

**Prejudice against lower educated second-generation immigrants as a function of cultural  
values**

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## **Abstract**

This study aimed to see whether people from a mostly individualistic society (psychology students in the Netherlands) experience different levels of prejudice towards immigrants (second-generation Moroccan immigrants in Groningen) depending on their level of education and their cultural values (individualistic or collectivistic background).

192 participants were randomly assigned into four scenarios through the use of a survey in a 2x2 factorial design, varying the levels of the independent variables education (high vs low) and cultural values (collectivistic vs individualistic cultures).

Further questions were focused on investigating burden and competition threat (realistic threat) versus symbolic threat and negative stereotypes, according to integrated threat theory (ITT). The study aims to reveal the predominance of these threats and to minimize the prejudice paradox, which is the idea that an immigrant is perceived as a threat either by adapting too well to the norms of the host country or too low.

ANOVA's did not reveal any significant main or interaction effect on threat measures as hypothesized. Exploratory analysis revealed that participants rated immigrants warmer when they hold individualistic values, leaving the relationship between warmth perception and cultural ideology for further analysis.

*Keywords: prejudice, meritocracy, prejudice paradox, culture values, intergroup threat, educationism*

## **Introduction**

In our current society, there have been an increasing number of people emigrating to other countries in the last decades, mostly in search of a better future, mainly due to changes in the global economy, political conflicts and increased availability in transportation.

However, the rise in immigration does not always lead to the benefits of multiculturalism, which is to have different ethnic group collaborate with one another without having to sacrifice their particular identities. Instead, immigrants tend to face prejudice and negative

attitudes from the host countries, making it crucial to gain an understanding of the causes of these attitudes. According to Spears and Tausch, 2015, prejudice is defined as “an attitude or orientation towards a group (or its members) that devalues it directly or indirectly, often to the benefit of the self or the own group”.

Several studies have researched into several factors that cause these negative attitudes towards immigrants including race, nationality, religion or gender, among others. According to the study of Stephan et al. (1999), four variables were significant predictors of the attitudes towards immigrant groups: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes, with all of them involving threats to the in-group or its members, and therefore evoking negative attitudes towards immigrants. According to realistic group conflict theory (Campbell, 1965; Esses et al., 1998), prejudice and intergroup threats are often based on conflicts of interest between groups. Intergroup threat and conflict increase as the perceived competition for scarce resources increases and the greater it is, the more hostility is expressed toward the source of the threat. In addition, proximity and contact increase intergroup hostility when competition over resources is present, rather than decreasing it (Esses & Jackson, 1998; Riek et al., 2006). Realistic threats are therefore, threats to the existence of the in- group such as economic power or material well-being, thus as a direct competition for resources, as well as personal security (Stephan et al., 1999). In symbolic threat, on the other hand, conflict results from group differences in morals, beliefs, values and attitudes, such as differences in religion, gender rights, and ideologies (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1982). In some cases, belief dissimilarity is more directly linked to prejudice than ethnic or racial membership (Rokeach, Smith & Evans, 1960). These differences in values peril the in-group’s worldview making it ethnocentric and leading group members to believe that their group is superior to others (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009). Usually, the negative effects of symbolic threats reinforce the effects of realistic threats. For instance, individuals from

collectivistic backgrounds, because of differences in values, are perceived as less economically independent and therefore more dependent on social benefits, resulting in an increased conflict and prejudice towards them.

The combination of these threats can lead to the “prejudice paradox” (van der Linden & Spears, 2017), where immigrants are perceived as a threat, no matter what they do, as those who score low on one of these threats score high on the other. If an immigrant conforms too well to the norms of the host country it can be perceived as a competitor in regards to education or employment. On the other hand, if an immigrant does not conform enough, they are perceived as a financial burden for the host society.

### **Role of education**

Besides the major characteristics that led to prejudice, few studies have addressed education as a target characteristic of prejudice towards an outgroup, and higher levels of education tend to correlate with better outcomes in employment, income, health and well-being (Grusky & DiPrete, 1990). In addition, there is a strong relationship between social background and academic achievement, as academic achievement is distributed very inequally (Kuppens et al., 2017).

The previous belief was that the highly educated people were less prejudiced towards the less educated through the moral enlightenment perspective, as the tolerant worldview of the highly educated is a consequence of their superior moral reasoning obtained by education, and thus they will show less intergroup bias and prejudice than the lower educated (Spears and Tausch, 2015). On the other hand, there is less education- based intergroup bias among the lower educated individuals, as lower education is not positively valued in our society (Kuppens et al., 2015).

### **Cultural values**

Moreover, the cultural background of the immigrant has a major role as well when expressing prejudice. In individualistic cultures such as Western European countries or North America, the ethnic majority of its population embraces meritocratic values, seeing status and social rewards as a results of an individual merit and hard work (Kluegel & Smith, 1986). However, in collectivistic cultural backgrounds, such as Moroccans or East Asians, their idea of success is more determined by other external factors such as fate or luck (Hallahan & Herzog, 1996). Individuals in collectivistic societies tend to align more to social norms and both success and failure affects the individual along with their family and close ones, seeing the society more as a whole rather than a sum of individual parts. Hence, endorsement of meritocratic beliefs is a valued condition for the acceptance of immigrants in Western countries (Testé et al., 2012). Therefore, these cultural factors are strongly linked to symbolic and realistic threats (Van der Linden & Spears, 2006), either as a competitors for those holding meritocratic values or as a symbolic threat for immigrants endorsing collectivistic ideology.

Therefore, this current research will focus on evaluating the level of prejudice experienced by the host society towards an out-group (in this case second generation of Moroccans in the Netherlands), considering the independent variables of education (high and low education) and cultural variables (individualistic versus collectivistic cultures) by responding a questionnaire based on one of the four scenarios assigned to the participants in a 2 x 2 factorial design.

Based on previous literature, we hypothesize that highly educated individuals will feel less intergroup bias towards the less educated through moral enlightenment and experience positive attitudes towards those with similar characteristics according to the similarity-attraction hypothesis.

Based on the aforementioned information, the following hypotheses are formulated:

*Hypothesis 1:* Highly educated students will experience more competition threat towards individuals with similar education and cultural values, which are high educated with individualistic values.

*Hypothesis 2:* Highly educated students will experience more prejudice towards the less educated with individualistic values in the form of a burden threat.

*Hypothesis 3:* Highly educated individuals will experience more competition and symbolic threat towards individuals with similar educational level with collectivistic cultural values.

*Hypothesis 4:* Highly educated individuals will experience more burden and symbolic threat towards low educated individuals with collectivistic values.

## **Method**

### **Participants and design.**

Participants were sampled from a Sona research pool consisting of first year psychology students from the University of Groningen, resulting in a sample size of 192 individuals (N=192). The percentage of females participating in the study accounts for 75.1% (N<sub>f</sub> = 139), representing a higher proportion than males accounting for 24.3 % (N<sub>m</sub> = 45) of the sample. Eight individuals did not give indication of gender accounting for the 6% remaining percent. The present study employed an experimental 2 x 2 factorial design and assigned participants randomly to one of four scenarios assembled of two levels of the independent variable *education* (highly/ lowly educated) and two levels of the independent variable *value* (individualistic/ collectivistic).

### **Procedure**

This research used an online survey created by *Qualtrics* (Appendix A) which measured several dimensions: stereotypes, competition and burden threat evoked by

immigrants as a measure of realistic threat, symbolic threat, educationalism, and cultural values (individualistic vs collectivistic).

According to intergroup threat theory, a theory which attempts to describe the components of perceived threat leading to prejudice between social groups, there are four main forms of threat: symbolic threat (threats arising from a conflict in beliefs, norms and values according to their in-group's values), realistic threat (threats to the existence of the in-group, as well as its power or well-being), intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes, being the former two the most predominant.

The study used an online survey programmed using *Qualtrics* to collect data and the SONA pool to gather the sample of participants. The study was called “Attitudes of high educated people valuing individualistic cultural values”. The survey was divided into four scenarios, where it explained the background story of a second generation immigrant from Morocco called *Alami*, combining different levels of education (high/ low) and cultural values (individualistic vs collectivistic) in a 2 x 2 factorial design. Therefore, the four possible scenarios were high educated and individualistic, high educated and collectivistic, low educated and individualistic and low educated and collectivistic.

Participants were first asked to answer questions about personal information and then they were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions. Right after reading the text, participants were asked to answer a manipulation check in order to assess whether they had understood the text and could answer the following questions accurately. Afterwards, they had to answer questions about stereotypes by asking how the main character is perceived by the participant in terms of warmth and competence, followed by questions to measure realistic and symbolic threat by the use of scales.

At the end of the study, participants were provided with debriefing information in order to explain the goal of the experiment.

### **Dependent measures.**

**Stereotypic prejudice.** In the first part of the study stereotypic dimensions of the participants were measured using the Stereotype Content Model developed by Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002). Participants were asked to rate how warm ( $\alpha = .89$ ), competent ( $\alpha = .88$ ) and moral ( $\alpha = .78$ ) they perceived the described individual in the specific scenario. The participants were asked to rate descriptive adjectives like pleasant, competent, intelligent and sincere on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all* to 6 = *extremely*). The same scale was used to measure the perception of the students towards second generation immigrants in general. Moreover, participants indicated how cold or warm they feel towards the described second generation immigrant ranging from 0 = *very cold/very negative* to 100 = *very warm/very positive*.

**Realistic threat.** Realistic threats are threats that an individual experiences as possible threats to the well-being of the in-group. The variable was measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *is for strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). To assess the realistic threat experienced by the participants, items were selected to be measured on two subscales, competition threat (e.g. “Immigrants take jobs away from Dutch students/citizens”;  $\alpha = .394$ ) and burden threat (e.g. “Immigrants will increase the tax burden on Dutch citizens”;  $\alpha = .775$ ).

**Symbolic threat.** Symbolic threat assesses the perception that an outgroup might pose a danger to the ingroups’ morals, standards or beliefs. It was evaluated using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) and consisted of four items (e.g. “Immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms as soon as possible after they arrive in the Netherlands.” and “The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues, socialising



children and social relations are basically quite similar to those of most Dutch citizens.”

(reversed);  $r / \alpha = .540$ )

**Educationalism.** Attitudes of the participants towards lower educated people were measured by using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) consisting of four items (e.g. “Getting good education is based on hard work, talent, luck.”;  $\alpha = .29$ ). Furthermore, participants indicated how cold or warm they feel towards both high- and low- educated immigrants and Dutch citizens ranging from 0 = *very cold/very negative* to 100 = *very warm/very positive*.

**Cultural values.** Cultural values of the participants were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Ten items were used to measure in what extent participants adhere to individualistic values (e.g. “My efforts are rewarded”;  $\alpha = .46$ ) and to collectivistic values (e.g. “The harmony in a group is more important to me than my individual goals”;  $\alpha = .22$ ).

## Results

The data has been checked for ANOVA assumptions, and no violations were found. The 2 x 2 ANOVA revealed no interaction effect or main effect for any of the variables.

**Table 1.** Means and Standard Error,  $M$  ( $SE$ ), for the dependent variables

Variables	High educated	Low educated	Individualistic	Collectivistic
Competition threat	5.22 (0.07)	5.26 (0.06)	5.14 (0.07)	5.33 (0.06)
Burden threat	3.17 (0.11)	3.10 (0.10)	3.17 (0.11)	3.09 (0.10)
Symbolic threat	3.63 (0.11)	3.74 (0.09)	3.68 (0.11)	3.69 (0.09)

### **Competition threat**

ANOVA results show no significant main effects regarding educational level  $F(1,178)=.17, p=.68, \eta_p^2=.00$ ), as well as no interaction effect  $F(1,178).41, p=.52, \eta_p^2=.00$ ).

There is, however, a slightly significant higher means in collectivistic category:  $F(1, 178) = 3.61, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .020$ ), obtaining higher means in the category of collectivistic culture values ( $M=5.33, SE=0,06$ ) compared to individualistic values ( $M=5.14, SE=0,07$ ). These results contradict our hypothesis (hypothesis 1), as we were expecting to obtain higher means and greater competition threat responses when exposed to the individualistic category.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not met, through a Levene's test and the obtained p-value was not significant (above 0.6), which cannot be ruled out that the obtained differences in sample variances has happened randomly.

Moreover, participants exposed to the highly educated scenario ( $M=5.22, SE=.59$ ) rated immigrants lower in competition threat measures compared to the low- educated individual ( $M=5.26, SE=.07$ ), not supporting hypothesis 1.

**Table 2.** Tests of Between-Subjects Effects: Dependent Variable: Competition threat

Source	Type III		Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power <sup>b</sup>
	Sum of Squares	df						
Corrected Model	1,569 <sup>a</sup>	3	,523	1,293	,278	,022	3,880	,341
Intercept	4730,833	1	4730,833	11697,934	,000	,985	11697,934	1,000
IndvsColl	1,459	1	1,459	3,607	,059	,020	3,607	,472
LoHiEd	,069	1	,069	,170	,680	,001	,170	,069
IndvsColl * LoHiEd	,166	1	,166	,410	,523	,002	,410	,098

a. R Squared = ,022 (Adjusted R Squared = ,005)

b. Computed using alpha = ,05

### Symbolic threat

ANOVA's results on symbolic threat measures show no significant or interaction effects found on this dimension  $F(1,178)=1.81, p=.18, \eta_p^2= .01$ ). Participants who were

exposed to the collectivistic scenario did not show higher means compared to participants exposed to the individualistic case scenario regarding symbolic threat measures, contrary to our hypothesis 3 and 4, meaning that we cannot affirm that participants experience more symbolic threat when exposed to the scenario of high and low education with collectivistic values. In addition, the results obtained indicated there is no main effect on education level  $F(1,178)=.58, p=.45, \eta_p^2=.00$ ).

### **Burden threat**

ANOVA's results had shown no significant higher scores regarding burden threat measures. Participants, when exposed to the case scenario with collectivistic values ( $M=3.09, SE=.10$ ), did not show significant higher means in terms of burden threat, compared to the scenario with individualistic values ( $M=3.17, SE=0.11$ ), and therefore not supporting our predictions (hypothesis 2 and 4). Moreover, analysis on main effects did not show increased rates on burden threat measures regarding cultural ideology  $F(1,178)=.34, p=.56, \eta_p^2=.00$ .

These results contradicts our hypothesis 2 as we expected participants to experience more prejudice in the form of a burden threat to the less educated holding individualistic values.

### **Educationalism**

No significant interaction effect was found on competition threat  $F(1,178)=.41, p=.52, \eta_p^2=.00$ ), symbolic threat  $F(1,178)=1.81, p=.18, \eta_p^2=.01$ ) and burden threat  $F(1,178)=.05, p=.82, \eta_p^2=.00$ ) was found, as we were expecting higher prejudice measures in the scenario of low education and collectivistic values when compared with high educated individuals with individualistic values (hypothesis 4), which accounts for the majority of our participants.

Nevertheless, a main effect has been found on the dimension on warmth  $F(1,178)= 10.20$ ,  $p=.00$ ,  $\eta_p^2= .055$ ) which was presented one question of the questionnaire by the means of a thermometer scale.

**Table 3.** Tests of Between-Subjects Effects for dependent variable: How favorable/ warm do you feel towards second generation immigrants like Alami? (question 39)

Source	Type III		Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power <sup>b</sup>
	Sum of Squares	df						
Corrected Model	31,90 <sup>a</sup>	3	10,63	3,47	,02	,06	10,42	,77
Intercept	9919,274	1	9919,27	3240,747	,00	,95	3240,75	1,00
LoHiEd	,44	1	,44	,14	,71	,00	,14	,07
IndvsColl	31,22	1	31,22	10,20	,00	,06	10,20	,89
LoHiEd * IndvsColl	,03	1	,03	,01	,92	,00	,01	,05

a. R Squared = ,057 (Adjusted R Squared = ,040)

b. Computed using alpha = ,05

### **Stereotypic Prejudice.**

The 2 (low vs high educated) x 2 (individualistic vs collectivistic) ANOVA did not reveal a significant interaction effect for experienced stereotypic prejudice.

## **Discussion**

The aim of this research was to analyse perceived prejudice towards second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands, taking into account a combination of their level of education and cultural values. However, there are not enough significant results obtained in the present study to draw proper conclusions, unlike previous research.

This study failed to obtain a significant main effect and interaction effect on education when exposed to the highly educated scenario (hypothesis 1 & 3). However, participants rated

immigrants higher in competition measures when exposed to the collectivistic case scenario, which in turn contradicts our initial prediction (hypothesis 1) as we expected that participants will strive more for similar meritocratic values and education.

There was, however, a main effect found on the dimension on warmth by the means of a thermometer scale when presented with an individual holding individualistic values. Participants were asked to rate how warm they felt towards a second-generation immigrant called *Alami*, as shown in the stereotype section of the questionnaire, specifically in question 39. They rated significantly warmer in the scenario of *Alami* holding individualistic values. Although individualistic values could be perceived as the opposite of warm, these results could be explained by the fact that the participants (mostly german and dutch psychology students) are coming from an individualistic society and are more prone to like someone with similar values and beliefs, as well as cultural background, according to the similarity-attraction hypothesis. Another feasible explanation is the fact that most of the participants are students who socialize mostly with their student peers and are predominantly unemployed, thus they do not perceive Moroccan immigrants holding individualistic values as a potential threat to resources by means of a competition threat.

### **Limitations and future research**

This research had a small sample of participants (N=192), equally distributed across the four conditions with similar education and cultural background.

There is a strong cultural bias as the majority of the participants (psychology students at the university) are well- educated with a similar background (mostly german and dutch students) with a similar age range, making it difficult to generalize to a wider population of high educated individuals. A way to minimize this bias could be to increase the sample size and include participants from a wider cultural and educational background (non- psychology

students and participants from other individualistic nationalities). In addition, there were several factors not taken into account in this research such as the political ideology of the participants or the influence of the socioeconomic status, which could have led to different results.

Although this study did not find significant results for most of our predictions, we found a significant relation between warmth perception and cultural values, leading the ground for further analysis.

### **Conclusions**

In the present study we aimed to analyse the prejudice experienced towards an outgroup taking in consideration the factors of education combined with difference in cultural values through the use of a questionnaire using four different scenarios of a fictional character, a second-generation immigrant from Morocco in the Netherlands. We argue that immigrants could experience both realistic and symbolic threat. If they do assimilate too well to Western values they can be seen as a competition to natives but if they do not assimilate enough they can experience prejudice due to cultural differences.

We predicted that high educated individuals are more tolerant of some minority or low status groups (Carvalho et al. 2013), as they are morally enlightened. However, the results obtained shows that participants do experience some level of prejudice towards immigrants with low education status.

Moreover, our study also shown that immigrants coming from individualistic cultures that embrace meritocratic values are perceived as more positive or warmly and more likely to better adapt to the host society than those immigrants coming from a collectivistic culture; and thus experiencing less symbolic threat.

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## Appendix A

### Tables of Statistical Results

**Table 4.** *Descriptive Statistics Dependent Variable: Burden threat*

IndvsColl	LoHiEd	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1,00	1,00	3,1568	1,04853	44
	2,00	3,1912	1,00622	34
	Total	3,1718	1,02380	78
2,00	1,00	3,0345	,92194	56
	2,00	3,1379	,98581	44
	Total	3,0800	,94708	100
Total	1,00	3,0883	,97645	100
	2,00	3,1611	,98860	78
	Total	3,1202	,97968	178

**Table 5.** *Tests of Between-Subjects Effects Dependent Variable: Burden threat*

Source	Type III		Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power <sup>b</sup>
	Sum of Squares	df						
Corrected Model	,655 <sup>a</sup>	3	,218	,225	,879	,004	,674	,092
Intercept	1690,622	1	1690,622	1738,345	,000	,909	1738,345	1,000
IndvsColl	,333	1	,333	,342	,559	,002	,342	,090
LoHiEd	,205	1	,205	,210	,647	,001	,210	,074
IndvsColl * LoHiEd	,051	1	,051	,053	,819	,000	,053	,056

a. R Squared = ,004 (Adjusted R Squared = -,013)

b. Computed using alpha = ,05

**Table 6.** *Descriptive Statistics: Dependent Variable: Competition threat*

IndvsColl	LoHiEd	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1,00	1,00	5,1951	,64947	44
	2,00	5,0931	,58810	34
	Total	5,1506	,62159	78
2,00	1,00	5,3170	,68358	56
	2,00	5,3390	,59292	44
	Total	5,3267	,64219	100
Total	1,00	5,2633	,66821	100
	2,00	5,2318	,59967	78
	Total	5,2495	,63752	178

**Table 7.** *Descriptive Statistics Dependent Variable: Symbolic threat*

IndvsColl	LoHiEd	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1,00	1,00	3,6402	,98352	44
	2,00	3,7230	,96372	34
	Total	3,6763	,96950	78
2,00	1,00	3,8348	,90864	56
	2,00	3,5379	,86219	44
	Total	3,7042	,89638	100
Total	1,00	3,7492	,94247	100
	2,00	3,6186	,90648	78
	Total	3,6919	,92656	178

**Table 8.** *Tests of Between-Subjects Effects: Dependent Variable: Symbolic threat*

Source	Type III		Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial		
	Sum of Squares	df				Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power <sup>b</sup>

Corrected Model	2,338 <sup>a</sup>	3	,779	,907	,439	,015	2,720	,246
Intercept	2341,872	1	2341,872	2723,52	,000	,940	2723,522	1,000
IndvsColl	,001	1	,001	,001	,973	,000	,001	,050
LoHiEd	,494	1	,494	,575	,449	,003	,575	,117
IndvsColl * LoHiEd	1,556	1	1,556	1,809	,180	,010	1,809	,267

a. R Squared = ,015 (Adjusted R Squared = -,002)

b. Computed using alpha = ,05

**Table 9.** Means and Standard Error, *M* (*SE*), for the dependent variable: How favourable/ warm do you feel towards second generation immigrants like Alami)? (question 39)

IndvsColl	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1,00	7,99	,20	7,60	8,39
2,00	7,14	,18	6,80	7,49

Note. All ratings were on 10-point scale ranging from 0 = very unfavorable to 10 = very favorable

## Appendix B

### Questionnaire Qualtrics

#### Start of Block: Informed consent

#### Q1 INFORMED CONSENT

Dear participant,

Carefully read the information below, and decide whether you want to participate in this research. In this research you will be asked to read a short interview and to fill in a short questionnaire about your view on the second generation immigrants. This will take about 20 minutes. The data collected in the research will be confidential and we also promise to remove the SONA identifying codes, so

that stored data cannot be traced back to you. Participation is voluntary, you are free to stop at any time and if you stop, you don't need to explain why. There will be no negative consequences if you decide not to participate.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESEARCH "Attitudes towards second generation immigrants" (PSY-2021-S-0405) ·

· Why do I receive this information? You are invited to participate in the study "Attitudes towards second generation immigrants". The Ethics Committee of Psychology evaluated and approved the research plan. The research will be conducted by six 3rd year Bachelor of Psychology students, and is supervised by prof. dr. Russell Spears. ·

· Do I have to participate in this research? Participation in the research is voluntary. However, your consent is needed. Therefore, please read this information carefully. If you decide to not participate, you do not need to explain why, and there will be no negative consequences for you. You have this right at all times, including after you have consented to participate in the research.

· What do we ask of you during the research? First, you will be asked for consent to participate. After this, we will ask you to fill out some questionnaires concerning your view on immigrants and about some of your values. This will not take more than 20 minutes. First-year participants of the SONA study will get a compensation of 0.8 Sona Credits. For volunteers, no compensation is provided. What are the consequences of participation? During the study, you might get some insight into your values and attitudes. Besides your time investment, there are no known or expected risks or disadvantages.

· How will we treat your data? The data will be collected for the students' Bachelor theses. It will solely be collected online via Qualtrics using self-report questionnaires. The data cannot be linked to individual participants and will be treated confidentially. All directly identifiable information will be removed, and apart from the SONA ID, no sensitive personally identifiable information will be collected. This SONA ID will also be removed after we have allocated you your SONA credit. "Non-sensitive" data (i.e., gender, nationality, and age) will be collected. The data will be stored securely and only the research team has access.

· What else do you need to know?

- You may always ask questions about the research. For this, please contact the principle investigator, Prof. Russell Spears (R.Spears@rug.nl) or the research team at [r.y.benamins@student.rug.nl](mailto:r.y.benamins@student.rug.nl).
- Do you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant? For this you may also contact the Ethics Committee of Psychology: [ecp@rug.nl](mailto:ecp@rug.nl).
- Do you have questions or concerns regarding your privacy, or regarding the handling of your personal data? For this you may also contact the Data Protection Officer of the University of Groningen: [privacy@rug.nl](mailto:privacy@rug.nl).
- As a research participant you have the right to a copy of this information.

By clicking 'Yes, I do consent', you're giving permission to participate in this research. If you do not consent or want to withdraw you can quit the questionnaire now without any consequences.

Yes, I do consent (1)

**End of Block: Informed consent**

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**Start of Block: Personal information**

Q2 What is your age?

\_\_\_\_\_

Q4 What is your gender?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3)

-----

Q5 What is your nationality?

- Dutch (1)
  - German (2)
  - Other (3) \_\_\_\_\_
-

Q3 What do you study?

- Psychology (1)
- Other (2) \_\_\_\_\_

---

Q6 In case you study psychology: are you following the Dutch or the International track?

- Dutch (1)
- International (2)
- Not relevant (3)

---

Q49 To what extent do you identify with Dutch culture?

- 0 (0)
  - 1 (1)
  - 2 (2)
  - 3 (3)
  - 4 (4)
  - 5 (5)
  - 6 (6)
  - 7 (7)
  - 8 (8)
  - 9 (9)
  - 10 (10)
-

Q51

How favorable do you feel towards Dutch citizens?

- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 (10)

---

Q52 How would you describe your political orientation?

left-wing                      center                      right-wing

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100



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Q56 How financially secure do you feel at the moment?

- Very secure (1)
- Relatively secure (2)
- Moderately secure (3)
- Somewhat secure (4)
- Not at all secure (5)

**End of Block: Personal information**

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**Start of Block: Scenario 1: High educated and individualistic**

Q7

We are a group of psychology students interested in the future career choices of second generation



immigrants. We interviewed many second generation Moroccan immigrants in the neighborhood of “Selwerd”, near the city of Groningen and we aimed to examine their career choices. One of the people we interviewed was Alami, whose parents emigrated from Morocco to the Netherlands forty years ago. We chose to share the story of Alami because it’s a very representative one looking at all the interviews we had with second generation immigrants living in Groningen. Last week, the Moroccan community celebrated its 50th anniversary, which made us want to know more about the community and especially the second generation members who grew up in the Netherlands. Read below to learn more about Alami and her future plans and career choices.

Today we interviewed Alami about her future career perspective. Alami is a 17-year-old girl born in Groningen. When we ask her about her hobbies, she tells us she likes going to the gym and she actively joins tennis tournaments. Alami’s parents emigrated from Morocco when they were 25 years old. Alami and her family have been actively engaged in the large Moroccan community that exists in Groningen. Alami has a lot of friends who have the same cultural background, with parents who emigrated to the Netherlands when they were in their 20s. Alami and the other young people were all raised with Moroccan values and traditions. At the same time, most of them got in contact early on with the Dutch culture, especially at school and by making friends. Alami tells us that she feels connected to the Dutch culture and she has integrated a lot of its values into her life. For Alami, just like for the majority of her friends, education plays an important part in her life. She wants to go to university after she finishes high school. In contrast to these future goals, her parents wanted Alami to marry a man they have already chosen for her. However, Alami convinced her parents she wants to concentrate on her career and might choose a partner later on in her life when she feels ready for it. To the reluctance of her parents, Alami wants to study Law at the University of Groningen and become a lawyer in the Netherlands. Her goal is to get a good job as a lawyer as soon as possible. She has the ambition to work hard and take care of herself. At the end of the interview, Alami stresses once again that she does not want to be financially dependent on her parents. She considers it her duty to fulfill and live up her potential.

I have read this (1)

**End of Block: Scenario 1: High educated and individualistic**

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**Start of Block: Scenario 2: High educated and collectivistic**

Q72 We are a group of psychology students interested in the future career choices of second generation immigrants. We interviewed many second generation Moroccan immigrants in the neighborhood of “Selwerd”, near the city of Groningen and we aimed to examine their career choices. One of the people we interviewed was Alami, whose parents emigrated from Morocco to the Netherlands forty years ago. We chose to share the story of Alami because it’s a very representative one looking at all the interviews we had with second generation immigrants living in Groningen. Last week, the Moroccan community celebrated its 50th anniversary, which made us want to know more about the community and especially the second generation members who grew up in the Netherlands. Read below to learn more about Alami and her future plans and career choices.

Today we interviewed Alami about her future career perspective. Alami is a 17-year-old girl born in Groningen. When we ask her about her hobbies, she tells us she likes spending time with her family and friends and does voluntary work in an elderly home and the Moroccan community. Alami’s parents emigrated from Morocco when they were 25 years old. Alami and her family have been actively engaged in the large Moroccan community that exists in Groningen. Alami has a lot of friends who have the same cultural background, with parents who emigrated to the Netherlands when they were in their 20s. Alami and the other young people were all raised with Moroccan values and traditions. At the same time, most of them got in contact early on with the Dutch culture, especially by going to school and making friends. Alami tells us that she values her origin and the values that come with Moroccan culture, yet she is happy about living in the Netherlands. She says she really appreciates the social welfare, health care and education system in the Netherlands. For Alami, just like for the majority of her friends, education plays an important part in her life. She wants to go to university after she finishes high school and also build up her own family in the near future and to marry a man her parents choose for her. Alami values this cultural tradition and trusts her parents to make the best design for her. Alami says she wants to study nursing at the University of Groningen. Her goal is to get a job as a nurse so she can take care of her parents and family with the money she earns. However she says when family duties and children need care she will choose family first.

I have read this (1)

**End of Block: Scenario 2: High educated and collectivistic**

**Start of Block: Scenario 3: Low educated and individualistic**

Q73 We are a group of psychology students interested in the future career choices of second generation immigrants. We interviewed many second generation Moroccan immigrants in the neighborhood of “Selwerd”, near the city of Groningen and we aimed to examine their career choices. One of the people we interviewed was Alami, whose parents emigrated from Morocco to the Netherlands forty years ago. We chose to share the story of Alami because it’s a very representative one looking at all the interviews we had with second generation immigrants living in Groningen. Last week, the Moroccan community celebrated its 50th anniversary, which made us want to know more about the community and especially the second generation members who grew up in the Netherlands. Read below to learn more about Alami and her future plans and career choices.

Today we interviewed Alami about her future career perspective. Alami is a 17 year old girl born in Groningen. When we ask her about her hobbies, she tells us she likes going to the gym and she actively works on self fulfilment. Alami’s parents emigrated from Morocco when they were 25 years old. Alami and her family have been actively engaged in the large Moroccan community that exists in Groningen. Alami has a lot of friends who have the same cultural background, with parents who emigrated to the Netherlands when they were in their 20s. Alami and the other young people were all raised with Moroccan values and traditions. At the same time, most of them got in contact early on with the dutch culture, especially by going to school and making friends. Alami tells us that she feels connected to the dutch culture and she has integrated a lot of its values into her life. For Alami, just like for the majority of her friends, her individual freedom plays an important part in her life. She left school as soon as she could when she was 16. She left school because she wanted to be like her Dutch friends who value their individual freedom too. In contrast to these values, her parents wanted Alami to marry a man they had already chosen for her. However, Alami convinced her parents she values her own freedom and might choose a partner later on in her life when she feels ready for it. Alami wants to get a job in a store in Groningen as soon as possible. She has the ambition to earn enough to be financially independent of her parents.

I have read this (1)

**End of Block: Scenario 3: Low educated and individualistic**

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**Start of Block: Scenario 4: Low educated and collectivistic**

Q74 We are a group of psychology students interested in the future career choices of second generation immigrants. We interviewed many second generation Moroccan immigrants in the neighborhood of “Selwerd”, near the city of Groningen and we aimed to examine their career

choices. One of the people we interviewed was Alami, whose parents emigrated from Morocco to the Netherlands forty years ago. We chose to share the story of Alami because it's a very representative one looking at all the interviews we had with second generation immigrants living in Groningen. Last week, the Moroccan community celebrated its 50th anniversary, which made us want to know more about the community and especially the second generation members who grew up in the Netherlands. Read below to learn more about Alami and her future plans and career choices.

Today we interviewed Alami about her future career perspective. Alami is a 17 year old girl born in Groningen. When we ask her about her hobbies, she tells us she likes spending time with her family and friends and does voluntary work in an elderly home and the Moroccan community. Alami's parents emigrated from Morocco when they were 25 years old. Alami and her family have been actively engaged in the large Moroccan community that exists in Groningen. Alami has a lot of friends who have the same cultural background, with parents who emigrated to the Netherlands when they were in their 20s. Alami and the other young people were all raised with Moroccan values and traditions. At the same time, most of them got in contact early on with Dutch culture, especially by going to school and making friends. She says she appreciates the social welfare and health care system in the Netherlands. For Alami, just like for the majority of her friends, Moroccan culture values play an important part in her life. She left school as soon as she could when she was 16. She left school because her parents wanted Alami to marry a man they had already chosen for her. Alami values this cultural tradition and she's going to marry the man they chose. Another future goal of Alami is that she wants to get a job in a store in Groningen as soon as possible so she can take care of her parents and family with the money she earns.

I have read this (1)

**End of Block: Scenario 4: Low educated and collectivistic**

---

**Start of Block: Factual questions**

Q8 What is the future career perspective of Alami?

- Study to become a nurse (1)
- Get a job in a store (2)
- Study law at University (3)
- Become a housekeeper (4)

Q9 What are Alami's hobbies?

- Spending time with her friends and family (1)
- Going to the gym and play tennis (2)
- Write stories and play soccer (3)

Q10 What is most important to Alami?

- Her independence (1)
- Her family (2)
- Her free time (3)

Q11 To which culture does Alami feels most connected?

- Dutch culture (1)
- Asian culture (2)
- Moroccan culture (3)

Q23 According to you, how well do immigrants like Alami and her family adapt to the Dutch culture?

- Not well at all (1)
- Slightly well (2)
- Moderately well (3)
- Very well (4)
- Extremely well (5)

Q75 How representative do you think is Alami of second generation immigrants?

- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 (10)

**End of Block: Factual questions**

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**Start of Block: Stereotypes**

In your opinion, how do you perceive Alami in the article?

	Not at all (1)	Very slightly (2)	A little (3)	Moderately (4)	Quite a bit (5)	Extremely (6)
Pleasant (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Warm (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Competent (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Skilful (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trustworthy (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Honest (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sincere (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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 Page Break

gen\_immig

To what extent do the following characteristics, in your opinion, apply to the second generation immigrants in the article.

	Not at all (1)	Very slightly (2)	A little (3)	Moderately (4)	Quite a bit (5)	Extremely (6)
Pleasant (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Warm (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Competent (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Skilful (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trustworthy (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Honest (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sincere (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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Page Break

Q37 In the next section you will be asked to fill in a so-called 'thermometer' measure. Each time you will indicate how warm you feel/how favorable you feel towards the topic. A higher number represents a warm feeling/favorable feeling whereas a lower number represents a cold feeling/unfavorable feeling.

It is important to remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate your opinion by moving the slider of the thermometer to the number that is most representable of your feelings and opinions (please move it even if you want to move it back to the starting level so that we know you have answered).

0 = very cold/unfavorable

5 = not warm/not cold

10 = very warm/favorable

---

Page Break



Q39

How favorable/ warm do you feel towards second generation immigrants like Alami (0 - very unfavorable, 10 - very favorable)?



- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 (10)

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Page Break

Q51 To what extent do you identify with immigrants like Alami?

- To a very low extent (1)
- To a low extent (2)
- Neutral (3)
- To a high extent (4)
- To a very high extent (5)

---

Page Break

Q54 In your opinion, how fairly are second generation immigrants treated by others?

- Not at all (1)
- Very slightly (2)
- A little (3)
- Moderately (4)
- Quite a bit (5)
- Extremely (6)

**End of Block: Stereotypes**

---

**Start of Block: Realistic threat**

Q25 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements about immigrants in the Netherlands such as those described in the article

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Immigrants will get more from the Netherlands than they contribute. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigrants will increase the tax burden on Dutch citizens. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is likely that immigrants will be dependent on dutch social services at one or more points in their life. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigrants rely on dutch social services (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dutch citizens should not have to pay taxes so that immigrants can be supported (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important and right that the Netherlands support immigrants financially (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q32 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
The career opportunities of a dutch citizen are higher than those of immigrants. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigrants should be eligible for the same jobs as Dutch citizens if they acquire the same education. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigrants should be eligible for the same student grants/ governmental loans/ welfare programs as received by Dutch students/ citizens (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigrants take jobs away from Dutch students/ citizens (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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 Page Break

Q27 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
I feel envious because of the support immigrants are receiving. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel afraid when I think about immigrants described in the article. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I resent the immigrants described in the article (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel contempt towards the immigrants described in the article. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel frustrated towards the immigrants described in the article. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am afraid that immigrants endanger my own financial security (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Realistic threat

**Start of Block: Symbolic threat**

Q34 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms as soon as possible after they arrive in the Netherlands (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues, socializing children and social relations are basically quite similar to those of most Dutch citizens (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigration is harming Dutch culture. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigrants are an important part of Dutch culture. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**End of Block: Symbolic threat**

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Start of Block: Educationalism

Q43 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Immigrants' view on education is legitimate. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting a good education is mainly based on hard work (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting a good education is mainly based on talent (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting a good education is mainly based on luck (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q44

How favorable/ warm do you feel towards high-educated immigrants?



- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 (10)

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Page Break

Q46

How favorable/ warm do you feel towards low- educated immigrants?



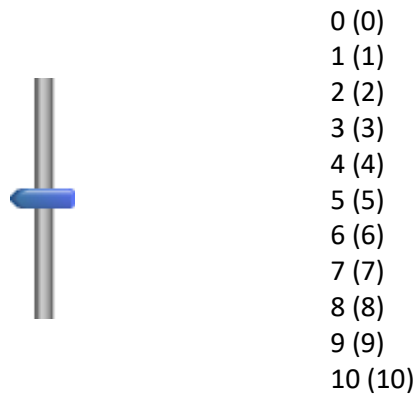
- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 (10)

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Q48

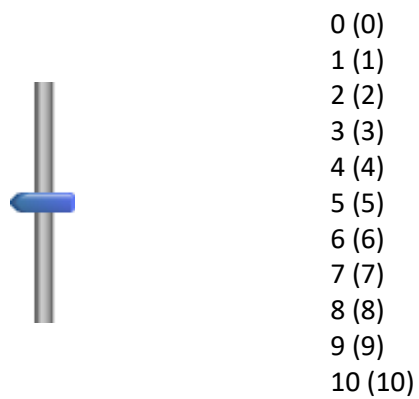
How favorable/ warm do you feel towards high-educated dutch citizens?



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Page Break

Q53 How favorable/ warm do you feel towards low-educated dutch citizens?



End of Block: Educationalism

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Start of Block: Individualistic and collectivistic values



Q57 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting a good job mainly depends on being at the right place at the right time (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People get what they deserve (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My efforts are rewarded (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q58 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
The harmony in a group is more important to me than my individual goals and personal views (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is really admirable when people are independent and assertive (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would cut down on my own autonomy to preserve interpersonal relationships (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The goal of the group is more important to me than my personal goals (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I look up to people who put their own self-fulfilment above everything else (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Individualistic and collectivistic values

**Start of Block: Immigration background**

Q16 Does your family have a immigration background within the last two generations?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

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Page Break

Q62 Do you identify with immigrants?

- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

**End of Block: Immigration background**

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**Start of Block: Manipulation checks**

Q68 In the article you just read, what is the main group of immigrants?

- Turkish (1)
- Moroccan (2)
- Syrian (3)

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Q66 What do you think the research was about? Describe your impression briefly:

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Q67 Did you answer all questions truthfully and does it make sense to use your data?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

#### End of Block: Manipulation checks

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#### Start of Block: Debriefing

Q15 Debriefing: Dear participants, thank you for participating in our study. This research was aimed to explore prejudice against lower educated individuals. We were interested in how different educational variables (lowly/ highly educated) and different value/ cultural variables (collectivistic/individualistic values), affect how one perceives a described individual. The scenario handed to you has been fictional and contained two of the variables mentioned. More specifically, we were interested in how the different given scenarios elicited certain threat responses to our participants. For example, if one combination of variables could be identified to elicit prejudice in terms of competing for jobs or forming burden to the social welfare system.

- I have read this (1)