



European
University
Institute

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

**PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPES: AN
ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS
RESPONSIBLE FOR HOSTILITY TOWARDS
ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE
NETHERLANDS**

Carlotta Celozzi

Best Participant Essays Series 2009/03

**CARIM – IV Summer School on Euro-Mediterranean
Migration and Development
2008**

Cooperation project on the social integration of
immigrants, migration, and the movement of
persons (CARIM)

Co-financed by the European University Institute and
the European Union (AENEAS Programme)



CARIM
Euro-Mediterranean Consortium
for Applied Research on International Migration

CARIM IV Summer School on Euro-Mediterranean Migration and Development
Best Participant Essays Series
2009/03

**Prejudice and stereotypes: an analysis of the factors responsible for hostility
towards ethnic minorities in the Netherlands**

Olivia Carlotta Celozzi
University of Bath, UK

This publication is part of Best participant essays series, written by participants of the Summer School on Euro-Mediterranean Migration and Development, part of CARIM project.

© 2009, European University Institute
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

This text may be downloaded only for personal research purposes. Any additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copies or electronically, requires the consent of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Requests should be addressed to forinfo@eui.eu

If cited or quoted, reference should be made as follows:

[Full name of the author(s)], [title], CARIM Summer School 2008 – Best Participant Essays Series [series number], Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, [year of publication].

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS PUBLICATION CANNOT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE REGARDED AS THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/>
<http://www.carim.org/Publications/>
<http://cadmus.eui.eu>

CARIM

The Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) was created in February 2004 and has been financed by the European Commission. Until January 2007, it referred to part C - “*cooperation related to the social integration of immigrants issue, migration and free circulation of persons*” of the MEDA programme, i.e. the main financial instrument of the European Union to establish the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Since February 2007, CARIM has been funded as part of the AENEAS programme for technical and financial assistance to third countries in the areas of migration and asylum. The latter programme establishes a link between the external objectives of the European Union’s migration policy and its development policy. AENEAS aims at providing third countries with the assistance necessary to achieve, at different levels, a better management of migrant flows.

Within this framework, CARIM aims, in an academic perspective, to observe, analyse, and predict migration in the North African and the Eastern Mediterranean Region (hereafter Region).

CARIM is composed of a coordinating unit established at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) of the European University Institute (EUI, Florence), and a network of scientific correspondents based in the 12 countries observed by CARIM: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and, since February 2007, also Libya and Mauritania. All are studied as origin, transit and immigration countries. External experts from the European Union and countries of the Region also contribute to CARIM activities.

The CARIM carries out the following activities:

- Mediterranean migration database;
- Research and publications;
- Meetings of academics;
- Meetings between experts and policy makers;
- Early warning system.

The activities of CARIM cover three aspects of international migration in the Region: economic and demographic, legal, and socio-political.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: www.carim.org

For more information:

Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)

Convento

Via delle Fontanelle 19

50014 S. Domenico di Fiesole

Italy

Tel: +39 055 46 85 878

Fax: + 39 055 46 85 762

Email: carim@eui.eu

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

Abstract

In their study of prejudice and intolerance in Italy, Sniderman and colleagues found that for Italians generalised mistrust and the feeling of economic insecurity are essential determinants in negative attitudes toward immigrants and that categorization is the mediator in the model. The same model tested in Italy, namely the “Two Flavours” model, has been applied in the Dutch context to explore the factors that can best predict the prejudice of Dutch people toward ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Expressive and psychological factors as well as instrumental, rational factors are employed to predict prejudice. Categorization is hypothesised to be the most proximate factor accounting for prejudice. The results demonstrate the importance of categorization and mistrust in the formation of prejudicial attitudes, but suggest no mediator effect for mistrust, economic insecurity and categorization.

Introduction

Prejudice toward immigrants is as old as human history. However, with the intensification of migration flows in many Western European countries, hostility and prejudice toward immigrants have been on the rise. This has caused a widespread interest in this issue among policy makers and the scientific community. In 1994, just after the national elections in Italy, a team of political scientists and statisticians conducted the first study of prejudice against immigrants in Italy, published in English as *The Outsider. Prejudice and Politics in Italy*. By integrating personality, realistic conflict and social identity approaches in what they termed “the Two Flavours” model, *The Outsider* offered insights into the phenomenon of prejudice and its political implications in Italy. The book’s findings showed that any type of difference – colour, ethnicity, nationality – mark the immigrant as an outsider, independently of the particular trait. A few years later, in 1998, a survey, similar to the one conducted in Italy, was carried out in the Netherlands to determine the nature of prejudice. In the present paper we applied the model tested in Italy to this Dutch study and compared the findings to the ones that emerged in the study conducted in Italy.

Theoretical background

Many factors push people to leave their home country and migrate to another one: poverty, wars, political and religious persecution, lack of jobs or the hope of finding a better life. Some migrants intend to return, others prefer to settle in the new country and bring their families. Thanks to mobility and migration over the past two centuries, the world’s races and ethnicities have intermingled in ways that are sometimes amiable, sometimes hostile. The attention of scholars has focused especially on the latter ones, on their causes and possible solutions. What they have investigated, and what will also be broached in this paper, are the forces responsible for the eruption of intolerance toward people perceived as different on the basis of their religion, nationality, ethnicity, race or class. People tend to mark off those who belong to their own group and those who do not and to stigmatize and prejudice the second group by virtue of their differences. But not everybody is susceptible to prejudice and not all groups are a target of intolerant attitudes. To better understand the factors responsible for intolerance, an analysis of the roots of prejudice, its underlying causes and its impact on society is necessary. In order to do that, it is first necessary to define the concepts of prejudice and stereotyping. Although prejudiced attitudes are often accompanied by stereotyping it is important to distinguish between these two terms.

Generally, prejudice is thought of as negative attitudes or behaviour toward a person because of his or her membership in a particular group. This definition attributes to prejudice the sense that such attitudes are irrational, unjust or intolerant (Milner, 1975: 9). For example, prejudice has been defined as a ‘failure of rationality’ (Harding et al., 1969: 6), ‘thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant’ (Allport, 1954: 7). Other works have avoided the negative connotations associated with this term suggesting that prejudiced attitudes toward other individuals could also be positive. Consistent with this view, prejudice has been understood as ‘ingroup favouritism’ or ‘bias’ (Duckitt, 1992). However, the readiness to favour members of the same group does not automatically imply derogatory behaviour towards individuals that belong to other groups. Recent works gave a more ‘evaluative neutral’ definition of prejudice. Tajfel, for example, defined prejudice as ‘a favourable or unfavourable predisposition toward any member of a category in question’ (Tajfel, 1982b: 3). Similarly, Brewer and Kramer (1985: 230) conceived prejudice as ‘shared feelings of acceptance-rejection, trust-distrust, like-dislike that characterize attitudes toward specific groups in a social system’.

Stereotypes, meanwhile, were defined as mental representations of social groups and their members, which contain enough details to allow us to know what group members are like, without even meeting them (Stangor and Lange, 1994). These representations contain attributes and traits, both

positive and negative, usually ascribed to the group and its members, and expectations about the behaviours of members of the group (Locke and Johnston, 2001).

The two terms are intricately linked, but in what circumstances does a stereotype lead to prejudice?

According to Devine (1989) everybody, irrespective of his or her beliefs, activates stereotypes when judging outgroups or outgroup members. Stereotypes are known to everybody and are frequently accessed. But only when one's personal beliefs about that group are congruent with the content of this stereotype, is prejudice produced (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001). Every time that individuals make judgements about any social group, they automatically activate stereotypical information associated with this group, regardless of their personal level of prejudice. This shows that knowledge of stereotypes is possessed equally by everyone, due to the long history of use, and that the automatic activation cannot be influenced by personal beliefs. However, continues Devine, the different levels of prejudice an individual possesses are relevant in determining whether stereotypical information remains active or not. More specifically, Devine suggests that low-prejudiced individuals, unlike high-prejudiced individuals, will curb stereotypical trait information. Thus, according to Devine, while the automatic activation of stereotypes is unavoidable, the level of prejudice will determine whether the recurrence of this information guides an individual's judgements.

In conclusion, it is possible to be prejudiced against a group about which we have only the vague ideas. But it is also possible for different individuals to hold the same degree of prejudice toward a group, even if they attribute different characteristics to it. Therefore, stereotypes are a necessary condition but not sufficient for prejudice.

Psychology and social-psychology have contributed extensively to theories of prejudice and stereotypes. While the common core of these theories has been attempts to understand the psychology of prejudice, they have differed significantly in their theoretical approach and level of analysis: individual, interpersonal, intergroup, and institutional (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001).

Individual level theories see prejudice as being intrapsychically determined. Unconscious instincts primarily related to sexual and aggressive desire create psychological conflict within the person. In order to reduce tension, individuals displace their aggression onto certain groups and project their own conflicts onto these targets in order to rationalize and justify their actions. As well as personality traits like low-self esteem, insecurity and anxiety, individual level theories identify two other personality variables as possible precursors to prejudice and intolerance, namely: authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. Thinking of these additional precursors authoritarians are rigid, dogmatic and strongly supportive of 'traditional values'. A central theme of this approach, set out in *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al., 1950/1982), is that the parent-child relation has an impact on the development and the formation of an authoritarian disposition. Parents are often considered to be eager to use punishment and to demand strict obedience from their children. The idea was that this rigid discipline was necessary in developing a 'strong character' (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001).

A different approach was the one followed by Sidanius and colleagues (e.g. Sidanius, 1993; Pratto et al., 1994) referred to as Social Dominance Orientation. This construct is defined as 'the degree to which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchy and the dominance of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups' (Pratto et al., 1994:742). A key principle of this theory is that societies are stratified on the basis of religion, ethnicity, nationality and so on. Societies are organized in such a way that hegemonic groups stay at the top and negative reference groups at the bottom. Prejudiced behaviour are all manifestations that aim at maintaining the dominant position of hegemonic groups.

Significant limitations have been identified with personality accounts of prejudice. Most notably there is the issue of why certain groups become target for prejudice by authoritarians. In addition, such theories neglect the potential interplay between individual psychology and social structural factors (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001).

Another set of theories located at the individual level of analysis are cognitive theories of stereotyping. They dominated the studies of prejudice in the 1980s and 1990s and saw prejudice as the inevitable consequence of “normal” and functional cognitive processes such as categorization and stereotyping. Our limited cognitive capacities, it is claimed, lead to the simplification and generalization of the social world. Thus, it is not surprising that a given group has a tendency to view outgroup members as ‘all alike’ (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001). Cognitive mechanisms are then viewed, according to this approach, as the essential foundations to stereotyping and prejudice. Like personality approaches, cognitive approaches tend to ignore or downplay the wider social context of intergroup relations.

Intergroup perspectives, such as Social Identity theory and Self-categorization theory, place greater emphasis on the psychology of the group: the social context within which groups interact, the nature of the power and status differentials that shape group life (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001). It is often assumed that group-based perception – perceiving individuals as group members rather than as individuals – is inherently bad, that it distorts social reality, and that ultimately it leads to all sorts of perceptual biases like stereotyping. According to this approach stereotyping and prejudice are considered the ultimate consequences of perceiving people as group members instead of as individuals with unique traits and characteristics. Group-based approaches fundamentally question these central assumptions of social-cognitive models, by emphasising the psychological validity of group-based perception (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001).

In contrast to individual and group-based perspectives on prejudice, social psychology has contributed less to structural and institutional theories of prejudice. Cultural theories of prejudice view the internalisation of group norms and values and conformity to such norms as are fundamental in the widespread adoption of prejudiced values within a society (Ashmore and DelBoca, 1981).

As Sniderman and colleagues have shown in their study of prejudice and policy in Italy (Sniderman et al., 2002) these theories do not necessarily conflict with one another, they may, in fact, complement each other. To explain the wave of hostility toward immigrants in Italy they employed two classical theories of prejudice: the personality approach and Realistic Group Conflict theory.

The first of these – the personality approach – locates the sources of prejudice inside individuals, and thus tends to give an expressive, psychological flavour. It argues that emotional factors that contribute to prejudice predominate in the “authoritarian personality”. The second one posits that the key mechanism generating prejudice is competition for scarce resources, so it provides an instrumental, rational choice flavour. Based on Realistic Group Conflict theory such perceived group competition is likely to take the form of zero-sum beliefs: beliefs that the more the other group obtains, the less is available for one’s own group. Efforts to remove group competition may include outgroup avoidance, derogation and discrimination. So viewed in this way prejudice follows from a rational calculus of gains and losses. The two theories give plausible explanations in identifying the roots of prejudice. But how is it possible to combine the two approaches that apparently seem to clash into a larger, more encompassing account of prejudice? The purpose of the “Two Flavours” model was to show that the two theories instead of conflicting with one another can be put together in a common explanatory framework. (Sniderman et al., 2002).

The “two flavours” model

The key explanation of this model is categorization, that is the tendency to distinguish those who belong to a group from those who do not belong.

On the basis of Social Identity theory (e.g., Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) the consistent pattern of discrimination or ingroup bias, reported in the minimal group paradigm¹, arises from the psychological process of cognitive categorization. Social categorization leads to the accentuation of within-category similarities and intercategory differences, transforming a distribution of individuals (including the self) into distinct ingroups and outgroups. By itself, such categorization does not amount to prejudice, but it does provide a foundation for prejudice since people tend to favour others that they believe are like themselves at the expense of those that they believe are different, independently of the subjects' own personality profile or psychological makeup. Thus, the first implication is that “whatever increases the likelihood of categorizing others as belonging to a group other than one's own increases the likelihood of hostility toward them” (Sniderman, et al., 2002: 62).

The likelihood that people see themselves as part of an ingroup or discriminate in its favour is, as Tajfel and his colleagues have demonstrated, contingent. Therefore it varies with the degree of identification with the ingroup, the salience of the characteristic that is the basis of categorization, the degree of similarity of ingroup and outgroup. Moreover the readiness to categorize others as belonging to an outgroup is sometimes the product of a calculus of gains and losses. That is, if people believe themselves to be worse-off because of other individuals, they are more likely to classify them as an outgroup. From this derives the second implication of the study: “whatever increases the likelihood of concerns about economic well-being increases the likelihood of categorizing immigrants as belonging to an outgroup, and, given the first implication, increases the likelihood of hostility toward them” (Sniderman et al., 2002: 64). But it is also true that people are predisposed to categorize others as an outgroup when they are viewed with suspicion and hostility. Accordingly, the third implication says that “whatever increases the likelihood of hostility and suspicion of people in general increases the likelihood of categorizing immigrants as an outgroup and, given the first implication, increases the likelihood of hostility toward them” (Sniderman et al., 2002: 64). It follows that categorization is the proximate source of hostility (Fig.1). What then accounts for prejudice? The second and the third implications are the explanations. According to our second implication, believing that an ingroup could be worse-off because of immigrants leads us to classify them as an outgroup. But it is also true that the more that people are predisposed to show suspicion and mistrust toward immigrants the more likely they are to categorize them as an outgroup, independently of the risk of becoming worse-off because of them. Categorization is thus a mediator between economic insecurity (the flavour of rational choice account) and mistrust of people (the flavour of a psychologically oriented account), on the one hand, and hostility to immigrants on the other. Every other factor considered in the model – age, education, personality, occupational status – increase prejudice so far as they have an effect on mistrust and economic insecurity. Personality promotes prejudice insofar as it shapes an individual's orientations toward other people and predispose the individual to be suspicious and mistrustful of these others. Occupational status promotes a susceptibility to prejudice insofar as it is tied to people's insecurity about their economic well-being. Age and education affect prejudice by affecting both the level of trust individuals have in other people in general and the level of their economic insecurity. So, economic insecurity and mistrust are first-order mediators and categorization a second order (see the model below).

¹ Minimal group experiment is the name given to a set of studies by Tajfel, Turner and others, in which participants (often schoolchildren) were assigned to groups with limited (or even non-existent) justification. In all of these studies, at least a degree of ethnocentrism was found to be the consequence of the groupings, even when the participants knew the groupings to be made on a random basis. Mere membership of a group appears sufficient to make participants think that the group in question is the best of all possible groups *for them*.

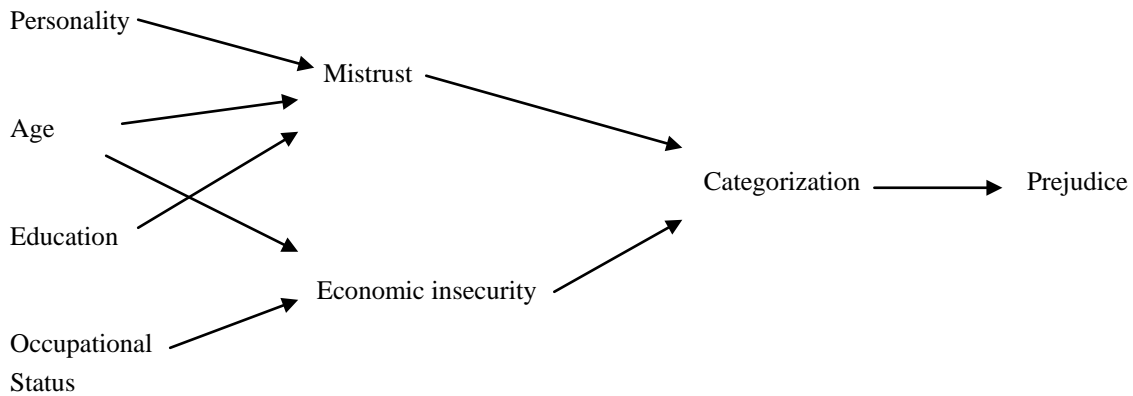


FIG. 1 The “Two Flavours” Model

In this paper the “Two Flavours” model will be retested by applying it in a Dutch context. Different characteristics of immigration in Italy and the Netherlands push us to expect different findings in the employment of the model. Italy does not have the same migration history as the Netherlands either in terms of duration or characteristics. Unlike many countries in Europe, including the Netherlands, the migration flow toward Italy started in a moment of economic recession, and high levels of unemployment. Therefore I think economic insecurity in Italy will have a stronger role in determining prejudice toward immigrants.

Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical framework advanced above, several hypotheses can be formulated in order to test the “Two Flavours” model. The hypotheses can be clustered into two subsections. First of all, it is interesting to see how individual characteristics – such as age, education, personality and occupational status – influence prejudice. Therefore, the first hypothesis reads as follows,

H1a: the more Dutch people are committed to values of authority the more susceptible they are to prejudice toward immigrants.

This hypothesis concerns the causal connection between authority values and prejudice. In *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al., 1950/1982) Adorno and his colleagues concluded that judgmental, ethnocentric people shared authoritarian tendencies – such as intolerance for weakness, punitive attitudes, submissive respect for their ingroup’s authority, strong support of “traditional values”. These characteristics, in the authors’ view, would predispose an individual to adopt prejudicial attitudes.

H1b: Higher levels of education are related to more tolerance.

Those with the advantage of an extended education are, by virtue of their years of formal schooling, less susceptible to intolerance than those with comparatively little education. The poorly educated lack the information necessary to recognize that intolerance conflicts with the established norms of society.

H1c: The young are less prejudiced than the old.

The connection between people’s age and their level of prejudice is generally explained in terms of differences in socialization values between different cohorts and, more particularly, by the central

conflict between post-modern and materialist value orientations in contemporary developed societies (Sniderman et al., 2000).

H1d: More prestigious occupations are related to less prejudice.

Individuals that occupy non-prestigious occupations fear competition with immigrants more and are thus more prejudiced toward them.

The second set of hypothesis tests the contingent factors which can promote or inhibit hostility toward immigrants. The core idea is that hostility to immigrants increases in response to mistrust and economic insecurity.

H2a: Whatever increases the economic insecurity and mistrust of Dutch people towards immigrants, increases the levels of hostility toward them. Therefore, economic insecurity and mistrust have a mediator effect between individual factors and prejudice.

On the basis of Social Identity theory people tend to distinguish individuals who belong to their own group from those who do not in virtue of their similarities, though these are minimal, and to favour those who are like themselves at the expense of those who they believe are different. Therefore, whatever increases the likelihood of categorizing others as an outgroup increases hostility toward them. From this comes the last hypothesis:

H2b: Those factors which increase the likelihood of mistrust and economic insecurity increase the likelihood of immigrants being categorised as an outgroup and consequently the likelihood of prejudice toward them. Therefore categorization mediates the relation between economic insecurity and mistrust and prejudice.

Method

Participants

The data of the Dutch Survey, collected in 1998, was used to test the hypotheses. 2007 Dutch respondents were included in the study, of which 962 were men and 1045 women, ranging in age from 16 to 99.

Measures

The individual factors included in the model are age, education, occupational status and personality, the last measured by the level of agreement or disagreement with three statements concerning authoritarian values (lay off women first; welfare is only for the old and disabled; laws should be rigorously enforced); low values indicate more authoritarianism. *Occupational status* is based on the standard international ISCO classification of occupations. The higher the score the more prestigious the occupation. *Prejudice* was measured using several items indicating negative stereotypes toward immigrants residing in the Netherlands: for example, selfish, violent, lazy, moaning. On the resulting one item scale, lower values indicate more prejudice, Cronbach's alpha (α) = 0.92. Answers true or false to questions like "most people are honest and trustworthy", "I am suspicious if someone is nice", "most people are well-intentioned", "I tend to be cynical and sceptical of others' intentions", "I tend to assume the best about people", "I have a good deal of faith in human nature", "most people will take advantage of you if you let them", "my first reaction is to trust people" were used to measure *mistrust*. Positive statements were re-coded to match the distrust so that lower values indicate a higher level of mistrust. *Economic insecurity* was computed using six items that investigate the respondents' future prospect for their financial position in two years. Some variables were re-coded to have worse

situations indicated by lower scores. Finally, *categorisation* was coded by measuring the agreement on the variable 'I recognise the Dutch from the non-Dutch quickly' on a four-point scale (1= agree strongly, 4= disagree strongly) ranging from high to low categorization.

Results

In the regressions reported here individual characteristics (age, education, occupational status and personality) were entered in the first step of hierarchical regressions, mistrust and economic insecurity in a second step and categorization as a final step.

Results of the regressions are displayed in table 1.

TABLE 1. Hierarchical regressions on prejudice toward immigrants in the Netherlands

DV	Prejudice ^a			
	H	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a
Constant		2.031(.099)***	1.130(.161)***	.994(.159)***
Age (years)	-	.001(.001)	.000(.001)	.001(.001)
Education (levels)	+	.048(.009)***	.044(.009)***	.043(.009)***
Occupational Status	+	.005(.001)***	.004(.001)**	.004(.001)**
Personality	+	.260(.024)***	.241(.024)***	.220(.023)***
Mistrust	+		.728(.099)***	.685(.098)***
Economic insecurity	+		.096(.046)*	.098(.045)*
Categorization	+			.098(.014)***
R		.459	.500	.529
R ²		.211	.250	.280
ΔR ²		.211	.040	.029
F		76.753***	63.988***	63.689***
F change		76.753***	30.570***	46.643***
<i>d.f.</i>		4, 1151	6, 1149	7, 1148

Note: all coefficients are unstandardized

*p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001

^a Lower scores indicate negative outcomes

The first model with individual characteristics predicting prejudice explains 21.1% of variance in the dependent variable, prejudice. [F(4,1151) = 76.75, p<.001]. All predictors, except for age, have a significant effect. High levels of education are related to less prejudice (B = .048; p<.001); an increased tendency in holding prestigious occupations is related to less prejudice (B = .005; p<.001); finally, the more people that are committed to values of authority the more prejudiced they are toward immigrants (B = .260; p<.001). When considering only individual factors, authoritarianism is the best predictor.

After the inclusion of economic insecurity and mistrust at step two the total variance explained by the model as a whole is 25%, F(6,1149) = 63.98, p<.001]. The two added predictors explains an additional 4% of the variance in prejudice, R squared change = .040, F change (6, 1149) = 30.57,

$p < .001$. In this second model, the new predictors mistrust and economic insecurity have a significant impact on the dependent variable, respectively ($B = .728$; $p < .001$) and ($B = .096$; $p < .05$). The individual predictors still have a significant effect on prejudice, though the value of their coefficients decreased. Therefore economic insecurity and mistrust have a partial mediator effect on prejudice. Hypothesis 2a is partially confirmed. Mistrust is the best predictor in this model – the more individuals mistrust people in general, the more prejudiced they are toward immigrants – followed by personality ($B = .241$, $p < .001$) and then economic insecurity ($B = .096$; $p < .01$).

In the third model categorization was brought in. The model is significant [$F(7, 1148) = 63.68$, $p < .001$], and it explains 28% of variance, which is more than the previous two models. Categorization explains an additional 3% of the variance in prejudice, R squared change = .029, F change (7, 1148) = 46.64, $p < .001$. The more respondents categorize, that is, the quicker they recognize the Dutch from the non Dutch, the more they are prejudiced ($B = .098$; $p < .001$). However, categorization does not reduce the direct effect of mistrust and economic insecurity on stereotyping, therefore it does not mediate. Overall, the three models with prejudice as the dependent variable confirm the first set of hypotheses. Less authoritarian, more educated people and those who have a more prestigious occupation are less prejudiced toward immigrants. Age was not significant in all the models. The second set of hypotheses which covered the mediator effect of economic insecurity, mistrust and categorization are partially confirmed. The three predictors only partially mediate the direct effect of the individual factors on prejudice. Categorization was assumed to play a pivotal role in predicting prejudice because the whole array of antecedent factors promotes hostility to immigrants in so much as each promotes categorization. However, among all predictors only age, personality and mistrust promote categorization (see table 2). Economic insecurity, which, in the model, is supposed to affect categorization, is not significant. The first model that employs categorization as a dependent variable and individual factors as predictors explains 3.8% of the variance [$F(4, 1151) = 11.295$, $p < .001$].

TABLE 2. Predictors of categorization

DV	Categorization ^a		
	H	Model 1b	Model 2b
Constant		1.774(.196)***	1.381(.325)***
Age (years)	-	-.005(.002)*	-.006(.002)*
Education (levels)	+	.011(.018)	.010(.019)
Occupational Status	+	-.001(.002)	-.001(.003)
Personality	+	.230(.047)***	.220(.048)***
Mistrust	+		.447(.201)*
Economic insecurity	+		-.020(.093)
R		.194	.205
R ²		.038	.042
ΔR^2		.038	.004
F		11.295***	8.376***
F change		11.295***	2.482
<i>d.f.</i>		4, 1151	6, 1149

Note: all coefficients are unstandardized

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

^a Lower scores indicate higher categorization

After mistrust and economic insecurity are brought in the model explains 42% of the variance in the dependent variable categorization. The two added predictors explain only an additional 0.4% of variance in categorization, R^2 change = .004, F change (6, 1149) = 2.482, n.s.

Age and personality are still significant predictors, and among the two added factors only mistrust contributes significantly to predict categorization.

These results contribute to weaken the applicability of the “Two Flavours” model to the Dutch case.

Conclusion and discussion

The present research aimed to apply the “Two Flavours” model, tested in Italy to explain intolerance toward immigrants in the Dutch context. It was found that individual factors – age, education, personality and occupational status – have, with the exception of age, an effect on prejudice, but that this relation is only partially mediated by mistrust and economic insecurity. Similarly no mediation effect has been found for categorization. Thus, these findings do not validate the “Two Flavours” model for the Netherlands. However interesting results have been found. Mistrust is the best predictor for prejudice: the more Dutch people have feelings of general distrust, the more they are intolerant toward immigrants. Categorization does not have a mediator effect but it is a good predictor for prejudice: people who are more inclined to distinguish Dutch people from the non Dutch, to classify non Dutch as not belonging to their own group, to see them as the “other”, are more intolerant. A readiness to do so, it has been argued, varies with situations. It was assumed that Dutch people categorize when they believe themselves to be worse-off because of immigrants and when they are predisposed to view people in general with suspicion and hostility. The present analysis did not confirm this: instrumental and rational choice factors are not related to categorization. On the contrary what affects categorization most is personality: the more people are committed to values of authority the more they categorize. However this relation does not necessarily lead to prejudice: authoritarian people are prejudiced toward immigrants but not because they categorised them as being different.

Two elements must be considered in comparing this work with the research done in Italy. The first concerns methodological and statistical considerations, specifically the way that prejudice and categorization are measured. Sniderman and colleagues measured prejudice using the *attribution of personal characteristics* and the *attribution of responsibility for social problems*. In the present study, prejudice has been measured only with the negative stereotypes that Dutch people attribute to immigrants. The definitions of prejudice and stereotypes provided by various authors and reported in this paper underline a link between stereotypes and prejudice, but also a distinction between the two terms. Prejudiced attitudes, it has been claimed, are accompanied by stereotyping. However, attributing stereotypes to a person or a group does not necessarily mean being prejudiced toward that person or group. Therefore, measuring prejudice with negative stereotypes alone could be limited. The use of two indexes – the index of blame and the index of personal attributes – indexes that Sniderman and colleagues employed, is better suited to measuring prejudice. The second methodological consideration regards variable categorization. Sniderman’s Categorization Index imperfectly measures the readiness of Italian people to categorise others as different. He coded categorization by asking respondents whether people should distrust those who act differently from most people and whether people who come to Italy should try to act like Italians. The two items do not really measure categorization. Probably the use of a different index of categorization for the study in Italy would have given a different result.

Substantial reasons should also be considered in explaining different results in the two studies. The two contexts where the model has been tested present different characteristics both in terms of migration history and in terms of the composition of the immigrant population. In the Netherlands, as in many Western European countries, migration flows started in the 1960s. It was mainly a labour migration, considered necessary because of a booming economy and a consequent shortage of labour. The Netherlands drew workers from Turkey and Morocco, as well as from former colonies like Surinam and Antilles. At this stage of migration pull factors explained the arrival of many immigrants.

Italy experienced migration only decades later, when northern European countries had closed their borders and migration flows were directed towards southern European countries. When migrants started to arrive Italy was in an economic recession and experiencing high unemployment. In such a context economic insecurity and mistrust toward new arrivals might be more relevant. On the contrary, in the Netherlands prejudice and discrimination have probably different roots, perhaps tied to cultural factors and the fear of losing a Dutch culture or identity. In the Dutch case, for example, economic insecurity (included in the model given above) could be replaced or integrated with other predictions that consider other types of threat, for example, symbolic threats.

References

- Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., and Stanford, R.N. (1950/1982) *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper.
- Allport, G.W. (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Ashmore, R. and Del Boca, F. (1981) Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. In D.L. Hamilton (ed.), *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behaviour*, (pp. 1-36). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Augoustinos, M. and Reynolds, K.J. (2001) *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Augoustinos, M. and Reynolds, K.J. (2001) Prejudice, racism and social psychology. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Baird, L.S. and Duck, J.M. (2001) Affect, prejudice and discrimination: in the politics of 'Gut Feeling', feeling better is what counts. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Brewer, M.B. and Kramer, R.M. (1985) The psychology of intergroup attitudes and behaviours. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 36: 219-244.
- Devine, P.G. (1989) Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56: 5-18.
- Duckitt, J. (1992) Education and authoritarianism among English and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 132, 701-708.
- Harding, J., Proshansky, H.M., Kutner, B. and Chein, I. (1969) Prejudice and ethnic relations. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (eds), *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, (Vol.5, pp.1-76). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Heaven, P.C.L. (2001) Prejudice and personality: the case of the authoritarian and social dominator. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Hogg, M.A. and Abrams, D. (1988) *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.
- Locke, V. and Johnston, L. (2001) Stereotyping and prejudice: a social cognitive approach. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Milner, D. (1975) *Children and Race*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Myers, D.C. (1996) *Social Psychology*. McGraw-Hill Companies, United States.
- Nesdale, D. (2001) The development of prejudice in children. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Oakes, P.J. and Haslam, S.A. (2001) Distortion V. Meaning: categorization on trial for inciting intergroup hatred. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. and Malle, B. (1994) Social dominance orientation: a personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64, 741-763.
- Reynolds, K.J. and Turner, J.C. (2001) Prejudice as a group process: the role of social identity. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Sniderman, P.M., Peri P., Rui J. P. de Figueiredo and Piazza T. (2002) *The Outsider. Prejudice and Politics in Italy*. Princeton University, New Jersey.
- Stangor, C. and Lange, J.E. (1994) Mental representation of social groups: Advances in understanding stereotypes and stereotyping. In M.P. Zanna (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, (Vol.26, pp. 357-416) New York: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1982a) Introduction. In H. Tajfel (ed), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, (pp-1-14) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1982b) Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33, 1-39.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J.C. (1979) An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin and S. Worchel (eds), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Terry, D.J., Hogg, M.A. and Blackwood, L. (2001) Prejudiced attitudes, group norms and discriminatory behaviour. In M. Augoustinos and K.J. Reynolds, *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.