are more religious, because the more religious an individual is, the more time he/she spends on practising his/her religion and with people of the same religion, thereby limiting the chances for interethnic contact (Muttarak, 2014).

Moreover, strongly religious individuals tend to hold on to their cultural collectivistic values which stress the importance of the own group and simultaneously determine the social boundaries of that group (Inglehart, 2007). Adhering to culturally 'different' values might constitute structural constraints in interacting with the native population, especially when taking into account that a part of the Dutch population assumes that Muslim migrants differ vastly from 'their' cultural values (Doomernik, 2017). According to Doomernik (2017), these pivotal and defining values particularly involve tolerance towards homosexuals and gender equality. To illustrate, in Western societies, a form of *homonostalgia* has emerged, which Bracke (2012: 245) describes as 'the nostalgic sentiment that takes the shape of a longing for a time when gay liberation could, allegedly, be taken for granted, that is, before it was under threat by the Islam'. Even though this situation has never existed in Western society, this nostalgia legitimizes the idea that Muslims are conservative and furthermore less civilized than 'Western' individuals (Bracke, 2012). Hence, even if religious migrants would vary only little from natives in their norms and values, the assumption present among natives might lead to them refraining from interethnic contact. Following the theories on the effect of religiosity on the preferences and opportunities for interethnic contact we can derive two hypotheses:

H3: The positive effect of being a first- or second-generation migrant on interethnic contact is weaker for religious individuals than for non-religious individuals.

H4: The positive effect of being a first- or second-generation migrant on interethnic contact is weaker when these individuals are more religious.

3.2.2. Control variables

In this study, drawing on the assumptions in the literature, I will control for various other variables that might be of influence on the dependent and independent variable interethnic contact and ethnicity. This enables this study to examine the above-stated hypotheses more accurately and to take the effect of these separate variables into account. The control variables that will be included in this study are age, educational level, employment, gender, political preference, ethnic pride, experienced discrimination command of the Dutch language and level of urbanisation.

First, this analysis will control for age as a factor contributing to ethnic homophily. Research has shown that individuals become more prejudiced towards other ethnicities as they age (Martinovic, 2013; Quilian, 1995). Older individuals are thus more prejudiced than younger individuals are. According to Quilian (1995), this is due to the fact that older individuals perceive migrants as a bigger threat than younger individuals do. Therefore, older individuals are less willing to engaging in interethnic contact than younger individuals. Furthermore, individuals have less opportunities for interethnic contact if they reach a certain age. Retired people, for example, have less opportunities to come into contact with migrants as they have less social situations, such as a job or a sports association, in which they can come into contact with individuals with immigrant backgrounds (Savekoul et al., 2010).

Another factor that will be controlled for in this analysis is educational level. Kalmijn (1998) found that highly educated migrants often have a more universalistic view on life, which makes them attribute less importance to the membership of their ethnic group. Furthermore, highly educated migrants have more opportunities for interethnic contact as they are more likely to encounter natives at their work, school, or the university (Kalmijn, 1998). In contrast, highly educated Dutch natives have fewer opportunities for interethnic contact.

Furthermore, this analysis will control for employment. Boschman (2012) found that migrants generally have more interethnic contact with the native population if they are employed. This has not much to do with a preference for interethnic contact but is mostly due to the opportunities it provides. Employment brings about opportunities for interethnic contact at work which allows both migrants and natives to interact more (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2005). These relations built at work can possibly lead to more contact with individuals of ethnic outgroups outside working hours (Boschman, 2012). Unemployed individuals, however, are not provided

with these opportunities. This can be especially of importance for first-generation migrants as unemployment often goes hand in hand with a poor command of the native language (Martinovic et al., 2009), which can in its turn form structural constraints for interethnic contact.

In addition, this study will control for the effect of gender as women from ethnic minorities often have less interethnic contact than men (Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). This is partially due to the fact that they have less opportunities for interethnic contact than men. Female first-generation migrants from Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds have a low labour market participation and are not likely to engage in sports activities (Musterd, 2003). Furthermore, Gijsberts and Dagevos (2007) found that women from ethnic minorities have a more negative perception of the natives than men. This negative perception can be a possible incentive to refrain from interethnic contact.

Next, the effect of political preference of individuals will be controlled for in the analyses. Right-wing parties are known for their anti-immigration statements and policies, aiming to restrict immigration (Zick et al., 2008). Voters for such parties are thus often associated with a negative opinion towards immigration. This assumption is supported by Lubbers, Gijsberts and Scheepers (2002), who found that right-wing voters largely based their vote upon the proposed policies regarding immigration. As right-wing voters are predominantly anti-immigration, it is likely that these individuals are more hesitant in engaging in interethnic contact. In contrast, left-wing voters often have more positive attitudes towards migrants (van der Brug, Fennema & Tillie, 2000). Hence, these individuals are more prone to engaging in interethnic contact.

Subsequently, this study will control for ethnic pride. Individuals who are more proud of their ethnic background often have stronger preferences for interacting with individuals of the same ethnicity (Brüß, 2005). Conversely, individuals who have less ethnic pride have more contact with the out-group and are, furthermore, less biased about outgroups (Pettigrew, 1998). Therefore, ethnic pride can be of importance in the choice to engage in interethnic contact.

In addition, this study will furthermore control for experienced discrimination. If migrants have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment, the trust of these migrants in the native population decreases significantly (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Trust plays a pivotal part in engaging in (interethnic) contact as reciprocal trust is often a condition for positive interactions (Koopmans & Veit, 2014). Therefore, migrants who have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment might be more reluctant to interethnic contact than migrants who have not.

Furthermore, this study will control for command of the Dutch language. As discussed, not speaking the native language can cause considerable structural constraints for interethnic contact (Vervoort et al., 2012 ; Martinovic et al., 2008). Both natives and migrants are incapable of interacting with each other should migrants not command the Dutch language. Second-generation migrants often have a good command of the Dutch language as they grow up and go to school in the Netherlands (Martinovic, 2013). However, first-generation migrants experience more

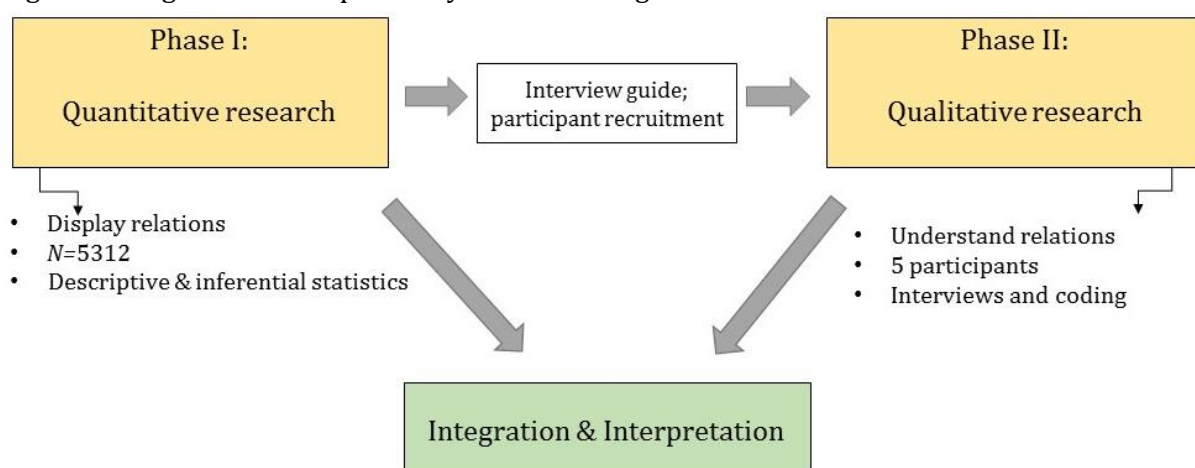
difficulties with learning the Dutch language, especially when they migrate at an older age (Martinovic, 2013).

Last, the level of urbanisation will be controlled for in the analyses. Research has shown that Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands are more likely to be concentrated in cities (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). If migrants live in cities, in which more people of their ‘own’ ethnic in-group live, it becomes easier to act on the preferences to *refrain* from interethnic contact. In contrast, if migrants live in rural areas, where almost the entire population is Dutch (Tselios et al., 2016), it is more likely that they will engage in interethnic contact with natives as they encounter them more frequently. For natives on the other hand, it is likely that they have more interethnic contact in cities and less interethnic contact in rural areas.

4. Mixed methods: Quantitative methodology

The research design adopted in this study is a mixed methods approach, which means that both quantitative and qualitative methods are incorporated in this research. By incorporating both inductive and deductive forms of knowledge production, it is possible to provide a more holistic view of a certain social phenomenon (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003). Adopting a mixed methods research design has important benefits as it can overcome some of the initial problems of either quantitative or qualitative research methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). To illustrate, quantitative research is at times criticized for dehumanising the subject matter and qualitative data is criticized for not being able to generalize findings to a broader population (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). However, mixed methods designs are not solely a conglomeration of two separate methods in order to examine what each method can disclose about a certain phenomenon. Mason (2006) argues that this type of mixed methods approach lacks logic and furthermore makes inference drawing problematic. Hence, in order to adopt an effective mixed methods approach, logical and purposeful decisions need to be made about what type of analysis techniques will be most appropriate for examining the research questions (Creswell et al., 2003). This study will adopt a ‘sequential explanatory design’ in which the quantitative study is followed by a qualitative study (Creswell et al., 2003). In this design, the quantitative data are thus collected and analysed first. The qualitative data are collected and analysed second in order to help explain, or elaborate on, the findings of the quantitative data (Ivankova, Creswell & Stick, 2006). Hence, the qualitative part of the study will provide a more detailed understanding of the results by examining the participants’ views thoroughly. Below is a schematic overview of research design.

Figure 1: Diagram of the explanatory research design



4.1 Quantitative research method

For the quantitative examination of the research question, this research used the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NeLLS) dataset conducted by de Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp &

Monden in name of the University of Tilburg and the Radboud University Nijmegen. This dataset mainly focusses on three themes, namely social cohesion, inequality, and norms and values. For this research, the responses to the questionnaire from the first wave, conducted in 2010, were used.

4.2. The respondents

The respondents stem from a two-stage stratified sample. In the first stage, a quasi-random selection of 35 Dutch municipalities by region and urbanization was implemented. Subsequently, a random selection from the population registry based on age and country of birth of both the respondent as his/her parents was held. Of the respondents, 51 per cent is female and 49 per cent is male. The ages of the respondents vary between the 14 and 49 years with an average of approximately 30 years. The low age average is due to the fact that this is the first wave of a longitudinal dataset and the researchers wished to limit dropout on account of death. In this sample, people of Moroccan and Turkish descent were oversampled. However, this over-representation is not problematic for the aims of this research, since this research tries to display the differences between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds.

In this data collection, 12310 people were approached, of whom 5312 eventually participated in the research (response rate 43,15%). The principal reasons for dropout were erroneous addresses, illness, absence, personal problems and language barriers. This last reason is important to bear in mind, since it entails that most respondents with a migrant background have a good command of the Dutch language, which can create a bias in the responses. The dropout rate may, additionally, be explained by the fact that the data was collected via face-to-face interviews as these interviews often took long, and respondents were not able to answer anonymously.

4.3 Design and fieldwork

The questionnaire consisted of two parts, namely, a face-to-face interview and a self-completion questionnaire. The face-to-face interview focused on the socio-economic and socio-demographic environment of the respondents whereas the self-completion questionnaire focused more on the (dependent) variables, such as attitudes and norms and values. Before conducting the interviews, a trial of the interviews was held among 100 Turkish migrants, 100 Moroccan migrants and 100 other inhabitants of the Netherlands. The trial proved that the respondents considered the interview to be interesting and that the reliability of the scales was adequate. Initially, the self-completion questionnaire had to be filled out digitally after the interview had been held. However, many respondents failed to fill out the questionnaire which led to extra reminders and incentives and thus to a costly solution. Therefore, a new approach was adopted which asked the respondent

to fill in the digital questionnaire prior to the interview so that the interviewers could wait with starting the interview until the respondents had completed the questionnaire.

4.4 Operationalisation

This section describes all variables that were included in the analyses and which were used in the testing of the hypotheses. Furthermore, a description of the separate variables and their distributions is provided in Table 1.

4.4.1 Dependent variable

The dependent variable *interethnic contact* has been measured via three survey questions regarding interethnic contact. Respondents were asked the following question: ‘How many times do you have personal contact with individuals in your neighbourhood from the following ethnic background?’. This question was repeated for the amount of contact at school or work or in associations and clubs. Respondents had to indicate the amount of contact they had with five different ethnic groups, namely natives, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers and Antilleans. The response categories were 1= almost every day, 2= once or a couple of times per week, 3= a couple of times per month, 4= approximately once per month, 5= a couple of times per year, 6= approximately once per year, 7= never, 8= not applicable. For this study, the contact with Surinamers and Antilleans was not taken into account, as this study solely focuses on the interethnic contact that natives, Turks and Moroccans engage in.

Furthermore, multiple adjustments were made to be able to use the data for a regression analysis. First, the response category 8 (not applicable) was alternated into a 7 (never). This was done because the respondents who filled in that category in fact meant that they did not have any contact with individuals from that ethnic background in a certain location. Therefore, if the question was not applicable to the respondent, it meant that he/she never had (inter)ethnic contact with that specific ethnic group. Furthermore, the variables were reversed-scored in order to give the variable score a more logical value. Hence, a high score now stands for more interethnic contact whereas a low score represents little interethnic contact. Succeeding these alternations, the variables were merged into three index variables that respectively represented the contact with natives, Turks or Moroccans. These variables were then merged into the eventual variable *interethnic contact* that measured the contact with Turks and Moroccans for natives, the contact with natives for Turks and the contact with natives for Moroccans. Hence, this eventual variable measures the contact with individuals of the other ethnic groups.

4.4.2 Independent variables

The independent variable *ethnicity* was measured by asking in which country the respondent was born and, if applicable, to which generation of migrants this respondent belonged. First-generation migrants are individuals who were born outside of the Netherlands, and of whom at least one of the parents was born outside of the Netherlands as well (CBS, 2018). Second-generation migrants have at least one foreign parent, yet were born in the Netherlands themselves (CBS, 2018). This study solely focusses on natives and first- and second-generation migrants from Turkey and Morocco, therefore a few alternations needed to be made. The variable was recoded into a variable with the response categories 0= native, 1= first-generation Moroccan, 2= second-generation Moroccan, 3= first-generation Turkish, 4= second-generation Turkish. Subsequently, from this categorical variable four dummy variables were generated which represented the separate generation and ethnic groups. For these dummy variables, 1= the respondent belongs to this groups and 0= the respondent does not belong to this group. If a respondent scores zero in all four categories, this would entail that the respondents thus belongs to the native population. This variable has 455 missings, as migrants with backgrounds other than Turkish or Moroccan are excluded from the analysis. Furthermore, of the residual 4857 respondents, 2556 of the respondents (52,6%) are natives, 740 respondents (13,9%) are first-generation Moroccans, 424 respondents (8,0%) are second-generation Moroccans, 736 respondents (13,9%) are first-generation Turks and 401 respondents (7,5%) are second-generation Turks.

The moderating variable *being religious* is measured via the question ‘Would you consider yourself to be religious?’. This variable was dummified in which 0= non-religious and 1= religious. In this study, religion was chosen to be defined as a dichotomous variable in which an individual was either religious or not, because there were too little respondents in the smaller categories of religious affiliation to be able to generalize findings to a larger population. To illustrate, there were only thirteen respondents with a migration background who were religious but not Muslim. This variable has one missing value, which leaves 5311 remaining respondents. Of those respondents 2106 (39,7%) identify as non-religious whereas 3205 respondents (60,3%) identify as religious.

However, it is also of interest to examine the importance of religion for individuals as a moderator. The variable ‘How important is your religion to you?’ was used in order to determine how religious a respondent approximately was. This item scored from 1= very important to 5= not important at all. This variable was recoded in order to make the variable more logical in which a high score would represent stronger religiosity. This variable had 488 missing values, thus leaving the population with 4864 respondents. The average of the score (3,4) is lower than the median (4,0), which is why the distribution of the variable is slightly skewed to the left. A skewed distribution shows how the mean is ‘pulled’ by extreme values. The mean score on religiosity is thus slightly pulled up by the high median value.

4.4.3 Control variables

The control variable *age* is a ratio-variable in which the age of the respondent at the time of the interview is given. The average age (31,3) is slightly lower than the median (32,0). The variable does not follow a normal distribution, due to the fact that this dataset was developed for longitudinal research. Therefore, it focused on individuals of a younger age with a range between 14 and 49 years.

Another control variable is *educational level*. Due to the age differences, the educational level of the respondents was measured via multiple questions. This way a distinction could be made between adolescents, who are currently still following an education, and adults, who have already finished their education. The respondents were asked which educational level they were now attending or which educational level they had followed. The researchers provided the respondents with numerous educational levels ranging from ‘less than primary’ to ‘PhD’. The respondents had to go through all categories and respond with either a no (0) or a yes (1). Yet, in order to make the variable more usable for analysis, all separate variables measuring the educational level of the respondents were merged into one variable in which 0= less than primary, 1= primary, 2= lower secondary, 3= higher secondary and 4=tertiary. The average educational level in the population of the random sample is 2,81, between lower and higher secondary education. Very few respondents (1,7%) obtained the lowest level of education, whereas 1536 respondents (32,9%) obtained the highest educational level.

Furthermore, a few alternations had to be made in order to construct a usable variable *employment*. The variable ‘Do you have a paid job at this moment?’ had a lot of missing values. This was due to the fact that if respondents answered the question ‘Have you ever started working after leaving full-time education?’ negatively or if they answered ‘Have you always worked since your first job?’ positively, they were not asked whether they had a paid job at this moment. Therefore, the variable *employment* was constructed by combining two questions in a variable in which 0= unemployed and 1= employed. After these alternations, there is still one missing value, which leaves 5311 respondents. Out of those respondents, 1369 (25,8%) are unemployed, whereas 3942 respondents (74,2%) are employed.

The control variable *gender* had the dichotomous response category 1= man and 2= woman. In order to make the variable more easily interpretable for analysis, a dummy variable was constructed in which 0= man and 1=woman. Out of the 5312 respondents, 2508 respondents (47,2%) were male and 2804 (52,3%) were female. Therefore, there are roughly around the same amount of men and women in the sample population.

In addition, a small alternation was made in order to construct the variable *political preference*. The original variable ‘Which political party has your preference?’ had the all possible response categories including ‘other’. However, this variable was altered into a dummy variable

that measured whether respondents voted for right-wing parties or not. The response categories thus were 0= no and yes=1. Out of the 5312 respondents, 4,9% voted for right-wing parties and 95,1% voted differently.

Ethnic pride is a variable constructed out of four statements where the respondents could respond to ranging from 1=strongly agree and 5= strongly disagree. The statements were ‘I am proud of my ethnic background’, ‘I identify strongly with my ethnic background’, ‘I feel connected to my ethnic background’ and ‘My ethnic background is an important part of me’. These sub-variables were recoded in order to make the variable score more logical, thereby giving a low score to disagreeing and a high score to agreeing with the statements. The eventual variable, that displayed the average score on the four statements, had many (2916) missing values as these statements were only discussed with individuals from migrant backgrounds. The average score on the ethnic pride scale was 4,07 and the median was 4,0. Hence, as these scores are reasonably similar, the distribution of the variable will be fairly symmetrical.

Furthermore, *experienced discrimination* was constructed by merging six different variables in which respondents with a migrant background had to indicate whether they had 1= never experienced discrimination, 2= experienced discrimination a few times, 3= experienced discrimination moderately often. The settings for discrimination included in the study were ‘at job interviews’, ‘at work’, ‘at school’, ‘in public places’, ‘in associations’ and ‘while going out’. This variable again had a lot of missing values, namely 2934. The mean experienced discrimination was 1,32, thus, between never experiencing discrimination or experiencing it sporadically.

In addition, the *command of the Dutch language* was measured by merging the self-reported skills of the migrant in understanding, speaking, reading and writing the Dutch language. The possible responses of the respondents varied between 1= very good and 5= not at all. The variable was recoded, in order to make the scores on this item more logical, hereby giving a higher score to respondents who had a better command of the Dutch language. The average score on command of the Dutch language was 4,26, whereas the median was 4,75. Therefore, the distribution of this variable is somewhat skewed to the left. The average score of command of Dutch is thus slightly pulled up by ‘extremely’ high values.

Last, *level of urbanisation* was measured via data that was provided by the CBS. The response categories of where the respondents lived were 1= biggest cities, 2= cities, 3= small cities and 4= rural. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and the Hague were labelled as ‘biggest cities’. The other distinctions were made according to the city populations. This variable was recoded so that respondents who lived in the biggest cities would have the highest score. The average level of urbanisation was 2,71, between small cities and cities.

Table 1: Description of the variables included in analysis

	<i>Mean (SD)^a</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>N</i>
Interethnic contact	2,07 (1,64)	0	6	4457
Ethnicity				4857
Dutch	52,6%			
First-generation Moroccan	15,2%			
Second-generation Moroccan	8,7%			
First-generation Turk	15,2%			
Second-generation Turk	7,5%			
Religious				5311
Non-religious	39,6%			
Religious	60,3%			
Religiosity	3,40 (1,44)	1	5	4864
Age	31,30 (9,02)	14	49	5312
Educational level	2,82 (1,01)	0	4	5312
Employment				5311
Employed	74,2%			
Unemployed	25,8%			
Gender				5312
Men	47,2%			
Women	52,8%			
Political preference				5312
Right-wing voters	4,9%			
Other voters	95,1%			
Ethnic pride	4,07 (0,82)	1	5	2396
Experienced discrimination	1,32 (0,40)	1	3	2378
Command of Dutch	4,26 (0,94)	1	5	2397
Level of urbanisation	2,71 (1,09)	1	4	5321

^aThe frequencies of the dummy variables are denoted as the valid percentages

5. Quantitative results: Studying interethnic contact

This chapter will discuss the bivariate associations between all variables included in the research model. The bivariate associations will help determine which variables will be considered in the regression analysis. For the bivariate association of two dichotomous variables, the difference in proportions will be shown via cross tabulations. Next, a Chi-square test will be performed in order to test whether the difference in proportion is significant. For a dichotomous variable and a continuous variable an independent t-test will be performed. This test will analyse whether the difference in means for the two groups is significant. For a categorical variable, with more than two groups, and a continuous variable, a one-way ANOVA will be performed. This test will analyse whether the difference in means between groups differ significantly. Last, for two continuous variables, the correlation of these variables will be tested for its significance. Hence, it will be tested whether the percentage of shared variability is significant. By examining the bivariate analyses, we can obtain a better understanding of the data. In addition, this chapter will discuss the most important findings of the stepwise multivariate regression analysis. Based on the results provided by the multiple regression analysis, the hypotheses, derived from the theoretical framework, will be tested.

5.1 Bivariate distributions

The bivariate associations between all separate variables included in the regression analysis are depicted in Table 2a below and Table 2b in Appendix II. The associations depicted in Table 2a are based upon the association between variables of the data provided by migrants. In Table 2b, in Appendix II, however, the associations for natives can be found. The dataset had to be split for migrants and natives due to the fact that natives, with their low score on interethnic contact, altered all the effects and spurious effects appeared. As illustrated in Appendix II in Table 2.1.1, without splitting the file, religious individuals had significantly more interethnic contact than non-religious individuals ($t=-20,33$, $p<0,01$). Religious individuals had an average score of $\mu=2,47$ on interethnic contact, whereas non-religious individuals had an average score of $\mu=1,49$. However, this effect was most likely due to the fact that almost all non-religious individuals are natives (89%). As natives have significantly less interethnic contact than the respondents of other ethnicities, it is not surprising that the average of interethnic contact is lower for non-religious individuals. In order to be able to control for these otherwise spurious relations, the dataset was split and the effects of variables on interethnic contact are viewed for both natives and migrants. However, the data was not split for the variable *ethnicity* as both migrants and natives were represented in that variable and the dataset thus *could* not be split.

Firstly, the values of the independent variable *interethnic contact* seems to differ for respondents from different ethnic backgrounds (see Table 2.1.3 in Appendix II). First-generation Moroccan migrants score an average of 3,42 on interethnic contact. For second-generation Moroccan migrants this average is higher, namely $\mu=4,32$. Turkish migrants do not seem to differ much from Moroccan migrants, as first-generation Turkish migrants have an average score of $\mu=3,60$ on interethnic contact. Furthermore, second-generation Turkish migrants have an average score on $\mu=4,16$. The average score on interethnic contact of natives is $\mu=1,29$. These stated differences in averages of interethnic contact are significant ($F=920,27, p<0,01$). Hence, these five ethnic groups differ significantly from each other in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in. Thus, ethnicity constitutes a significant factor in determining the amount of interethnic contact individuals engage in, in which natives engage in the least amount of interethnic contact, followed by first- and then second-generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants.

Second, religious migrants have significantly less interethnic contact than non-religious individuals ($t=2,13, p<0,05$). Religious migrants have an average score of $\mu=3,75$ on interethnic contact, whereas non-religious migrants have an average score of $\mu=4,01$. For natives, religious and non-religious individuals also differ significantly from each other in their score on interethnic contact ($t=2,88, p<0,01$). Religious natives have a significantly lower average score of $\mu=1,19$, whereas non-religious natives have an average of $\mu=1,35$. In other words, being religious is associated with a lower engagement in interethnic contact.

Third, religiosity and interethnic contact are not significantly positively correlated for both migrants and natives ($r=-0,04, p=0,11$; $r=-0,01, p=0,51$). Hence, the importance individuals attach to their religion and the amount of interethnic contact individuals engage in do not seem to influence each other. As these associations prove to be insignificant, *religiosity* will not be considered as a moderating variable in the further regression analyses.

Furthermore, age and interethnic contact have a significant negative correlation for migrants and natives alike ($r=-0,24, p<0,01$; $r=-0,11, p<0,01$). A higher score on age thus entails a lower score on interethnic contact. Older individuals thus have significantly less interethnic contact than younger individuals do.

In addition, the amount of interethnic contact migrants engage in differs significantly for migrants with different educational backgrounds ($F=34,02, p<0,01$) (see Table 2.1.10.2 in Appendix II). For migrants who have an educational level less than primary the average score on interethnic contact is $\mu=2,57$. For migrants who have finished primary education, this score is $\mu=3,08$. For migrants who have finished the lower secondary education this score is $\mu=3,67$. For migrants who have finished higher secondary education this score is $\mu=4,08$. The score for individuals who have finished the tertiary educational level lies on $\mu=4,12$. Hence, educational level is a significant factor contributing to, or hindering, interethnic contact for migrants.

Contrastingly, natives from different educational backgrounds do not differ significantly from each other in their score on interethnic contact ($F=0,86$, $p=0,49$).

Next, interethnic contact differs significantly for employed and unemployed migrants ($t=-12,62$, $p<0,01$). As shown in Table 2.1.11.2, employed migrants have an average score of $\mu=4,11$, whereas unemployed migrants have a score of $\mu=3,25$. Thus, for migrants, having a job entails a significantly higher score on interethnic contact. However, this is not the case for natives ($t=-1,61$, $p=0,11$). Employed natives ($\mu=1,31$) do not differ significantly from unemployed natives ($\mu=1,19$) in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in.

Furthermore, the results support the assumption that migrant men have significantly more interethnic contact than migrant women ($t=7,47$, $p<0,01$). Migrant men score an average of $\mu=4,04$ on interethnic contact, whereas migrant women have an average score of $\mu=3,54$. Similarly, native men and women differ significantly from each other in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in, although the difference is not as sharp in this case ($t=4,53$, $p<0,01$). Native men have a significantly higher score ($\mu=1,42$) than women ($\mu=1,19$).

Political preference is not significantly associated with interethnic contact for both migrants and natives ($t=0,02$, $p=0,98$; $t=0,44$; $p=0,66$). Thus, individuals who vote for right-wing parties do not differ significantly from individuals who are oriented otherwise in their score on interethnic contact. However, it must be noted that this is based on a small amount of migrant (13) and native (222) respondents who vote for right-wing parties.

In addition, ethnic pride is not significantly negatively correlated with interethnic contact for migrants ($r=-0,03$, $p=0,14$). Thus, a higher score on ethnic pride does not entail a significantly lower score on interethnic contact. For this variable, it is not useful to look at the correlation with interethnic contact for natives, as this question in the self-completion questionnaire was solely meant for migrants. Thus, the few natives (21) that did answer this question did so erroneously.

Furthermore, experienced discrimination is significantly positively correlated with interethnic contact ($r=0,09$, $p<0,01$). Thus, a higher score on experienced discrimination entails a significantly higher score on interethnic contact. Similar to *ethnic pride*, it is not useful to look at the experienced discrimination of natives.

Next, command of the Dutch language and interethnic contact are significantly positively correlated ($r=0,33$, $p<0,01$). Hence, as often discussed in the literature, migrants who score higher on command of Dutch, also score higher on interethnic contact.

Last, the amount of interethnic contact differs significantly for migrants who live in places with different levels of urbanisation ($F=8,75$, $p<0,01$). As shown in Table 2.1.21.2, migrants who live in rural areas have an average score of $\mu=3,85$. Migrants who live in small cities have an average score of $\mu=4,05$, whereas migrants living in average sized cities have an average score of $\mu=3,85$. Migrants who live in the biggest cities have the lowest average score ($\mu=3,61$) on

interethnic contact. Similarly, the amount of interethnic contact differs significantly for natives who live in different levels of urbanisation ($F=18,98$, $p<0,01$). Table 2.1.21.1 shows that natives who live in rural areas have the least amount of interethnic contact ($\mu=1,06$). Natives living in small cities have an average score of $\mu=1,29$ whereas natives living in average sized cities have a score of $\mu=1,56$. Natives living in big cities have an average score of $\mu=1,40$. In other words, for migrants, living in rural areas is associated with a high amount of interethnic contact, whereas for natives living in cities is associated with a higher amount of interethnic contact.

Interestingly, factors contributing to the opportunities for interethnic contact, such as educational level, employment and level of urbanization appear to be less significant, or even insignificant, for natives in comparison to migrants. Hence, opportunities for interethnic contact seem to contribute less to engaging in interethnic contact for natives than for migrants. This might suggest that preferences play a more defining role than opportunities for the engagement in interethnic contact of natives. For migrants, however, all factors fostering the opportunities are significant and thus contribute to interethnic contact. In their case, their preferences appear to be more subjected to the opportunities and constraints of their environment.

Further interesting results include the association between religious affiliation and ethnicity. The ethnic groups differ significantly from each other in whether or not they are religious ($\chi^2=1686,85$, $p<0,01$). As is shown in Table 2.1.22, in Appendix II, 66,2% of the natives identifies as non-religious whereas 33,8% identifies as religious. Among first-generation Moroccan migrants, 96,8% identifies as religious and only 3,2% identifies as non-religious. For second-generation Moroccans, the percentage of religious individuals is 91,3% and 8,7% is non-religious. Among first-generation Turkish migrants, 88,3% identifies as religious and 11,7% identifies as non-religious. For second-generation Turks, the percentage of religious individuals is 85,8% whereas the percentage of non-religious individuals is 14,2%. The percentage of individuals identifying as religious is thus much higher among migrants than among natives.

In addition, as shown in Table 2.1.51.1/2; 2.1.25.1/2, religious affiliation is significantly associated with employment and with educational level for both natives and migrants. Religious migrants (39,5%) are significantly more unemployed than non-religious migrants (27,0%) ($\chi^2=12,54$, $p<0,01$). Similarly religious natives (34,8%) are significantly more unemployed than non-religious natives (25,6%) ($\chi^2=4,56$, $p=0,03$). In addition, religious migrants differ significantly from non-religious migrants in their educational level ($\chi^2=41,65$, $p<0,01$). To illustrate, 36,3% of the non-religious migrants has obtained a tertiary educational level, whereas only 18,2% of the religious migrants has done so. For religious natives, the effect is slimmer yet still significant ($\chi^2=13,97$, $p<0,01$): 40,1% of the non-religious natives has obtained a tertiary educational level in comparison to 36,6% of the religious natives. These two significant associations might imply that

whether individuals are religious or not may possibly influence the opportunities for interethnic contact, as being religious is related to educational level and employment. In brief, the variables that will be included in the multiple regression analysis are ‘ethnicity’, ‘religious affiliation’, ‘age’, ‘educational level’, ‘employment’, ‘gender’, ‘political preferences’, ‘ethnic pride’, ‘experienced discrimination’, ‘command of Dutch’ and ‘level of urbanisation’.

Table 2a: Bivariate distribution of the variables with either a Chi-square value for two categorical variables or *t*- and *f*-values for the association between continuous and categorical variables or correlations for the association between two continuous variables: migrants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Interethnic contact	-												
2. Ethnicity	920,28**	-											
3. Religious	2,31*	1686,85**	-										
4. Religiosity	-0,07**	835,94**	-31,15**	-									
5. Age	-0,24**	246,02**	2,07**	-0,05*	-								
6. Educational level	34,02**	680,90**	41,65**	14,05**	30,93**	-							
7. Employment	-12,62**	410,06**	12,54**	3,39**	-7,06**	133,48**	-						
8. Gender	7,47**	6,94	2,52	-6,58**	3,51**	24,18**	98,87**	-					
9. Political preference	0,02	178,10**	18,10**	4,07**	-0,29	4,52	0,17	0,01	-				
10. Ethnic pride	-0,03	6,78**	-15,16**	0,37**	-0,05*	4,45**	1,67	-2,79**	3,93**	-			
11. Discrimination	0,09**	5,88**	-0,82	-0,01	-0,00	8,83**	-1,59	10,49**	0,63	0,02	-		
12. Command of Dutch	0,33**	112,38**	3,85**	-0,13**	-0,35**	188,73**	-7,08**	-0,29	-0,76	-0,05*	0,14**	-	
13. Urbanisation	8,75**	1193,68**	4,88	2,67*	1,40	30,82**	2,35	2,40	1,44	1,60	3,03*	11,06**	-

** Significant at $p < 0,01$, *significant at $p < 0,05$; two-tailed test; df between 1 and 5312

5.2 Regression analysis

5.2.1 Design

The hypotheses were tested via a post hoc test and via a linear regression analysis. However, before doing so, two additional alternations had to be made. First, in order to be able to include the possible moderating effect of religious affiliation on the association between ethnicity and interethnic contact, four interaction terms were constructed. Second, the dichotomous variable religious affiliation was centred in order to reduce the multicollinearity of the interaction terms in the model. The average score was subtracted for this variable before adding it to the model. Reducing the multicollinearity is important as it can help determine which variables in fact contribute to predicting the dependent variable (Agresti & Finlay, 2009). In addition, the four assumptions underlying regression analysis were tested. Furthermore, the data was examined for outliers and the characteristics of these outliers was discussed. More information on the procedures for multicollinearity, assumptions and outliers can be found in Appendix III.

In the first model the dependent variable *interethnic contact* and the independent dummy variables *firstgenerationmoroccan*, *secondgenerationmoroccan*, *firstgenerationturkish*, *secondgenerationturkish* are included in the model. For the second model, the control variables are added to the model. The effects for the control variables were measured separately for migrants and natives in order to control for possible spurious relations as explained above. Based upon this second model, together with the post hoc tests, that test the significance of differences between groups, the hypotheses about the main effect can be tested. The hypotheses ‘H1: Migrants have more interethnic contact than natives’; ‘H2: Second-generation migrants have more interethnic contact than first-generation migrants’ are rejected if $p > 0,05$. In model 3, the moderating variable *religious affiliation* is added to the model. In the last model, model 4, the interaction terms are added to the model. Based upon this model the last hypothesis can be tested ‘H3: The effect of being a first- or second-generation migrant on interethnic contact is weaker for religious individuals than for non-religious individuals’. Again, the hypothesis is rejected if $p > 0,05$. Furthermore, the fit of the models is analysed by evaluating the change in adjusted R-square, the change in explained variance of the model.

5.2.2 Model evaluation

The different models of the multivariate regression analysis with religious affiliation as moderator for migrants can be found in Table 3. The additional table displaying the models of the multivariate regression for natives can be found in Table 3.6 in Appendix II. Below the results of both regression analyses will be discussed in order to display the differences in effects for migrants

and natives. The first model, however, is based on a non-split file as it entails the variable *ethnicity* that includes both migrants and natives.

The first model, has an adjusted R-square of 0,452, meaning that 45,2% of the total variance in interethnic contact can be explained by solely ethnic background. This percentage is significantly higher than the model with merely the intercept ($F=920,25$, $p<0,01$). Hence, the model that includes the ethnicity dummy variables fits the data better than the model in which only the intercept is incorporated. Natives have an expected score of 1,29 on interethnic contact on a scale ranging from 1 to 6. Being a first-generation Moroccan increases the expected score on interethnic contact with over two points ($b=2,13$, $p<0,01$). This increase is even larger for second-generation Moroccans who score an entire point higher than first-generation Moroccans ($b=3,04$, $p<0,01$). As depicted in Table 3.5 in Appendix II, the difference in scores on interethnic contact between first- and second-generation Moroccan migrants is significant as well ($p<0,01$). The same tendencies can be found for Turkish migrants. Being a first-generation Turkish migrant increases the score on interethnic contact, compared to natives, with more than two points ($\mu=2,30$, $p<0,01$), whereas being a second-generation Turk increase the interethnic contact even more ($\mu=2,87$, $p<0,01$). Similar to Moroccan migrants, second-generation Turkish migrants have significantly more interethnic contact than first-generation Turkish migrants ($p<0,01$). However, both first-generation Moroccans and Turks and second-generation Moroccans and Turks do not differ significantly from each other in their score on interethnic contact ($\mu_{\text{difference}}=-0,17$, $p=0,27$; $\mu_{\text{difference}}=0,17$, $p=0,98$).

The second model has an adjusted R square of 0,22 for migrants, meaning that 22,0% of the total variance in interethnic contact for migrants can be explained by the control variables. The explained variance of the model containing the control variables is significantly higher than the previous model containing the intercept ($F=60,44$, $p<0,01$). Thus, adding the control variables to the model significantly helps explain the variance in the data for migrants. For natives, the adjusted R square is noticeably smaller, namely, 0,04. Hence, only 4,0% of the total variance in interethnic contact of natives can be explained by adding the control variables to the model. However the explained variance of this model is still significant ($F=17,31$, $p<0,01$). Interestingly, these percentages show that while the amount of interethnic contact migrants engage in can be attributed to various circumstances or contextual ‘variables’ that affect opportunities for interethnic contact, this is less the case for natives.

To be more specific, age is a significant predictor of interethnic contact for both migrants and natives ($b=-0,03$, $p<0,01$; $b=-0,02$, $p<0,01$), however these effects are limited due to the small age difference in the population sample. Yet, as the difference is significant, it can be deducted that older individuals have significantly less interethnic contact than younger individuals. Secondly, educational level is a significant predictor of interethnic contact for migrants ($b=0,11$, $p<0,01$).

Thus, for migrants, a higher level of education entails more interethnic contact. Yet, this effect is significant in a different manner for natives ($b=-0,08$, $p<0,05$). For natives, a higher level of education results in a lower amount of interethnic contact. This is most likely due to the fact that there are more natives in higher educational levels, which makes interethnic contact more difficult. Thirdly, employment proves to be of importance in predicting the amount of interethnic contact of migrants ($b=0,73$, $p<0,01$). Employed migrants have an increased expected score of 0,73 on interethnic contact. This effect is weaker for natives ($b=0,22$, $p=0,01$), as employed natives have an increased expected score of 0,22 on interethnic contact. Being employed thus significantly contributes to interethnic contact, yet this effect is stronger for migrants. Fourthly, gender appears to be an important predictor of interethnic contact of migrants ($b=-0,40$, $p<0,01$). The slope of $b=-0,40$ implies that migrant women have a significantly lower score (-0,40) than men on interethnic contact. Similarly, gender is a predictor of interethnic contact for natives ($b=-0,21$, $p<0,01$). Female natives have less interethnic contact than men (-0,21), yet this difference is less apparent than for migrants. Fifthly, command of Dutch contributes significantly to predicting the score on interethnic contact ($b=0,28$, $p<0,01$). Hence, migrants that have a better command of Dutch will also have more interethnic contact. Lastly, level of urbanisation is also a significant predictor of interethnic contact for both migrants and natives even though the effects are inversed ($b=-0,17$, $p<0,01$; $b=0,16$, $p<0,01$). These results imply that for migrants, the amount of interethnic contact they engage in is reduced if they live in more urbanized areas whereas the amount of interethnic contact of natives increases if they live in more urbanized areas. This is possibly due to the fact that migrants mostly live in more urbanized areas, which makes intra-ethnic contact for them easier, and intra-ethnic contact for natives more difficult.

However, not all control variables contribute significantly to predicting interethnic contact. For migrants, ethnic pride ($b=-0,02$, $p=0,76$), experienced discrimination ($b=0,05$, $p=0,55$) do not help predict the amount of interethnic contact individuals engage in. Furthermore, whether migrants and natives vote for right-wing parties does not help predict the amount of interethnic contact they engage in ($b=-0,19$, $p=0,62$; $b=-0,11$, $p=0,25$).

The third model has an adjusted R square of 0,22 for migrants and 0,04 for natives. The explained variances of both models does not increase after adding religious affiliation to the model ($F=0,09$, $p=0,76$; $F=1,69$, $p=0,19$). Thus, the models containing religious affiliation as a predictor of interethnic contact do not contribute significantly to explaining the variance in interethnic contact. For migrants and natives alike, being religious does not help predict interethnic contact ($b=0,01$, $p=0,12$; $b=-0,07$, $p=0,19$). Hence, religious affiliation does not seem to have a moderating effect.

The fourth model endorses this assumption as the adjusted R square remains 0,04. Hence, adding the different interaction terms between religious affiliation and the separate ethnic

dummies does not contribute to explaining the variance in interethnic contact ($F=2,43, p<0,06$). No interaction term contributes significantly to predicting interethnic contact. In other words, whether migrants are religious does not help predict the amount of interethnic contact they engage in.

5.2.3. Testing hypotheses

The hypotheses regarding the main effect can be tested by examining the second model that incorporates both the ethnicity dummies and the control variables. As can be found in both Table 3.2 and Table 3.4 in Appendix II, the effects of all dummies representing the different ethnicities are significant. This means that all ethnicities differ significantly from the reference group ‘natives’ in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in. To examine this result further, a post hoc test, depicted in Table 3.5 in Appendix II, showed that all ethnic groups indeed differ significantly from natives. All migrant groups have significantly more interethnic contact than natives. Hence, the results of this data support the first hypothesis: ‘Migrants have more interethnic contact than natives’. In addition, Table 3.5 shows that both first-generation Turks and first-generation Moroccan have significantly less interethnic contact than second-generation Turks and Moroccans. Furthermore, while second- and first-generation migrants do differ significantly from each other, the difference between Turks and Moroccans within these groups is insignificant. Hence, the results of this data also support the second hypothesis: ‘Second-generation migrants have more interethnic contact than first-generation migrants’.

Based upon the last model, the hypothesis regarding the moderating effect can be tested. As discussed earlier, neither religious affiliation nor the interaction terms are not significant. Hence, belonging to a certain ethnic group and being religious does not change the effect of ethnicity on interethnic contact. Thus, contrary to ideas present in the Dutch society and in current academic literature, being religious has no effect on whether migrants interact more or less with natives. The third hypothesis ‘The effect of being a first- or second-generation migrant on interethnic contact is weaker for religious individuals than for non-religious individuals’ is rejected based upon the results provided by this data.

Another interesting result that this data provided was found by looking at the explained variances of the control variables. For migrants a lot more variance (22,2%) could be explained by the control variables than for natives (4,0%). This raises the question whether there are other factors that can help explain the low amount of interethnic contact of natives. Furthermore, as most control variables in the model play into the opportunities for interethnic contact, the low amount of variance explained for natives might suggest that preferences for interethnic contact, that were not measured, play a more prominent role in engaging in interethnic contact. These results suggest that there is more to be explained and researched regarding the question *why*

natives engage in significantly less interethnic contact than migrants. In order to be able to research these findings better, five interviews were held.

Table 3: Results of a multivariate moderationanalysis with interethnic contact as dependent and religious affiliation as moderating variable: migrants

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b (SE)	p	b (SE)	p	b (SE)	p	b (SE)	p
Constant*	1,29 (0,03)	<0,01	1,39 (0,12)	<0,01	1,44 (0,12)	<0,01	1,43 (0,12)	<0,01
1 st gen Moroccan*	2,13 (0,06)	<0,01	2,38 (0,07)	<0,01	2,44 (0,08)	<0,01	2,38 (0,12)	<0,01
2 nd gen Moroccan*	3,04 (0,08)	<0,01	2,98 (0,08)	<0,01	3,03 (0,09)	<0,01	2,97 (0,11)	<0,01
1 st gen Turk*	2,30 (0,06)	<0,01	2,53 (0,07)	<0,01	2,59 (0,07)	<0,01	2,67 (0,08)	<0,01
2 nd gen Turk*	2,87 (0,08)	<0,01	2,85 (0,08)	<0,01	2,90 (0,09)	<0,01	2,85 (0,09)	<0,01
Age			-0,03 (0,01)	<0,01	-0,03 (0,01)	<0,01	-0,03 (0,01)	<0,01
Educational level			0,11 (0,03)	<0,01	0,11 (0,03)	<0,01	0,10(0,03)	<0,01
Employment			0,73 (0,07)	<0,01	0,73 (0,07)	<0,01	0,73 (0,07)	<0,01
Gender			-0,40 (0,07)	<0,01	-0,40 (0,07)	<0,01	-0,40 (0,07)	<0,01
Political preference			-0,19 (0,38)	0,62	-0,19 (0,38)	0,21	-0,19 (0,38)	0,21
Ethnic pride			-0,02 (0,04)	0,76	-0,02 (0,04)	0,77	-0,02 (0,04)	0,77
Experienced discrimination			0,05 (0,08)	0,55	0,05 (0,08)	0,55	0,05 (0,08)	0,55
Command of Dutch			0,28 (0,04)	<0,01	0,28 (0,04)	<0,01	0,28 (0,04)	<0,01
Urbanisation			-0,17 (0,04)	<0,01	-0,17 (0,04)	<0,01	-0,17 (0,04)	<0,01
Religious affiliation					0,01 (0,12)	0,94	0,13 (0,30)	0,68
Religious 1 st gen Moroccan								
Religious 2 nd gen Moroccan							0,07 (0,40)	0,86
Religious 1 st gen Turk							-0,33 (0,34)	0,34
Religious 2 nd gen Turk							0,04 (0,36)	0,91
<i>R</i> ² (adjusted)		0,45		0,49		0,49		0,49
<i>R</i> ² (adjusted)split		-		0,22		0,22		0,23
<i>F</i> change		920,95		60,44		0,09		2,43
		<i>p</i> <0,01		<i>p</i> <0,01		<i>p</i> =0,76		<i>p</i> =0,06
<i>N</i>		4458		1922		1921		1918

*The statistics for these variables were measured by incorporating the data for both natives and migrants

6. Mixed methods: Qualitative methods

In this chapter, in accordance with the sequential explanatory method, I present how, based on the quantitative findings, the qualitative part of this research was executed. Firstly, I will describe the design of this research and the way in which the data was collected. Furthermore, the ethical issues are elaborated and an ethics statement is given. Last, the manner in which the data was analysed is discussed.

6.1 Research design

For the qualitative examination of this research, the reasoning behind the choices for engaging in interethnic contact was examined. By conducting qualitative research, researchers are able to study certain phenomena in their context and to interpret these phenomena in terms of how people experience these phenomena (Hennink et al., 2011). Hence, this research tries to achieve a level of ‘Verstehen’ instead of merely a level of understanding. The difference between these two concepts was clearly formulated by Hennink et al. (2011: 18): “understanding’ refers to understanding issues from the researcher’s own interpretive framework or the outsider’s perspective; ‘Verstehen’ refers to understanding the issues from the interpretive framework of the study population, or from the insider’s perspective’. As this research tries to examine how interethnic contact, and preferences and opportunities for this concept, is viewed by both migrants and natives, a level of ‘Verstehen’ is required.

Qualitative research distinguishes between inductive and deductive ways of researching (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Inductive research focuses on the experiences of individuals and is derived from the interpretative paradigm (Hennink et al., 2011). Inductive research furthermore accepts that the perspectives of individuals may differ due to differences in their social backgrounds and, therefore, theories are only drawn from the collected data (Babbie, 2013). In deductive research, on the other hand, existing theories are tested and reality is thought of as facts (Babbie, 2013; Hennink et al, 2011). This research incorporates both inductive and deductive research methods. The first part of this research was based on deductive measurements as a literature study was done first in order to already identify explanations and elements contributing to interethnic contact. Next, a quantitative analysis was conducted as a way to test whether previously formulated hypotheses would be rejected. The results of this exploratory quantitative research are incorporated in the interview guide that is discussed in a later section. The analysis of the data acquired from the qualitative research, however, was done via both deductive and inductive coding. Thus, the deductive codes acquired from the literature and the quantitative results were combined with inductive codes that emerged from the interviews with the

participants. Furthermore, both inductive and deductive findings lead in evaluating the literature and in answering the qualitative research question: ‘what are the motives of migrants and natives for engaging in or refraining from interethnic contact?’. This question was answered by conducting five semi-structured interviews. For the qualitative part of the research, fewer participants were required as the purpose of qualitative research is not to generalize the findings but to find depth of the provided information (Hennink et al., 2011). The original idea was to interview two participants from Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch descent in order to be able to determine specificities of the study group based on the literature and the quantitative data analysis. To illustrate, as employment proved to be vastly important for interethnic contact, it would be interesting to include both employed and unemployed individuals from each ethnic background. However, due to time constraints, it was not possible to conduct six interviews. Instead, two interviews were held with a first-generation migrant, one with a second-generation migrant and two interviews were held with natives. The fact that now only three instead of four interviews with migrants were held is not detrimental to the research as the quantitative research proved that Turkish and Moroccan migrants from the same generation do not differ significantly from each other. Only migrants, whether they are Turkish or Moroccan, from first- and second-generations differ from each other. The focus lied on interviewing at least two natives as the variance in interethnic contact that the control variables could explain for natives was rather low. By conducting two interviews I aimed to get a further insight into what other reasons the lack of interethnic contact might have among natives. The fact that two first-generation Moroccan migrants were interviewed was due to the fact that the first participant indicated to have migrated to the Netherlands because of personal reasons. As this was not representative for the *labour* migrants that I aimed to study, another interview was held.

The participants were purposively recruited via the network of the researcher, as the variation of these individuals was especially informative for the research topic. As the level of urbanisation proved to be of importance, the participants were recruited from different cities and areas within the Netherlands. Furthermore, when two participants from the same ethnic background were interviewed in this research, it was aimed to recruit individuals with different characteristics. Hence, a highly educated native female student from an ethnically diverse city and a less educated unemployed male who had been living in a rural area his entire life were interviewed. The participants were given a box of chocolates for their time. Giving chocolates instead of, for instance, money was a conscious decision as it presented more of a ‘thank-you’ gift and, as Jackson et al. (2001: 166) found, “helped keep the situation as informal as possible”. Below is a brief summary of the characteristics of all participants.

Table 4: Summary of characteristics of the participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Ethnic identity	Religious affiliation	Educational level	Occupation
Dirk	50	Male	Native	None	Senior secondary vocational education	Stay-at-home father
Naziha	60	Female	1st generation Moroccan migrant	Muslim	Preparatory secondary vocational education	Cleaning lady
Ismail	25	Male	2nd generation Turkish migrant	Muslim	Tertiary Education	Ba student
Rosa	22	Female	Native	None	Tertiary Education	Ba student
Ayoub	Above 60 ¹	Male	1st generation Moroccan migrant	Muslim	Tertiary Education	Retired

¹The participant indicated to be ‘above sixty’ instead of stating their specific age

6.2. Interview guide

In order to be able to structure the interview, this research made use of a semi-structured interview guide. A semi-structured interview guide contains questions and probes that are not all fully written down to ensure that the interview will not be equivalent to a questionnaire. Probes are terms in the interview guide that help remind the researcher to ask further about specific subjects (Hennink et al., 2011). All interviews will follow the same interview guide, with the exception of a few migration-specific questions. By following the same guide, and thus by posing the same questions, the data will be easier to categorize, compare and interpret. The interview guide adheres to the criteria of Hennink et al. (2011) and consists of an introduction, a few openings questions, core questions and closing questions. The full interview guide can be found in Appendix V.

In the introduction, I introduce myself, briefly outline the research and formulate the aims of the study. Furthermore, the concepts of confidentiality and anonymity are introduced and assured and it is stated that the participant can stop the interview at any given moment, should he/she feel the need to do so. Next, a few introductory questions are posed to get an insight into the background of the participants. The participants are asked to introduce themselves and they are asked about their age, employment, educational level and hobbies. These subjects are important, as these aspects of their lives can be asked about or referred to later on in the interview when talking about interethnic contact. For first- and second-generation migrants a few introduction questions were posed about their migrant background. The core questions were divided into three themes, namely social contacts, views on interethnic contact and view on integration. In the social contacts part, the participants were asked about the type of contacts they

had and why they valued these contacts. The participants were also asked about the ethnic diversity of their network. Next, the participants were asked about their view on interethnic contact as well as the expected view of individuals of different ethnic backgrounds on interethnic contact. Hence, perceived differences and similarities between natives and migrants were discussed. This was done in order to display potential reasons that benefitted or hindered interethnic contact. Last, it was discussed how the participants viewed the integration of migrants. It was furthermore discussed which factors were important for the integration of migrants. In the closing part of the interview, the participants were asked about what they thought that the government currently did, or could do, to benefit interethnic contact. To conclude the interview, the participants were asked whether they had any questions or additional information they wanted to discuss.

6.3 Pilot interview

In order to test whether all questions were clear and understandable, two pilot interviews were conducted with a 21-year old and a 23-year old native woman. In general, the interviews went smoothly and the participants did not have any questions regarding the interview. However, after evaluating the interviews with the two participants a few issues arose. First, the participants indicated that the transitions between questions could be a bit more fluent. Therefore, as can be found in Appendix V, transitions were added to the interview guide in which the previously discussed subject was paraphrased before moving on to discuss a different matter. Moreover, the first pilot interview lasted 33 minutes, which was shorter than expected. Therefore, the interviewer tried to focus more on the core questions in the second pilot interview and played into the answers of the participant in order to get a more in-depth discussion. This led to a successful second pilot interview of 43 minutes. Furthermore, the interviewer had some difficulties with leaving silences within the interviews. However, these silences can be pivotal in acquiring information from the participant (Hennink et al., 2011). Hence, during further interviews, the interviewer focused more on leaving silences and humming and nodding in order to leave more space for the participant to answer the questions. In addition, in order to better understand the motives for choosing particular friends, a few questions were added regarding why the indicated contacts were the most important to the participant. Furthermore, the sequence of the questions was altered to improve the flow of the interview. Last, a few closing questions were added to the interview guide in order to make the end of the interview less abrupt.

6.4 Ethics statement and positionality

Firstly, all participants were provided with sufficient information about the research topic and reasons and goals of this research via an information letter that can be found in Appendix IV. This

allowed them to base their decision to participate voluntarily on this provided information, hereby ensuring *informed consent*. In addition, it was stressed that the participants could stop the interview at any given moment if they felt uncomfortable with the questions or with anything else. As the goal of the research was made clear, and the research thus was transparent to all participants, *justice* was done to them. Secondly, the *anonymity* of the participants was ensured by removing all identifiable information from the interview script and by giving the participants false names and numbering the social contact they spoke of. In addition, it was assured that the recordings of the interviews were only available to the researcher and that, after anonymizing the data, the recordings would be deleted. Thirdly, the benefit of this research was made clear to the participants. This research namely aims to not solely *benefit* academia, yet also potentially benefit the society at large. By researching ethnic homophily, this research can offer insights into both preferences *and* opportunities for interethnic contact. Even though preferences of individuals are hard to change, opportunities for interethnic contact are changeable and thus something policies can be based upon. Therefore, this research could potentially contribute to reducing ethnic homophily which can benefit integration. Should the participants be interested in the results, they will be provided with a short summary of the research after submitting the final thesis. Last, it is important to *minimize the harm* of the participants. For this research, it is therefore pivotal to clearly outline which parts of the research are and, more importantly, which parts are not generalizable as both quantitative and qualitative methods are incorporated in this research. This needs to be done in order to prevent findings of this study being erroneously generalized.

Furthermore, it is pivotal to consider the positionality of the researcher. As Foote and Bartell (2011: 46) stated ‘the positionality that researchers bring to their work, and the personal experiences through which positionality is shaped may influence what researchers may bring to research encounters, their choice of processes, and their interpretation of outcomes’. It must therefore be taken into account that I aimed to study a population group of which I am part. To illustrate, the native participants were asked about their opinions by a native interviewer. Similarly, the participants with a migration background were asked how they experienced contact with natives by a native interviewer. This might have influenced the answers of the interviewees. However, I, as a native, middle-class, female student aimed to consider the ways of understanding issues of ethnicity, culture and power when interpreting the lived experiences of the participants. In addition, even though it is not possible to fully abstain from influencing the interview, it is possible to bear this influence in mind while researching. Therefore, I tried to avert suggestive questions whilst interviewing and furthermore tried to be aware of possible power relations during the interview.

6.5 Data analysis

The gathered data were analysed by engaging with it in a process of coding in order to discover emerging patterns. In order to be able to analyse the data, the interviews were turned into verbatim transcripts. These contain the word-for-word replica of the words spoken in the interview. Furthermore, some pauses, emphases and laughter were indicated as these can convey meaning and can help interpret the interviews (Hennink et al., 2011). The interviews were transcribed directly after having conducted the interviews to ensure that the recollection of the interview was optimal.

Next, to analyse the transcripts both inductive and deductive coding was used. Codes refer to issues, topics and ideas that are evident in the data (Hennink et al., 2011). Some of the codes are, inductively, raised by the participants, whereas other codes are, deductively, derived from the literature or from the quantitative analysis. Inductive codes have the benefit that they indicate the issues that the participants themselves find most important while deductive codes are beneficial because they help compare different interviews more effectively (Hennink et al., 2011). The transcripts were coded by using the programme Atlas.ti 8.1.

In order to analyse the data in a structural manner, a data analysis plan was formulated. First, the data was examined elaborately and, if necessary, a detailed account of how a specific theme was discussed by the participants was provided. Furthermore, the participants' experiences and their opportunities and preferences for interethnic contact will be discussed. In addition, the data of the interviews was compared with each other by using the co-occurrence tool in Atlas.ti 8.1. Some of the findings were visualized in order to get a better account of the data. In addition, similar codes were merged into 'families' to make the analysis of the codes more clear and facilitate abstraction.

7. Understanding interethnic contact: Qualitative results

In order to be able to examine *how* and *why* there are certain differences between first- and second-generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants and natives in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in, five interviews were held. These interviews were held at the homes of the participants, hereby giving me an insight not only into their homes, but also into their daily lives. In general, the participants in this research had similar opinions about social contact. An aspect that was often mentioned by the participants was that the individuals with whom they had the most contact resembled them in a way, thereby giving support to the homophily theory of McPherson et al. (2001). The participants had mostly met their social relations via school, sports or activities in the neighbourhood and valued them for their advice, support or for the activities that they undertook.

However, the specificities of their experiences with social contact and especially their experiences with interethnic social contact differed. Therefore, the views of the participants were elaborated on further in the following paragraphs. This chapter discusses the data structured in two themes. The first section will discuss the perceived differences between migrants and natives and will additionally examine the sense of belonging of the participants with a migrant background. The second section will discuss the factors fostering or hindering interethnic contact and will furthermore elaborate on the impact of the attitudes of both migrants and natives towards each other. Moreover, the factors deemed important by the participants for integration are examined. When necessary, themes are discussed by providing an detailed account of how the participants spoke of them. Furthermore, this section examines whether theoretical concepts, and if so which and how, were discussed by the participants. Hence, an analysis of the most important (perceived) differences between the participants will be provided by using concrete examples of the data.

7.1 (Perceived) differences

When discussing the perceived differences between migrants and natives with the participants, the participants talked about a wide range of differences. These differences are interesting to examine as individuals are more prone to interacting with individuals who are similar to them (McPherson et al., 2001; Borgatti et al., 2013). Hence, if natives, for example, would believe that they are considerably different from migrants, it would lead them to be less inclined to interact with migrants. The differences that were discussed can be divided into differences in behaviour, understanding each other, upbringing and individualism. A detailed description of the concept ‘differences between migrants and natives’ can be found below. Herein displayed is an account of how the separate differences were discussed, by whom they were discussed and with what other codes they interact.

Table 5: An overview of ‘differences between migrants and natives’ as discussed by participants

What are the different aspects?	What is the context and meaning?	How is each aspect discussed?	How often is the aspect mentioned and by whom?	What other codes intersect?
Differences in behaviour	The participant indicates that migrants and natives differ in behaviour. This can be either due to what they find important in life, how occupied they are, or how they behave towards the outside world.	Naziha: ‘If you go to someone, you have to make an appointment. With us, in Morocco, you can walk in and out of the door all the time, ha-ha. In Morocco, family means the entire family and neighbours so we walk in and out all day. While here, is also good, but you don’t visit each other or whatever.’; FN: ‘You could easily spot those lower educated groups in the schoolyard, yes you could really see it. They always behaved in a certain way in the assembly halls as well, very loud.’	This aspect is frequently mentioned by first and second-generation migrant participants. Yet, Rosa also refers to this aspect.	‘Difference in upbringing’, ‘Importance of family’, ‘Migrants as aggressive/intimidating’
Differences in understanding each other	The participant indicates that there are differences in understanding each other in the sense that people of the same ethnic background understand each other more easily.	Ismail: ‘At my job, when I was working in the cinema in Almelo I also had some Turkish and Armenian people that I was friends with and they talked about certain things of which I thought ‘you see, you get what I mean’, without having to explain anything. If I find something strange because a Dutch person tells me something and I find that strange, there are Dutch people who don’t understand why I find it strange. If I look at that Armenian friend, he did understand those things without explanation. Those sort of differences you notice.’	This aspect is mentioned by two out of three migrants, however, Rosa also refers to this aspect.	‘Lack of willingness to interact’
Differences in upbringing	The participant indicates that there are differences in how migrants and natives are brought up by their parents.	Rosa: ‘But, he is, their family is pretty strict with these things, that you have to be very respectful towards your parents and if you, for example, don’t, you get beaten with a slipper. I found that very intense and radical.’	Migrants more frequently mention this aspect, however, Rosa also refers to this aspect.	‘Difference in valuing individualism’, ‘Migrants as aggressive/intimidating’
Differences in valuing individualism	The participant indicate that natives are more individualistic than migrants are.	Ayoub: ‘I think that the youth does not know how to behave. Is that because of individualism? Now, it is always me first, before God or whoever. That is different in Morocco.’	This aspect is mentioned by first-generation migrants.	‘Differences in upbringing’, ‘Importance of family’

The most discussed differences are differences in the behaviour of migrants and natives. These perceived differences, that were often said to stem from cultural differences, can discourage individuals to interact with each other (Nannestad, Lind Haase Svendsen & Tinggaard Svendsen, 2008). Furthermore, as behaviour is visible to the eye, these differences can be observed easily and thus divisions can occur. Ismail, a student and second-generation Turkish migrant, indicates how people can compare other people’s behaviour to their own behaviour and culture.

Ismail: ‘Our culture, that we share with each other, we think that they should have the same. We would compare their behaviour to our culture. And if some things don’t match, we consider those things strange. We would think ‘crazy Dutch people’, why do you only give me one cookie if I come over to your house for a cup of coffee? (Laughter). (...) So, you evaluate behaviour based on your own culture.’

In accordance with Ismail’s statement, Masson & Verkuyten (1998) found that individuals evaluate behaviour of others on the basis of their own cultural values and norms. However, observing behaviour that is culturally different or ‘strange’ does not have to be detrimental, even though it can make understanding each other more difficult. Moreover, individuals often find mutual understanding to be an important condition for engaging in contact (Kalmijn, 1998). This is due to the fact that individuals expect relations with similar others, who understand them best, to be easier and more successful (Mäenpää & Jalovaara, 2015). Thus, as some participants indicate that it is easier to understand individuals with the same ethnic background, this could mean that they would be less inclined to engage in interethnic contact. However, interestingly, the participants with a migrant background who stress these differences, additionally all talk about *accepting* such differences. Thus, while migrants appear to be more aware of differences and more frequently indicate that there are so, they also speak about accepting such differences. To illustrate, when talking about not eating pork, Ayoub, a retired first-generation Moroccan migrant, states ‘I am different in my choices for food, but that is not wrong or anything’. Hence, Ayoub accepts that he is different from natives in his diet. Yet, accepting differences is not only discussed in food-specific terms, but also in broader terms:

Ismail: ‘I realize that there are differences and I accept them. The one is not better than the other. Dutch people just learned some things differently in their upbringing, so why shouldn’t they do things differently? So, I realized that. There are different people, from different cultures, and that is fine. I have never been bothered by that.’

However, while all participants with a migrant background speak of accepting differences, none of the native participants does so. Similarly, Kwok-Bun & Plüss (2013) found that migrants often accept existing differences while natives are more focused on pointing out differences instead of embracing them. Furthermore, natives focussing on differences or pointing out the ‘Otherness’ of migrants can cause migrants to feel excluded and rejected (Anthias & Cederberg, 2009). During the interviews, an interesting division between first- and second-generation migrants regarding this issue occurred. Naziha, a cleaning lady and first-generation Moroccan, and Ayoub conveyed that they accepted to be different and Naziha even declared to ‘cope’ with being ‘othered’ and generalized by laughing about it:

Naziha: ‘They judge you, but they don’t even know who you are yet. Once they get to know you, they know who you are, it is fine. But at first, they think ‘o, shit a Moroccan’, ha-ha.

Interviewer: ‘And how do you cope with these things?’

Naziha: ‘Sometimes I just laugh about it, it is normal for us. It is not wrong, because maybe we are a bit different, and that is not bad. Even though you don’t want to be.’

However, both Ismail and Naziha pointed out that when second-generation migrants are being ‘othered’ or seen as different, conflicting feelings can arise. This is exemplified by the following excerpt:

Naziha: ‘Look, I can still think just let them be. But, my child was born here so that is just a regular Dutch kid, I would say. He is a Dutch kid, he is not familiar with Morocco, he only knows it from holidays. And if they hear ‘you are different’, they get heated. What do you mean ‘I am not like you?’. Then children say ‘I have a Dutch passport as well, I was born here! I am also Dutch’. So, yes, then they get angry. They feel just as Dutch as children who were born here. Maybe you have a different colour, but they all have the same blood. Everything is the same, we are all human’.

Hence, while first-generation migrants might accept being seen as different, because they perhaps feel that they, in fact, are somewhat different from the native population, second-generation migrants do not. As Naziha, points out, second-generation migrants are born in the Netherlands and, generally, live their entire lives there. Therefore, despite of their migration background, they might feel to be fully Dutch. Malhi, Boon & Rogers (2009) found that second-generation migrants can ‘feel’ to be of the ethnic identity of the host society, whilst simultaneously be regarded differently by native members that same host society. According to Malhi et al. (2009), when individuals are assigned to a certain ethnic identity that does not correspond to how they perceive themselves, this can cause them to feel conflicted. To illustrate, in reaction to being treated as ‘different’, Ismail points out:

Ismail: ‘I am convinced that I am normal, and I feel Dutch. Yet, these things make me feel like I need to reflect on it. (...) I feel like an ordinary Dutch person, but other people think differently.’

Hence, being treated as different causes Ismail to reflect on whether he is as Dutch as he feels to be. Furthermore, Ismail points out that he feels just as Dutch as natives, but he expresses that he at times feels the need to prove himself to either be a ‘good’ Turk or to be truly Dutch. Moreover, as a response to the potential threat of being ‘othered’, Ismail states that he, at times, even eats alone at home, in order for him not to have to ‘burden’ others with him not eating pork. Hence, he

states to, at times, actively avoid creating divisions and additionally states to prefer to restrain from creating divisions:

Ismail: ‘For example drinking alcohol, my entire family drinks alcohol and it would have been strange if I would have not done so. That would then really be my own choice. But I like it better like this, because now, when my friends are drinking and I would not you would immediately see a division, which you don’t see now.’

Ismail indicated how when divisions were visible and he was seen as ‘different’ he, at times, felt that he needed to prove himself to natives. Yet, the feeling that he needed to prove himself simultaneously annoyed him as he himself did not believe he had something to prove.

To sum up, differences between natives and migrants are more frequently discussed by migrants. However, migrants convey to accept such differences, while natives appear to merely point out differences. Furthermore, natives stressing differences might have a detrimental effect on especially second-generation migrants as stressing differences can lead to a conflicted feeling of identity.

7.2 Influencers of interethnic contact

The factors that were discussed most by the participants can be divided into factors that contribute interethnic contact, and factors that hinder interethnic contact. In accordance with the literature and the quantitative results, command of the Dutch language was discussed by the participants as one of the most important factors in benefitting interethnic contact. Furthermore, the findings in this study suggest that migrants focus more on factors that can foster interethnic contact whereas natives primarily discuss factors that hinder interethnic contact. The most discussed factors to contribute to fostering interethnic contact involved the contact theory, attitude of natives and migrants towards each other, and mutual respect.

Allport’s contact theory (1954), that holds that contact between individuals of different ethnic groups fosters interethnic contact, is supported by the data in this study. As all participants with a migrant background pointed out, once people get into contact with them, their prejudices disappear. However, contrary to Allport’s theory, the reduction of prejudice is *not* generalized towards the entire migrant (out)group. Every migrant participant indicated that even though they had good contact with natives, some natives still regarded them to be the exception rather than the rule. To illustrate, Ayoub talks about an example of an encounter he had with someone who spoke badly about Moroccans:

Ayoub: ‘Because I have been in the Netherlands for so long, I sometimes talk to people who are cursing and talking badly about Moroccans. I always just let that happen, and eventually, I’ll say: ‘well, I am also a Moroccan’. They will always respond: ‘yes, but you

have been in the Netherlands for so long’, or ‘well, but you are different’. So, I am different from the others, but that other Mohamed, for example, is also different from the others for his neighbours.’

The excerpt above shows that while interacting with people from different ethnic backgrounds can help reduce prejudice towards the person in question, it does not per definition entail that the prejudice towards the entire out-group is reduced. Similarly, Ismail states that he feels that he is hindered in engaging in contact with natives due to his ethnic background, yet states that when natives ‘give him the chance’ to get to know him, he often is regarded as ‘one of them’. However, the ‘hesitant’ attitude that Ismail experiences has not always been present in the Dutch society, according to the interviewees. Ayoub and Naziha claim that the attitude of natives towards migrants that is now discussed as ‘distant’ or ‘hesitant’ was more open and welcoming when they had just migrated.

Ayoub: ‘At the start, I did not only fall in love with my wife, but simultaneously fell in love with the country. The people, you would walk on the street and people would approach you. I only spoke French back then and everybody loved learning a little French. Curiosity, people were always very curious, very friendly, very approachable, yes. The fear that you now feel, what people now feel in the Netherlands. There was no sign of such fear back then.’

Both Ayoub and Naziha suggest that the difference in attitude might be due to a substantial increase in the amount of migrants who have migrated to the Netherlands. The interviews with Dirk and Rosa give support to these suggestions as both indicated that they, as natives, prefer to be ‘the majority group’. Rosa, a native student, indicates that she thinks that natives like being the majority group as it gives people a nice and safe feeling. Similarly, Dirk, a stay-at-home dad, states that he prefers being the majority group, in relation to the amount of migrants moving to the Netherlands.

Dirk: ‘Well, there are lots of Moroccans and Turks and Muslims and who-knows-what here now, so yeah. It should not get out of control. I find that the most important, that the Dutch are the majority group. This is the Netherlands, and otherwise it would turn into Turkey or Morocco 2.0.’

Hence, the fear of migrants moving to the Netherlands, and the fear of ceasing to be the majority group, might influence natives’ attitudes towards migrants. Another important difference in attitude that emerged from the data lies in the ‘need’ for interethnic contact. While the participants with a migrant background stated that they felt a need to interact with natives as it helped them

learn both the language and cultural values that they needed in order to be able to integrate, the native participants indicated that they felt no need for interethnic contact. To illustrate, Rosa, when talking about interethnic contact, states: ‘because natives, well, they are already settled, so they don’t need to engage in it.’

Hence, natives don’t ‘need’ to interact with migrants as they have no clear goal such as learning the language that they can accomplish by doing so. Lazear (1999) approached interethnic contact from this ‘rational choice’-perspective, yet he focused on how migrants had to make a cost-benefit analysis. Yet, these findings suggest that natives not only make an ‘economic’ decision as well, but that natives’ rational decisions are more detrimental to interethnic contact. Furthermore, in line with the idea that natives, being the majority group, can decide upon the terms with which migrants they want to interact, Dirk states that he has no difficulties with interacting with ‘Dutchified’ migrants. ‘Dutchified’ migrants are, according to Dirk, migrants who have become entirely Dutch ‘even though they don’t look like it’.

Dirk: ‘Well, that guy was entirely ‘Dutchified’, so I didn’t have any difficulties with him. Look, people who just, well, have adjusted or have become ‘Dutchified’, resemble Dutchmen more. So, then, the contact with them is nice.’

For Dirk, interacting with people with a migrant background is seen as difficult, unless these migrants have completely adjusted to ‘Dutch’ society. In other words, he feels more comfortable interacting with migrants when they become more ‘likeminded’, or similar, to him. This tendency can, to a lesser extent, also be found in the interview with Rosa. Adjusting to the norms and values present in the Dutch society and respecting ‘Dutch’ traditions appears to be a pivotal issue for Dirk, and a lesser important issue for Rosa. Rosa focuses more on how adjusting to the Dutch society can be seen as a necessity for migrants as there is a lot of outside pressure on them to do so. Dirk, on the other hand, appears to have less empathy for migrants needing to adjust:

Dirk: ‘I sometimes think: ‘why do some cultures have to be so difficult?’, because I have problems with that. Especially towards the Muslims, Turks and Moroccans. I am not saying that they are all being difficult, but for example with the Black Pete-debate, I feel like: well, this is the Netherlands, so you better respect it.’

The responses of both Dirk and Rosa highlight the singular and normative character of Dutch citizenship, as discussed by Bhatia (2002), in which migrants have to fully adapt to the ‘Dutch’ culture whilst renouncing their culture of origin. A further interesting aspect the excerpt is the fact that ‘Muslims, and Turks and Moroccans’ are merged together, as if ‘Muslim’ can be regarded as an ethnic identity and that these groups are furthermore somewhat similar. This can be especially detrimental as Foner and Alba (2008) found that Islam is often considered to be violent

or a ‘threat’ to Western values. Based on these assumptions, natives can be less prone to engaging in interethnic contact (Zolberg & Woon, 1999). Even though Dirk throughout the interview states that ‘not all Muslims are bad’, he emphasizes that Christians would never commit a terrorist attack, while ‘bad’ Muslims do. He furthermore points out that Islam does not belong here, and hints at the idea that Islam should not be present in Dutch society. He states:

Dirk: ‘It is not like they would build any churches for us there. So, I think that migrants are too attached to it in a sense. Well, you know, they are allowed to be Muslim, but they have to keep it there. In their own countries. I mean, I find it very strange that there are mosques here. (...). Then I think ‘what, how?’, I can’t... On the other hand, I get it, but, it just doesn’t belong in the Netherlands, at least not officially.’

Hence, Dirk finds that migrants, at times, are ‘too attached’ to their religion. Should they remain as attached, they are best off staying in their own countries as Islam ‘does not belong in the Netherlands’ and, as discussed earlier, migrating to the Netherlands entails a high level of adjustment according to Dirk. For Dirk, religion thus constitutes an important factor in differentiating between natives and migrants. Ayoub and Naziha also talk about religion and especially speak of how Islam is seen as threatening and how people have grown to hate Islam. Ayoub and Naziha, both religious themselves, experience their religion as tolerant and keep their religion to themselves. In accordance with the quantitative findings, the participants did not seem to particularly seek out their social contacts on the basis of their religious affiliation. Furthermore, contrary to the findings of Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh (2010), none of the participants of this study spoke about being generalized as a Muslim. This might be due to the fact that they do not wear particular religious clothing and do not visit the mosque. Yet, all participants did emphasize that they experienced being generalized as a Moroccan or Turk and that those generalizations had a negative impact on them. To illustrate, Naziha talks about how she feels about being generalized:

Naziha: ‘Well, that does not feel nice, it hurts my feelings. You mean well, you want to fit in, into the culture. You are here, you want to adjust, but some people don’t give you the chance. I think that that is due to me being Moroccan. If a Moroccan boy does something bad, Dutch people immediately think ‘all Moroccans are bad’. But that is not true, you know? Some people are good, and some people are bad.’

Thus, as Naziha points out, being generalized can deeply hurt someone. In addition to being hurt by generalizations, Ismail stresses that he looks differently at people who have expressed generalizing statements. Ismail states that he is less prone to become friends with people who have expressed such statements as he ‘takes notes’ of those statements and feels that those people

are not like him. In accordance with Doornik's findings (2017), most participants state that generalizations towards migrants are caused by the media. Yet, even though Rosa appears to be aware of media framing, she, and Dirk alike, both generalize 'migrants' or 'Muslims'. An especially interesting aspect of their generalizations is that they focus on external characteristics such as skin colour or religious clothing. By focusing on external characteristics, these migrants can easily be 'othered', which, according to McPherson et al. (2001), can hinder interethnic contact. While migrants not once spoke of natives in terms of skin colour, the native participants did so elaborately. This hints at the idea that natives focus more on differences in appearance than migrants do.

The interviews show that natives have a privileged position in the Dutch society, as they are the majority group and don't 'need' to interact with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. The dominant position of natives is additionally exemplified by the following excerpt:

Naziha: 'Sometimes it is unfair. They, at times, say 'all Moroccans are bad', but we never do so. I hope that one day we will understand each other, especially the children who were born here. That they can get along, work together, and look at their future together.'

Thus, while migrants, according to Naziha, refrain from generalizations, natives on the other hand do not. However, while there appear to be some differences between migrants and natives in their preferences for interethnic contact, there are some consistencies in what both groups believe to benefit integration and interethnic contact. All participants state that being part of the society and not being isolated is important for the integration of migrants. Furthermore, all participants state that migrants need to be willing to learn and need to want to interact with natives. Yet, interethnic contact, as shown in both the quantitative and qualitative data, can be difficult to achieve. The participants often mention schools to be important institutions that can foster interethnic contact. Ismail and Naziha emphasize that it is pivotal to start at a young age, because individuals are not as set in their preferences and habits when they are young. This is in accordance with Martinovic et al. (2009), who found that children are most prone to engage in interethnic contact. Moreover, opening the conversation between migrants and natives and discussing, and overcoming differences is mentioned as an important strategy that can help foster interethnic contact. Thus, it can be inferred from the interviews that it is important to foster opportunities in which natives and migrants can meet each other, interact, and work on a mutual understanding and respect. The data of this study suggest that the preferences and opportunities for interethnic contact of natives need more modification than the preferences and opportunities of migrants in order to foster interethnic contact. Because, as Naziha pointed out: 'we want to go together, we want to go hand in hand, but we are not given a chance.'

8. Conclusion, limitations and further research

8.1 Conclusion

The goal of this research was to examine the research question ‘*which social and demographic factors impact engagement in interethnic contact between Dutch natives and first and second generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants, and how and why do these factors affect interethnic contact?*’. Interethnic contact was characterized as the contact between individuals *outside* of their own ethnic group (Martinovic, 2013). This type of contact is especially of importance as it can foster integration and mutual understanding of and between different ethnic groups (Kalmijn, 1998; Pettigrew et al., 2011). This study has offered an insight into the choices individuals make regarding interethnic contact and, in addition, has examined whether these choices can be attributed to preferences or opportunities to do so. This insight was provided via a sequential explanatory research design in which the qualitative data helped explain or elaborate on the results from the quantitative analyses (cf. Ivankova et al., 2006).

For the quantitative phase, two literature-based hypotheses were formulated for the association between ethnicity and interethnic contact. In accordance with Kalmijn’s (1998) preferences and opportunities theory, the first hypothesis was supported as it was first found that Turkish and Moroccan migrants have vastly more interethnic contact than natives do. Secondly, the results supported the second hypothesis that second-generation migrants engage in more interethnic contact than first-generation migrants do. However, in contrast not only to academic but also to public belief, this study disproves that the relation between ethnicity and interethnic contact is influenced by religiosity. The preferences and opportunities of natives and migrants for interethnic contact thus appear to be similar for religious and non-religious individuals. This finding hereby challenges the idea that religious migrants are more prone to solely interact with each other and integrate less well (Fleischmann & Dronkers, 2010; Muttarak, 2014). Yet, even though this study found that being religious in itself does not influence an individual’s preferences and opportunities for interethnic contact, it does not prove that perceiving others as religious does not hinder individuals from interacting with each other. To illustrate, Doomernik (2017) found that Dutch natives in general assume that Muslims are substantially different from them in terms of the cultural values they adhere to. Following the homophily-theory of McPherson et al. (2001), it would be interesting to examine whether, instead of *being* religious, *perceiving* others to be religious influences engagement in interethnic contact. The qualitative findings of this study support the idea that natives may consider Muslims to be different from them in their customs and in the cultural values they adhere to.

Unlike the religiosity factor, other factors, such as educational level, employment, level of urbanization and command of Dutch, did prove to influence the amount of interethnic contact

Turkish and Moroccan migrants and natives engaged in. Interestingly, while increased opportunities for interethnic contact significantly contributed to the amount of interethnic contact migrants engaged in, this was far less the case for natives. This finding raised the question whether there are other factors, such as preferences or motives, which can help explain why natives have vastly less interethnic contact than migrants do.

In order to find an answer to this question, the qualitative study elaborated on this remarkable finding as it required further examining. This phase thus aimed to explain *why* there were differences between natives and first- and second-generation migrants in the amount of interethnic contact they engage in. The findings of this study suggest that the differences in interethnic contact can be attributed to a few social factors. Firstly, this research found evidence that natives focus on emphasising differences between them and migrants (cf. Kwok-Bun & Pluss, 2013), while migrants are more focused on accepting (perceived) differences. Highlighting potential differences may intensify not only divisions between ethnic in- and out-groups, but may also promote interaction with one's 'own' ethnic group (Laan-Bouma Doff, 2007; Martinovic, 2011). Furthermore, as was indicated in this study, by pointing out differences, natives can have a detrimental effect on especially second-generation migrants. While first-generation migrants indicated that they accepted that they were different, the second-generation migrant that was interviewed did not. Being seen or treated as 'different' caused him to feel conflicted as he perceived himself to be fully Dutch, yet was consistently made aware that natives did not regard him as such (cf. Mahli et al., 2009). However, the participants with a migrant background all indicated that the attitudes and prejudice of natives changed once they got to know them, thereby supporting Allport's contact theory (1954). However, contrary to Allport's theory, this study suggests that the reduction of prejudice towards migrants is not generalized towards the entire 'out'-group as natives would regard them as 'good' migrants and as the exception rather than the rule.

Secondly, this study suggests that the attitude towards Turkish and Moroccan migrants has changed in light of the increase in refugees and migrants located in the Netherlands. Interestingly, the first-generation participants stressed the hospitality and welcoming attitude of natives upon their arrival in the Netherlands. However, they experienced a change in natives' attitude as more migrants settled in the Netherlands; curiosity for the unknown changed into fear for the unknown. The participants' suggestion that the change in attitude may be related to the number of migrants coming to the Netherlands was also supported by natives. The native participants indicated to prefer being the majority group as it gave them a safe and comforting feeling. In addition, both migrants and natives indicated that they sometimes preferred contact with individuals from the same ethnic background because, like McPherson et al (2001) suggested, it was easier to understand individuals from the same background. However, the

migrant participants also indicated benefits of *interethnic* contact such as learning the culture and language (Lazear, 1999). This study suggests that while migrants envision a potential ‘gain’ from interethnic contact, natives do not. The native participants, being settled in the Netherlands, emphasised that they do not ‘need’ to interact with individuals with a migrant background, while the participants with migrant background did indicate to feel this ‘need’. This research hereby emphasizes the privileged position natives have in Dutch society as it highlights the power of natives to determine whether, and on what terms, they engage in interethnic contact. Correspondingly, natives mostly stressed the need for adaptation of migrants in order to benefit interethnic contact. The participants with a migrant background, on the other hand, stressed the importance of opening the conversation in order to foster a mutual understanding and to comprehend that the differences between natives and Turkish and Moroccan migrants are not insuperable.

In short, the findings of this study confirmed that migrants engage in significantly more interethnic contact than natives do, yet no evidence was found that religion influences this relation. Moreover, this study proved that while the amount of interethnic contact migrants engage in is positively influenced by opportunities for interethnic contact, this is less the case for natives. This study suggests that natives have a privileged position in which they can act on their preferences to refrain from interethnic contact. Opening the conversation and overcoming differences in order to foster interethnic contact might be necessary, yet this is only possible when migrants, and more importantly, natives cooperate.

8.2 Limitations and further research

This study described the views of and differences between migrants and natives in relation to interethnic contact. Regardless of the exploratory character of this study, the findings gave a few interesting insights that require further research. However, in order to do so, a few limitations to this study need to be pointed out.

Firstly, for the quantitative analyses, this study was dependent on a relatively weak measurement of interethnic contact. Even though interethnic contact was measured in multiple areas, it was solely measured by the frequency in which it occurred. It would have been better if the measurement also incorporated the quality and content of the contact and how individuals engaged in interethnic contact. To illustrate, interacting with natives on a daily basis does not per definition entail that migrants considers this contact as positive, whereas migrants who only interacts with natives once per month might regard this person as his/her best friend. Nevertheless, this study was able to find clear differences between different ethnic groups that were in accordance with most theories. However, it is advisable for further research on interethnic contact to develop a more inclusive measurement.

Secondly, the questions in the questionnaire used for this study are rather complex and thus require a good understanding of the Dutch language. Hence, it is plausible that the majority of the migrants who were surveyed can be regarded as fairly integrated in Dutch society. This dataset thus appears to contain mostly ‘successful’ migrants, who are highly educated, employed, and speak the language. The results of this study might be different if less ‘successful’ migrants were incorporated in this study, as ‘successful’ migrants might differ in the opportunities for interethnic contact from less ‘successful’ migrants (de Graaf et al., 2011). In addition, the five participants with a migrant background who were interviewed all regarded themselves to be fully integrated. Hence, the findings of this study might have been different if more isolated instead of integrated participants had been interviewed. However, finding first-generation migrants, and especially female migrants, proved to be extremely difficult. This can be due to the fact that this research was conducted in Groningen, where not many Turkish and Moroccan migrants live (Boschman, 2012). Nevertheless, the difficulty of finding first-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrant participants might be regarded as a result in itself as it shows how little Turkish and Moroccan migrants live in Groningen and its environment. Furthermore, due to time constraints, only five participants were interviewed in this study. In order to obtain a better understanding of why there are differences between migrants and natives in their preferences for interethnic contact, more interviews, with more diverse participants, should be held.

Thirdly, the positionality of the researcher should be kept in mind. The researcher, as a native, asked the migrant participants how they experienced contact with natives. This might have influenced their responses or their attitude towards the researcher. The migrant participants seemed to be more on their guard and had to warm up to the conversation more than the native participants seemed to have. Furthermore, it was difficult to talk about religion with the migrant participants. This might be due to the fact that the participants were conscious of the researcher not being Muslim, which could have caused a felt division (cf. Sands, Bourjolly & Roer-Strier, 2007). During the interviews, the participants came across as slightly defensive of their religion, as if they felt that they had to prove that Islam was not inherently violent, but tolerant and accepting. In further research, it might be interesting to organize focus group discussions among both natives and migrants as it could offer solidarity and help reduce potential power relations (Hennink et al., 2011).

Previous research has predominantly focused on first- and second-generation migrants and their preferences and opportunities for interethnic contact (Kalmijn, 1998, Martinovic, 2011). However, as this study has highlighted, interethnic contact is a two-way street in which both natives and migrants need to engage. More research is thus needed on the attitudes of natives towards interethnic contact. Furthermore, it would be interesting to examine whether, and if so how, the attitude of natives towards interethnic contact can be altered. Researching this might be

of vast importance as the migrant population in the Netherlands has been, and still is, growing (CBS, 2017). In order to benefit the integration of new groups of migrants, interethnic contact, and thus the cooperation of natives, is required.

Furthermore, contrary to public belief, this study found that being religious does not affect the preferences and opportunities for engaging in interethnic contact. However, Dutch politicians have increasingly regarded religion as a cause for the disintegration of migrants (Mepschen, 2016). The findings of this study challenge such beliefs as being religious did not prove to contribute to a lower amount of interethnic contact of migrants. Interestingly, both the media and politicians continuously stress how religious, and especially Muslim, migrants adhere to culturally ‘different’ norms and values (Doomernik, 2017; Bracke, 2012). These statements may reinforce the idea in public discourse that religious migrants differ substantially from natives, which could then hinder interethnic contact. More research is thus required to examine whether, instead of being religious, perceiving others to be religious affects whether individuals in their engagement in interethnic contact.

A further question that emerged from this study concerns second-generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants. The findings of this study suggest that second-generation migrants experience difficulties with their identity as they *feel* to be fully Dutch, yet are not regarded and recognized as such. Yet, as this study, due to time constraints, only interviewed one second-generation migrant, it would be interesting to see whether this conflicted identity is a general trend among this group. Waldring, Crul & Ghorashi (2018) already found that second-generation migrants can feel a form of ‘in-betweenness’, in which they feel ‘stuck’ between two cultures, and therefore occupy marginal positions in society. However, more research is necessary to comprehend the impact of being ‘othered’ by natives whilst feeling a part of the national community.

Thus, while refraining from interethnic contact and ethnic clustering is often depicted in the media as something solely migrants ‘do’, this study found evidence to prove otherwise. More focus should lie on the role and influence of natives in fostering interethnic contact. It is pivotal to research interethnic contact further in order to avoid a situation in which we, as Malcolm X put it, ‘preach integration, but practice segregation’.

9. Bibliography

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