Majority Children's Evaluation of Acculturation Preferences of Immigrant and Emigrant Peers

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Abstract

Using an experimental design, native majority group children (8-13 years, $N = 842$) evaluated acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation) adopted by immigrant and emigrant peers. There were medium to large effects of the perceived acculturation strategies on children's peer evaluations. Overall, assimilation was valued most, followed by integration and separation. These effects were in part mediated by perceived national belonging. In addition, the effects were stronger for lower status compared to higher status immigrant groups, and for children with higher compared to lower national identification. For emigrants, separation was valued most, followed by integration and assimilation. This indicates that the intergroup processes rather than migration per se are important for children's acculturation perceptions and evaluations.

Key words: acculturation, national belong, migration, peer evaluation

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'Of course they have to adapt, you always have to do that, when we go and live in another country we also have to adapt and do like they do'

This extract is from a focus group discussion among young native adolescents in the Netherlands. They are talking about whether immigrants have to adapt to the Dutch culture or should be allowed to maintain their cultural heritage. In the extract, adaptation is presented as an obligation for all migrants, including Dutch emigrants.

Although there is a large literature on majority children's ethnic and racial prejudices (see Levy & Killen, 2008), very little is know about children's understanding of migrants (e.g., Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2011; Malti, Killen, & Gasser, 2012; Pfeifer et al., 2007), and their evaluation of immigrants' acculturation strategies in particular (e.g., Nigbur et al., 2008). Issues of migration and immigrants are increasingly relevant for majority children and their perception of immigrant's acculturation strategies might have consequences for their attitude towards immigrants.

We examined how native Dutch children (8-13 years) evaluate migrant peers with different acculturation strategies. Using vignettes and an experimental questionnaire design, we considered children's evaluation of two different immigrant groups that have a different social status in the Netherlands, as well as the evaluation of Dutch emigrants. Our aim is to investigate whether native children's evaluations of immigrant peers depend on the acculturation strategy of these peers in combination with immigrant's group status and children's national identification. In addition, we want to examine whether the perception of immigrants' belonging to the host nation mediates the effect of perceived acculturation strategy on peer evaluation. In short, this research breaks new ground in examining the effects of perceived acculturation strategies on the evaluation of peers from two different immigrant groups, and in investigating why such effects occur by considering the

mediating role of perceived host national belonging. In addition, by making a comparison with Dutch emigrants we examine whether the evaluations of immigrant peers are related to their migration background per se – as suggested in the quote above - or rather to their ethnic out-group status.

Acculturation Strategies

Berry's (1997) well-known acculturation model distinguishes between four acculturation strategies. When immigrants want to maintain their culture and also adopt the host culture, a preference for *integration* exists. A strategy of *assimilation* implies a preference for host culture adoption and abandoning the original culture. *Separation* indicates a desire to maintain the heritage culture without adopting the host culture. Finally, when immigrants refuse both cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, *marginalization* results.

From a dynamic intergroup perspective (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), it can be argued that the way native children react to and evaluate immigrant peers depends on the acculturation of those peers. More specifically, immigrant peers who prefer assimilation or integration can be expected to be evaluated more positively than separating peers. One reason for this is that assimilation and integration involve the adoption of the host culture, whereas separation does not. The former two strategies indicate that the host culture is valued to the extent that immigrants want to adopt it. When immigrants value the host culture and identity, native children feel valued by them and this can lead to a more favorable attitude toward immigrant peers (Zagefka, Tip, González, Brown, & Cinnirella, 2012). In general, research has shown that when another person is perceived to have a positive attitude towards the social self this results in more positive attitudes towards this person (Curtis & Miller, 1986).

In addition, the adoption of the host culture implies increased similarity between native and immigrant peers, and perception of similarity is one factor that leads to a sense of shared identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007). Thus, immigrant peers who adopt the host culture are relatively

more similar and therefore more easily included in the national category. According to the common in-group identity model, inclusion in a shared category improves attitudes towards out-group members through the general tendency to favor members who belong to the same category as oneself (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This has also been found among children and adolescents (e.g., Gaertner, 2007; Pfeifer et al., 2007). This reasoning implies that we can expect that perceived national belonging mediates the relationship between acculturation strategy and peer evaluation. Immigrant peers who adopt the host culture will be perceived more strongly as Dutch nationals and this perception, in turn, leads to a more positive evaluation of these peers. The current study will test this mediation hypothesis that shed light on why different acculturation strategies might affect the evaluation of immigrant peers differently.

Additionally, previous research in Europe has found that majority members prefer assimilation and then integration of immigrants, rather than separation or marginalization (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Verkuyten, 2005). Thus, it can be expected that assimilating immigrant peers who adopt the host culture without wanting to maintain their minority culture are evaluated more positively than integrating peers. Assimilation implies that immigrants shed their previous markers of group identity and adopt those of the host society (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005). This means that in comparison to integration they can be perceived as more exclusively valuing the host culture and as becoming more similar to ‘us’ and thereby ‘one of us’.

Intergroup Context

Studies in Canada have shown that natives prefer integration strategies for valued immigrants and separation or assimilation for non-valued immigrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Research in France (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007) and in the Netherlands (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998) found no differences in the evaluation of acculturation strategies of different immigrant groups. However, this research did not examine children and did not focus on groups that clearly differ in status position. For example, Van Oudenhoven and colleagues (1998) examined the evaluation of

Moroccan and Turkish Muslim immigrants who are evaluated quite similarly and negatively in the Netherlands, also by (early) adolescents (Hagendoorn, 1995; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). In the current study we focus on immigrants of Turkish and Chinese origin that clearly differ in status. The Turks are the largest minority group in the Netherlands and have one of the worst socio-economic positions. The great majority of them is Muslim and Turkish children face relatively high levels of peer discrimination (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). In contrast, the Chinese are a relatively small group with a much better socio-economic position (Gijsberts, Huijnk, & Vogels, 2011). They are typically not discussed in the strong and rather negative Dutch integration debate that focuses on the alleged threats that Islam and Muslims pose to the Dutch identity and culture. Research among Dutch native (early) adolescents has found relatively high levels of perceived identity threats by Muslim immigrants (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). Given this societal context and the importance of status differences and out-group threats for children's group attitudes (e.g., Bigler, Spears Brown, & Markell, 2001; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005), we assumed that compared to Chinese peers, the perception that Turkish peers maintain their culture poses an element of identity threat for the native Dutch. This would mean that exclusive Dutch culture adoption is considered more important for the evaluation of Turkish compared to Chinese peers. Thus, the difference in evaluation between immigrant peers who assimilate versus those who prefer integration or separation was expected to be stronger for Turkish compared to Chinese peers.

Yet, it is likely that concerns about Dutch culture and identity depend on the level of group identification. According to social identity theory, highly-identified group members are motivated to think and behave as in-group members because they view their group as a reflection of the self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For example, compared to lower identifiers children with higher in-group identification are more likely to be concerned about out-group threats and the continuity and value of their group (e.g., Nesdale et al., 2005; Pfeifer et al., 2007). This means that especially higher identifiers will respond to the acculturation strategies of threatening out-groups. Thus, higher Dutch

identification can be expected to be associated with a more negative evaluation of Turkish immigrant peers but less so with the evaluation of non-threatening Chinese peers. Furthermore, higher compared to lower identifiers should evaluate the assimilating Turkish peer more positively compared to integrating or separating Turkish peers.

Emigrants

In the quote above this article it is argued that immigrants have to adopt the host culture because that is what migrants are supposed to do, including native Dutch who emigrate from the Netherlands. This suggests that the evaluation of minority groups is related to their migration background and not to the fact that they are considered an ethnic out-group. Rather than intergroup processes, a perceived general obligation and responsibility to adopt the host culture might underlie native children's evaluation of immigrants (Gieling et al., 2011). One way to examine this possibility is by making a comparison between immigrants and emigrants. We focused on immigrants coming to the Netherlands and on Dutch emigrant peers that have left the country. A similar effect of perceived acculturation strategies on peer evaluations of immigrants and emigrants would provide support for the proposition that the acculturation strategy of migrants per se has an impact on peer evaluations. In contrast, from an intergroup perspective it can be expected that assimilating immigrants are evaluated more positively than other immigrants, whereas assimilating emigrants are evaluated more negatively than those who maintain their heritage culture. Not maintaining Dutch culture suggests that this culture is less valued and can also be considered in-group threatening. Research on the so-called black sheep effect (Marques & Páez, 1994) and the developmental subjective group dynamics model (Abrams & Rutland, 2008) has shown that in-group peers who are disloyal or do not support the continuation of the in-group, are evaluated rather negatively. More negative evaluation is especially likely for higher in-group identifiers. The more children identify with their in-group, the more likely they are to be concerned about disloyal in-group members (Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003). Thus, higher compared to lower national identifiers might

sympathize more with Dutch emigrants who remain loyal to the Dutch culture and do not assimilate. Therefore, higher compared to lower identifiers can be expected to be more positive about emigrant peers who maintain the Dutch culture without adopting the host culture (separation).

Age-Related Changes

Developmental intergroup research has shown that with age a more complex understanding of groups and group relations develops (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Children increasingly understand the importance of group functioning, group status, group commitment and the maintenance and stability of the in-group. On the one hand, this can mean that immigrant peers wanting to maintain their culture are evaluated more negatively by older (11-12) than younger native children (8-9). Research has demonstrated that (early) adolescents consider group-specific norms and the preservation of these norms more important than children (Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2012). Furthermore, research on social cliques has demonstrated that the importance of group status becomes stronger around 13-14 years and that group functioning becomes an important reason to justify social exclusion (Horn, 2003, 2006). This increased focus on status and group identity might extend to the domain of nationality and immigration. In the context of Switzerland (Malti et al., 2012) it has been found that middle compared to young adolescents judge exclusion based on nationality more legitimate and attribute more positive emotions to excluder peers. And, with age, native Dutch adolescents tend to endorse assimilation of immigrants more strongly because they are more concerned about the functioning of society and maintenance of Dutch culture (Gieling et al., 2011). This leads to the expectation that older compared to younger children evaluate integrating immigrant peers more negatively and assimilating peers more positively.

On the other hand, children between the age of 8 to 12 increasingly develop the ability to understand different social perspectives and how these differ from their own (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009). Furthermore, older children's understanding of the importance of group identity and autonomy might imply that they recognize why an immigrant peer would want to hold

on to his or her own culture. This could mean that older compared to younger children are more positive towards integrating immigrant peers and more negative towards assimilating peers.

In Summary

To our knowledge, this is the first study that examines native majority children's evaluation of acculturation strategies of immigrant peers. Using a randomized experimental design, we first expected that assimilating peers would be evaluated most positively, followed by integrating peers, and that peers who do not adopt the host culture (separation) would be evaluated least positive. Furthermore, we expected these effects of acculturation strategies on peer evaluations to be mediated by perceptions of host national belonging. Following the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), assimilating peers were expected to be evaluated more positively because they are considered more strongly as national in-group members. These predictions were examined in relation to two immigrant groups that clearly differ in status position in the Netherlands. The hypothesized positive effect of assimilation on peer evaluation was expected to be stronger for the lower status group peers (Turkish origin) compared to the higher status group peers (Chinese origin), in particular for children with relatively strong national identification. Importantly, by making a comparison with Dutch emigrant peers we also examined whether migration per se or rather the intergroup context underlies children's peer evaluations.

For testing these hypotheses and following other studies (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2012; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka et al., 2012), we used vignettes presenting peers as adopting a separation, integration or assimilation acculturation strategy. Compared to acculturation scales the vignette method has the advantage of being more realistic and understandable for children and less sensitive to social desirable responding (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007). The fourth strategy of marginalization was not studied because in Europe this strategy is rare and not very realistic for children (Verkuyten, 2005; Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants came from 22 regular, middle class elementary schools in different parts of the Netherlands. All children who identified both themselves and their parents as native Dutch (N = 842) and who had no missing values on the outcome measures of our experimental manipulation (96.8% of the native sample) were considered in the present analysis. Most of their classmates self-identified as native Dutch as well ($M_{\%Dutch}$ = 80, SD = 0.22) which indicates that most participants came from relatively white schools. The children had a mean age of 10.73 years (SD = 0.99, range = 8-13, Mdn = 11) and 53.7% (N = 452) of them were girls. Participation in the study was voluntary and parental permission was obtained. The children anonymously filled out a questionnaire which was randomly divided in each classroom.

Design and Measures

Acculturation judgments. The participants were presented with three vignettes that portrayed, respectively, a Turkish and a Chinese girl living in the Netherlands, and a native Dutch girl living in Turkey. We focused on emigration to Turkey because we wanted to have a similar cultural distance for the low status Turkish immigrant peer and the Dutch emigrant peer. Similar to other research among children (e.g., Malti et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2008), and because the judgments for the vignettes were expected to be relatively independent, the vignette order was held constant with the Dutch emigrant peer presented last and the Turkish peer presented first. The Dutch peer was presented last in order to make the intergroup comparative context salient when evaluating this peer. This is important because participants tend to undertake within-group comparisons, rather than between-group comparisons, if their in-group is presented first without explicit reference to an out-group (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994).

Due to practical constraints we could not consider all variations of the design and were not able to systematically vary the gender of the peers in the vignettes or to match the gender of the peers with the gender of the participants. Therefore, we decided to hold gender constant and to focus

on female peers only. This means that we present a more conservative test because there are more negative stereotypes about exclusion regarding boys than girls (Schneider, 2004), and in general girls are evaluated more positively than boys which has also been found for Dutch adolescents' evaluations of Muslim immigrant peers (Poppe & Verkuyten, 2012). The three (hypothetical) peers had one of three acculturation strategies that were manipulated in a between-subjects design. Thus, each participating child judged for each of the three target peers similar strategies. Following previous research (Matera et al., 2011; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2012), the peers were described as favoring either integration (N = 300), separation (N = 275), or assimilation (N = 267). The vignettes were developed on the basis of informal discussions with four groups of native Dutch children (see also Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005). To give an example, for the Turkish peer all vignettes started with 'Fatma comes from Turkey and has been living in the Netherlands for 6 years already', but then the *assimilation vignette* stated 'She has many Dutch friends and she loves Dutch food and Dutch music. She wants to stay in the Netherlands for the rest of her life. She doesn't feel Turkish anymore. She prefers not to speak Turkish, and she definitely doesn't want to wear a headscarf in the future.' The *integration vignette* continued with 'She has many Dutch friends and she loves Dutch food and Dutch music. She wants to stay in the Netherlands for the rest of her life. But she also feels Turkish. She wants to speak Turkish and wear a headscarf in the future.' The *separation vignette* continued with 'She has no Dutch friends and she doesn't like Dutch food or Dutch music. She feels very much Turkish and she want to stay Turkish as much as possible. She always likes to speak Turkish, and she wants to wear a headscarf in the future.'

Perceived host national belonging. Perceived host national belonging of the Turkish and Chinese peer was assessed by the question 'Do you think that [name] is Dutch?'. For the Dutch emigrant peer the question was 'Do you think that [name] is Turkish?' Responses were rated on Likert-type scale ranging from *No, certainly not* (which was coded as ' -2') to *Yes, certainly* (coded as '+2').

Peer liking. Children's *peer liking* was measured by the question 'What do you think of [name]?', which had a Likert-type response format consisting of seven faces. These faces ranged from very happy (*big smile*, which was coded as '+3') to very sad (*big frown*, coded as '-3'), and there was a neutral mid-point (*straight face*, coded as '0'). The 'seven faces' format (Yee & Brown, 1992) has been successfully used to examine group attitudes among children and early adolescents (e.g., Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001).

National identification. Prior to assessing children's acculturation judgments we measured their Dutch national identification with four questions. These questions focused on children's belonging to the Netherlands as a country rather than on feeling Dutch (Barrett, 2007). The reason is that Dutch immigration debates are typically framed in terms of what immigration means for the country and functioning of the nation. Furthermore, in the Dutch language the name of the country and of the people are similar ('*Nederland'* and '*Nederlanders*'). The items were: 'Do you feel at home in the Netherlands?', 'Are you proud of the Netherlands?', 'Do you ever think, the Netherlands is really my country?', and 'Do you like it in the Netherlands?'. Responses were rated on Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*No, certainly not*) to 5 (*Yes, certainly*). The four questions yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .77. To examine whether they loaded on a single factor we conducted Confirmatory Factor Analysis. With the exception of the RMSEA value, the fit indices were sufficient for the one factor-model we specified: $\chi^2(2) = 16.115$, CFI= .975; RMSEA = .120; SRMR = .031 (see Hu & Bentler, 1999). Moreover, after a correlation was allowed between error terms of 'Are you proud of the Netherlands?' and 'Do you ever think, the Netherlands are really my country?', model fit was satisfactory according to Hu and Bentler's (1999) criteria, i.e. CFI >.95, RMSEA < .06, and SRMR < .08.

Data Analytic Strategy

To examine and compare children's responses to the different peers (Turkish, Chinese, and Dutch) we conducted multivariate multilevel regression analyses in MLWin (Rasbash, Browne,

Healy, Cameron, & Charlton, 2004). In the multivariate multilevel model, different responses (within-subjects) can be examined and compared by treating them as observations nested within individuals (see Goldstein, 1995; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). We used multilevel modeling rather than more conventional repeated-measures analysis (GLM) because it allowed us to directly examine the mediating role of perceived national belonging. Perceived belonging was no simple within-subjects factor as it had both within-subject and between-subjects variation (due to the experimental manipulation and the individual differences variables). Hence its mediating role could not be directly examined by including it as a predictor in GLM.

In the present study, we analyzed a two-level data structure for each acculturation judgment (i.e., liking of the peers, and perceptions of their host national belonging). Level 1 was the within-subject level involving each participant's responses towards the three peers (n = 2526). Note that we specified a multivariate rather than a univariate multilevel model. Hence, Level 1 was only included to define the multivariate structure and there was no variation at this level (see Goldstein, 1995; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Level 2 was the between-subject level involving the separate means and variances of each of the three response variables across participants (n = 842). The ethnicity of the target peers was examined as a Level 1 variable and all other variables including the peers' (manipulated) acculturation strategies and children's national identification were examined as Level 2 variables. There was also a third level because the participating children were nested within their schools (n = 22) but we did not include this level in our analyses. The proportions of Level 3 variance (i.e. the intraclass correlations; see Snijders & Bosker, 1999) were very low (0.0% - 3.7%) indicating relatively small differences between schools. Moreover, preliminary analyses showed that these differences could not be explained by ethnic school composition (% native Dutch students), and that controlling for them yielded similar results as the simpler two-level models. Hence, the latter are presented in this paper.

All models were estimated using the Iterative Generalized Least Squares algorithm (IGLS), and relative model improvement was assessed by comparing the fit (deviance) of nested models. Differences between these statistics follow a Chi-square distribution, and degrees of freedom are given by the differences in numbers of parameters (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). In the multivariate model, one can test whether the effects of a predictor are statistically different for two or more dependent variables by comparing the fit of models with common regression coefficients versus separate regression coefficients.

Differences in responses to the acculturation vignettes (between-subjects) were examined with dummy variables. In our analyses we first used a dummy for assimilation (= '1', and '0' for the other strategies) and a dummy for integration (= '1', and '0' for the other strategies) using the separation strategy as a reference category. When included together, these dummies compare, respectively, the assimilation vignettes and the integration vignettes to the separation vignettes. Additionally, we also changed the reference category to examine differences between the assimilation and the integration strategies. This is common practice in dummy regression analysis as the choice of the reference group is arbitrary (Fox, 1997).

Results

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 provides an overview of the means for perceived national belonging and liking both within and across the three acculturation conditions. To examine those means and to test our hypotheses we conducted four sets of multilevel analyses, first for liking as the dependent variable and then for perceived host national belonging as the expected mediator. Subsequently we tested whether host national belonging is indeed a mediator between perceived acculturation strategies and liking.

Liking

In Step 1, we tested a so-called intercept-only model to examine the average liking of the Turkish, Chinese, and Dutch peers ignoring the between-subjects experimental manipulation. This model yields the exact overall mean score shown in the bottom row of Table 1, together with their variances and covariances. In addition, the model yields a deviance statistic (loglike), which was 9427.040. This statistic was used to evaluate the relative fit of the subsequent models. The mean ratings for liking were significantly above the mid-point of the scale, $p_s < 0.01$. Thus, overall, the peers were evaluated positively. In addition, there were significant differences between the three target peers. The children liked the Dutch peer and the Chinese peer more than the Turkish peer, respectively, $p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$, and they did not make an evaluative distinction between the former two.

In step 2, we entered the two dummy variables for the acculturation strategies of the peers (Table 2). This led to a significant improvement in model fit, $\chi^2(6) = 278.72$, $p < 0.01$. As expected, the assimilating immigrant peers were evaluated most positively, followed by the integrating peers and then the separating ones. The effect size of assimilation versus separation was medium to large for the two immigrant peers, η^2_{partial} ranging from 0.12 to 0.15 (see Cohen, 1988), but, as expected, the effect was significantly stronger for the Turkish versus the Chinese peer, $\chi^2(1) = 6.97$, $p < 0.01$. Moreover, the effect size of the integration strategy was between small and medium for the Turkish peer, $\eta^2 = 0.04$, and medium for the Chinese peer, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = 0.09$, and this difference was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 6.95$, $p < 0.01$. Additionally, further analysis showed that there was a medium-sized positive effect of assimilation versus integration on children's liking of the Turkish peer, $b = 0.96$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = 0.05$, but this effect was lower, $\chi^2(1) = 27.86$, $p < .01$, and non-significant for the evaluation of the Chinese peer, $b = 0.23$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .00$. Taken together, and as shown in Figure 1, these findings support our prediction that the lower status immigrant peer (Turkish) is liked most if she adopts the host national culture without maintaining her heritage culture (assimilation). The liking of

the higher status immigrant peer (Chinese) depends on her adoption of the Dutch host culture with or without maintaining her heritage culture (assimilation or integration).

Results for the Dutch emigrants differed significantly from the findings for the immigrant peers, $p < 0.01$ (see Table 2). The Dutch peer was liked most when she favored separation, and least liked when she favored assimilation (see Figure 1): all differences were significant, $p < 0.05$, and between small and medium, η^2_{partial} ranging from 0.01 to 0.04. Thus, the evaluations of the acculturation strategies of the Dutch peers formed the mirror image of those of the immigrant peers. This supports the importance of the intergroup context for children's judgments rather than migration per se.

National identification, age and gender. Next, we examined whether the effects of the acculturation strategies on peer liking were qualified by interactions with national identification, age, and gender of the participants. To enhance the interpretability of our results, interaction terms were computed after national identification, age, and the dummy variables were centered around their means. For gender, we included a contrast (coded '0.5' for girls and '-0.5' for boys). Results are shown in Table 3. Adding the three main effects and the six interactions significantly improved the fit of the model, $\chi^2(27) = 73.65$, $p < 0.01$.

The main and interaction effects for age were not significant (and therefore not included in Table 3). Gender only had a main effect with girls being overall more positive than boys. National identification had no main effect on the liking of the peers but its interaction with assimilation (versus separation) was significant. To examine this significant interaction we conducted simple slope analyses. We examined the difference between assimilation and separation for children who identified strongly (1 *SD* > *M*) versus weakly with the Netherlands (1 *SD* < *M*). As expected, results showed that higher compared to lower identifiers liked the assimilating versus separating immigrant peer more, respectively, $b = 2.06$ versus $b = 1.40$ for the Turkish peers, and $b = 1.72$ versus $b = 0.96$ for the Chinese peers, all $p < .01$. These effects are shown in Figure 2.

For the Dutch emigrants there was a positive main effect of national identification which was qualified by a significant interaction with integration (versus separation). Furthermore, the additional analysis showed that the interaction with assimilation versus integration was significant as well, $b = 0.35$, $p < 0.05$. Simple slope analyses showed that higher identifiers but not lower identifiers liked the Dutch emigrant peer more when she preferred separation rather than integration, respectively, $b = 0.71$, $p < 0.01$, and $b = 0.13$, *ns*. By contrast, lower identifiers but not higher identifiers liked the Dutch peer less when she preferred assimilation rather than integration, respectively, $b = -0.66$, $p < 0.01$, and $b = -0.07$, *ns*. This pattern of findings is shown in Figure 3. It indicates that lower identifiers were less positive about the Dutch emigrant peer when she rejected the Dutch culture (assimilation), whereas higher identifiers were more positive when she exclusively maintained Dutch culture and rejected the Turkish host culture (separation).

Perceived Host National Belonging

In Step 1, the intercept-only model yielded a deviance statistic (loglike) of 7322.208 for perceived national belonging. The mean ratings were significantly lower than the zero scale mid-point, $p < 0.05$ for the Chinese peer, and $p < 0.01$ for the other peers. Thus, overall, the peers were not strongly seen as belonging to their host countries. In addition, there were significant differences between the three target peers. Reflecting the social status positions and as shown in Table 1, the children reported higher national belonging for the Chinese peer (high-status immigrant), followed by the Turkish peer (low-status immigrant), and the Dutch peer (in-group emigrant), all differences $p < 0.01$.

In step 2, we entered the two dummy variables for the acculturation strategies of the peers. This led to a significant improvement in model fit for both national belonging, $\chi^2(6) = 322.22$, $p < 0.01$. As shown in Table 2, the effects of these dummies were similar. All target peers were regarded more strongly as belonging to the host nation when they favored assimilation rather than separation, η^2_{partial} ranging from 0.18 to 0.25 (indicating large effects), and when they favored integration rather

than separation, $\eta^2_{partial}$ ranging from 0.11 to 0.14 (indicating medium to large effects). Additional analyses (with a different reference category) showed that the assimilating peers were perceived to belong more strongly to the host nation than the integrating peers, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2_{partial}$ ranging from 0.02 to 0.03. The effect of assimilation versus separation was stronger for the Turkish compared to the Dutch peers, $\chi^2(1) = 7.91$, $p < 0.01$, but all other effects were similar.

National identification, age and gender. Adding national identification, age and gender and their interactions significantly improved the fit of the model, $\chi^2(27) = 55.38$, $p < 0.01$. There were no main or interaction effects for national identification and for age on perceived national belonging of the target peer, but there were significant effects for gender (see Table 3). Compared to boys, girls were overall more likely to consider the minority peers as co-nationals but equally likely to regard the Dutch emigrant peer as a Turkish national. However, there were significant interactions with the acculturation strategies. The effects of assimilation (versus separation) and integration (versus separation) on perceived national belonging of the immigrant peers were stronger for girls versus boys. Yet, these effects were also significant for boys: for assimilation, $b = 1.18$, $p < .001$, and integration, $b = 0.77$, $p < .001$, of the Turkish peer, and for assimilation, $b = 1.01$, $p < .001$, and integration, $b = 0.72$, $p < .001$, of the Chinese peer.

For the emigrant peer, the effect of assimilation (versus separation) on perceived national belonging was significantly stronger for girls compared to boys, and this was also found for the effect of assimilation versus integration, $b = 0.42$, $p < 0.05$ (not shown in Table 3). However, boys also regarded the emigrant peer more a Turkish national when she showed assimilation rather than separation, $b = 0.93$, $p < 0.01$, but the difference between assimilation and separation was not significant.

Mediating Role of Host National Belonging

We tested our prediction that perceived national belonging mediates the effect of acculturation strategy on children's peer liking. Note that we could only test this for the main effects

of acculturation strategy, and not for its interactions with national identification because these interactions were not significantly related to perceived national belonging.

In addition to a significant relation between the proposed mediator (perceived national belonging) and the independent variable (acculturation strategy), mediation requires that the effect of the independent variable is substantially reduced when the mediator is included as an additional predictor in the regression analysis (Baron & Kenny, 1986). When perceived national belonging of each target peer was included in the prediction of children's peer liking, the model fit was significantly improved, $\chi^2(3) = 200.927$, $p < 0.01$. Perceived national belonging had a positive effect on the likings of all target peers, but the effect was stronger for the immigrants than for the emigrant peer, $b = 0.49$ and $b = 0.50$ for respectively the Turkish and the Chinese peer, and $b = 0.21$ for the Dutch peer, all $p < 0.01$. When perceived national belonging was added to the regression models the effects of the acculturation strategies were reduced for the Turkish peer, respectively, $b = 0.98$, $p < 0.01$, and $b = 0.28$, $p < 0.05$ for, assimilation and integration (versus separation), and $b = 0.70$, $p < 0.01$, for assimilation versus integration. For the Chinese peer the effects were smaller as well, respectively, $b = 0.63$ and $b = 0.67$, both $p < 0.01$, and $b = -0.04$, *ns*. Because all but one of those effects were still significant, this indicates the possibility of partial mediation.

To examine whether these reductions were substantial, we conducted Sobel tests for the indirect effects of the acculturation strategies on the likings of the immigrant peers through their perceived national belonging (MacKinnon, Warsi, & Dwyer, 1995). As expected, results indicated that perceived national belonging carried a significant portion of the effects of assimilation (versus separation; $z = 8.98$, $p < 0.01$) and integration (versus separation; $z = 7.97$, $p < 0.01$) on the evaluation of the Turkish peer as well as the Chinese peer, respectively, $z = 9.57$, $p < 0.01$, and $z = 8.17$, $p < 0.01$. Likewise, perceived national belonging explained a significant part of the differential liking of the Turkish and Chinese peers who preferred assimilation versus integration, respectively, $z = 4.53$, $p < 0.01$, and $z = 4.54$, $p < 0.01$. Together these analyses show that the effect of

immigrants' acculturation strategy on children's evaluation is in part due to perceived host national belonging. Thus, the acculturation strategy adopted affects the extent to which the immigrant peer is considered a Dutch national and this in turn is related to the liking of the peer.

For the Dutch emigrant peer there was no evidence for perceived national belonging mediating between the effect of acculturation strategy on liking. In fact, when perceived national belonging was added to the model all effects of acculturation strategy increased in strength: the main effects of assimilation (versus separation; b = -1.04, $p < .001$) and integration (versus separation; b = -0.61, $p < .001$), and the main effect of assimilation versus integration (b = -0.43, $p < 0.01$). Sobel tests showed that there were significant and positive indirect effects of assimilation (versus separation; $z = 4.29$, $p < .001$), and integration (versus separation; $z = 4.14$, $p < .001$), and assimilation versus integration ($z = 2.68$. $p < 0.01$) through perceived national belonging. This means that there was suppression rather than mediation. Apparently there are two opposing pathways by which the acculturation strategies influence children's liking of the Dutch peer. On the one hand, and consistent with the intergroup context, children liked this peer more when she maintained her Dutch culture (separation and integration versus assimilation) and when she did not adopt the Turkish host culture (separation versus integration and assimilation). However, under those conditions she was also regarded as being less Turkish, and similar to the immigrant peers, perceived host national belonging was in itself positively associated with children's liking.

Discussion

For the first time this study showed a clear and strong causal effect of acculturation strategies of immigrant peers on native children's evaluation of these peers. Medium to large effects (Cohen, 1988) of the acculturation strategies on peer evaluations were found, indicating that the native majority children responded quite strongly to the different ways in which immigrants adapt to the host society. In addition, the findings show that the effect of the acculturation strategies on peer liking (1) in part depends on perceived host national belonging, (2) differs between types of

immigrant groups, (3) is related to the intergroup context rather than to migration per se, and (4) differs for higher and lower national identifiers.

Overall, the children valued adoption of the Dutch culture by immigrant peers whereas heritage culture maintenance was valued less. Assimilating immigrant peers were liked most followed by integrating peers and then separating peers. This pattern of liking was clear and significant for the low status group of Turkish immigrants. For the relatively higher status Chinese, separation was also disliked most but there was no significant difference between the liking of the assimilating and integrating peer.

These findings indicate that majority children are more positively inclined towards immigrant peers when they feel that these peers value the host culture to the extent that they want to adopt it. In addition, peers who adopt the host culture become more similar to the native majority and similarity contributes to a sense of shared identity (Dovidio et al., 2007). According to the common in-group identity model, a shared identity improves attitudes towards former out-group members (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Our findings show that the acculturation strategies affected perceptions of host national belonging and thereby the evaluation of the acculturating peers. Thus, perceived host national belonging was a mediating process between acculturation preference and the evaluation of immigrant peers. Importantly, this mediating role of perceived national belonging was found for both the lower (Turks) and the higher (Chinese) status immigrant group. This shows that a shared identity improves the attitude towards quite different immigrant groups. However, the effect was not fully mediated by host national belonging which indicates that there are also other processes involved in this relationship. One possibility that could be examined in future studies is that cultural similarity as such increases liking (Byrne, 1971) without necessarily enhancing perceived host national belonging.

By focusing on immigrant peers of a lower status (Turkish) and a higher status (Chinese) group we were able to show that the effect of acculturation preferences on peer liking was stronger

for the former compared to the latter group. In general, the Turkish peers were evaluated more negatively than Chinese peers. In addition, the assimilating Turkish peer was liked more than the integrating and separating ones. This shows that the lower status group was liked most when the heritage culture was not maintained. One reason for this might be that adolescents have been found to consider cultural maintenance by Muslim Turks as threatening to Dutch identity and culture (Velasco González et al., 2008). For the Chinese peer, the evaluation of assimilation and integration was similar and more positive than of separation. Thus, for this group the focus was on the adoption of the Dutch culture, and whether this was combined with heritage cultural maintenance did not seem to matter for the peer liking. It should be noted that the differences in liking of the Turkish and Chinese peer might also be related to the fact that the children were first asked about the least liked Turkish group and then the Chinese. This might have led to a contrast effect in which the Chinese peer was judged more positively. Yet, it might also have created a negative response pattern across the vignettes. More importantly, the order of the groups cannot explain why particularly the integrating Chinese peer was evaluated more positively than the integrating Turkish peer, whereas the differences between the assimilating and separating Turkish and Chinese peers were low. Furthermore, the finding that overall the Chinese peers were liked more and were more strongly considered Dutch nationals than the Turkish peers is in agreement with their different social status position and with previous findings (Hagendoorn, 1995; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). So it is not very likely that the fixed order in which the target immigrant groups were presented did affect the findings for the acculturation evaluations.

The fact that the intergroup context plays an important role in the evaluation of acculturating peers is further demonstrated by the findings for the liking of the Dutch emigrants. The existing research on majority member's evaluation of immigrants has not considered emigrants (but see Gieling et al., 2011). This is unfortunate because this makes it impossible to test whether migration per se or rather the intergroup context is important. The quote heading this article suggests that

acculturation strategies are evaluated in the light of the migration process and that cultural adaptation is expected of both immigrants and emigrants. However, our findings show that this is not the case at all. In fact, the separating Dutch emigrant peer was liked most. Thus, the one who maintained Dutch culture without adopting the host Turkish culture was liked most, followed by the peer who maintained Dutch culture while also adopting Turkish culture (integration), and the assimilating peer was liked least. The latter peer was considered more Turkish than the former ones which suggests that the latter is viewed as relatively less similar to oneself and therefore evaluated more negatively. Thus, if children feel that emigrants want to maintain their heritage culture they will be positively inclined towards them, whereas assimilation towards the new culture implies that lower similarity and that the Dutch culture is not strongly valued and supported (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Marques & Páez, 1994). This pattern of findings clearly shows that intergroup considerations are important for the evaluation of acculturating preferences of migrants. This goes against the common rhetoric about immigrants' having to assimilate because as a principle the rule 'when in Rome do as the Romans do' should apply to all migrants, including in-group emigrants ('we would do the same'). It should be noted that the children were not insensitive to this rule when judging the Dutch peer. There was a suppression effect for the liking of the Dutch emigrant, which suggests that children did appreciate it when this peer could be regarded as a Turkish national. However, this effect could not counter the direct effects of the acculturation strategies, and overall our findings show that there were substantial differences in the way in which children evaluated immigrants and emigrants with similar acculturation strategies (see also Gieling et al., 2011).

A last set of findings indicating the important role of the intergroup context relates to national identification. National identification did not moderate the relationship between acculturation preferences and perceived host national belonging, but higher compared to lower identifiers were more positive towards Turkish and Chinese peers who assimilated to Dutch culture than towards peers who preferred separation. Immigrant peers who desire heritage culture maintenance without

host culture adoption can be assumed to pose an element of identity threat for majority members, but not equally to all children. Particularly higher identifying children are more concerned about identity threats (Nesdale et al., 2005; Pfeifer et al., 2007). In addition, higher identifiers probably will feel more valued by immigrants who fully want to assimilate to the host culture. Furthermore, higher identifiers will feel more valued by Dutch emigrants who want to maintain their Dutch culture. The findings show that higher identifiers were much more positive about emigrants who preferred separation from Turkish culture compared to integration and assimilation. Thus, the exclusive maintenance of Dutch culture was favored and the adoption of Turkish culture, either in combination with Dutch culture or not, was liked less. Lower identifiers were particularly negative about the emigrant peer who preferred assimilation and equally positive about integration and separation. This indicates that Dutch cultural maintenance is relatively important for lower identifiers, but for them it can go together with the adoption of the Turkish host culture.

Limitations and Directions for Future Studies

Some limitations of the present research should be discussed. For example, we used single item measures that have been used successfully in previous research (e.g., Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001; Yee & Brown, 1992) but that could be improved. In addition, the vignettes were developed in discussions with children and tried to give a realistic picture of an acculturating peer but this meant that they contained various types of information. The emphasis was on heritage cultural maintenance and host culture adoption but there was also information on self-feelings and social contacts. Although research suggests that it matters little for resulting intergroup attitudes whether the focus is, for example, on perceived social contacts or cultural adoption (Tip, Zagefka, Gonzalez, Brown, Cinirella, & Na, 2012; Van Acker & Vanbeseleare, 2011), future studies could examine whether the type of information matters for native children's judgments.

Furthermore, it would have been preferable to extend the experimental research by systematically varying the gender of the peers presented in the vignettes. We could only use female

names and this might imply a conservative test case because there are more stereotypes about exclusion regarding males than females (Schneider, 2004) and Dutch adolescents' tend to evaluate female immigrants more positively than male immigrants (Poppe & Verkuyten, 2012). Hence, it is possible that the effects would have been even stronger for male targets.

However, the use of only female names implies a gender match between female participants and peers and this might explain why girls were more positive about the acculturating peers, why they regarded the immigrant peers as more Dutch, and why (some of) the effects of acculturation strategy on perceived national belonging were stronger for girls (but also significant for boys). More specifically, it might be argued that some of our findings were due to cross-categorization effects because whereas girls shared one or two characteristics with the peers (either gender, or gender and ethnicity), boys could share only one characteristic (ethnicity) (see Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). However, there are two reasons to assume that the role of cross-categorization was limited. First, research among children (using ethnicity and gender as two characteristics) has not found clear evidence for crossed-categorization effects in which sharing one characteristic leads to more positive evaluations than sharing none of the two characteristics (Verkuyten, Weesie, & Eijberts, 2011). Second, the effects of the acculturation strategies on participants' liking of out-group and in-group peers were unrelated to gender. The gender differences found might have more to do with girls tending to be less concerned with ethnic groups and ethnic group differences (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001). This interpretation is supported by our findings that girls indicated lower national identification than boys and that they more strongly considered the Turkish and Chinese peers as being Dutch. Despite these differences the pattern of findings for the effect of acculturation strategies on host national belonging and peer liking was similar for girls and boys.

We focused on older children and young adolescents (8-13 years) and no age differences were found. Thus, early adolescents did not evaluate the acculturating peers more positively than the older children, and the differences in liking of the three acculturation strategies were independent of

age. The restricted age range might be one reason for this and future studies could examine a wider age range. However, a recent meta-analysis of age differences in ethnic and racial prejudice found only a very slight decrease in prejudice in late childhood (8-10 years) and no general trend after 10 years of age (Raabe & Beelman, 2011). In addition, experimental research with older adolescents and with adults have yielded similar results as the current study, for example, by showing that majority members prefer assimilation of immigrants, and then integration, rather than separation (e.g., Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2012; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; but see Nigbur et al., 2008). Yet, future studies should examine systematically whether there is an age trend in the evaluation of acculturation strategies of immigrants. Developmental intergroup research has shown that with age a more complex understanding of groups develop (Horn, 2003; Killen & Rutland, 2011). Adolescents compared to children might be more concerned about the maintenance and functioning of the Dutch in-group and therefore endorse assimilation more strongly. However, their better understanding of the importance of group identity and autonomy might also imply that they endorse integration more strongly because they recognize and accept that an immigrant peer also wants to hold on to his or her own culture. Both processes might be at work at the same time with the result that no age effects are found. Thus, more research on age differences is needed and this research could also investigate children's reasoning about the implications and acceptance of different acculturation strategies.

Our research was conducted in schools with a relatively low percentage of ethnic minority children and there were very small differences in the judgments of children from different schools. In the Netherlands, as in other European countries, there is a strong national debate on immigration and integration but the great majority of schools is rather homogeneous because only around 15% of the population has an immigrant background. Furthermore, the multiethnic school is also an exception in the United States (Pettigrew, 2004). Yet, future studies could examine ethnically mixed schools in which there are more opportunities for intergroup contact. Contact with students of

different ethnic or racial groups is associated with less prejudice (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008) and it might also positively affect native children's judgments about acculturating peers. However, this does not have to mean that children in more diverse contexts make no evaluative distinction between assimilating, integrating and separating immigrant peers, or between immigrant and emigrant peers. Future studies should examine the precise role of intergroup contact on children's perceptions and evaluations of acculturating peers.

Another interesting extension of the current research would be to focus not only on native majority group children but also on children of immigrant families. A dynamic intergroup perspective on acculturation (Brown & Zagefka, 2011) implies that the acculturation preferences of natives and of immigrants are important to consider. There can be a dynamic interplay between the perceptions of both groups and the concordance or fit between the acculturation preferences of the native majority children and of immigrant children can be an important determinant of the intergroup relations (Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, & Sénecal, 1997; Nigbur et al., 2008). In addition, relations between immigrant and ethnic minority group children are increasingly important in many social settings but little is know about the ways in which children of minority families react towards new immigrants (Pfeifer et al., 2007).

Conclusion

The present research has obvious strengths and the findings have some practical implications. As for strengths, the research goes beyond the substantial literature on children's ethnic and racial prejudice by focusing on the evaluation of immigrants' acculturation strategies (Brown, 2010; Levy & Killen, 2008). Migration and issues surrounding immigration are important in many parts of the world and also in the lives of children, but little is known about children's understanding of migrants. The research also goes beyond the bulk of the acculturation literature by focusing on the evaluations of native majority children, rather than on the acculturation preferences and strategies of immigrant youth. In addition, it is one of the first investigations that examined the evaluation of the

acculturation strategies of different immigrant groups and that made a comparison with native emigrants. This made it possible to show that the evaluations depend on the status position of the minority group and on the intergroup context rather than on being a migrant per se. Furthermore, it is one of the few contributions to have adopted an experimental approach and to examine a specific theoretical mechanism (perceived host national belonging) that mediates between perceived acculturation strategies and the evaluation of immigrants.

The applied implications of the research relate to the question of how support for heritage culture maintenance could be encouraged among majority children. It is clear that immigrants' cultural maintenance without host culture adoption is rejected by most children. Segregation implies low perceived host national belonging and is evaluated rather negatively by native peers (compare Wilson & Rodkin, 2012). This means that encouraging cultural adoption among immigrants would have beneficial effects for the majority children's attitudes. In addition, cultural adoption has beneficial effects for immigrant youth's adjustment to and functioning in the host society (Berry , Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), and these beneficial effects might even be stronger when an assimilation strategy is adopted. For some immigrants such a strategy might be favorable psychologically and for developing cross-ethnic friendships (Wilson & Rodkin, 2012), but others find it undesirable or impossible to relinquish their minority culture and identity. Most immigrants prefer a strategy of integration in which the value and distinctiveness of their heritage culture is affirmed but in the context of attachment and connection with the host society (Berry et al., 2006; Verkuyten, 2005). Therefore, encouraging majority member's acceptance of this dual identity strategy is probably the most promising step towards more positive intergroup relations among children and adolescents. This encouragement is important because with age adolescents might more strongly view immigrants as a threat to the norms and values of the majority culture and therefore become less tolerant and accepting of them (Gieling et al., 2010, 2011).

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Table 1

Means for Perceived National Belonging and Liking of Targets

	Perceived National Belonging			Liking		
	Turkish	Chinese	Dutch	Turkish	Chinese	Dutch
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Condition						
Assimilation	0.48 (1.13)	0.56 (1.14)	0.15 (1.24)	1.90 (1.37)	1.76 (1.27)	0.79 (1.68)
Integration	-0.23 (1.14)	0.08 (1.07)	-0.19 (1.10)	0.94 (1.80)	1.53 (1.51)	1.11 (1.54)
Separation	-1.10 (1.02)	-0.91 (1.02)	-1.12 (0.97)	0.15 (1.88)	0.39 (1.64)	1.53 (1.45)
Overall	-0.22 (1.28)	-0.09 (1.24)	-0.39 (1.23)	0.98 (1.84)	1.23 (1.60)	1.15 (1.59)

Note. Perceived National Belonging was measured on a scale from -2 to +2. Evaluation was measured on a scale from -3 to +3.

Table 2

Effects of Acculturation Strategies on Perceived National Belonging and Liking

	Perceived National Belonging			Liking		
	Turkish	Chinese	Dutch	Turkish	Chinese	Dutch
Constant (= Separation)	-1.10**	-0.91**	-1.12**	0.15	0.39**	1.54**
Assimilation (vs. Separation)	1.58**$_a$	1.47**$_{a, b}$	1.27**$_b$	1.75**$_a$	1.38**$_b$	-0.75**$_c$
Integration (vs. Separation)	1.08**$_a$	0.99**$_a$	0.93**$_a$	0.79**$_a$	1.15**$_b$	-0.43**$_c$
(Co)Variance						
Turkish peer	1.204			2.889		
Chinese peer	0.780	1.160		1.210	2.199	
Dutch peer	0.427	0.429	1.226	0.810	0.621	2.421
Deviance		6999.99			9148.32	

Note. The (co) variances indicate the unexplained variation and covariation of the three dependent variables in each model. Effects in the same row that have different subscripts are significantly different at $p < 0.01$. Assimilation and Integration are dummy variables coded '1' or '0' .

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 3

Moderating Effects of National Identification, Age, and Gender

	Perceived National Belonging			Liking		
	Turkish	Chinese	Dutch	Turkish	Chinese	Dutch
Assimilation (vs. Separation)	1.53**	1.42**	1.23**	1.73**	1.34**	-0.78**
Integration (vs. Separation)	1.07**	0.98**	0.92**	0.81**	1.16**	-0.42**
National Identification	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.23**
*Assimilation	0.14	0.00	0.16	0.38**	0.43**	0.01
*Integration	0.03	-0.01	-0.02	0.10	0.22	-0.34*
Gender	0.28**	0.21**	0.06	0.49**	0.27**	0.51**
*Assimilation	0.70**	0.82**	0.60**	-0.12	0.26	0.14
*Integration	0.60**	0.51**	0.18	0.18	0.21	0.42
(Co)Variance						
Turkish peer	1.157			2.799		
Chinese peer	0.742	1.119		1.158	2.152	
Dutch peer	0.406	0.409	1.207	0.731	0.571	2.289
Deviance		6944.61			9074.67	

Note. The (co) variances indicate the unexplained variation and covariation of the three dependent variables in each model. National Identification was measured on 5-point scale and Gender was included as contrast coded '-0.5' for males and '+0.5' for females. The results for age were not significant and therefore not shown. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

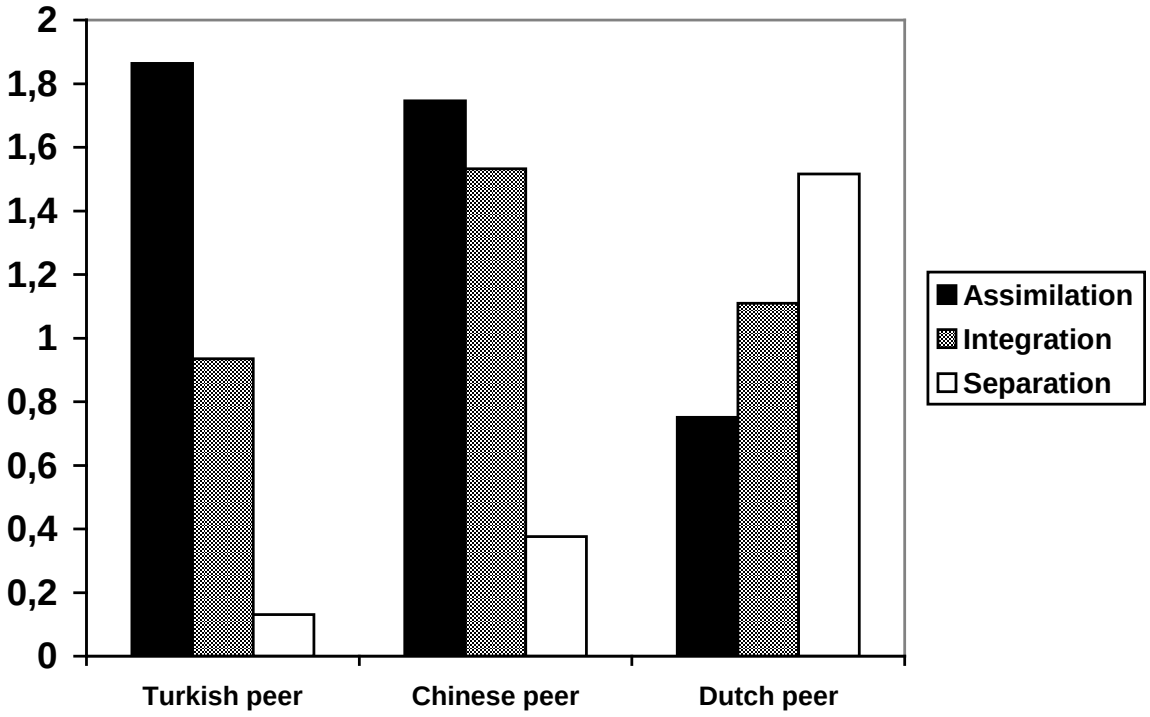

Figure 1. Effects of acculturation orientations on peer liking of the three target groups.

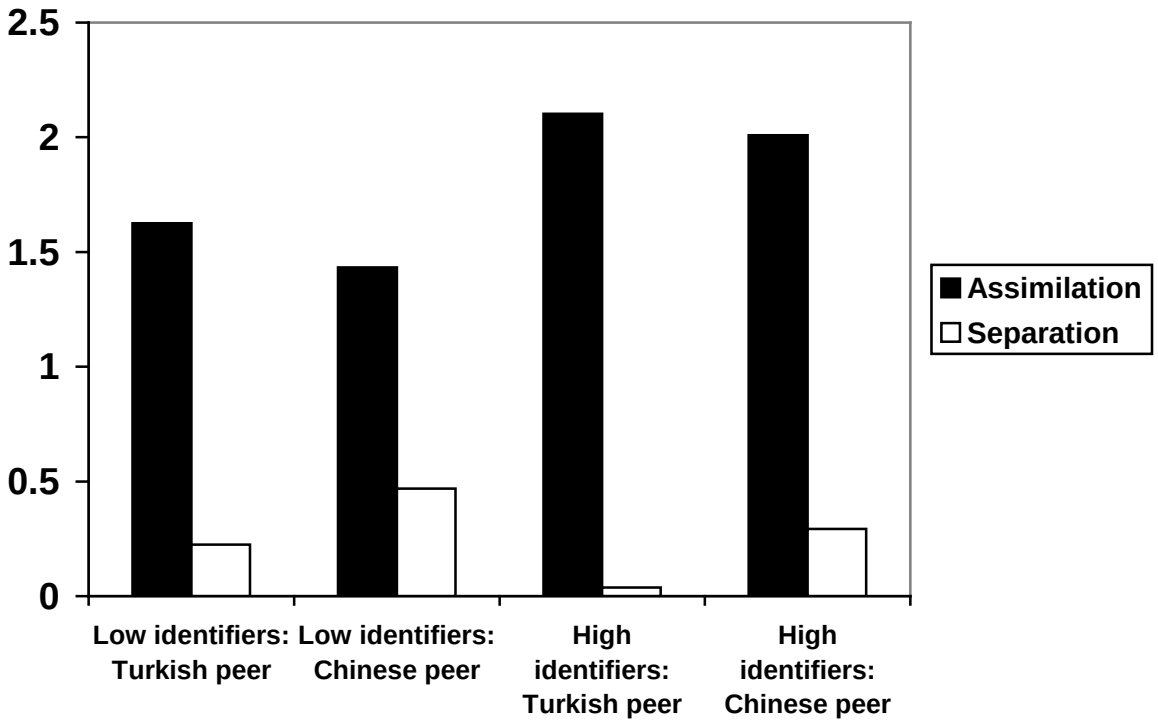

Figure 2. Interaction effects of national identification and acculturation strategies on the liking of the Turkish and the Chinese immigrant peers.

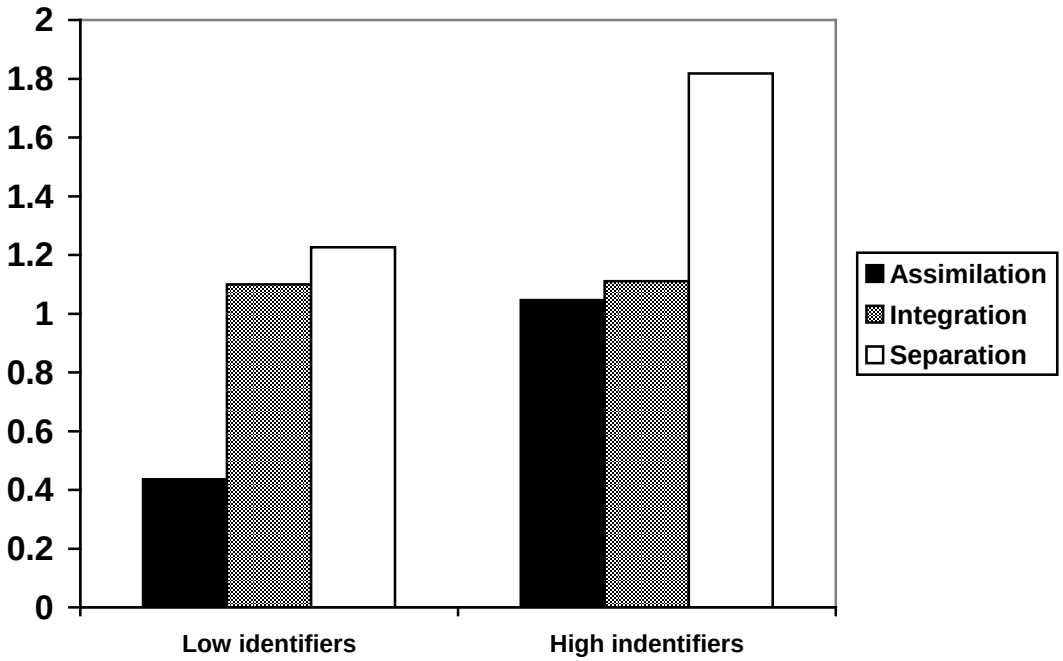

Figure 3. Interaction effects of national identification and acculturation strategies on the liking of Dutch emigrant peers.