Negative Attitudes: Testing the Integrated Threat Theory among Dutch and Islamic

Adolescents.

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Abstract

González, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008) used the integrated threat theory to examine prejudice among Dutch adolescents. This study expanded this research and examined whether the integrated threat theory is a valid model for both Dutch adolescents (n = 777) and Islamic adolescents (n = 307). Of the Dutch adolescents, 30% indicated having negative attitudes towards Muslims, while 10% of the Islamic adolescents indicated negative attitudes towards the Dutch population. Structural equation modeling indicated that the integrated threat theory is a valid model for both groups. Intergroup anxiety appeared to be the most prominent predictor of negative attitudes, followed by realistic threats and stereotypes. Symbolic threat appeared to be the least prominent factor, for Islamic adolescents not related to negative attitudes at all. Many of the threats mediated the relation between distal variables such as perceived status differences, perceived conflict, contact and willingness for contact, negative experiences and endorsement of multiculturalism. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: integrated threat theory, polarization, negative attitudes, prejudice, perceived threat, Muslims, the Netherlands

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Polarization in the Netherlands

Polarization between Dutch and migrant Islamic adolescents is an important issue in

the Netherlands (Moors, Balogh, Van Donselaar, & De Graaff, 2009). Polarization can be

defined as strengthening contradictions between two groups which can stimulate tensions

between these two groups and may even result in conflict (Ghorashi, 2009). Both existing

differences between groups, and negative attitudes and imaging about the other group are

important factors in polarization (Moors et al., 2009). Polarization and negative attitudes

toward the other group increases the risk for radicalization and radical actions (Moors et al.,

2009). The Dutch population sees polarization as a more important issue than radicalization.

In the debate on polarization in the Netherlands, the emphasis is on the Islam and problems

with integration of Muslims (Moors et al., 2009).

The negative attitudes of the Dutch population toward Muslims in the Netherlands

seem to increase (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2009). In a study among Dutch adolescents it was

found that one out of two Dutch adolescents had negative attitudes toward Muslims

(Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). These negative attitudes are also reflected in

a growing popularity of Geert Wilders' political 'Freedom Party' (*Partij voor de Vrijheid*)

(Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2009). This political party is against 'islamization' of the Netherlands

and their program shows some aspects of radicalism (Davidovic´, van Donselaar, Rodrigues

& Wagenaar, 2008). As a result of this growing popularity of the Freedom Party, Muslims in

the Netherlands feel more discriminated against and experience more negative affect (Moors

et al., 2009). In addition, 40% of the Dutch adolescents believe that there are too many

Muslims living in the Netherlands, and 46% of the Dutch adolescents consider the Islam to be

a religion of intolerance (Zick, Küpper, & Hövermann. 2011). Less than half of the Dutch

population (41%) thinks that Muslims contribute to the Dutch culture and believe that Muslims show respect for the culture and lifestyle of others (43%). Moreover, violent incidents between Dutch and Muslim adolescents are not uncommon (Wagenaar & Van Donselaar, 2008).

The Islamic population in the Netherlands also has negative attitudes towards the native Dutch. In 2006, 61% of the Turkish-Dutch population believed that the Dutch were too negative towards the Islam, and for the Moroccan-Dutch that rose to 72% (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2009). A little over half of the Islamic population feared for violence against Muslims, but also more than half of the population was afraid of violence from Muslim extremists.

Thus, it seems imperative that these negative attitudes between the native Dutch and the Islamic-Dutch decrease to prevent further polarization and radicalization. In order to prevent and decrease negative attitudes of Dutch adolescents toward Muslims and vice versa, there must be an understanding of the underlying factors that are associated with the negative attitudes. A theory that focuses on these underlying factors is the *Integrated Threat Theory* (ITT). This theory suggests that the 'ingroup' has perceptions of threat about another ethnic group (the 'outgroup'). These perceptions of threat will lead to negative attitudes toward this other ethnic group (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The aim of this study is to examine whether the ITT is applicable for Islamic adolescents in the same way as it is applicable for Dutch adolescents (Gonzalez et al., 2008).

Integrated Threat Theory

The integrated threat theory poses that perceptions of threats from the outgroup can lead to prejudice towards this outgroup. This does not mean that the threat cannot be realistic, but the focus of this theory lies on whether the threat is perceived by the ingroup and how. In turn, this perception can lead to prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). According to the

integrated threat theory there are four main threats that can lead to prejudice. These threats can be conceptualized as realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping. It is proposed that these factors have a direct effect on generating prejudice toward the outgroup, and that these threats can also mediate the relation between distal factors such as ingroup contact and multiculturalism on the one hand, and prejudice towards the outgroup on the other hand.

Realistic threats refer to threats towards the economic and political power of the ingroup and threats toward the physical or material well-being of the ingroup or its members. Therefore, realistic threats involve threats toward the existence of the ingroup through their welfare (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Symbolic threats refer to threats regarding group differences in morals, values, norms, standards, beliefs, and attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The ingroup sees the values and norms of the outgroup as opposite from their own, and these different beliefs are experienced as threatening. Intergroup anxiety refers to the threats people feel when they are in contact with members of the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Members of the ingroup are concerned about experiencing negative emotions and being personally threatened when interacting with members of the outgroup. These negative emotions involve feelings of discomfort, fear, embarrassment, rejection or humiliation. Negative stereotyping is associated with prejudice through the expectations that members of the ingroup have regarding the outgroup. When someone holds negative stereotypes toward members of the outgroup, they have negative expectations concerning social interaction with and behavior of the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). For example, if there is a stereotype that members of the outgroup are violent, violent behavior is expected to be shown in a social interaction. Behavior of the outgroup is explained with negative trait attributions and this results in prejudice (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999).

The four threats are not expected to directly predict prejudice toward the outgroup (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999), but the degree to which these threats are related to prejudice depends on other, more distal variables. The four threats can mediate the relation between the distal variables and the attitudes toward the outgroup. Low and negative intergroup contact and status inequalities have been found to be related to prejudice (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002). The intergroup contact theory poses that contact with members of the outgroup can reduce anxiety. Contact can increase empathy and promote perspective taking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Thus, intergroup contact may decrease the threat of intergroup anxiety, which in turn reduces prejudice. Perceived status differences can be a threat to the ingroup when the ingroup feels that the outgroup is improving their social and economic position at the expense of the ingroup's position. The attempts to improve the social and economical status by the outgroup call the values and beliefs of the ingroup into question, increase intergroup anxiety and challenge the established stereotypes of outgroup members (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

Intergroup conflict and multiculturalism have also been found to be associated with the threats that are thought to predict prejudice (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; González et al., 2008). A history of intergroup conflict (i.e. violent and extended conflict) increases feelings of threat from the outgroup. Furthermore, the multiculturalism hypothesis poses that higher levels of support for cultural diversity in the society leads to higher levels of acceptance towards ethnic outgroups (González et al., 2008). Verkuyten (2005) found that Dutch adolescents who accepted the ideology of multiculturalism were likely to be more positive and have less prejudice towards the Islamic group. This could be due to the reduction of threat perceptions from the outgroup (Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

A fifth factor associated with threats and prejudice is experiences with members of the outgroup. These experiences can be either positive or negative and may have an influence on

the perception of threats. Negative experiences involve discrimination, violence, harassment and rejection. The experience of such negative behavior from the outgroup can increase the feelings of threat. On the other hand, positive experiences, such as being treated kindly or with respect and getting compliments from the outgroup, can decrease the perception of threats from the outgroup.

Current Study

The study of González and colleagues (2008) demonstrates that the integrated threat theory is a useful model to understand the factors that are associated with prejudice among Dutch adolescents. They found that intergroup contact, in-group identification, and multiculturalism were related to prejudice. These antecedents were also mediated by symbolic threat, realistic threat, and stereotypes. However, they only took into account three of the four threats that were proposed by Stephan and Stephan (2000), leaving out intergroup anxiety. Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006) suggested in their meta-analysis that research should take into account as many threats as possible. Other studies have already established that intergroup anxiety relates to negative attitudes towards the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011). Therefore, intergroup anxiety will be taken into account in this study.

Furthermore, González and colleagues (2008) have not examined whether the model is also applicable among the minority group of Islamic adolescents. Previous research has found that the minority groups can also show negative attitudes towards the majority group (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000). In the Netherlands, Islamic adolescents also show negative attitudes towards the native Dutch. How these negative attitudes develop among the Islamic adolescents in the Netherlands has not yet been studied and an explanatory model is required to examine this polarization. Moreover, a model would give a good insight into the factors associated with prejudice among both groups within

the Netherlands, which can help with the development of intervention and prevention programs. In contrast to González and colleagues, Corenblum and Stephan (2001) did examine whether the proximal and distal factors of the ITT were related to prejudice similarly in both the majority of Canadian Whites and minority of Native Canadians. They concluded that, aside from some differences between the models for the majority and minority groups, the model was applicable for both groups. They stated that negative intergroup contact and conflict were associated with negative attitudes toward the outgroup for both Natives and Whites. But when examining the models of both groups more closely, these factors do not have the same regression weights and thus do not contribute to prejudice in the same way and with the same magnitude. These differences are important for the development of prevention and intervention programs for the different groups and thus should be taken into consideration. Stephan and colleagues (2002) also addressed this issue within the United States, examining whether the ITT was applicable for the majority group of White citizens and the minority group of Black citizens. They found that the integrated threat theory is a proper model to explain which factors play a role in predicting negative attitudes toward the other group. However, the variables in the model accounted for more variance in White's than in Black's attitudes.

This study aims to address these missing pieces in the Netherlands, examining whether the integrated threat theory is also valid for the Islamic minority group in the Netherlands, and whether the model will be similar for both the majority and minority group. Culture and education can have an influence on how someone will interpret questions and how someone will respond to certain questions (Warnecke et al., 1997). This can influence the outcomes, thus it will also be examined whether the questions were interpreted the same way by both groups, and if not, what the differences are.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that Dutch adolescents will show more negative attitudes towards Muslims, than Islamic adolescents will show towards the Dutch. This is contradictory to what Corenblum and Stephan (2001) found. They found that the minority Native Canadians indicated higher levels of outgroup attitudes than the majority Whites. They suggested that White students might have reported lower levels of negative attitudes toward Natives because it is considered politically incorrect and socially inappropriate to indicate otherwise. Furthermore, Natives and Whites have a history of conflict together and Whites may feel guilt because of the disadvantage of the Natives, and try to minimize the prejudices to reduce this guilt (Stephan et al., 2002). Such a past between Dutch and Muslims does not exist in the Netherlands. Turkish and Moroccan men came to the Netherlands as guest workers ('*gastarbeiders'*) in the sixties and seventies of the last century (Van der Vliet, Ooijevaar, & Boerdam, 2010). Therefore, the situation in Canada and the Netherlands is not comparable. González and colleagues (2008) found that one out of two participants in their study reported negative feelings toward Muslims, indicating that Dutch adolescents are not reluctant to indicate how they feel and what they believe, as Corenblum and Stephan (2001) suggested for the majority group of White Canadians. Moreover, according to the intergroup contact hypothesis, contact with the outgroup will improve intergroup attitudes and decrease prejudice (Allport, 1954). It is confirmed that frequent high-quality contact with the outgroup predicts more positive outgroup attitudes and more positive behavioral intentions (Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011). Dutch adolescents do not have to interact with Muslims, whereas Islamic adolescents have a higher probability of interacting with Dutch citizens (Riek et al., 2006). Hence, Dutch adolescents can perceive more intergroup anxiety and are likely to have more stereotypes about Muslims, which can contribute to showing more negative attitudes. Furthermore, realistic and symbolic threats are also more evident among Dutch adolescents in

respect to Islamic adolescents, because Muslims come from abroad to work, gain more political power the longer they live in the Netherlands, and the sight of more mosques in the cities.

In addition, it is hypothesized that for the Dutch adolescents the association between the distal variables and prejudice toward Muslims is mediated by the four threats proposed by the integrated threat theory. Different studies have confirmed parts of the ITT using different distal variables and not always using all of the proposed threats (Gonzalez et al., 2008; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002). For Dutch adolescents it is hypothesized that the model of Gonzalez and colleagues (2008) as tested in the Netherlands can be replicated, with the exception that in this new model intergroup anxiety as a threat and the other distal factors proposed by the integrated threat theory will be taken into account as well. It is hypothesized that intergroup anxiety is a mediator for the association between intergroup contact and prejudice toward Muslims, as was found by Hutchison and Rosenthal (2011).

As far as we know, this will be the first study to examine whether the integrated threat model is valid for Islamic adolescents in the Netherlands. It is therefore also hypothesized that the perceived threats mediate the relation between the antecedent variables and prejudice toward the majority. However, the variables might have a different impact on the prejudice than it would for Dutch adolescents, due to other, different, priorities and difficulties the minorities encounter. For example, as was shown by Corenblum and Stephan (2001), there could be a different relationship between negative intergroup contact and symbolic threat, or in the relationship between symbolic threat and prejudice for the majority and minority groups. Because this has not yet been studied before, the direction of differences will be explored.

Method

Participants

The participants were recruited from sixty-one classes in ten Dutch high schools across the Netherlands. The schools were approached in the period of October 2010 to February 2011. There were 1084 adolescents who completed a written questionnaire. Of these adolescents, 777 were native-Dutch, and 307 adolescents (28%) were immigrants with an Islamic background. There were 104 immigrant adolescents without an Islamic background who participated in the study. These students were left out of the analyses. The Dutch participants were between the ages of 11 and 19 ($M = 14.37$, $SD = 1.30$) and 51% of the participants were female. The Islamic adolescents were between the ages of 12 and 19 ($M = 14.80$, $SD = 1.26$), and 54% of the participant were female. Eleven participants did not fill in their gender, of which eight were Dutch.

Measures

After a short explanation on what the research was about, the questionnaire began with questions on demographic background information, such as age, gender and cultural background. The questionnaire continued with the subscales as described below. Reliability of the measures, given in Cronbach's alpha, are given in Table 3.

Negative attitudes. The scale for negative attitudes was developed by Stephan and colleagues (1998, 1999). The scale consisted of twelve items indicating emotions someone can feel towards an outgroup. Participants were asked to indicate on a five-point Likert scale how their attitudes towards the other group were characterized, ranging from 'does not apply at all' to 'applies very well'. The attitudes were both positive and negative, including acceptance, admiration, aversion, empathy, superiority, warmth, contempt, hatred, disrespectful, compassion, rejection and approval. The positively worded items were reversed

in order to make all the items indicate a negative attitude toward the outgroup. A higher score on this scale indicates more negative attitudes toward the outgroup.

Realistic economic threat. Economic threat was measured with a scale developed by Stephan and colleagues (1999, 2000, 2002). In order to examine how much threat the participants perceived towards their welfare and economic position, the participants were asked to indicate how much they agreed with twelve statements. They rated their agreement on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. For the Dutch students it included statements such as 'Muslims hold too many important positions in this country' and 'there is too much money spent on benefits for the Muslims'. For the Muslim participants, the same statements were made, with a difference in wording: instead of Muslims, the statements were being made about native Dutch. A higher score on this scale indicates perceiving more realistic threat.

Symbolic threat. The scale for symbolic threat was developed by Stephan and colleagues (1999, 2000, 2002). The threat participants might perceive towards their standards and values was measured with eleven statements, regarding these differences in standards and beliefs. Native Dutch participants rated their agreements to statements on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The scale included statements such as 'Muslims and native Dutch have very different family values' and 'Muslims in the Netherlands do not understand the standards of the native Dutch'. In the questionnaire for the Islamic adolescents, the statements were adjusted in such a way that the questions focus on the native Dutch. A higher score on this scale indicates stronger feelings of symbolic threat.

Intergroup anxiety. The scale that measures intergroup anxiety was developed by Stephan and Stephan (1985). The scale consists of eleven items, or emotions. The participants were asked to indicate how they feel when they are talking to a member of the outgroup on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 'no, absolutely not' to 'yes, certainly'. The scale

included the emotions uneasy, friendly, insecure, comfortable, worried, familiar, threatened, secure, uncomfortable, safe, anxious, and calm. A higher score on indicates stronger feelings of intergroup anxiety.

Negative stereotypes. Negative stereotypes were measured using a scale developed by Kirby and Gardner (1973). Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they think that certain adjectives characterize members of the outgroup on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 'no, absolutely not' to 'yes, certainly'. The scale included three positive and five negative adjectives, such as aggressive, dishonest, intelligent, friendly, arrogant, nice, greedy and inferior. A higher score on this scale indicates more negative stereotypes about the outgroup.

Perceived conflict. To measure whether the participants perceive conflict with the outgroup, a scale of Corenblum and Stephan (2001) was used. The adolescents were asked to indicate to what degree they agreed with four statements on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The scale consisted of both positively and negatively stated statements and included statements such as 'Muslims and native Dutch can get along well' and 'Relations between Muslims and native Dutch have always been bad'. A higher score indicates more perceived conflict.

Perceived status differences. Corenblum and Stephan (2001) also measured perceived status differences, using three statements. For this scale, the participants also indicated to what extent they agreed with the statements on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The three statements were 'In the Netherlands, Muslims and native Dutch have an equal status', 'In the Netherlands, Muslims and native Dutch receive the same amount of respect' and 'In the Netherlands, Muslims and native Dutch are treated equally'. A higher score on this scale indicates more perceived status differences between the two groups.

Intergroup contact. The scale for intergroup contact consisted of two parts. The first part included statements on contact, measured with a scale of González and colleagues (2008), and the second part included statements on willingness for contact, measured with an adapted version of the scale of Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal (1997). The former included three statements asking the Dutch participants whether they have contact with Muslims in school, in the neighborhood and somewhere else (e.g. sports club or community center). For the Muslim participants the question was rephrased. The Muslim participants were asked whether they have contact with native Dutch. The latter part included three statements on whether the participants would like to have contact with members of the outgroup at school, in the neighborhood, or somewhere else. The last question was a general question on whether the participant would like to have Islamic friends (for the Dutch participants) or native Dutch friends (for the Islamic participants). All the questions were answered on a five-point scale ranging from 'no, absolutely not' to 'yes, certainly'. A higher score on this scale indicates more intergroup contact and more willingness for contact. A high score on this scale indicates more positive contact experiences.

Negative experiences. The distal variable, negative experiences, was measured with a scale of Stephan and colleagues (2001). Thirteen statements asked the participants to indicate which experiences they have had with the outgroup. Agreement to the statements was indicated on a four-point scale, ranging from 'never' to 'often'. The scale consisted of positive statements, for example 'I have been treated kindly' and 'I have received compliments', but also of negative statements such as 'I have been harassed' and 'I have been discriminated against'. A higher score on this scale indicates more negative experiences.

Endorsement of multiculturalism. To measure to what extent the participants endorsed multiculturalism in the Netherlands, the multicultural ideology scale of Berry and Kalin (1995) was used. This scale included ten statements and the participants were asked to

indicate to what degree they agree with the statements on a five-point scale ranging from 'no, absolutely not' to 'yes, certainly'. The statements were the same for both native Dutch participants and Islamic participants, as some of the statements were in favor of multiculturalism in the Netherlands, while other statements were against multiculturalism. For example, a positively stated statement was 'Migrants should be supported in their attempts to preserve their own cultural heritage in the Netherlands', while a negative statement was 'People who come to live in the Netherlands should adjust their behavior to that of the Dutch'. A higher score indicates more endorsement of multiculturalism in the Netherlands.

Procedure

There were three versions of the questionnaire. Native-Dutch adolescents received a questionnaire concerning their attitudes towards Muslims, whereas the Islamic adolescents received a questionnaire regarding their attitudes toward the native Dutch population. Non-Islamic immigrant adolescents filled in the third version of the questionnaire, also regarding their attitudes towards the Dutch population. Except the ethnic group that was referred to, all versions of the questionnaire were identical. In order to hand the students the correct questionnaire, students were asked beforehand whether they were immigrants, or whether their parents were immigrants, and if so, whether they were Islamic or not. The adolescents were in their classroom when the questionnaire was filled in. The students were made aware that filling in the questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous.

Analyses

Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to examine group differences on negative attitudes and perceived threats, with negative attitudes and all four threats as the dependent variables and the version of the questionnaire as fixed factor. Multivariate analysis of variance was preferred over separate t-tests, because it enables us to examine several dependent variables (i.e. negative attitudes and threat perceptions)

simultaneously in relation with cultural background (Field, 2009). This reduces the error rate and takes into account correlations between the dependent variables which increase the power to detect effects.

Confirmatory factor analysis within structural equation modeling was performed to test for measurement invariance. The interpretation of the questions and how the questions are answered can be influenced by culture and education (Warnecke et al., 1997). Testing measurement invariance enables us to examine whether the questions of the variable scales were interpreted equally among Dutch and Islamic adolescents (Byrne, 2008). In order to test the measurement invariance, the tests were performed in three steps in which the tests become stricter with each step.

Multiple group analysis within structural equation modeling was used to test the integrated threat theory. Multiple indices of fit were used to indicate whether the model has a good fit with the data. The χ^2 likelihood ratio test represents the discrepancy between the hypothesized model and the sample model. However, the χ^2-statistic is sensitive to a larger sample size (Byrne, 2008). Therefore, other goodness-of-fit statistics are used. One of them is the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), which compares the hypothesized model and the null model. A cut-off score of 0.95 or higher represents a well-fitted model. Another fit index is the Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI) which depends on the fit between the hypothesized model and the sample data. For this index, values greater than 0.90 represent a well-fitted model. The last fit index is actually an absolute misfit index called the standardized root mean square residual (standardized RMR) representing the average difference between the hypothesized correlation matrix and the correlation matrix of the sample. A good fit is indicated by a value of 0.05 or less (Byrne, 2008).

In the results section the descriptive analysis will be addressed first. Next, a report on the analyses of the measurement models and whether the questions were interpreted the same

by both groups was given in order to examine whether the model of both groups can be compared. Subsequently, group differences are addressed, followed by a report on the structural equation models of the integrated threat theory among Dutch and Islamic adolescents.

Results

Descriptive findings

Means, standard deviation, standardized skewness and standardized kurtosis of the variables in this study are given in this Table 1 for both the Dutch and Islamic sample. The standardized skewness and kurtosis indicate normality with values between -3 and 3. It can be concluded that most of the variables were normally distributed, except negative experiences for both groups and status differences for Dutch adolescents.

Table 1.

Descriptive statistics of Dutch and Islamic adolescents on all variables

	Dutch adolescents				Muslim adolescents			
	M	SD	$z_{skewness}$	$z_{kurtosis}$	M	SD	$z_{skewness}$	$z_{kurtosis}$
Negative Emotions*	2.61	.76	2.32	-1.82	2.27	.67	2.91	-0.02
Realistic Threat	2.87	.85	2.05	-1.03	2.91	.81	1.08	0.14
Symbolic Threat	3.47	.82	-1.06	-1.26	3.57	.77	-0.79	-1.67
Intergroup Anxiety*	2.53	.79	2.78	-1.03	1.99	.66	2.53	-2.57
Stereotypes*	3.02	.84	1.16	0.04	2.64	.72	1.59	3.30
Perceived Conflict*	3.20	.83	0.13	0.63	2.74	.80	-1.23	0.33
Status Differences	3.41	.97	-4.44	-0.38	3.36	1.08	-2.09	-2.12
Contact*	2.76	1.21	2.33	-5.67	3.46	1.19	-2.66	-2.61
Negative Experiences*	2.10	.72	6.07	-2.41	1.81	.60	5.55	0.65
Multiculturalism*	2.80	.79	-1.17	-0.83	3.87	.66	-1.92	-2.65

* $p < .01$ between group difference

Correlations among all variables were calculated. As shown in Table 2, correlations between all negatively stated variables are positive, while correlations between positively and negatively stated variables were negative. All correlations were low to moderate high. This suggests that the variables were measuring similar constructs, yet individual differences in the relations between the variables were also considerable.

Measurement Invariance

It was examined whether the questions asked in our questionnaire were interpreted and answered the same by the Dutch adolescents and the Islamic adolescents. Therefore, measurement invariance was inspected. Measurement invariance is concerned with the equivalence of measurement across groups (Byrne, 2008). It is important to examine this equivalence because inequality would indicate that the scale does not measure the same construct across the two groups. Results and implications based on scales that do not measure the same construct across groups will be biased (Byrne, 2008).

The measurement model was tested using multigroup confirmatory factor analysis with structural equation modeling in three steps. With each step, the testing of the invariance of a scale becomes stricter. First, the configural model was tested to examine whether the scales showed a fitting multigroup model. The configural model is a multigroup representation of the baseline model in which the pattern of factor loadings is specified (Byrne, 2008). Next, the invariance of the measurement model was tested by examining the equivalence of factor loadings. That is, testing whether each question relates to the factor with the same weight in both groups. All freely estimated factor loadings and error covariances were constrained to be equal for both groups. This test of invariance is based on the analysis of covariance structures (Byrne, 2008). It is also possible that the origin of the scales (i.e. the intercepts) differ between groups.

Table 2.

Correlations between all variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Negative Emotions	-	.60	.56	.62	.65	.59	.31	-.58	.54	-.59
2. Realistic Threat	.36	-	.69	.49	.62	.54	.26	-.48	.49	-.56
3. Symbolic Threat	.14	.45	-	.49	.67	.62	.43	-.54	.51	-.62
4. Intergroup Anxiety	.48	.26	.09	-	.57	.48	.22	-.52	.55	-.47
5. Stereotypes	.39	.44	.41	.34	-	.66	.38	-.58	.64	-.66
6. Perceived Conflict	.37	.33	.32	.38	.36	-	.45	-.56	.51	-.58
7. Status Differences	.25	.34	.47	.27	.28	.41	-	-.35	.25	-.35
8. Contact	-.41	-.37	-.25	-.31	-.36	-.42	-.32	-	-.47	.57
9. Negative Experiences	.31	.39	.35	.30	.45	.30	.28	-.24	-	-.49
10. Multiculturalism	-.12	.02	.33	-.12	.02	-.03	.15	.02	-.06	-

Note: correlations for Dutch adolescents are above the diagonal; those for the Islamic adolescents are below

Comparison of these latent factor means is not possible with the analysis of covariance structures. Therefore, according to Meredith (1993), analysis based on covariance structures can only test 'weak' forms of invariance between groups. That is why this type of analysis was specified as *weak* in Table 3. The last step was to test a 'strong' form of invariance. The stronger form also compares the latent means of the scales among both groups. Hence, the results of the analyses based on means and covariance structures are specified as *strong* in Table 3.

The errors on the questions that were stated positively and questions stated negatively were allowed to co-vary, because positive and negative questions could be interpreted differently in one scale. The scales perceived-conflict and perceived-status-differences were not analyzed on measurement invariance. This is because there is only a small number of questions in these scales. The fit-statistics will always indicate a very good fitting model with such a small number of questions. However, the reliability statistic Cronbach's alpha of these two scales indicates reliable scales for both groups despite the small number of questions (see Table 3).

As presented in Table 3, the configural model showed well-fitting multigroup scales. All the items contributed to the measured factor of the scale in both groups. However, the scale measuring Negative Emotions did not fit. The scale included two emotions (i.e. admiration and compassion) that did not significantly contribute to the factor. The emotion 'admiration' did not contribute to the factor in the group of Islamic adolescents. It is possible that the Islamic adolescents did not understand the emotion 'admiration' in relation to the Dutch population. On the other hand, the emotion 'compassion' did not contribute to the factor of Negative Emotions for the group of Dutch adolescents. The emotion can be interpreted either as positive or as negative and it is not clearly stated in the questionnaire how it should be interpreted. This could have caused some confusion among the adolescents. Because these two emotions did not contribute to the factor Negative Emotion, they were removed from the scale. The scale became comparable between the Dutch and Islamic adolescents (see Table 3). The analyses were continued with a scale for Negative Emotions consisting of ten emotions.

In order for the multigroup models to show a good fit with the data, the difference between fit-indices of the invariance models and the configural model should be minimal. Furthermore, the difference between the chi-squares should be non-significant. When it is non-significant, it indicates that all the equalities are justifiable. As shown in Table 3, when the model becomes stricter, the model fit worsens. However, the multigroup model fit is still good for most of the scales, even when the testing method becomes stricter. This means that the scales are comparable between the Dutch and Islamic adolescents and can be analyzed, interpreted and compared without encountering further problems.

Group differences

It was hypothesized that Dutch adolescents have more negative attitudes towards Muslims, than Islamic adolescents have towards Dutch citizens. The means of the different

variables are presented in Table 1. A MANOVA was used to analyze the significance of the difference between the groups on negative emotion and the four threat types. There was a large multivariate effect of the group on the amount of negative emotions and the perceived threats (Wilk's Lambda $F(5,1032) = 39.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$). However, further investigation of the univariate ANOVAs on the threats revealed that there was no significant difference between Dutch and Islamic adolescents on realistic threat ($F(1,1036) = .25$, $p = .549$) and symbolic threat ($F(1,1036) = 2.19$, $p = .066$). Dutch and Islamic adolescents indicated equal amounts of realistic and symbolic threat. There was a significant difference found between Dutch and Islamic adolescents on intergroup anxiety ($F(1,1036) = 105.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$) and negative stereotypes ($F(1,1036) = 44.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$). Dutch adolescents indicated significantly more intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes than the Islamic adolescents. Also the difference between the two groups on negative emotions is significant ($F(1,1036) = 45.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$). Effects of the group are small. This confirms the hypothesis, indicating that there are more negative attitudes among Dutch adolescents than among Islamic adolescents.

The mean score of negative attitudes of the Dutch adolescent towards the Muslims is 2.67 ($SD = .68$). This is significantly different from the neutral mean score of three in the scale, $t(767) = -13.67$, $p < .001$. This indicates that on average, Dutch adolescents have positive attitudes towards Muslims. Gonzalez and colleagues (2008) found that more than one in two Dutch adolescents had negative attitudes towards Muslims. However, this is not replicated in this study: In our sample, 233 Dutch respondents (30%) indicated a negative attitude toward Muslims. The mean score of the Islamic adolescents for the scale on negative attitudes towards the Dutch is 2.35 ($SD = .60$). This is also significant from the neutral mean score of three, $t(303) = -18.86$, $p < .001$. Hence, on average, the Islamic adolescents also show

Table 3.

Measurement models

		α	Configural model χ^2 (df)	CFI	GFI	SRMR	Weak model χ^2 (df)	CFI	GFI	SRMR	Strong model χ^2 (df)	CFI	GFI	SRMR
Negative emotions	Dutch	.86	203.45 (58)	.96	.96	.05	232.98 (73)	.95	.95	.08	402.00 (83)	.96	.96	.09
	Muslim	.79												
Realistic Threat	Dutch	.89	300.23 (86)	.95	.95	.04	359.56 (108)	.94	.94	.07	719.21 (120)	.94	.94	.07
	Muslim	.87												
Symbolic Threat	Dutch	.89	235.10 (68)	.96	.96	.04	271.85 (88)	.95	.95	.06	357.81 (99)	.95	.95	.06
	Muslim	.83												
Intergroup Anxiety	Dutch	.89	293.81 (78)	.96	.95	.05	348.37 (104)	.95	.94	.08	515.16 (116)	.95	.95	.14
	Muslim	.84												
Negative Stereotypes	Dutch	.88	130.74 (34)	.97	.97	.04	165.59 (44)	.96	.96	.07	319.32 (52)	.96	.96	.10
	Muslim	.81												
Multiculturalism	Dutch	.85	143.19 (50)	.97	.97	.04	186.07 (69)	.96	.96	.07	572.52 (79)	.95	.95	.40
	Muslim	.76												
Contact	Dutch	.93	159.52 (16)	.98	.96	.03	210.11 (28)	.97	.95	.05	385.85 (35)	.97	.94	.09
	Muslim	.93												
Negative Experiences	Dutch	.91	80.92 (40)	.99	.99	.03	223.55 (97)	.98	.97	.07	513.46 (110)	.98	.97	.09
	Muslim	.88												
Status Differences	Dutch	.75												
	Muslim	.66												
Perceived Conflict	Dutch	.77												
	Muslim	.84												

a positive attitude toward the Dutch population. Only 33 Islamic participants (10%) indicated to have negative attitudes towards the Dutch population.

The means of the distal variables all differ significantly between the Dutch and Islamic adolescents, except for the perception of status differences (Table 1). All the variables indicate that the Dutch adolescents showed more negative attitudes towards the Muslims than the Islamic adolescents showed towards the Dutch; Dutch adolescents perceived more conflict, indicated having less contact with Muslims or were less willing to have contact with Muslims and were less willing to endorse multiculturalism than the Islamic adolescents. Furthermore, the Dutch adolescents indicated more negative experiences than the Islamic adolescents, yet the Dutch adolescents were still on the positive side of the scale ($t(758) =$ -34.74, $p < .001$), demonstrating that they did not have very negative experiences with the outgroup.

Integrated Threat model

Regarding the integrated threat theory for the Dutch adolescents, it was hypothesized that the theory provides a fitting model to explain the feelings of negative attitude toward the Muslim population in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that the same model would fit for the Islamic adolescents in the Netherlands regarding their negative attitude toward the Dutch population. Multi-group path analyses were used to analyze the relation between the distal variables and prejudice, and whether this was mediated by the four threats. By using the multi-group approach, it becomes evident whether the model fits both groups. If the model would indicate a misfit, this could be caused by either one of the two groups.

However, the integrated threat theory appears to be a well-fitting model for both the Dutch and the Islamic adolescents. The multi-group path analysis indicated that the proposed model had a good fit with the data, $\chi^2_{(10)} = 98.77$, $p < .001$; GFI = .98; CFI = .98; SRMR = .03. This indicates that the integrated threat theory can be used to explain

relationships between the distal variables and negative emotions, mediated by the four threats, for both the Dutch adolescents and Islamic adolescents.

As shown in Figure 1, for the Dutch adolescents, all four threats are positively and significant related to negative attitudes toward Muslims. Furthermore, perceived conflict and negative experiences are positive and significant related to the four types of threats. This suggests that the higher the perceived conflict and the higher the negative experiences with Muslims, the higher the perceived threats will be. As expected, contact and willingness for contact, and multiculturalism are negatively and significant related to the threats. This is due to the direction of the scale, asking positive questions. Thus, more contact and willingness for contact and more endorsement for multiculturalism decrease the perceived threats. A higher level of perceived status differences was related to more perceived symbolic threat, but was not related to the other threats. The model accounted for a large proportion of variance for the Dutch adolescents ($R^2 = .58$).

Figure 2 presents the model for the Islamic adolescents. Symbolic threat was not significantly related to negative attitudes toward the Dutch. Realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes were all significantly related to negative attitudes. Perceived conflict was positively and significantly related to all four threats. This indicates that the more conflict the Islamic adolescents perceive, the higher the perceived threats are. Furthermore, perceived status differences were related to realistic and symbolic threats. Therefore, the more status differences the Islamic adolescents perceive, the more realistic and symbolic threat they experience. Contact and willingness for contact was negatively related to realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. This specifies that more contact and willingness for contact with Dutch citizens decreases the experiences of threat. Moreover, negative experiences are positively related to all four threats, indicating that the perceived threats increase when the adolescents have more negative experiences. Finally, multiculturalism is
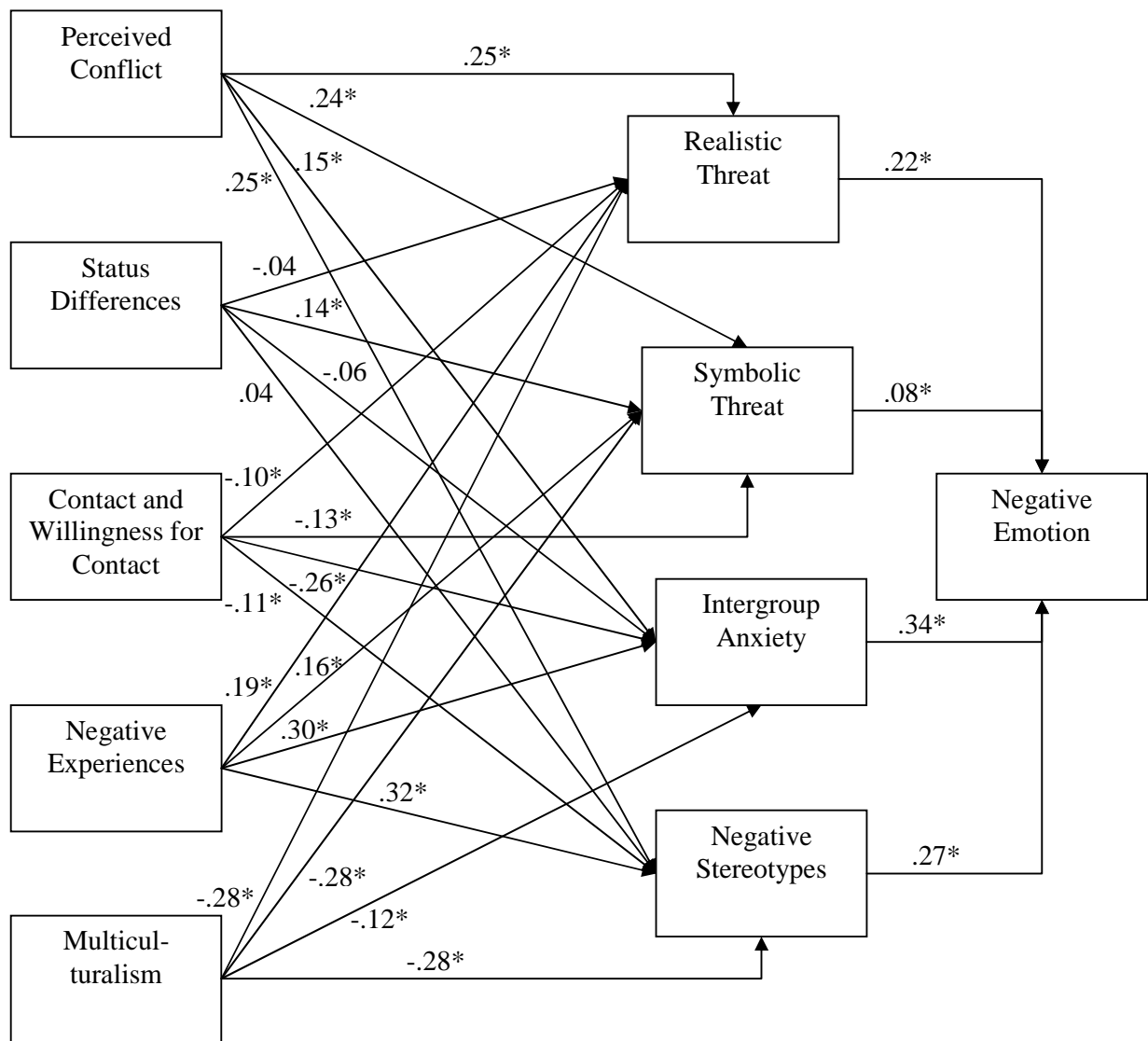
Figure 1. Path diagram for Dutch adolescents.

p < .01

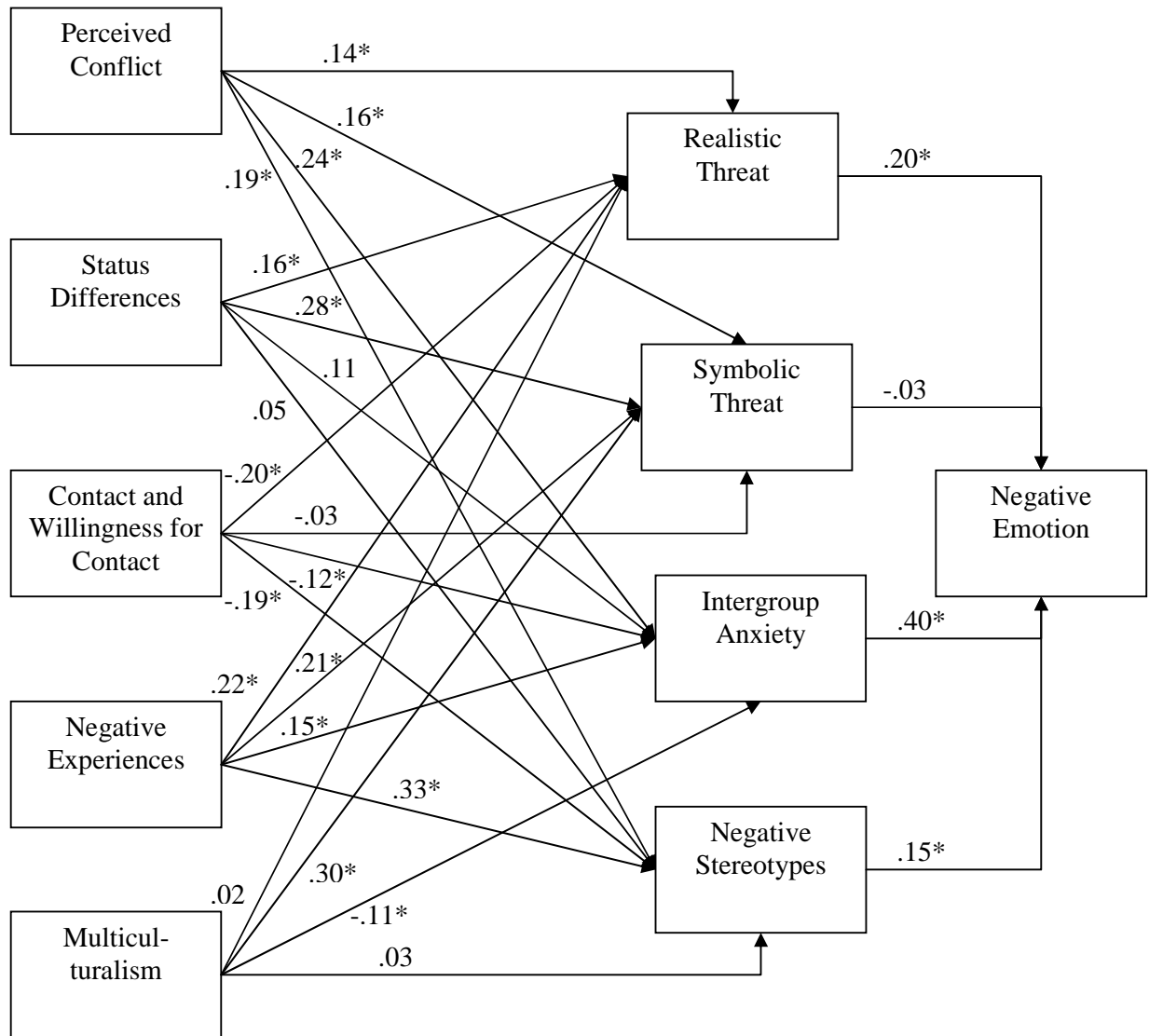*Figure 2*. Path analysis for Muslim adolescents.

*p < .01

positively related to symbolic threat, but negatively related to intergroup anxiety. Thus, more endorsement of multiculturalism increases perceived symbolic threat, which in turn increases negative attitudes towards the Dutch. On the other hand, endorsement of multiculturalism also decreases intergroup anxiety, which in turn decreases negative attitudes towards the Dutch. The model explained 31% of the variance for the Islamic adolescents, which is a large effect size.

Discussion

This study aimed to examine the integrated threat theory in the Netherlands among Dutch adolescents, and among Islamic adolescents. The results indicate that the integrated threat theory is a useful framework for the two different populations in the Netherlands. For both Dutch adolescents and Islamic adolescents, negative attitudes towards the outgroup are associated with perceived threats. All four threats were related to negative attitudes among Dutch adolescents, while for the Islamic adolescents three of the four threats were related to negative attitudes. These threats mediated the relationship between distal variables, such as negative experiences, and negative attitudes towards the outgroup. Furthermore, the results indicate that Dutch adolescents show more negative attitudes towards the Muslims than the Islamic adolescents show towards the Dutch population.

Negative attitudes in the Netherlands

The hypothesis concerning Dutch adolescents indicating more negative emotions towards Muslims than Islamic adolescents would indicate towards the Dutch population was confirmed. Dutch adolescents are not reluctant to indicate how they feel and what they believe (González et al., 2008). The difference between Dutch and Islamic adolescents cannot be explained by a bias in the questionnaire. The measurement invariance analyses indicated that Dutch and Islamic adolescents had comparable response patterns, which implies that Islamic

adolescents interpreted the questions in the same way as the Dutch adolescents, and the same constructs were measured by the questionnaire in both groups.

While the Dutch adolescents indicated having more negative emotions than the Islamic adolescents, the average scores indicated that Dutch adolescents still have positive attitudes towards Muslims. Only 30% of the Dutch adolescents indicated having negative attitudes (i.e. 30% of the Dutch adolescents had a score above the scale mean). This gives a different perspective than the study of González and colleagues (2008), who have reported that one out of two Dutch adolescents showed negative attitudes towards Muslims. The sample of González and colleagues came from only six schools in four cities, which may indicate that, in order to get such a large sample (1203 students), the schools were 'white'. This may indicate that the students did not have much contact with Muslims, which may increase the negative attitudes towards Muslims. Because González and colleagues wanted a sample of ethnic Dutch adolescents, it seems argumentative to collect the data from a white school. However, then it would remain a convenience sample that does not seem representative of the Netherlands. Conversely, ten schools were contacted for the sample in this study, containing white schools, as well as black and mixed schools. For this reason, the sample of this study seems more representative of the Netherlands. Accordingly, it would give a better view of the contact of Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands with Muslims and their prejudice. However, it should be kept in mind that averages and frequencies are always dependent on the sample and thus, the schools. There is always a possibility that different schools would give a different view on the negative attitudes of adolescents. Another explanation for the different results on negative attitudes of Dutch adolescents may be due to a positive change in society on these attitudes. González and colleagues collected the data in 2006/2007, while the data in this study was collected in 2010/2011. This may imply that the Dutch adolescents have become more positive towards Muslims over these four years.

Muslim adolescents indicated on average having positive attitudes towards the Dutch population. Only 10% of the Islamic adolescents indicated negative attitudes. Moreover, the Islamic adolescents indicated perceiving less threat than the Dutch adolescents, having less negative experiences and conflicts, having more intergroup contact, and endorsing multiculturalism more. The positive attitudes and lower perceived threat towards a majority group had not been found in previous research. In an American sample comparing the negative attitudes of Black and White Americans (Stephan et al., 2002) and a Canadian sample comparing Native and White Canadians (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001) it was found that the minority group perceived the most threats and had more negative attitudes towards the majority group than the majority perceived towards the minority group. In this study the opposite was found, which may indicate that the context in the Netherlands is different from the context in America and Canada (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). However, from another point of view, the context in Canada and the context in the Netherlands are comparable. The native Canadians lived in Canada before the White Canadians came. That is why they are called: Natives. In the Netherlands, the Dutch population is native, and the Islamic population migrated to the Netherlands. In that aspect, the natives indicate more negative attitudes towards the immigrants than the immigrants indicate towards the natives. The negative attitudes may be due to several factors, such as the different culture of the immigrants and the threat of losing jobs and space to the immigrants (Stephan et al., 1998). This makes the context of Canada and the Netherlands comparable.

Contact with the outgroup can also explain the higher indicated negative attitudes of the Dutch adolescents. The intergroup contact hypothesis poses that contact with the outgroup improves intergroup attitudes and decrease prejudice (Allport, 1954). Dutch adolescents indicated having significantly less contact and willingness for contact than the Islamic adolescents. This is in line with the significantly more frequently indicated negative attitudes

of the Dutch adolescents than the Islamic adolescents. Thus, Islamic adolescents having more contact with the Dutch may also explain why Islamic adolescents indicated lower negative attitudes towards the Dutch population.

Dutch adolescents may also indicate more negative attitudes towards Muslims due to their perception of the acculturation attitudes of Muslims. The Dutch population favors assimilation (Verkuyten, 2005; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998) or integration of the Muslims (Verkuyten, 2005) over segregation and marginalization. However, Van Oudenhoven and colleagues (1998) have found that the Dutch population believes that Muslims in the Netherlands segregate. That is the acculturation style the Dutch population likes the least. This could make the Dutch more negative towards Muslims. However, Muslims themselves indicate that they want to integrate. They can encounter opposition against their efforts to integrate and seek contact, because the Dutch population might attribute their efforts to chance or as an exception (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). When the efforts of seeking contact are not attributed to chance but as a conscious act, it can be attributed to the individual seeking contact or wanting to integrate who is not the typical outgroup member. This kind of resistance might cause the Muslims to also indicate negative attitudes towards the Dutch population, together with possible experiences of discrimination.

The negative attitudes of the Dutch may also be explained by the messages and coverage of the media. The media has some shortcomings in the reporting on Muslims (Shadid, 2005). The Islam is represented in a simplified and distant manner; Muslims are stigmatized; the society is divided in 'we' versus 'they' with 'we' as the majority Dutch positively typified versus 'they' as the minority Muslims whom are negatively typified; and the participation of the Muslims in the media is neglected and their vision misses. These shortcomings can maintain and strengthen the negative attitudes of the Dutch population towards the Muslims.

Threats in the Netherlands

For the Dutch adolescents, all four threats were related to negative attitudes. The adolescents who indicated more intergroup anxiety, realistic threats, symbolic threats and negative stereotypes were likely to indicate more negative attitudes towards Muslims. For the Islamic adolescents, only intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes were significantly related to negative attitudes.

Intergroup anxiety appeared to be the biggest threat related to the negative attitudes for both groups. The anxiety for interaction with the outgroup as biggest predictor for negative attitudes towards the outgroup is also reflected in other studies (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). Anxiety is related to cognitive components, that is, having negative thoughts during interactions with outgroup members, or when interactions are expected (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). Anxiety and negative thoughts make it difficult to accept outgroup members, or to feel affection towards them. Furthermore, the sample consists of young adolescents, therefore it is more likely that they indicated most fear of interaction with the outgroup because it is more related to their personal life, while realistic and symbolic threat concerns threats to the ingroup as a whole (Stephan et al., 2002).

There seems to be only little perceived symbolic threat among Dutch adolescents, and only a minimal association with negative attitudes. That is more or less consistent with previous research that has found that symbolic threat was not related to negative attitudes, while intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes were related to negative attitudes in the majority group (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Scharzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). When there is a low status outgroup, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes are found to be stronger predictors of negative attitudes towards this outgroup. The higher status of the ingroup protects them from the threats to their economic welfare, and values and beliefs, while the cultural differences that exist between the higher status ingroup and the

lower status outgroup create intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 1998). Contradictory to the findings of González and colleagues (2008), who found more symbolic threat and no realistic threat related to negative attitudes, the Dutch adolescents in this study feel more threatened in their welfare than in their beliefs in values by Muslims. A positive explanation for this almost opposite finding might be that the Dutch adolescents have accepted the Muslim values and beliefs in the four years that have past between the data collection of González and colleagues and the data collection of this study, and now the adolescents are feeling economically threatened by Muslims. The financial crisis of 2008 may be another explanation for the contradicting results. Economic circumstances such as a financial crisis can influence intergroup relations (Butz & Yogeeswaran, 2011). In a recent study, Becker, Wagner and Christ (2011) examined how an unspecific threat such as the financial crisis can lead to a specific threat and ethnic prejudice. From a representative survey study and an experiment, the authors concluded that those who attributed the cause of the crisis to immigrants showed increased ethnic prejudice. While this was not examined in the current study, it can give some clarification for the indicated increase in realistic economic threat. Whereas it remains unknown whether the adolescents blame the immigrants, the media shows messages on budget cuts in certain occupations, increase in unemployment and pension reduction. Although adolescents may not be occupied with their pensions at their age, the negative messages could make them worry about their future. As a result, the Dutch adolescents feel threatened by the outgroup in their economic position and indicate a more realistic threat.

For Islamic adolescents, symbolic threat was not significantly related to negative attitudes towards the Dutch population. However, this was not consistent with previous literature on negative attitudes of the minority group towards the majority group. Symbolic threat was found highly related to negative attitudes toward the majority group of White

Americans (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002) or White Canadians (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). An explanation for this inconsistent finding might lie in the ethnic self-esteem, or ethnic identity of the Islamic adolescents. Having high ethnic self-esteem can buffer the effects of threats to one's identity in order to maintain well-being (Verkuyten, 2010). Symbolic threats (e.g. threats towards one's values and beliefs) can be seen as threats to one's ethnic identity. High ethnic self-esteem might also buffer the effects of symbolic threats on negative attitudes towards the outgroup. Therefore, the Dutch population does not form a threat towards the cultural values and beliefs of the Islamic adolescents, due to their high ethnic self-esteem. Moreover, in the studies mentioned earlier, the minority groups also perceived more threats than the majority group, while this study finds that the majority group indicates more threats. Furthermore, these studies did not find a relation between realistic threats and negative attitudes in the minority group (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). Stephan, Diaz-Loving and Duran (2000) suggested that "when members of a less powerful group think that the power relationships between groups cannot be altered, realistic threats may not predict prejudice" (p. 248). In this study, realistic threats were found in the less powerful group, which might suggest that Islamic adolescents think that the power relations can be altered. In addition, due to the messages in the media, the Islamic adolescents may also feel threatened about their future economic position by the Dutch and therefore indicate realistic threats.

Threats and distal variables

For Dutch adolescents, four of the five distal variables were related to all four threats. The one variable not related to all four threats was status differences. Only symbolic threat increased with more perceived status differences. On average, the Dutch adolescents did perceive status differences, but the questions on status differences do not specify in which direction the status differences are perceived. Thus, it remains unclear whether the

adolescents perceive themselves as having a higher or lower status than the Islamic adolescents. Because status differences were not related to most threats, it is likely that the Dutch adolescents did not identify the perceived existing status differences as threatening. We can only speculate that they saw themselves as the higher status. For the Islamic adolescents, status differences were significantly related to realistic and symbolic threats. Thus, the more status differences the Islamic adolescents perceived, the more they indicated to feel threatened in their economic welfare, and values and beliefs. This would indicate that, even though not explicitly asked, the Islamic adolescents see themselves as the lower status, threatened by the higher status.

Dutch adolescents who endorsed multiculturalism indicated perceiving less realistic and symbolic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. This finding is consistent with previous findings in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 2005; Gonzalez et al., 2008). The more support the adolescents have for cultural diversity in the Netherlands, the more the ethnic outgroup is accepted and more positive attitudes are displayed. For the Islamic adolescents, the endorsement of multiculturalism is related to intergroup anxiety in the expected direction: More endorsement of the concept multiculturalism decreases the intergroup anxiety. Surprisingly, multiculturalism is inversely related to symbolic threat. That is, the more endorsement of multiculturalism, the more the Islamic adolescents feel threatened by the Dutch population in their values and beliefs. For minority groups, compared to the endorsement of assimilationism, the endorsement of multiculturalism is the only way to maintain their own ethnic identity and obtain a higher social status in society (Verkuyten, 2005). Multiculturalism includes acknowledgement and acceptance of ethnic differences, and is a way to equality in the social structure of society. The endorsement of multiculturalism includes accepting the values and beliefs of the majority group. However, Verkuyten (2005) found that the Dutch population endorsed assimilationist thinking more than a Turkish

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minority. Perhaps Islamic adolescent experience that the more they accept multiculturalism, the more they have to accept the values and beliefs of the Dutch population, while the Dutch population does not always accept the values and beliefs of the Islamic adolescents. This might cause the Islamic adolescents to feel that they have to give in to achieve social equality, but do not get anything in return from Dutch population. This way, more endorsement of multiculturalism could increase the perception of symbolic threat.

Adolescents who indicated more perceived conflict indicated higher perceived threats. A history of intergroup conflict increases feelings of threat from the outgroup. The kind of history of conflict in America does not exist in the Netherlands, since the Turkish and Moroccan Muslims came to the Netherlands as guest workers. However, there seems to be a different kind of conflict apparent in the Netherlands, affecting the perception of threat. The Dutch adolescents indicate that the Dutch and Muslims cannot get along, have always had bad relationships and that there will be conflicts between the two groups in the future. The Islamic adolescents perceive less conflict between Muslims and the Dutch population. However, those who do perceive conflict have increased negative attitudes, mediated by the increased perception of threat. The perceived conflict of the Dutch adolescents is also reported by the media and reflected by the negative attitude of the political party of Geert Wilders towards Muslims. This type of conflict may be related to the perception of threats, and thus on the negative attitudes towards Muslims. Reducing this type of conflict can reduce negative attitudes towards the Muslims.

Furthermore, another related variable to the perception of threat in both groups is intergroup contact. As found before and replicated in this study, contact with the outgroup is significantly related to the perception of threat (Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). More intergroup contact decreases the perception of threat, and thereby decreases the negative attitudes. The Dutch adolescents indicate less contact and willingness

for contact with Muslims than the Islamic adolescents. In the Netherlands, 4.5% of the population is Turkish or Moroccan (CBS, 2012) and the great majority of them are Muslim (Verkuyten, 2005). Thus, Muslims will have more contact with the Dutch population than vice versa (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). However, both the Dutch and Islamic adolescents indicate having little negative experiences with the outgroup. This could be explained by the amount of contact between the two groups. For Dutch adolescents, there is little contact with Muslims. Thus, the Dutch adolescents do not have the opportunity to experience any kind of situation with the outgroup, neither positive nor negative. For the Islamic adolescents, despite possible discrimination, they may have mostly positive experiences with the Dutch population. Alternatively, the answers to the questions could be socially desirable. Nevertheless, higher negative experiences are related to more perception of threat. The more negative experiences the adolescents encounter, the higher the perceived threats, which in turn increases the negative attitudes towards the outgroup.

Interventions

The model gives opportunities for intervention and prevention programs. Due to two different models for the two groups, specific aspects related to threats can be addressed to achieve the best results. For example, for both groups the distal variable *contact* can be addressed in order to decrease negative attitudes through decreasing the perception of threat. Relevant institutions and authorities should emphasize contact between the groups. Support from relevant institutions and authorities is one of the four situational conditions of Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954) in order to allow contact be effective. The other three conditions prescribe that contact must occur in a situation of equal status, the groups must have shared goals and in order to attain these goals there should be intergroup cooperation. A fifth condition added by Pettigrew (1998) implies that the contact situation has the opportunity to develop a friendship. However, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that even

when not all conditions were met, the prejudice towards the outgroup decreased. Stephan, Diaz-Loving and Duran (2000) demonstrated that the quality of contact is more important than the quantity of contact in predicting attitudes. In order to increase the positive attitudes towards the outgroup the focus should be on favourable contact.

The interventions can also decrease negative experiences. Even though both Dutch and Islamic adolescents indicate little negative experiences with the outgroup, higher negative experiences are still related to more perception of threat. The more negative experiences they encounter, the higher the perceived threats, which subsequently increases the negative attitudes towards the Dutch population. Decreasing the negative experiences can decrease the perception of threat. By decreasing the threats, negative attitudes towards the outgroup will decrease.

Threats might be induced by the ignorance concerning the other group (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Not knowing what the outgroup thinks and wants, may increase the perception of threat. Ignorance can be seen, for example, in the acculturation style: Muslims want to integrate, while the Dutch population thinks that they want to segregate (Van Oudenhoven et al, 1998). Thus, gaining more information about the outgroup can decrease the perceived threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Gaining information about the outgroup can be established by, for example, cultural diversity training programs. In an industrial setting, these programs can teach individuals to value group differences and increase understanding between the groups (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Furthermore, the programs could address perspective taking. Taking perspective can induce empathy for the outgroup (Riek et al, 2006). The empathy for the outgroup and understanding the viewpoint of the outgroup might counter the perception of threat. In addition, endorsing multiculturalism can improve the attitudes towards the outgroup (Gonzalez et al., 2008). Dutch adolescents feel less threatened by outgroups when they endorse multiculturalism and accept diversity in the Netherlands.

Riek and colleagues (2006) propose that intergroup threat could be reduced by targeting the social categorization process. The social categorization process includes strategies such as decategorization and recategorization. That is, dissolving group boundaries and seeing people as individuals rather than group members (i.e. colour-blindness (Verkuyten, 2005)) and reshaping group boundaries, respectively. Desegregation was also mentioned by Aronson and Bridgeman (1979), who emphasize that desegregation in classrooms does not work due to competitiveness. In contrast, cooperation between two groups, and having common goals, does increase the empathy between outgroups and decrease negative attitudes. This cooperation between the Dutch population and Islamic population can be established in, for example, schools or community centres. The jigsaw approach is a program that emphasizes cooperation in classrooms by placing students in learning groups (Aronson & Bridgeman, 1979). Each student has the knowledge of a different part of the material, like a piece of a jigsaw puzzle, and these pieces must be put together. Each student learns his own part and teaches it to the other students in the learning group. This way, every student has an equal part in the role of the expert. This method could be applied in schools in order to let the students get to know the outgroup at an early age. The jigsaw approach increases contact between the two groups, which in turn can decrease the perception of threat.

Limitations and Future research

The explained variance of the model of the Dutch adolescents and of the model of the Islamic adolescents differs. That is, the model accounted for 58% of the variance for the Dutch adolescents, while the same model accounted for 31% of the variance for the Islamic adolescents. It is possible that there are additional factors involved in the prediction of negative attitudes (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). For the Islamic adolescents, the endorsement of multiculturalism and perceived conflict were only partially related to the threats. Other factors, such as ethnic identity, adherence to traditional values, level of

religious observance and level of acculturation could be considered in future research (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

It should be borne in mind that the results are cross-sectional, and consequently, no causal interpretations can be made. It could be argued that most relations in the integrated threat theory are reversed or reciprocal. The integrated threat theory poses that more threats results in prejudice, while it is also theoretically possible that people with more prejudice can perceive more threats. However, a recent longitudinal study examined the causal structure of threats related to negative emotions towards ethnic minorities (Schlueter, Schmidt, & Wagner, 2008). The authors concluded that perception of threat is the antecedent of negative emotions towards the outgroup. There was no support for the causal relation from negative attitudes to threat perception or the reciprocal relationship between negative attitudes and threat perception.

Furthermore, self-reports are used in this study. Measurement models were tested in order to check for invariance in the questionnaire between both groups. That is, whether the questionnaire measured the same thing in both groups (Byrne, 2008). However, the measurement models do not check for socially desirable answers, which can still play a role in both groups. In addition, even though it was concluded that there was measurement invariance, there is something notable with the multiculturalism scale. The standardized root mean square residual in the strong model of this scale showed an immense increase as it started at .04 in the configural model and .07 in the weaker model, and became .40 in the stronger model tested. Furthermore, the chi-square makes a vast increase with the stronger model. The stronger form of invariance testing also compared the latent factor means (i.e. intercepts of the scale) of the Dutch and Islamic adolescents, next to the comparison of the factor loadings. This suggests that the factor loadings of each question towards the factor

multiculturalism are equal in both groups, but the origin of the scale differs between the two groups.

The questionnaires concerning perceived conflict and status differences were two very small questionnaires, consisting of three and four questions. Therefore, it became impractical to analyze the measurement invariance of these scales. Moreover, the questionnaire of status differences does not question in which direction the differences in status are perceived. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether the Dutch adolescents perceive themselves as the higher status group, and the Islamic adolescents perceive themselves as the lower status groups. This could have considerable influence on the interpretation of the model. In future research, this should be taken into account.

Conclusion

In sum, Dutch and Islamic adolescents appear to have a comparable integrated threat model. For both groups, intergroup anxiety appears the most prominent predictor of negative attitudes. Furthermore, symbolic threat is the least prominent predictor or does not predict negative attitudes at all for Dutch and Islamic adolescents, respectively. Contact and willingness for contact appears to be a vital factor to decrease threats and negative attitudes. In addition, decreasing negative experiences with the outgroup can also decrease threats and negative attitudes. Compared to studies performed in America and Canada, the situation in the Netherlands differs. This can be explained by the different context in the Netherlands compared to America en Canada (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The groups also have different backgrounds with each other which make different threats more important.

As far as we know, this is first study that examines the integrated threat theory among a minority group of Islamic adolescents in the Netherlands. The theory gives a useful framework to study the development of prejudice towards Muslims, and also to study the development of prejudice towards the Dutch population. The integrated threat theory can

serve as a handle for future intervention and prevention programs to decrease these negative

attitudes towards the outgroup. More contact between the two groups appears to decrease the

perceived threats aroused by the outgroup. Investing in increasing contact between the groups

may decrease the negative attitudes towards the outgroup.

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