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van Osch, Y.M.J.; Breugelmans, S.M.

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Yvette M. J. van Osch¹ and Seger M. Breugelmans¹

Abstract

The present article forwards perceived intergroup difference as an organizing principle for both intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes. A study among 5,824 majority Dutch and five minority groups revealed that the position of a group on a dimension of perceived intergroup difference organized scores on a wide range of measures of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes. Minority groups that were perceived by majority members as being more different from themselves received less support for multiculturalism, were seen as more threatening, were stereotyped as less warm and competent, were seen to adopt mainstream culture less and to maintain ethnic culture more, and showed more discordance between majority and minority preferences of acculturation strategies; minority groups that perceived themselves as more different from majority Dutch were more in favor of multiculturalism, held stronger ethnic identities, adopted mainstream culture less, and maintained minority culture more. The authors conclude that perceived intergroup difference may be an important organizer of intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies.

Keywords

acculturation, intergroup relations/prejudice, values, attitudes, beliefs, immigration/migration

Most contemporary societies are culturally or ethnically diverse. In many cases, diversity is not limited to the coexistence of just two groups (e.g., a majority and a minority group) but entails a variety of larger and smaller groups, each with its own particular historical, linguistic, or cultural characteristics. Social scientists have tried to delineate general, organizing principles in order to understand the complex intercultural dynamics of such societies (e.g., Berry, 1984, 2001, 2006; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). In the current article, we highlight an important yet in our view underappreciated organizing principle, namely that of perceived intergroup difference. We present the results of a survey study among 5,824 people, representing six

¹Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands

Corresponding Author:

Yvette M. J. van Osch, Department of Social Psychology, Tilburg University, Warandelaan 2, 5000 LE Tilburg, the Netherlands.

Email: Y.M.J.vanOsch@tilburguniversity.edu

groups in the Netherlands, revealing the role of perceived intergroup difference as an organizer of intercultural attitudes (attitudes toward other groups) and acculturation attitudes (attitudes toward acculturation) among various groups in society.

There are many psychological theories, models, and studies of different facets of intercultural relations. On the one hand, this is a positive observation, showing that psychology can contribute to our understanding of how multicultural societies function. On the other hand, it could be seen as a challenge that our psychological knowledge is somewhat fragmented, with each theory, model, or study focusing on a specific construct or group. For example, there are many studies that focus on perceptions that people hold of other groups in society (intercultural attitudes such as prejudice, strength of social identity, inclusion and distinctiveness needs, experienced threat) but also many studies that focus on the preferences that groups hold with regard to their own position in society (acculturation attitudes related to group status, migration motives, voluntariness of contact, and coping). It seems desirable to identify principles that organize our detailed if somewhat fragmented knowledge of intercultural relations. In other words, a logical next step would be to see to what extent all the different constructs are related to one another. We argue that perceived intergroup differences organize the relationships among many often used constructs. The central tenet of this article is that groups differ in the position that they have in a society—a position that is defined by the consensual perceived differences among groups by the members of this society—and that this position organizes the attitudes people have about their own group as well as the attitudes that others have about their group.

The proposed role of perceived intergroup difference as an organizing principle of intercultural attitudes is based on three sources of psychological research. The first source is the extant literature on perceived similarity and differences as a fundamental factor in interpersonal perception. A wealth of studies has shown that we like other people more when they are more similar to us in terms of attitudes, behavior, personality traits, and physical characteristics (see Amodio & Showers, 2005; Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Stel et al., 2010). These effects seem to generalize to intergroup perception; people are more willing to have social contacts with outgroup members who are more similar to themselves (Roccas & Schwartz, 1993).

The second source is the literature on intergroup relations, which shows that people are apt to distinguish among various social or cultural groups. Various studies have shown that people distinguish among groups in terms of personal or social distance and that such distinctions affect their attitudes toward these groups (e.g., Bogardus, 1947; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Hagendoorn, 1995; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993; Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). For example, people hold different attitudes toward different groups, in terms of stereotypes (Fiske et al., 2002), support for multiculturalism (Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008), acculturation strategies (Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007), or threat (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2008).

The third source is a set of studies on what has been called perceived or subjective cultural distance, which have been used to predict differences in acculturation processes among groups. For example, Ward et al. found that distance could predict both sociocultural and psychological adjustment among exchange students' adjustment from and in New Zealand (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward & Searle, 1991). Later studies with sojourners in Russia (Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009), immigrants in Spain (Zlobina, Basabe, Paez, & Furnham, 2006), European immigrants, and minority groups in the Netherlands (Polek, Wörhle, & Van Oudenhoven, 2010; Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004) showed similar results: the larger the perceived cultural distance, the more difficulties were experienced. Taken together, all three sources suggest that perceived differences are a fundamental factor in interpersonal and intergroup perception in a wide variety of domains. For this reason, we think that perceived intergroup difference is a prime candidate for organizing attitudes among various groups in culturally diverse societies.

As an organizing principle, perceived intergroup difference can be seen as an extension of the most basic principle of intergroup relations, namely the distinction that people make between ingroups and outgroups (Sumner, 1906; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). An abundance of research has shown that attitudes and ensuing behaviors systematically differ depending on the simple question of whether others are perceived as members of one's own group or rather as members of another group (Brewer, 1999). Importantly, the "objective" source of the ingroup/outgroup perception may differ widely across contexts but—once established—the consequences of making the distinction are highly regular (succinctly summarized as ingroup favoritism and, in cases of intergroup competition, outgroup derogation). Perceived intergroup difference adds to the ingroup/outgroup distinction in the sense that it proposes that people differentiate among various types of outgroups. Simply put, it posits that people make not only a nominal distinction between ingroup and outgroup but also an ordinal distinction among outgroups along a dimension of being more or less different from the ingroup.

Like ingroup-outgroup distinctions, perceived intergroup difference can have various sources. Objectively, there is an almost infinite number of characteristics on which groups can differ from one another. Which of these characteristics become focal for people to subjectively distinguish among groups may vary across societies, type of group, and historical period (Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991). Sometimes, the distinguishing characteristic may be appearance (e.g., skin color, facial features, clothing); in other instances, it may be language, religion, ethnicity, or culture—as in the studies of subjective cultural distance—or a combination of characteristics. For its current purpose as an organizing construct, however, the exact source of perceived intergroup difference is not of most importance. As Szalay and Bryson (1973) already noted, "in a culture analysis the autochthonous characteristics of culture A and B are in the center of interest; in the psychocultural distance, merely the degree of their similarity" (p. 169). We argue that people do indeed have quite a clear picture of differences among groups in a culturally diverse society—whatever characteristics they base this assessment on—which in turn organizes their attitudes about other groups as well as about preferred acculturation processes.

To function as an organizing principle of intercultural attitudes in a society, it is necessary that there is consensus about perceived differences among groups. If groups differ in the extent to which they see themselves as similar to or different from other groups, then attitudes are bound to vary as well and perceived intergroup difference cannot serve as an organizing principle. The literature on what has been called ethnic hierarchy lends support to the assumption that there is quite a strong degree of consensus among groups with regard to intergroup differences. An ethnic hierarchy implies a societal rank order of groups on the basis of perceived differences among groups (Hagendoorn, 1995). Studies in various societies, such as Australia, the Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden, have shown substantial consensus among majority and minority groups regarding which groups are most favorable or socially different (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Hagendoorn, Drogendijk, Tumanov, & Hraba, 1998; Snellman & Ekehammar, 2005; Verkuyten, Hagendoorn, & Masson, 1996).

To summarize, in this article, we forward perceived intergroup difference as an organizing principle for the intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes held by members of various groups in a multicultural society. We hypothesize (a) that there is substantial consensus within a society with respect to the extent to which groups are different and (b) that the scores on a wide range of measures of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes are organized according to the perceived differences among groups. We tested these hypotheses in a large-scale survey study with six groups in the Netherlands and a wide range of often-used constructs. Below, we shortly describe each construct as well as the expected differences among groups.

Perceived intergroup difference was measured as the extent to which people see themselves as different compared to various groups in the Netherlands (including majority Dutch; Schalk-Soekar

et al., 2004). This measure is a person-to-group comparison where people indicate the extent to which they view people from various social categories as similar to or different from themselves. It should be noted that this measure is commonly referred to as a measure of cultural distance in the literature (e.g., Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). Here, we refer to it as perceived intergroup difference because of two reasons. First, we also wanted to include measures of how different people saw themselves with respect to other members of their ingroup. It would seem odd to refer to such a measure as one of cultural distance. Second, we do not presume that people base their assessment of intergroup differences specifically on cultural characteristics. In fact, the assessment of cultural distance is a complex issue, requiring participants to have extensive knowledge of the various cultures involved (Boski, 1989, 1992, 1994).¹ We expected to replicate earlier research by Verkuyten et al. (1996) showing that there is a consensual perceived difference among groups. We studied majority Dutch as well as five large minority groups: Antillean-Dutch, Indonesian-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch, and Turkish-Dutch, all including first-generation migrants as well as children of migrants (second generation). Different generations were included so as to make our samples most representative of current minority groups in the Netherlands.

Each minority group in our study has a different historical relation with the Netherlands and reasons for migration (for detailed descriptions, see Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2008; Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004). The Indonesian-Dutch group comprises both natives (and/or their descendants) from various Indonesian islands and descendants of colonial Dutch or mixed marriages who migrated to the Netherlands after Indonesia's independence. Indonesian-Dutch can be expected to be least different from the majority because this group comprises a large proportion of colonial Dutch who remigrated to the Netherlands. Likewise, the Surinamese-Dutch comprise mainly people who migrated from the former colony to the Netherlands after Surinam's independence. The Antillean-Dutch comprise migrants from various Caribbean islands that make up the Dutch Antilles (which are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands). Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch came to the Netherlands mainly as labor migrants in the 1960s and 1970s or because of marriages and family reunions in later years (Carle, 2006). Antillean-Dutch and Surinamese-Dutch can be expected to be more different than the Indonesian-Dutch but less so than Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch because of their strong historical ties to the Netherlands. In addition to these historical ties, there are differences in language, religion, and social (economic) status. Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch have the least proficiency in Dutch, due to no historical contact with the Dutch language, whereas many minority groups from the (former) colonies use Dutch as a first, second, or third language. Furthermore, Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch are predominantly Muslim, whereas the other minority groups are mainly Christian. In comparison to the Surinamese-Dutch and Antillean-Dutch, the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch are also disadvantaged in terms of education and position in the labor market (though upward trends are visible).

Support for multiculturalism is an important construct in the assessment of the societal climate regarding cultural diversity (for an overview, see Van de Vijver et al., 2008). Most measures originate from the work of Berry (1984; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977), who used results of large surveys with his multicultural ideology scale to inform Canada's policies on cultural diversity. The Multicultural Attitude Scale (MAS; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004) was developed on the basis of this scale to cover a broader range of aspects of multiculturalism (Schalk-Soekar, 2007). Support for multiculturalism has been shown to be a strong and stable attitude toward cultural diversity in general (Breugelmans, Van de Vijver, & Schalk-Soekar, 2009). However, differences in attitudes can be expected with respect to specific groups in society. In line with findings by Schalk-Soekar and Van de Vijver (2008), we expect majority members to express less support for multiculturalism toward groups that are more different. In

line with the multiculturalism hypothesis by Verkuyten (2005), we expect groups that benefit most from tolerance toward cultural diversity to more strongly endorse a multicultural ideology. Thus, we expect minorities who were more different from the majority to hold more positive attitudes toward multiculturalism

The stereotype content model by Fiske et al. is one of the most often used measures of stereotypes. It posits that stereotypes can be organized along the dimensions of warmth and competence, with the ingroup usually scoring high on both dimensions and outgroups scoring high on one or neither dimension (Fiske et al., 2002). Importantly, the scores on these dimensions are related to perceived characteristics of the groups about which people hold stereotypes. Scores on warmth are related to experienced intergroup competition and threat, and scores on competence are related to the status of the other group (e.g., Lee & Fiske, 2006). In the current article, we focus on both dimensions of stereotype content separately. We expect majority members to attribute lower warmth and competence to groups that are more different. Because our study is about mutual perceptions in diverse societies, we also asked minorities to report how they thought that majority members viewed them. We expect minorities who are more different from the majority to think that majority Dutch perceive them as less warm and competent.

Perceived intergroup threat is one of the most important constructs in intercultural attitudes research (for an overview, see Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). According to integrated threat theory, realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes can all lead to prejudicial attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The specific type of threat that is most predictive depends on the nature of the relations between different groups (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). For example, Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, and Martin (2005) found realistic and symbolic threat to be the strongest predictors of negative attitudes toward minorities in an immigration context. One of the sources of threat is the perception that groups compete with one another over limited resources; the gain of one group is seen as the loss of another (Esses et al., 2001). Indeed, intergroup conflict has been shown to lead to changes in intergroup attitudes (e.g., Brewer, 1999; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1954/1961), and vice versa (Allport, 1954). In line with these findings, we expect majority members to see minority groups with a larger perceived intergroup difference toward the majority as more threatening. Likewise, we expect minorities with a larger perceived intergroup difference to think that majority Dutch perceive them as more threatening.

Strength of identification with the ingroup can be an important factor in the evaluation of outgroups (Esses et al., 2001). People have the need to maintain a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), but for ethnic minorities, this is difficult to maintain when one's ingroup is derogated by outgroup members. When the larger society favors a multicultural ideology, identification with a minority group is favorable (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Verkuyten (2005) found that stronger ingroup identity related positively to support for a multicultural ideology for minority groups but negatively for the majority group. We expect to find the same relationships in the current study, with the exception that we expect the positive relationship to be stronger for groups that are more different from the majority. Furthermore, we expect minority groups that are more different to have higher scores on identification with the minority group but lower scores on identification with the majority Dutch.

Nearly all current measures of acculturation attitudes in psychology are rooted in Berry's (2001; Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011) two-dimensional model of acculturation. This model captures acculturation preferences along two dimensions: (a) how minorities deal with the maintenance of their own cultural heritage and (b) how minorities deal with the culture of other groups and mainstream society. Combining these two dimensions yields four different acculturation strategies. *Integration* entails both maintenance of the own culture and maintenance of positive relationships with other groups (or adoption of the host culture, Arends-Tóth

& Van de Vijver, 2003). *Assimilation* entails loss of the original culture and the adoption of the majority culture; *separation* entails the maintenance of the original culture without adopting the majority culture; and *marginalization* entails loss of the original culture without adoption of the mainstream culture. Most often, mainstream groups prefer integration or assimilation as strategies for the minority groups, whereas minorities themselves tend to prefer integration (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Van de Vijver, Schalk-Soekar, Arends-Tóth, & Breugelmans, 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Verkuyten, 2005; Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

A for our study particularly, relevant extension of Berry's model is the concordance model of acculturation (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). In this model, the differences in majority and minority views on acculturation are posited to be related to perceptions of intergroup threat and intergroup attitudes. The larger the mismatch (i.e., discordance), the more negative intergroup attitudes are (Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006), and the more problematic intergroup relations (Bourhis et al., 1997). In the current article, we assess dimensions of acculturation attitudes for each group separately as well as compare the discordance of attitudes between majority and minorities. When it comes to acculturation attitudes by minorities, we expect groups that are more different from the majority to prefer more ethnic culture maintenance and less majority culture adoption. When it comes to acculturation preferences by the majority, we expect no difference in preferred acculturation (what the majority want minorities to do, namely assimilate), but we do expect differences in perceived acculturation, in the sense that groups that are perceived as more different are perceived to maintain more and adopt less. Consequently, we expect a larger discordance between majority perceptions and minority preferences for groups that are more different.

Method

Participants

In line with official Dutch regulations, participants were classified as majority group members if they themselves and both their parents were born in the Netherlands. Participants were classified as belonging to one of the minority groups if either they themselves or at least one of their parents were born in any of the targeted countries.

Majority. This sample consisted of 4,643 majority Dutch (2,456 females). Average age was 45.79 years ($SD = 17.17$). Demographic characteristics can be found in Table 1.

Questionnaires were distributed among majority participants (a) as paper and pencil questionnaires using convenience sampling ($n = 653$) and (b) as online questionnaires using a panel that is representative of the Dutch population ($n = 3,990$). Participants randomly received one of five versions of the questionnaire, which contained identical questions but differed with respect to the *minority target group*. The five versions were about Antillean, Indonesian, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Turkish minorities in the Netherlands.

Minorities. This sample consisted of 1,181 Dutch participants (621 females) who were officially classified as belonging to one of five minority groups: Antillean-Dutch, Indonesian-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch, and Turkish-Dutch. Average age was 37.02 years ($SD = 16.90$). All participants were Dutch citizens and currently resided in the Netherlands. However, for presentation purposes, we will refer to these groups by their minority background only in the remainder of this text. Participants were either themselves (55.8%) born in another country (i.e., one of the Dutch Antilles, Indonesia, Morocco, Surinam, or Turkey) and/or their fathers (93.6%) and/or mothers (92.5%) were born in another country. Minority respondents were classified as first generation when they themselves were born abroad and as second generation when they themselves were born in the Netherlands. Demographic characteristics can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptives of the Majority and Minority Samples for Target/Own Group

		N	% Female	Age
				M (SD)
Majority	Target Group			
	Antillean	801	49.9	44.31 (17.44)
	Indonesian	1287	53.5	48.09 (16.34)
	Moroccan	857	51.9	44.56 (16.74)
	Surinamese	900	52.1	45.58 (17.74)
	Turkish	798	56.9	45.76 (17.51)
Minorities	Own Group			
	Antillean	114	59.6	35.51 (15.38)
	Indonesian	119	51.3	49.31 (14.55)
	Moroccan	345	51.0	35.63 (18.00)
	Surinamese	280	49.6	32.61 (13.73)
	Turkish	323	54.6	38.17 (17.27)

Questionnaires were distributed among minority participants in three ways: (a) paper and pencil questionnaires using a snowball sampling method (a method commonly used for groups that are difficult to contact; see Atkinson & Flint, 2001; $n = 696$); (b) first-generation Turkish and Moroccan participants who were not confident about their Dutch language skills were interviewed by trained bilingual interviewers in Dutch, Turkish, Arabic (and Berber²), depending on their preferred language ($n = 208$); and (c) online questionnaires were given to a panel that is representative of the Dutch population ($n = 277$). Translations into Turkish and Arabic were done using a committee approach (including the authors, language experts, and the bilingual interviewers). Participants received one of five versions of the questionnaire, depending on their background. Each version contained the same questions but differed in that the questions focused on their *own* minority group.

Materials

Background characteristics. Participants indicated age, gender, country of birth, country of birth of both parents, and their highest level of completed education.

Perceived intergroup difference. Participants indicated on a 6-point scale (1 = *not at all different*, 6 = *completely different*) how different they themselves felt from six groups in Dutch society: majority Dutch, Antilleans, Indonesians, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Turks (see Schalk-Soekar & Van de Vijver, 2008). Because the Indonesian target group was added later on to our study, part of the sample ($n_{\text{majority}} = 653$; $n_{\text{minority}} = 906$) did not have a score for this group.

Support for multiculturalism. Participants completed a shortened version of the Multicultural Attitude Scale (MAS; Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004), which consisted of 12 items measuring participants' attitudes toward a multicultural society. Items for majority Dutch measured the support for multiculturalism with respect to a specific minority target group (e.g., "It would be best for the Netherlands when Turks preserve their own culture and customs"; Turkish-Dutch target group). Items for minorities measured support for multiculturalism with respect to minorities in general (e.g., "It would be best for the Netherlands when minority groups preserve their own cultures and customs"). Agreement with the statements was indicated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 29.41$; all $\alpha > .77$).

Perceived threat. Perceived threat was measured by a scale derived from the realistic and symbolic threat scales by Stephan et al. (2008), consisting of eight statements followed by a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., “Turkish children get more attention in schools”; “Turks threaten the freedom of opinion”). Majority participants responded to these statements with respect to a minority target group; minority participants indicated what they thought the majority group would answer with regard to their own minority group (all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 57.61$; all $\alpha > .89$).

Stereotype content. Stereotype content was measured by the scale by Fiske et al. (2002), which measures two dimensions: warmth (7 items; e.g., *friendly, sincere, warm*; all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 61.35$; all $\alpha > .89$) and competence (8 items; e.g., *professional, confident, efficient*; all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 49.23$; all $\alpha > .84$). On a 5-point rating scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*) majority participants indicated the extent to which their target minority group possessed these qualities; minority participants indicated how they thought the majority group perceived their own minority group.

Identity. Dutch identity was assessed by a shortened version of the Dutch identity scale by Verkuyten (2005). Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with four statements, such as “My Dutch identity is very important to me” (5-point scale with 1 = *completely disagree* and 5 = *completely agree*; all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 64.35$; all $\alpha > .81$). In addition, minority participants reported their ethnic identity, using the same scale with their own ethnic groups as the target (e.g., “My Turkish identity is very important to me”; all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 72.11$; all $\alpha > .87$).

Acculturation strategies. Acculturation strategies were measured using the two-statement method, measuring the dimension of culture maintenance and culture adoption in separate questions (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2007). Majority Dutch indicated what strategies they preferred minorities to follow; minorities indicated the strategies that they preferred for themselves. Adoption and maintenance dimensions were each assessed with 8 items (e.g., “I think it’s important for Turks to have Dutch colleagues” [item for majority]; “I think it’s important for me to have Dutch colleagues” [item for minorities]). Participants indicated their preferences for acculturation on a 5-point rating scale (1 = *not at all important*, 5 = *very important*).

In addition to these questions, we asked the majority Dutch to rate perceived acculturation strategies: the extent to which they thought their target group to adopt Dutch culture and/or maintain ethnic culture. The content of the questions was identical to that of the preferred scale (e.g., “How important do you think Turks find it to have Dutch colleagues?”). The resulting six scales (2 Dimensions \times 3 Measures) were unifactorial and had good reliabilities for all groups (all $R^2_{\text{first factor}} > 50.64$; all $\alpha > .74$).

Procedure

Data were collected from all provinces in the Netherlands. Participants were approached as members of an Internet panel, by research assistants, or by interviewers (always from the same ethnic group as the participant). Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Participants who indicated on a separate sheet that they would want to know about the results of the study received a summary of the results via (e-)mail.

Results

Perceived Intergroup Difference

Using the means of perceived intergroup difference, we constructed an ordinal index of the extent to which each group perceived themselves to be different from every target group.³ As can be seen in Table 2, there is a strong consensus among samples about the order of groups

Table 2. Ordinal Perceived Intergroup Difference of the Dutch Majority and Minorities Toward the Majority and the Five Minority Target Groups

	Position in Terms of Perceived Intergroup Difference					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dutch	D	I	S	A	T	M
Indonesian	D	I	S	A	T	M
Surinamese	S	D	I	A	T	M
Antillean	A	D	S	I	M	T
Turkish	T	M	D	I	S	A
Moroccan	M	T	D	I	S	A

D = Dutch; I = Indonesian; S = Surinamese; A = Antillean; T = Turkish; M = Moroccan. 1 = least different, 6 = most different.

according to perceived intergroup difference. All samples, except the Indonesian-Dutch, felt least different from members of their own group than from those of other groups.

Dutch majority members felt least different from other Dutch, followed by Indonesians, Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks, and Moroccans. Minorities showed two clusters. Surinamese and Antilleans, feeling least different from their own ethnic group, were followed by majority Dutch, Indonesians, Surinamese or Antilleans, Turks, and Moroccans. Turks and Moroccans felt least different from their own group, followed by Turks or Moroccans, majority Dutch, Indonesians, Surinamese, and Antilleans. So Turks and Moroccans saw themselves as more different from the majority; the majority also saw themselves as more different from Turks and Moroccans in comparison to Surinamese and Antilleans. With respect to Indonesians, a clear discrepancy was observed between self-classification and perception by majority Dutch; they perceived themselves as being part of the majority, but the Dutch perceived them as more different.

Group Differences in Intercultural Attitudes and Acculturation Attitudes

In preliminary analyses, we found no sizeable interactions between target group and sex, Wilks's $\Lambda = .99$, $F(32, 16,291) = 1.25$, $p = .157$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, or education, Wilks's $\Lambda = .96$, $F(160, 32,999) = 1.10$, $p = .194$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, or method, Wilks's $\Lambda = .98$, $F(24, 12,811) = 3.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, for the majority on the attitudinal measures. Age was significant as a covariate, Wilks's $\Lambda = .93$, $F(8, 4,516) = 40.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

For the minority, we also found no sizeable interactions between own group and sex, Wilks's $\Lambda = .96$, $F(32, 3,560) = 1.10$, $p = .325$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, education, Wilks's $\Lambda = .81$, $F(152, 6,592) = 1.25$, $p = .021$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, or generation⁴, Wilks's $\Lambda = .96$, $F(32, 3,272) = 1.02$, $p = .441$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, or method, Wilks's $\Lambda = .97$, $F(24, 2,573) = 1.00$, $p = .464$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, on the attitudinal measures. Age was also significant as a covariate, Wilks's $\Lambda = .98$, $F(8, 887) = 2.90$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Therefore, in all subsequent analyses, we included age as a covariate but not any of the other background variables.

We conducted equivalence analyses for responses by majority members on our attitudinal measures to check whether scores across conditions (i.e., across target groups) could be compared. For each scale, we took the component matrices from PCAs for each condition separately and compared them to the component matrix from a PCA on the pooled majority sample (see Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). All Tucker's Phi values were .99 or higher, indicating equivalence across all conditions.

A MANCOVA for the majority Dutch with *minority target group* as independent variable and intercultural attitudes (multiculturalism, perceived threat, stereotypes of warmth and

Table 3. The Effect of Minority Target Group on Majority Support for Multiculturalism, Perceived Threat, Stereotypes of Warmth and Competence, and Preferred and Perceived Adoption and Maintenance

Scales	Minority Target Group					$F(4, 4,637)$	Partial η^2
	Indonesian	Surinamese	Antillean	Turkish	Moroccan		
Multiculturalism	3.35 (0.47) _a	3.25 (0.48) _b	3.07 (0.55) _c	3.03 (0.59) _c	2.90 (0.63) _d	111.36	.09
Perceived Threat	2.44 (0.62) _a	2.74 (0.57) _b	2.98 (0.57) _c	3.17 (0.66) _d	3.42 (0.65) _e	387.42	.25
Stereotype Warmth	3.59 (0.52) _a	3.38 (0.52) _b	3.00 (0.59) _c	2.97 (0.60) _c	2.57 (0.64) _d	480.03	.29
Stereotype Competence	3.18 (0.47) _a	2.95 (0.47) _b	2.80 (0.46) _c	2.88 (0.46) _d	2.79 (0.51) _c	124.76	.10
Preferred Adoption	3.40 (0.54) _a	3.45 (0.54) _a	3.46 (0.52) _a	3.58 (0.48) _b	3.58 (0.52) _b	29.56	.03
Preferred Maintenance	2.97 (0.50) _a	2.94 (0.52) _a	2.87 (0.54) _b	2.86 (0.51) _b	2.82 (0.56) _b	12.71	.01
Perceived Adoption	3.26 (0.52) _a	3.16 (0.52) _b	2.98 (0.55) _c	2.81 (0.59) _d	2.68 (0.62) _e	179.06	.13
Perceived Maintenance	3.63 (0.59) _a	3.76 (0.55) _b	3.78 (0.57) _b	3.99 (0.59) _c	3.98 (0.62) _c	66.34	.05

Means in a row with different subscripts differ significantly in Tukey post hoc tests ($p < .05$). All effects are significant at $p < .001$.

competence, and preferred and perceived adoption and maintenance) as dependent variables and age as covariate showed a significant multivariate main effect, Wilks's $\Lambda = .59$, $F(32, 17,069) = 81.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. ANCOVAs on the individual measures were also significant, though effect sizes varied between small and large (see Table 3). Post hoc tests of the means showed for each measure a pattern that was systematically in line with the perceived difference by the majority toward the minority groups. Groups that were less different received more support for multiculturalism; were seen as less threatening,⁵ more warm, and more competent; were preferred to adopt less and maintain more; but perceived to adopt more and maintain less. Minority target group did not affect participants' identification with majority Dutch, $F(4, 4,643) = 1.35$, $p = .249$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$.

A MANCOVA for the minorities with *minority group* as independent variable and intercultural attitudes (multiculturalism, perceived threat, perceived stereotypes of warmth and competence, preferred adoption and maintenance, and identification with the Dutch and with the ethnic group) as dependent variables and age as covariate showed a significant multivariate main effect, Wilks's $\Lambda = .46$, $F(32, 4,305) = 31.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$. ANCOVAs on the individual measures were also significant, though effect sizes varied (see Table 4). Post hoc tests of the means showed for each measure a pattern that was (with a few, minor exceptions) in line with the perceived intergroup difference of minority groups toward the majority. Groups that were less different gave less support to multiculturalism; thought they were seen as less threatening, more warm, and more competent; adopted more and maintained less; and identified stronger with the Dutch and less strongly with the minority group.

Correlations of the measures of perceived intergroup difference with the separate dependent variables revealed the same pattern as the MANCOVAs. Across the different conditions (i.e., the specific target minority groups) of the majority group, perceived difference from the target

Table 4. The Effect of Minority Group on Minority’s Support for Multiculturalism, Perceived Threat, Stereotypes of Warmth and of Competence, Preferred Adoption and Maintenance, and Both Dutch and Ethnic Identity

	Minority Group					F(4, 1,174)	Partial η^2
	Indonesian	Surinamese	Antillean	Turkish	Moroccan		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)		
Multiculturalism	3.16 (0.59) _a	3.61 (0.44) _b	3.52 (0.49) _b	3.82 (0.45) _c	3.87 (0.43) _c	65.94	.18
Perceived Threat	1.98 (0.70) _a	2.10 (0.69) _a	2.40 (0.65) _b	2.38 (0.86) _b	2.71 (0.96) _c	27.32	.09
Stereotype Warmth	3.81 (0.60) _a	3.61 (0.57) _a	3.07 (0.77) _{b,c}	3.23 (0.81) _b	2.99 (0.77) _c	47.09	.14
Stereotype Competence	3.39 (0.63) _a	3.24 (0.63) _a	2.82 (0.78) _c	3.02 (0.73) _b	3.01 (0.67) _b	17.44	.06
Preferred Adoption	3.45 (0.71) _a	3.43 (0.57) _a	3.41 (0.50) _{a,b}	3.24 (0.56) _c	3.25 (0.59) _{b,c}	7.23	.02
Preferred Maintenance	2.46 (0.68) _a	3.24 (0.63) _b	3.30 (0.73) _b	3.78 (0.59) _c	3.70 (0.54) _c	132.81	.31
Dutch Identity	3.80 (0.86) _a	3.15 (0.79) _b	2.96 (0.88) _{b,c}	2.60 (0.85) _d	2.88 (0.77) _c	51.97	.15
Ethnic Identity	2.41 (1.04) _a	3.62 (0.81) _b	3.53 (1.00) _b	4.04 (0.82) _c	3.94 (0.79) _c	91.13	.24

Means in a row with different subscripts differ significantly in Tukey post hoc tests ($p < .05$). All effects are significant at $p < .001$.

minority group was negatively correlated with multiculturalism (median $r = -.41$; ranging from $-.32$ to $-.47$), positively with perceived threat (median $r = .25$; ranging from $.14$ to $.33$), negatively with warmth (median $r = -.22$; ranging from $-.18$ to $-.27$), negatively with competence (median $r = -.19$; ranging from $-.15$ to $-.24$), positively with preferred adoption (median $r = .07$; ranging from $.04$ to $.15$), negatively with preferred maintenance (median $r = -.16$; ranging from $-.01$ to $-.16$), negatively with perceived adoption (median $r = -.22$; ranging from $-.15$ to $-.23$), and positively with perceived maintenance (median $r = .04$; ranging from $.01$ to $.16$). Across the different minority samples, perceived difference from the majority group correlated positively with multiculturalism (median $r = .18$; ranging from $.12$ to $.32$), mixed with meta-stereotypes of threat (median $r = .01$; ranging from $.07$ to $-.16$), negative with meta-stereotypes of perceived warmth (median $r = -.12$; ranging from $-.05$ to $-.29$), negative with meta-stereotypes of competence (median $r = -.14$; ranging from $-.02$ to $-.23$), negative with preferred adoption (median $r = -.28$; ranging from $-.19$ to $-.33$), positive with preferred maintenance (median $r = .22$; ranging from $.11$ to $.48$), positive with ethnic identity (median $r = .21$; ranging from $.07$ to $-.53$), and negative with Dutch identity (median $r = -.49$; ranging from $-.38$ to $-.53$).

Multiculturalism Hypothesis

Majority members scoring high on Dutch identity were less supportive of a multicultural society than those scoring lower ($\beta_{\text{Dutchidentity}} = -.22, t = -15.67, p < .001$). Minority Dutch scoring high on Dutch identity also were less supportive of a multicultural society than those scoring lower ($\beta_{\text{Dutchidentity}} = -.14, t = -5.37, p < .001$). Minority Dutch scoring high on ethnic identity were more supportive of a multicultural society than those with a low ethnic identity ($\beta_{\text{Ethnicidentity}} = .42, t = 15.61, p < .001$).

Whereas for the majority Dutch identity correlated negatively with the MAS scores, for the minorities ethnic identity correlated positively, $r_{\text{Dutch}}(43) = .27$, $r_{\text{Antillean-Dutch}}(34) = .49$, $r_{\text{Turkish-Dutch}}(45) = .34$, $r_{\text{Moroccan-Dutch}}(37) = .39$, all $ps < .001$. With the exception of the Antilleans, correlation coefficients were larger for groups that were perceived to be more different from the majority group.

Similar results were found when we used the extent to which people see themselves as different from their ingroup (perceived difference measure) as an indicator of identity strength. Majority members who see themselves as more different from other Dutch tend to be more positive about multiculturalism, $r(4,634) = .11$, $p < .001$. Conversely, minority members who see themselves as more different from their respective minority ingroups are less supportive of multiculturalism—Indonesians, $r(43) = -.28$, $p = .07$; Surinamese, $r(271) = -.17$, $p < .001$; Antilleans, $r(111) = -.31$, $p < .001$; Turks, $r(312) = -.33$, $p < .001$; Moroccans, $r(339) = -.12$, $p < .05$.

Concordance of Acculturation. To explore the relationship between perceived intergroup difference and concordance of acculturation, we plotted the combined scores of culture adoption and culture maintenance for each of the three measures (i.e., majority preference, majority perception, minority preference) in Figure 1. Discordance can be seen among the three measures and among the different minority groups. Majority Dutch preferred assimilation for all groups but perceived integration among Indonesians and Surinamese, and separation among Turks and Moroccans, with Antilleans in between integration and separation. However, when it comes to acculturation preferences by minorities, Indonesians opt for assimilation and all other groups for integration.

To more formally explore the concordance, we computed difference measures (Cohen's d) for each combination of majority and minority scores (see Appendix). There was more overall concordance between majority preferences and minority preferences than there was between majority preferences and majority perception. Majority Dutch underestimated the preferred degree of adoption by minorities, especially for groups that were perceived as more different, but they overestimated the preferred degree of maintenance by minorities, especially for groups that were perceived as less different. All concordance scores followed the pattern of perceived intergroup difference.

Discussion

This study tested two general hypotheses on the organization of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes among six groups in Dutch society. With the exception of the Indonesian minority group, our perceived intergroup difference measure clearly supported our first hypothesis, "that there is substantial consensus within a society with respect to the extent to which groups are different." Table 2 shows that there is quite a consensual view on which groups are more or less different from one another.

The second general hypothesis, namely "that the scores on a wide range of measures of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes are organized according to the perceived differences among groups," was also confirmed. Table 3 clearly shows that minority groups that were perceived as more different by majority members received less support for multiculturalism, were seen as more threatening, were stereotyped as less warm and competent, and were seen to adopt mainstream culture less and to maintain ethnic culture more. Similarly, minority members who perceived themselves as more different from majority Dutch were more in favor of multiculturalism, held stronger ethnic identities, adopted mainstream culture less, and maintained minority culture more (Table 4). These categorical effects of group membership were corroborated by analyses on an individual level, where correlations of perceived difference from minority groups

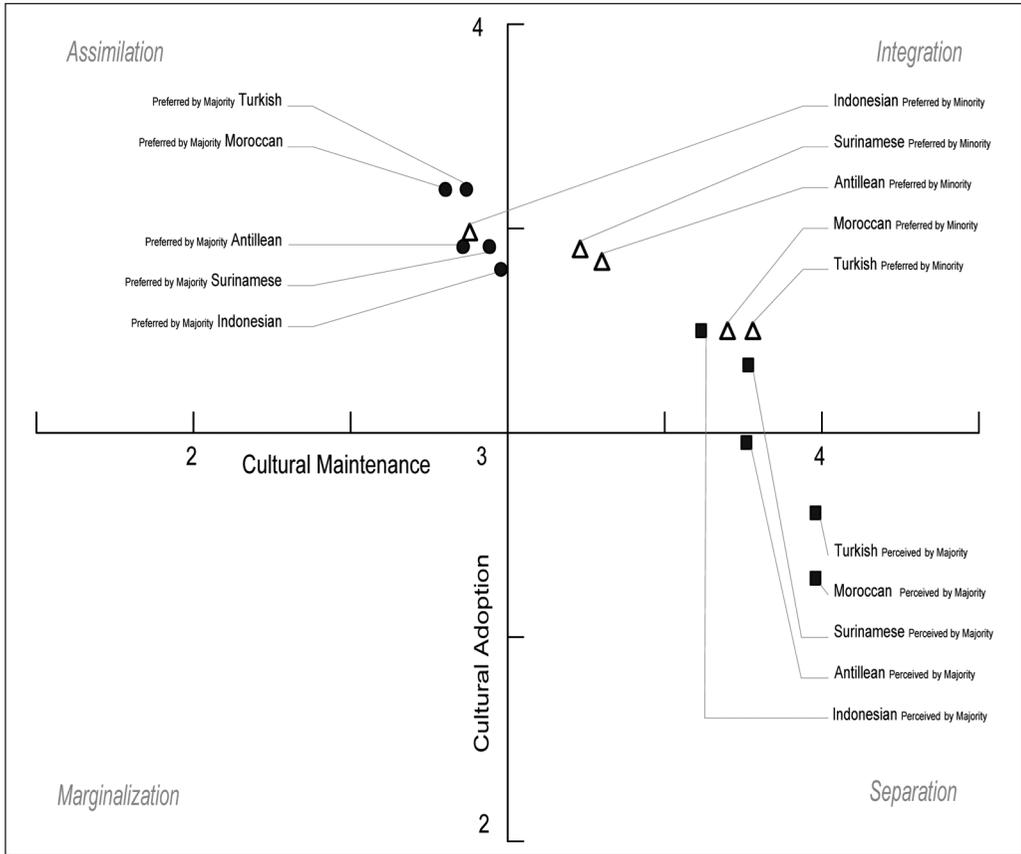


Figure 1. Preferred and Perceived Acculturation Strategies by the Dutch Majority for Each Minority Target Group and Preferred Acculturation Strategies by the Dutch Minorities for Themselves

(in case of the majority sample) and of perceived differences from the majority Dutch (in case of the minority samples) with each of the dependent variables followed the same pattern.

In addition to these general hypotheses, our study also tested some expectations about the effects of perceived intergroup difference on well-established findings in the literature. First, we replicated Verkuyten’s (2005) multiculturalism hypothesis, showing that strength of ingroup identification correlates negatively with support for multiculturalism for majority members but positively for minority members. In addition, we found that the size of the correlation coefficients was generally larger for minorities who saw themselves as more different from majority Dutch. Second, we replicated the concordance model of acculturation (Piontkowski et al., 2002; Rohmann et al., 2006), showing that there was greater discordance of acculturation preferences between majority members and minority members when the latter were seen as more different from the majority (Figure 1). Third, we confirmed integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996), showing that groups who are seen as more different from the majority are also experienced as more threatening (see Note 5). To summarize, our results strongly suggest that perceived intergroup difference is an important organizing principle for a wide range of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes in culturally diverse societies.

General Discussion

The aim of this article is to highlight perceived intergroup difference as an organizing principle of intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies. Our data revealed that perceived intergroup difference among groups organized responses along a broad range of intercultural attitudes as well as acculturation attitudes. Importantly, such patterns were found for both majority and minority members across generations, gender, and levels of education. The robustness of perceived intergroup difference as an organizing principle has important theoretical and practical implications.

A first theoretical implication is that people not only differentiate between ingroup and outgroup but also among outgroups according to their “degree of out-groupness.” Thus, perceived intergroup difference adds a level of differentiation that is not captured by ingroup/outgroup distinctions or a distinction between majority and minorities. The distinction between ingroup and outgroup is one of the most robust and pervasive in social psychology; people can easily separate the “us” from the “them.” Research has shown that people may sometimes find it more difficult to separate one outgroup from another (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1990). However, the findings of perceived intergroup difference suggests that—at least in an intercultural context—people are quite able to distinguish among outgroups on the extent to which they are different from the ingroup. This may be because groups that are more different from oneself are seen as more threatening; perceived threat has been shown to promote outgroup heterogeneity (e.g., Ackerman et al., 2006).

A second theoretical implication is that many popular measures of intercultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes appear to be related to one another. This implies that theories about hitherto separate constructs such as stereotypes, threat perceptions, and acculturation strategies could also be related to one another. The construction of a larger, more encompassing theory of intergroup attitudes and acculturation attitudes may improve our understanding of the complex dynamics of culturally diverse societies. Recent attempts at integrating constructs such as the concordance model of acculturation (Piontkowski et al., 2002) and integrated threat theory (Stephan et al., 2008) may lead the way in the creation of such a more encompassing theory. Of course, the observed relations among measures by no means challenges the validity of treating each construct as a unique factor in explaining intercultural relations. Our study does suggest, however, that it may be useful to look at the bigger picture, namely at mechanisms that are common to all different constructs, to understand how people act in culturally diverse societies.

A first practical implication is that it may be relatively easy to get a broad view of the intergroup relations in a society by just asking how different people see themselves in relation to other groups. Its simplicity allows for the measure of perceived intergroup difference to be used in a variety of societies, even if the particularities of the composition of these diverse societies differ substantially. If other studies also find societal consensus on perceived intergroup differences, then members of a minority group with a larger perceived intergroup difference to the majority could be expected to be experienced as more threatening by the majority, receive less support for multiculturalism from the majority, be seen as less warm and competent by the majority, prefer more own culture maintenance and less majority culture adoption, show a stronger positive relationship between identity and support for multiculturalism, and have larger discordance with the majority in acculturation preferences. Of course, the organizing power of perceived intergroup difference first needs to be proven in other studies before such strong predictions are warranted. We believe that the construct may have great potential in reducing the complexity of studying intercultural attitudes in culturally diverse societies.

A second practical implication has to do with the relationship between majority and minority members on issues of acculturation. In the analyses of Berry's (2001) acculturation dimensions,

we primarily found between-group variation in preferred and perceived strategies by the majority on the adoption dimension, but for the minorities, we primarily found between-group variation on the maintenance dimension. This implies that majority and minority groups attend to different things when they talk about acculturation; where majority members focus on issues of (majority) culture adoption, minorities focus on issues of ethnic culture maintenance. In addition, as majority and minority perceived each other to be more different, larger discordance was found on acculturation preferences (Rohmann, Piontkowski, & Van Randenborgh, 2008). Thus, when analyzing public debate on issues of diversity, policy makers and social scientists need to be aware that majority members and minority members may not focus on the same issues when discussing acculturation.

Our study is of course not without limitations. A first limitation is that we could not with certainty identify the psychological mechanism underlying the organization of attitudes according to perceived intergroup difference. We have looked at various candidates (e.g., threat, identification, concordance) for such a mechanism and found that most are compatible with our data. Thus, at this time, no single mechanism can be identified as the most important. It would be interesting for future research to test more specifically which features contribute to people's formation of similarity/difference judgments, although it should be noted that it may well be possible that the relative weight of such features varies across societies, type of group, and historical period (Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991). As we noted in the introduction, our measure of perceived intergroup difference has often been labeled as a measure of cultural distance in previous studies (Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007; Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). An interesting possibility for intercultural research would be to study whether the perceived differences are indeed based on cultural distance, provided that the latter construct is properly measured (Boski, 1989, 1992, 1994).

The fact that we do not know (yet) the psychological mechanism underlying the effects of perceived intergroup difference does not challenge its potential as an organizing principle. For example, various mechanisms may also underlie the distinction between ingroup and outgroup (see Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) or the distinction between majority and minorities (see Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991) without making these constructs any less strong as organizing principles.

A second limitation is that our study was done in a single society. This design did enable us to include a large set of groups from the same country, but one could of course wonder to what extent the results generalize to other societies. We cannot prove that they do, but we see no compelling reasons to believe that they should not. The Netherlands does not represent an unusually diverse society, certainly not when looked at from a European or North American perspective. It might be argued that the perceived intergroup differences in the Netherlands are well established and therefore consensual. In societies that are more dynamic or that are coming into contact with new cultures, it might take time for perceived intergroup differences to become consensual and to be predictive of attitudinal measures (Verkuyten et al., 1996). On the other hand, attitudes can be shaped on the basis of quick and shallow processing (Schwarz & Bohner, 2001) and thus might also apply to groups that were recently encountered.

Limitations to the organizing power of perceived cultural differences when group differences are not consensual can be illustrated by the Indonesian-Dutch minority group in our study. Though they are officially distinguished as a minority and though Dutch majority members do tend to see them as different—albeit only a little—many participants in this group did see themselves in fact as more similar to majority Dutch than to Indonesian-Dutch. This could be explained by the fact that the Indonesian-Dutch group is heterogeneous. On the one hand, it comprises people of Dutch descent who grew up in Indonesia during colonial times. On the other hand, it also comprises people of Indonesian descent (predominantly from the Maluku islands). This

observation clearly questions the validity of having only a single official minority category for these people. The observations that they viewed themselves more as Dutch than as Indonesian-Dutch (Table 2) and that variance in ingroup identification was very large (see Note 2) could be indicative of the fact that many people from Indonesian descent have assimilated into mainstream Dutch society and no longer consider themselves to be a minority. Thus, it is insightful that measures of perceived intergroup difference may also reveal when past minority classifications do not fit anymore to current societies.

To summarize, we observed that the intercultural dynamics in diverse societies are complex and that the psychological literature mainly focuses on specific constructs that concern specific facets of intergroup perceptions or acculturation preferences. Thus, we saw a clear need for a construct that stresses the relationships among various constructs and that allows us to paint a more global picture of how different groups in a society relate. We forwarded perceived intergroup difference as an organizing construct; it is more specific than broad ingroup/outgroup distinctions and less specific than minority typologies (e.g., migrants, sojourners, refugees, and indigenous people). Our study uncovered the potential of perceived intergroup difference to organize group differences across a wide range of attitude measures for both majority and minority groups, various generations, different genders, and different levels of education. Thus, we believe perceived intergroup difference to be a promising organizing principle of intercultural attitudes, furthering our understanding of the complex dynamics of diverse societies.

Appendix. Discordances Between Preferred and Perceived Adoption and Maintenance for the Majority and Minority Samples

		Preferred by Majority–Preferred by Minority	Preferred by Majority–Perceived by Majority	Perceived by Majority–Preferred by Minority
Target and Own Group		Cohen's <i>d</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Adoption	Indonesian	−0.08	0.26	−0.31
	Surinamese	0.04	0.55	−0.50
	Antillean	0.10	0.90	−0.82
	Turkish	0.67	1.43	−0.75
	Moroccan	0.60	1.57	−0.94
Maintenance	Indonesian	0.86	−1.21	1.84
	Surinamese	−0.52	−1.53	0.88
	Antillean	−0.68	−1.64	0.72
	Turkish	−1.67	−2.05	0.36
	Moroccan	−1.60	−1.96	0.48

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Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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Notes

1. We thank the editor and two anonymous reviewers for pointing this out to us.
2. Various first-generation Moroccan Dutch who participated in the study did not speak Arabic but Berber—a north-African language—as a first language. Because this is not a written language, we could not construct questionnaires in this language. For this reason, we hired interviewers who were proficient in Berber as well as Arabic and who could provide clarification and translation if needed.
3. We also ran repeated measures ANOVAs with the ratings of perceived intergroup differences for each minority group as a within-subject factor. Ratings differed significantly among groups in all samples. Because the Indonesian target group was added later to our design, a large part of the minority samples did not have a rating for this group. Therefore, we here present the ratings of the whole sample (excluding ratings of but not by the Indonesian target group). Effect sizes of the analyses including the Indonesian target group (leading to much smaller sample sizes) are added in brackets. As can be seen, the inclusion or exclusion of this target group in the analyses did not make much difference. Wilks's $\Lambda_{\text{Majority}} = .19$, $F(4, 4,623) = 4,798.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .81$ (.82); Wilks's $\Lambda_{\text{Indonesians}} = .18$, $F(4, 115) = 127.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .82$ (.82); Wilks's $\Lambda_{\text{Surinamese}} = .23$, $F(4, 260) = 220.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .77$ (.82); Wilks's $\Lambda_{\text{Antilleans}} = .21$, $F(4, 104) = 95.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .79$ (.82); Wilks's $\Lambda_{\text{Turks}} = .15$, $F(4, 301) = 415.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .85$ (.69); Wilks's $\Lambda_{\text{Moroccans}} = .35$, $F(4, 320) = 148.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .65$ (.66).

Our analyses focus on the question of which groups are seen as more or less different from oneself. It should be noted that ratings of differences seen between oneself and one's ingroup did not differ substantially across majority samples (target group Indonesians: $M = 1.59$, $SD = 0.86$; Surinamese: $M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.99$; Antilleans: $M = 1.76$, $SD = 0.95$; Turks: $M = 1.69$, $SD = 0.90$; Moroccans: $M = 1.69$, $SD = 0.90$). The main effect of group was significant in an ANOVA but with only a tiny effect size, $F(4, 4,629) = 7.40$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. Ratings of differences seen between oneself and one's ingroup did differ across minority samples, $F(4, 1,147) = 7.40$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Post hoc tests (Tukey's HDS) showed that Turks felt significantly less distance from the minority ingroup ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 1.19$) and that Indonesians felt significantly more distance from the minority ingroup ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.38$) than the other minority groups (Surinamese: $M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.26$; Antilleans: $M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.40$; Moroccans: $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.50$).

4. The purpose of the present study was to examine differences between minority groups, so data were collapsed across generations. When data are split up according to generation (first vs. second generation), some significant yet small main effects were found. ANOVAs with generation as the only predictor showed that the first generation had significantly more support for a multicultural society, $F(1, 1,180) = 6.60$, $p = .010$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, perceived Dutch to think they were less competent, $F(1, 1,180) = 9.64$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, maintained more of their minority culture, $F(1, 1,180) = 55.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, had a higher ethnic identity, $F(1, 1,180) = 33.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and lower Dutch identity, $F(1, 1,180) = 31.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, than the second generation. No differences were found for perceived threat, stereotype warmth, and preferred adoption.
5. Perceived threat is sometimes forwarded as the central psychological mechanism underlying intercultural attitudes. In order to explore to what extent perceived threat could account for the effect of perceived intergroup difference on intercultural attitudes among majority Dutch, we did a MANCOVA with *minority target group* as the independent variable, with the intercultural attitudes (excluding

perceived threat) as dependent variables, and age and threat as covariates. In comparison to the analyses without threat as a covariate, the multivariate effect remained significant, but the effect size was halved, Wilks's $\Lambda = .79$, $F(28, 16,688) = 40.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. In separate ANCOVAs on the individual attitude measures, all main effects remained significant, except for the effect on multiculturalism. The reduction of effect sizes ranged from .01 to .18 (.09 to .00 for multiculturalism; .29 to .12 for stereotype warmth; .10 to .03 for stereotype competence; .03 to .01 for preferred adoption; .01 to .00 for preferred maintenance; .13 to .05 for perceived adoption; and .05 to .03 for perceived maintenance). Thus, threat could account for about half the variance of intergroup differences.

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Bios

Yvette M. J. van Osch is a graduate student at Tilburg University, the Netherlands. Her main research interest is the effect of social context on emotion communication, with a strong focus on the emotion of pride. She also studies emotion-behavior relations in honor cultures and acculturation processes.

Seger M. Breugelmans is an assistant professor in social psychology at Tilburg University in the Netherlands. He received his PhD in cross-cultural psychology from the same university in 2004. He does research in the areas of emotions, multicultural attitudes and acculturation attitudes, cross-cultural psychology, poverty, and economic psychology. He is co-author of the 2011 edition of *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications* (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011; Cambridge University Press).