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Contact, Perceived Threat, and Attitudes Toward Assimilation and Multiculturalism: Evidence From a Majority and Minority Perspective in Luxembourg

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Abstract

In this article, we study how attitudes toward the integration of immigrants (multiculturalism and assimilation) are formed through the interplay between immigration-related threat perceptions, intergroup contacts, and the different migratory backgrounds of residents in a host country. The analysis is conducted using Multiple Group Structural Equation Modeling on data from the 2008 Luxembourg European Values Study. Our findings indicate that stronger perceptions of threat are related to more support for assimilation among all residents and to less support for multiculturalism among native residents and culturally close immigrants. More contact with natives is associated with more support for assimilation among culturally close immigrants and with more threat perceptions among culturally distant immigrants.

Keywords

assimilation, multiculturalism, perceived threat, contact theory, majorities, minorities

Introduction

In the context of increasing ethnic diversity, the issue of how immigrants integrate in host societies has been gaining importance. An extensive body of literature builds on the tradition of acculturation theory (for an overview, see Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In this article, we follow this acculturation perspective and contrast two intergroup ideologies or acculturation strategies, namely, assimilation and multiculturalism (Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014; Verkuyten, 2011). Consequently, in this framework, integration refers to the individual acculturation strategy of an immigrant (Berry et al., 2011).

Knowledge regarding the opinion of all residents—including newcomers—about the integration of immigrants is relevant with regard to the creation of legitimate integration policies. Given the European context of this article, we use the term integration policies to refer to the diversity policies chosen by European countries accordingly to the directive of the Council of the European

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Union (2004). Knowing which factors are related to acculturation preferences, and which factors are dominant among which groups of residents, could stimulate debates on the (re)formulation of integration policies.

Extensive empirical research shows that both threat perceptions (Blalock, 1967; Bobo, 1999; Jackson, 1993) and intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011) are related to acculturation strategies (among others, Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer, & Perzig, 2003; Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam, & Vedder, 2013; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Sirlopú & Van Oudenhoven, 2013; Teney, 2011; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). As threat perceptions and intergroup contact are also strongly interrelated (Schlueter & Wagner, 2008; Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, & Wolf, 2006), it is important to analyze these factors simultaneously and explain how they jointly shape preferences for assimilation and multiculturalism. Only a few studies have applied such a comprehensive framework: see, for example, Celeste, Brown, Tip, and Matera (2014), who focus on anticipated contact and multiculturalism. Nevertheless, as countries become more and more ethnically diverse, it is warranted to include the preferred acculturation strategies of natives as well as minorities, because these strategies have an impact on behavior and intercultural relations (Guimond et al., 2014). To date, researchers have paid considerable attention to the acculturation perceptions of native residents regarding the integration of immigrants (for an overview, see Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Guimond et al., 2014). However, research on native residents and immigrants simultaneously, or among immigrants only, is limited (for some exceptions, see Celeste et al., 2014; Hui, Chen, Leung, & Berry, 2015; Teney, 2011; Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), although including different groups of minorities in the analyses would also allow us to test existing theories in a different setting (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2014).

We aim to contribute to the debate on acculturation strategies by addressing the following research questions:

Research Question 1: Does the presence of immigrant-related threats and intergroup contacts relate to individuals' preferences for assimilation and multiculturalism?
Research Question 2: Are these relations of perceived threat and intergroup contact similar for natives and (different groups of) immigrants?

This study is innovative in the following ways: First, it combines insights from acculturation research with theories concerning intergroup relationships (i.e., group threat theory and contact theory) to create a comprehensive research framework. Existing literature provides only fragmented evidence focusing on subsets of components of these theories. Second, we study both majority (native) and minority (immigrant) groups together, and test whether the same antecedents of acculturation preferences work in similar ways across the different groups. Furthermore, we distinguish between two groups of immigrant residents: a group of culturally close immigrants (from neighboring countries) and a more culturally distant group of immigrants (from other European Union [EU] and non-EU countries). Our study sheds more light on inter-minority relations by analyzing how the interplay of perceptions of threat from and contacts with various groups shapes acculturation strategies. Finally, we study these relations in the specific context of Luxembourg, a country where the concepts of minority and majority are challenged, and which is an ideal case study for our purposes.

Theoretical Framework

Diversity in Luxembourg

Luxembourg is a highly suitable context for studying acculturation preferences. First, in 2008, 43% of the residents were of foreign nationality (Service Central de la Statistique et des Études

Économiques [STATEC], 2012), which means an almost 50-50 ratio of minority to majority groups. In 2008, the largest groups of immigrant residents were Portuguese, followed by Italians and people from neighboring countries (France, Belgium, and Germany). Only 14% of immigrants originated from outside the EU27 countries (STATEC, 2012). Based on migration background instead of nationality, the minority group actually outnumbers the native population. This demographic setting could give rise to both threat perceptions and opportunities for contact. Accordingly, this particular minority/majority composition offers a unique research site for testing existing theories on intercultural relations (Hindriks et al., 2014).

Second, the large group (and its composition) of foreign residents in Luxembourg allows us to distinguish between culturally close immigrants (from neighboring countries with similar languages and territorial ties) and culturally more distant ones (other EU and non-EU countries) who can be analyzed in parallel to the native group. There is a clear difference between immigrants coming from the neighboring countries and the more distant countries such as Portugal, Italy, and other non-EU countries (Kankaras & Moors, 2012). Immigrants from neighboring countries by default speak at least one of the official languages of Luxembourg (French or German) and have a history of cultural and political ties. They are also more likely to be highly skilled; they occupy typically the middle to upper occupational levels in the labor market and have a longer duration of residence in the country than the remaining groups of foreign-born residents (Callens, Valentová, & Meuleman, 2014; Kankaras & Moors, 2012). Research has shown that German and French immigrants display similar attitudes as the native population while the immigrants from Portugal have similar attitudes as residents in Portugal (Kankaras & Moors, 2012). Moreover, studies show that ethnic groups generally display more positive attitudes toward out-groups they perceive as more similar (Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perreault, 1997). Individuals tend to rank ethnic and immigrant groups based on their similarity with the majority population (language, culture, religion), on their social status, and on which groups are more or less attractive social partners (Green, Fasel, & Sarrasin, 2010). This ethnic hierarchy displays a shared scheme of ethnic preferences for both majority and minority groups, where the majority group is the most preferred outgroup and contact with outgroups who are lower in the hierarchy can be perceived as a threat to the status of the ingroup (Hagendoorn, 1995). Usually culturally distant immigrants (who may display visible signs of different cultural and religious values to the majority population) stand low in the ethnic ranking, whereas culturally close immigrants (who have similar language and culture to the host society) stand high in the ethnic hierarchy (Green et al., 2010). This ranking also coincides with the social status; culturally distant immigrants are mostly low in status and usually come from poorer countries while culturally close immigrants have a higher status and come from better-off (often Western) countries. As this ethnic hierarchy not only has consequences for the desire for contact (Hagendoorn, 1995) but also influences threat perceptions and acculturation preferences (Green et al., 2010), it is important to distinguish between immigrants who are culturally close or culturally distant to the majority group.

Acculturation Preferences: Assimilation and Multiculturalism

In the acculturation research, several models have been developed to investigate acculturation strategies, both at the societal and the individual level (Berry et al., 2011; Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, & Senecal, 1997). In this article, we investigate acculturation strategies at the societal level, often also referred to as acculturation ideologies. A first important ideology is the assimilation model. In this model, the focus is on similarities within a society and on the recognition of one culture: the dominant or majority culture (Verkuyten, 2011). The assimilation ideology is used to reaffirm and justify the majority culture. Immigrants are therefore expected to participate in all the life spheres of the dominant society, and diversity is avoided (Rodríguez-García, 2010). In these societies, strong emphasis is placed on the political rights, civic participation, and

naturalization of immigrants. By contrast, in the second ideology, the multicultural model, the focus is on diversity and the recognition of differences between groups (Verkuyten, 2011). In these societies, immigrants are granted equal ethno-cultural group rights in all the life spheres of the host society (Rodríguez-García, 2010), and it is expected that all the different groups will have full and equitable participation in society (Berry et al., 2011). Another intergroup ideology which has recently come to the fore is colorblindness (Guimond et al., 2014). In this ideology, the focus is on ignoring group membership, so applying the principle of decategorization (Guimond et al., 2014). Strong emphasis is placed on the fact that, regardless of race or ethnicity, all people are the same and should therefore be treated equally. This model contrasts with multiculturalism which emphasizes cultural differences, and the model is also different to assimilation as colorblindness promotes egalitarianism. So far research on colorblindness has been restricted to the United States (Guimond et al., 2014) with the exception of research on republicanism in France (see, for example, Badea, 2012). Verkuyten (2005) argues that in the European context, where questions on cultural diversity are rather recent compared with the United States, assimilation and multiculturalism are the ideologies most adhered to by individuals and used by these individuals to legitimize or question ethnic identities and group relations. We focus in the remaining of this article only on assimilation and multiculturalism.

The strategy of assimilation is preferred by most members of the majority group, whereas minority-group members tend to favor multiculturalist approaches (e.g., Horenczyk et al., 2013; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007). The reason most majority members have a preference for assimilationist policies is that they are perceived as the most identity affirming and the least identity threatening, whereas for minorities, this is the case for multicultural policies (Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). In particular, groups that feel very different to the majority gain the most from multicultural ideology and show the highest support for multiculturalism (Van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012). By contrast, immigrants who are culturally close to the host society, or those who have no or few fellow country members there, are found to have stronger preferences for assimilation (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Specifically, in a very ethnically diverse society—such as Luxembourg and the city of Brussels—it is found that immigrants have similar preferences for assimilation as do natives (Callens et al., 2014; Teney, 2011). In general, policy makers tend to favor one of these two models to adapt policies and create unity in a society (Spry & Hornsey, 2007). These policies, however, influence the personal attitudes (Guimond et al., 2014). For example, it was found that majority populations in societies with a long immigration tradition and a multicultural policy have stronger preferences for multiculturalism instead of assimilation (see, for example, Canada [Berry, 2006]).

It is interesting to study assimilation and multiculturalism simultaneously, as they can relate to each other differently among majorities and minorities (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Celeste et al., 2014). Most empirical research identifies two separate factors confirming the distinction between assimilation and multiculturalism, and support for multiculturalism is usually negatively related to support for assimilation (Guimond et al., 2014; Wolsko et al., 2006). Less research has been carried out with regard to whether these preferences tend to coincide for immigrants who are culturally close to, or long established in, the host society and those who are culturally distant.

Intergroup Threat Theory

Literature shows that immigrant-related threat perceptions shape the attitudes of people toward acculturation preferences. Intergroup threat theory states that threat perceptions arise because of intergroup competition for scarce resources, and when the self-interest of individuals, or the position of the group, is put into question by the arrival of newcomers (Blalock, 1967; Bobo, 1999; Jackson, 1993). The majority group feels threatened if minority groups want to maintain their

own culture (Tip et al., 2012; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), especially if it is very different from the culture of the host society (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007). Majority-group members perceive this as a threat to both their cultural identity and their group position (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), which erodes tolerance toward diversity (Davies, Steele, & Markus, 2008) and consequently leads to greater support for assimilation (Florack et al., 2003) and less support for multiculturalism (Sirlopú & Van Oudenhoven, 2013; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2009). Among threat perceptions, cultural threat perceptions seem to relate most strongly to the acculturation strategies of native residents (Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007), followed by realistic threat perceptions.

Although intergroup threat theory has mainly been used to explain attitudes among the majority population, it could also be applied to minority group members, as they can feel threatened by other outgroups or newcomers. However, this mechanism is less straightforward for culturally close and culturally distant immigrants than for natives. On one hand, research shows that immigrants who seek acceptance in the host society may embrace the values and opinions of natives (Callens et al., 2014; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Long-established immigrants, especially from neighboring countries, tend to develop similar attitudes to natives with regard to social and political matters (Kankaras & Moors, 2012; Schiefer, 2013), whereas immigrants who are more distant from their home country behave more like their home-country nationals (Kankaras & Moors, 2012). In the Netherlands, Hindriks and colleagues (2014) found no evidence that culturally distant members (Turks and Moroccans) adopt similar attitudes and prejudices to the majority group, even if they have a stronger majority-group orientation and more contact with the host society. Therefore, it can be assumed that culturally similar and long-established immigrants may embrace the values and opinions of natives and feel threatened in a similar way by newcomers, and hence increase their support for assimilation and decrease their support for multiculturalism. By contrast, more culturally distant immigrants may not share these threat perceptions.

On the other hand, it could be assumed that culturally similar and long-established immigrants, as well as immigrants from more distant countries, will feel threatened by newcomers, because these newly arrived immigrants will probably occupy similar labor market positions. In Luxembourg in particular, immigrants are represented in both the highest and lowest segments of the labor market, but immigrants from more distant countries predominantly occupy the labor-market sectors that are most sensitive to the business cycle (Brosius, 2011). One could therefore assume that these threat perceptions would lead to less support for diversity and more support for assimilation. However, as immigrants—and especially those coming from more distant countries—have similar experiences and prejudices to the newcomers, it is also possible that they will sympathize with the new immigrants and therefore have low threat perceptions and more support for multiculturalism.

Contact Theory

The presence of large groups of immigrants may not only increase threat perceptions but also create opportunities for intergroup contact, which in turn will reduce perceptions of threat (Schlueter & Wagner, 2008; Wagner et al., 2006) and stimulate more favorable outgroup attitudes (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Pettigrew (1998) points out that friendship between members of majority and minority groups is the most effective form of contact, as it contains all the conditions for optimal intergroup contact (equal status, cooperation, and closeness) that Allport (1954) defines.

To date, research on contact has mostly examined the attitudes of majority members toward minority members (Binder et al., 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Longitudinal, experimental, and meta-analytical evidence all show that contact reduces prejudice among majority-group members (Davies et al., 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Moreover, intergroup contact leads to

increased support for policies that favor the immigrant population, and thus multiculturalism (Teney, 2011; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). This can be explained by the fact that contact fosters positive feelings, knowledge about and concern for the conditions and problems of the outgroup, which we argue then leads to more support for diversity and hence for multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). More precisely, contact can have both a direct and an indirect effect on intergroup attitudes, through perceived threat (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010; Stephan et al., 2002; Tausch et al., 2007).

Research on inter-minority contact—that is, contact between different minority groups—shows that contact theory also holds for minorities (Koops, Martinovic, & Weesie, 2016). However, when specifically investigating contact between minorities and majorities, research indicates that the relationship is weaker for the minority group than for the majority group (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), or even that it is nonexistent for the minority group (Binder et al., 2009). One explanation is that the optimal conditions for contact are harder to achieve for minorities, as they are usually in a subordinate position to majority-group members or expect to be stereotyped or discriminated against (Binder et al., 2009). The study by Hindriks and colleagues (2014) indicates that more contact with the majority group is not associated with reduced social distance from that group, whereas contact with other minority groups has an opposite relationship. Teney (2011) investigated the implications of intergroup contact for the acculturation strategies of majority and minority youngsters, and found that ethnic minority members who have outgroup friends are more in favor of assimilation than ethnic minority members who do not have friends from the majority group. Lack of contact was also found to be the strongest predictor for threat perceptions among minorities in the study by Stephan and colleagues (2002).

Hypotheses

Following our central research questions and the literature overview, several hypotheses are formulated for this study. With regard to native residents, we posit the following:

> **Hypothesis 1a (H1a):** People with stronger threat perceptions will be more supportive of assimilation and less supportive of multiculturalism.

Luxembourg society is not highly segregated (Fetzer, 2011); therefore, we expect that contact with both culturally close and culturally distant immigrants is very likely. In line with contact theory, we accordingly expect the number of contacts with immigrants to have both a direct and an indirect (via perceived threat) relationship with acculturation strategies:

> **Hypothesis 1b (H1b):** More contact with outgroup members is expected to be related to less support for assimilation and to stronger endorsement of multiculturalism.

Furthermore, we assume the following:

> **Hypothesis 1c (H1c):** People who have more contacts with foreign friends or people who have a foreign partner are expected to express lower threat perceptions.

We also expect an indirect relationship between contact and the two acculturation dimensions via perceived threat.

In line with the theoretical framework that long-established immigrants—and especially those from neighboring countries—may have similar attitudes to those of native residents (Kankaras & Moors, 2012; Schiefer, 2013), and considering the cultural (same language) and socioeconomic position they hold within Luxembourg society, we expect the following:

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The relationships between threat, assimilation, and multiculturalism for immigrants from neighboring countries are the same as those for native residents.

For immigrants from more distant countries—a very heterogeneous group—the relationships may be less clear, or weaker, than for the native population and for immigrants from neighboring countries. Therefore, our hypotheses for this group are competing. We argue that due to their labor-market position, threat perceptions could arise with the arrival of newcomers. However, the mechanism of solidarity with newcomers could also be involved, and therefore, we will explore the relationship between threat perceptions and support for assimilation and multiculturalism among this group without posing a hypothesis.

Research suggests that for minorities, contact with the majority is related to more support for assimilation (Teney, 2011). On the contrary, positive effects have been found for contact with other minorities. Therefore, we expect the following for both culturally close and culturally distant immigrants:

Hypothesis 3a (H3a): More contact with natives will be associated with more support for assimilation while more contact with other immigrant groups will be associated with more support for multiculturalism.

Finally, we expect the following:

Hypothesis 3b (H3b): More contact with natives will be associated with more threat perceptions, whereas more contact with other immigrant groups will be associated with less threat perceptions.

We again expect an indirect relationship between contact and the two acculturation dimensions via perceived threat. In Table 1, we give an overview of all hypotheses.

A comment must be made about the directionality of the hypothesized relations. We cannot make any claims about causal relationships, as we use cross-sectional data. However, we draw on previous empirical research—an experimental study on a student sample by Florack and colleagues (2003) and one by Davies and colleagues (2008)—which has established that threat has a causal effect on acculturation strategies. We also draw on research that shows both direct and indirect effects of contact on intergroup attitudes, via perceived threat (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010). A major advantage of the current study is that we test a set of relationships that have demonstrated causal links in others' studies (using mostly non-random samples, such as student samples) on a random sample (the European Values Study [EVS]), which is generalizable to the overall population.

Method

Data

The 2008 wave of the EVS for Luxembourg includes a country-specific set of questions (some items in the questionnaire are not available for other EVS countries), including measurements for attitudes toward acculturation strategies, as well as indicators of immigration-related threats, and contacts. The sample is a representative stratified random sample.

Respondents

In line with our theoretical framework, we distinguish between three groups of respondents. First is the natives: those born in Luxembourg, with both parents also born there ($N = 571$, 99% hold

Table 1. Overview of Hypotheses for Each Group (Native Residents, Immigrants From Neighboring Countries, and Immigrants From Distant Countries).

	Natives			Neighbors			Distant		
	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism
Perceived threat		+(H1a)	−(H1a)		+(H2)	−(H2)			
Contact with outgroups	−(H1c)	−(H1b)	+(H1b)	−(H3b)		+(H3a)	−(H3b)		+(H3a)
Contact with natives				+(H3b)	+(H3a)		+(H3b)	+(H3a)	

Note. The table should be read as following: for natives, we expect that respondents with stronger threat perceptions will be more supportive of assimilation (thus +H1a) and less supportive of multiculturalism (–H1a).

Luxembourg nationality). Second is the group of immigrants who (as well as their parents) were born outside the country. Among these, we distinguish between foreign-born from the neighboring countries (France, Belgium, and Germany; $N = 275$, 10% hold Luxembourg nationality) and foreign-born from other countries (mostly Portugal and Italy; $N = 441$, 8% hold Luxembourg nationality). Second-generation immigrants (people born in Luxembourg with one or both parents not born there) are excluded. The total resulting sample comprises 1,287 respondents.

Dependent Variables

To investigate acculturation preferences, two distinct theoretical dimensions—assimilation and multiculturalism—were constructed from an item that asked respondents to state on a scale from 0 to 4 their degree of agreement with particular statements (Table 2). For assimilation, a scale was composed with three items measuring attitudes regarding knowledge of Luxembourgish (LU30), joining Luxembourg associations (LU37), and obtaining Luxembourg citizenship (which would mean relinquishing the citizenship of origin; LU39). Luxembourg is a multilingual country with Luxembourgish, French, and German as the official languages. Luxembourgish is a small-scale local language primarily spoken among the native population. Research indicates, however, that French is better known than the other languages among residents and, therefore, performs a mediating role between native residents and newcomers (Dickes & Berzosa, 2010). We, therefore, argue that knowing Luxembourgish in the context of Luxembourg is an indicator for assimilation. The scale for multiculturalism also contains three items concerning attitudes toward equal rights and duties without losing the citizenship of origin (LU33), cultural exchange (LU34), and maintaining original traditions and customs (LU36).

Independent Variables

The first mediator is the composite index of perceived immigrant-related threat at group level. This index is composed of five items answered on a 10-point scale (1 indicates *agreement with a statement* and 10 indicates *agreement with the opposing statement*). The items encompass different threat perceptions. For example, *immigrants take jobs away from natives* (jobs) and *immigrants are a strain on a country's welfare system* (welfare) are items measuring realistic threat perceptions, whereas *a country's cultural life is undermined by immigrants* (cultural) measures symbolic threat (see Table 2). We scaled all the items so that 1 represents *low threat perceptions* and 10 represents *high threat perceptions*. The latent variable is used in the structural equation model. The results for the factor loadings of the full measurement model can also be found in Table 2, and standardized factor loadings are higher than 0.4 in all cases.[1]

It is important when working with data from distinct ethnic groups to assess if the differences between the concepts used are derived by "true" differences and not because of methodological issues, such as inappropriate translation (Sarassin et al., 2014). We follow the approach of Sarassin and colleagues (2014) to verify construct validity of the threat items together with the assimilation and multiculturalism scales among natives, culturally close immigrants, and culturally distant immigrants. We test stepwise measurement equivalence of these scales by using Multiple Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA) (Davidov, Meuleman, Cieciuch, Schmidt, & Billiet, 2014). In a first step, we test the configural model, which means that we test whether the same factor structure for our three scales is present across the compared groups. The cutoff points for a good model fit are considered to be less than 0.08 for standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) values, less than 0.06 for root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) values, and 0.95 or more for comparative fit index (CFI) values (Hu & Bentler, 1999). In Table 3, it can be seen that the configural model has an acceptable fit, only the CFI (0.93) is slightly below the cutoff value 0.95. In the

Table 2. Wording and Descriptive Analyses of the Integration and Perceived Threat Items, and the Results of the Metric Measurement Model ($N = 1,287$).

	Measurement model: Standard beta (*SE*)		
Items	Natives	Neighbors	Distant
Integration items: Assimilation (Scale 1-4)			
- To be integrated into Luxembourg requires knowing Luxembourgish (LU30)	0.60 (0.04)***	0.54 (0.06)***	0.47 (0.06)***
- Foreigners should join Luxembourg associations rather than set up their own associations (LU37)	0.42 (0.15)***	0.50 (0.06)***	0.41 (0.06)***
- To be integrated requires acquiring Luxembourg citizenship (LU39)	0.52 (0.06) ***	0.68 (0.07)***	0.53 (0.06)***
Cronbach's α	.53	.58	.46
Integration items: Multiculturalism (Scale 1-4)			
- For foreigners, to be integrated is/means benefitting from the same social and political rights and duties as Luxembourgers, without losing their citizenship of origin (LU33)	0.55 (0.06)***	0.55 (0.09)***	0.54 (0.08)***
- Integration is successful if foreigners can grasp the important meaning of the Luxembourg culture and bring their meaningful culture to Luxembourgers (LU34)	0.63 (0.06)***	0.61 (0.09)***	0.54 (0.07)***
- A foreigner can be integrated and at the same time keep traditions and customs from his or her own country (LU36)	0.54 (0.06)***	0.45 (0.07)***	0.47 (0.06)***
Cronbach's α	.59	.57	.54
Perceived immigrant-related threat perceptions (Scale 0-10)			
- Immigrants take/do not take jobs away from natives in a country (jobs)	0.56 (0.04)***	0.62 (0.04)***	0.53 (0.03)***
- A country's cultural life is/is not undermined by immigrants (cultural)	0.78 (0.03)***	0.76 (0.04)***	0.71 (0.03)***
- Immigrants make/do not make crime problems worse (crime)	0.55 (0.03)***	0.65 (0.04)***	0.60 (0.04)***
- Immigrants are/are not a strain on a country's welfare system (welfare)	0.81 (0.02)***	0.78 (0.04)***	0.76 (0.03)***
- In the future, the proportion of immigrants will/will not become a threat to society (futthreat)	0.84 (0.02)***	0.79 (0.04)***	0.79 (0.03)***
Cronbach's α	.84	.85	.80
Correlations			
Assimilation with multiculturalism	−.15 (.10)	−.60 (.12)**	−.04 (.13)
Perceived threat with assimilation	.54 (.07)***	.28 (.12)*	.57 (.08)***
Perceived threat with multiculturalism	−.45 (.06)***	−.31 (.15)*	−.15 (.08)

Source. EVS (2008, LISER).

Note. Model fit: $\chi^2 = 255.66$, $df = 139$, SRMR = 0.06, RMSEA = 0.04, and CFI = 0.93. SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; RMSEA = root mean squared error of approximation; CFI = comparative fit index; EVS = European Values Study.

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

Table 3. Results of the Measurement Equivalence Test of MGCFA Across the Three Ethnic Groups ($N = 1{,}287$).

Model	χ^2	*df*	*p* value	$\Delta\chi^2$	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI
Configural (equal form)	240.83	123	.000		0.05	0.05	0.93
Metric (equal factor loadings)	255.66	139	.000	14.82	0.04	0.06	0.93

Source. EVS (2008, LISER).
Note. MGCFA = Multiple Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis; RMSEA = root mean squared error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CFI = comparative fit index; EVS = European Values Study.

second step, we test the metric model, which means that equal factor loadings are present for the items across all groups. To examine whether this subsequent level of measurement equivalence is reached, we rely on the non-significant χ^2 difference test (Brown, 2006) and on the recommendations of Chen (2007) for the fit indices (a decrease of up to 0.010 for CFI and an increase of up to 0.015 for RMSEA). Metric equivalence is indeed established, as the χ^2 difference test is not significant ($p = .538$) and only small changes occur in the CFI and RMSEA values. Because we do not compare the factor latent means across groups, which would be the subsequent level of scalar equivalence, but instead how the concepts relate to each other in the different groups, full metric equivalence is sufficient (Brown, 2006). Reaching metric equivalence means that there is a similar understanding of the three concepts among the three ethnic groups. The data show that all respondents understand the different items of the three concepts in the same way and relate the same items to the same general latent concept. In that way, we can say that the three groups understand assimilation, multiculturalism, and perceived threat in a similar way and that we can confidently use the scales in the analyses.

The other key independent variable is contact, which we operationalize through two factors: the number of friendship contacts and the origin of the partner. The number of friendship contacts with other people residing in Luxembourg is measured by the following item: "Among your friends, how much contact do you have with friends who are [nationality]?" Respondents had to answer each item (each with a different nationality) with *none* (0), *a few* (1), *some* (2), and *a lot* (3). Based on the nationality of the friends and the three ethnic groups investigated, we then compiled three contact variables by taking the mean of all the considered items: contact with native Luxembourg residents, contact with residents from neighboring countries (Germany, Belgium, and France), and contact with residents from other countries. A higher score indicates more contact with a given group of residents.

The second variable used to measure contact is the origin of the partner, as we argue that if a person is in a stable relationship with someone from an outgroup, this will produce similar—or stronger—effects than regular friendship contact, because it is also a core contact that fulfills the four conditions stated by Allport (1954). Moreover, having a foreign-born partner can lead to a large overestimation of friendship contact with foreign-born residents if this is not controlled for. The variable was operationalized into three categories: having a partner from the own group (reference category), having a partner from another group, and having no partner. Correlation matrixes can be found in Appendix.

Control Variables

Several antecedents have been shown to increase threat perceptions and acculturation preferences. People with a vulnerable position in society (low education level, low professional status,

or unemployed) tend to exhibit higher levels of perceived threat (Semyonov, Raijman, & Gorodzeisky, 2006). These variables also relate to acculturation preferences, as women and higher educated people have been found to show greater support for multiculturalism (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten, 2009). We therefore control for education as a proxy for societal position as well as socioeconomic status. This is operationalized according to the ISCED classifications (Barro & Lee, 2001): primary education (reference category), lower secondary education, upper secondary education, and post-secondary education. Finally, for sociodemographic variables, we include gender and age.

Method

A full multiple group structural equation model was run using Mplus 5 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2007) using the full maximum likelihood procedure. By using the Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) procedure, we were able to use the complete sample of 1,287 respondents (the covariance coverage information is above .90 for every correlation of every group). The full model with indirect relations was obtained using the bootstrapping method (500 bootstrap samples) to provide a bias reduction in the standard errors.

Results

The structural equation model was specified with perceived threat as the predictor for assimilation and multiculturalism, and with contact and education as predictors for perceived threat and the two acculturation dimensions (see Figure 1).[2] We also examine the indirect relations between contact on one hand and assimilation and multiculturalism on the other hand (we will only discuss the significant indirect relations). The control variables—age and gender—are predictors for perceived threat and assimilation and multiculturalism. We estimated this model simultaneously for all three groups, but did not set the coefficients to be equal across the groups. The model fit indices are all good ($\chi^2 = 638.86$; $df = 379$; SRMR = 0.04; RMSEA = 0.04), except for the CFI value of 0.89, which is lower than the recommended 0.95 suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999).[3] However, as the modification indices did not suggest any further model improvements, we conclude that the data fit the model acceptably. The results of the full model are shown in Table 4. The factor loadings in the full structural equation model are almost equal, and thus similar in strength to the measurement model (Table 2).

An important finding is that the relationship between the two acculturation concepts is different across the three groups. Among the native population ($r = .17$, $p = 12$) and the more culturally distant immigrant group ($r = .07$, $p = .64$), these concepts are not significantly correlated. This is contrary to previous research, where they were found to be significantly negatively related among native residents (Guimond et al., 2014; Wolsko et al., 2006). By contrast, the two concepts are negatively correlated among immigrants from the neighboring countries ($r = –.49$, $p = .002$). We tested a subsequent model where the correlations were held equal for the three groups. Using the chi-square difference testing method (Satorra & Bentler, 2010), we find that the correlations are indeed significantly different from each other ($\Delta\chi^2 = 17.046$; $p = .000$).

Native Residents

We first examine the results for the native residents, where the data suggest that people with high threat perceptions are more supportive of assimilation than people who report lower feelings of threat. This relationship is positive and relatively strong (standard beta = 0.50). The same holds for the relationship between threat and multiculturalism, which is also strong, but negative (standard beta = −0.47). Perceptions of threat are indeed associated with less support for diversity (multiculturalism) and with greater support for assimilation, which corroborates Hypothesis 1a.

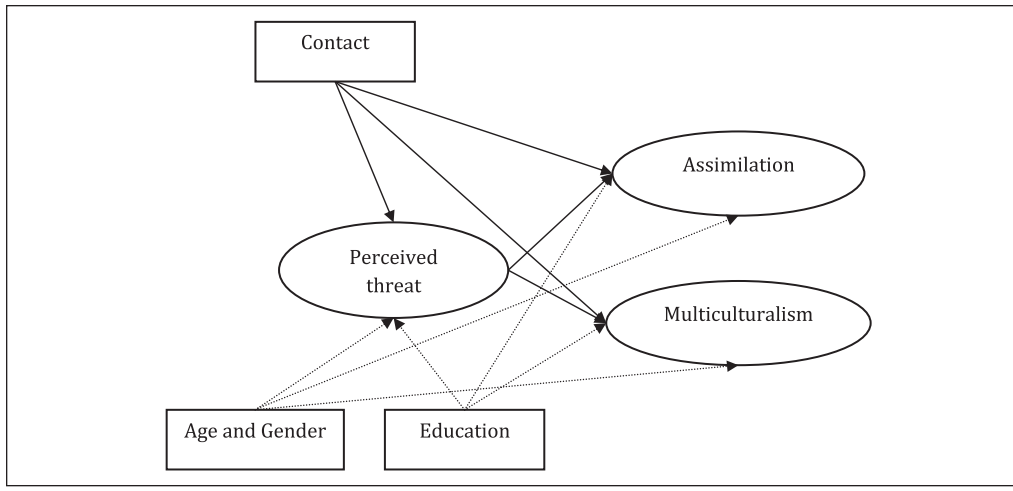


Figure 1. Hypothesized model for predicting attitudes toward assimilation and multiculturalism.
Note. Dotted lines represent relationships that are controlled for.

The variables measuring contact have less straightforward results. First, we expected a significant association between friendship contact and the two acculturation dimensions. However, for natives, the data suggest only one significant association: a negative one between friendship contact with people from the neighboring countries and assimilation. We find that more frequent contact with these friends is associated with less support for assimilation. This offers some evidence for Hypothesis 1b, but contact with friends from other nationalities has no significant coefficient. It is notable that friendship contact with more culturally diverse groups is not significantly related to threat perceptions or to acculturation preferences, which we elaborate on in the "Discussion" section. We see that people with a partner from an outgroup display more support for multiculturalism than people with a partner from the own group, while no significant relation was found for assimilation and partner status. Second, we find that the frequency of contact with outgroup members is not significantly related to threat perceptions. Therefore, Hypothesis 1c is not supported. We do find that respondents without a partner indicate higher threat perceptions than respondents with a partner. Looking at the indirect relations, however, it is evident that compared with having an own-group partner, having no partner is significantly related to support for assimilation (standard beta = 0.06, p value = .02), but negatively related to support for multiculturalism (standard beta = −0.06, p value = .02). No other indirect paths between contact variables and assimilation and multiculturalism reached significance.

Immigrants from Neighboring Countries

Among immigrants from neighboring countries, higher threat perceptions are significantly related to more support for assimilation and less support for multiculturalism, although the effect sizes are smaller than for natives (respectively, 0.20 vs. 0.50 and −0.28 vs. −0.47). Among these immigrants, threat perceptions thus have similar consequences for acculturation preferences as they do among the native residents, but less strongly, confirming H2. Again, only partial support is found for our hypotheses with regard to contact. First, immigrants from neighboring countries who have frequent contact with native people show significantly more support for assimilation while they show significantly less support for multiculturalism. With regard to threat perceptions, more frequent contact with residents from other nationalities seems to be related to lower

Table 4. Standardized Results of the Multiple Group Structural Equation Model With Direct Effects (N = 1,287) for Each Group (Native Residents, Immigrants From Neighboring Countries, and Immigrants From Distant Countries).

	Model for natives			Model for neighbors			Model for distant		
Group	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism
Dependent variables									
Perceived threat		0.50***	−0.47***		0.20*	−0.28*		0.49***	−0.14
Independent variables									
Friends Luxembourg	−0.01	0.09	−0.02	0.02	0.34***	−0.18*	0.25***	0.12	0.02
Friends neighbors	−0.08	−0.20**	0.02	0.00	−0.19	−0.02	−0.05	0.01	0.10
Friends distant	−0.08	0.02	−0.01	−0.17*	−0.06	0.08	−0.18*	−0.16	0.03
Ingroup partner (reference group)									
Outgroup partner	0.02	−0.11	0.13*	0.10	0.10	−0.05	0.12	0.10	0.05
No partner	0.13*	−0.07	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.01	0.17**	0.00	−0.11
Primary education (reference group)									
Secondary education (inferior level)	−0.01	0.06	0.18*	0.16	−0.13	0.18	0.00	0.09	0.07
Secondary education (superior level)	−0.02	−0.17	0.10	0.14	−0.18	0.42*	0.08	0.08	−0.02
Post-secondary education	−0.18*	−0.15	0.07	−0.09	−0.25	0.44*	0.01	−0.06	−0.03
Male (reference group)									
Female	−0.00	−0.04	0.06	−0.17*	−0.10	0.15	0.01	−0.12	0.05
Age	−0.03	−0.00	−0.01	0.07	0.17	0.00	0.11*	0.08	0.04

Source. EVS (2008, LISER).

Note. Model fit: χ^2 = 638.86, df = 379, SRMR = 0.04, RMSEA = 0.04, and CFI = 0.89. Correlations assimilation with multiculturalism: natives: .17 (SE = 0.11, p = .12), neighbors: –.49 (SE = 0.16, p = .002), distant: .07 (SE = .15, p = .64). The table contains the standardized coefficients. The unstandardized coefficients are available upon request from the authors. Reference group means the reference group for dummy coding. SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; RMSEA = root mean squared error of approximation; CFI = comparative fit index; EVS = European Values Study.

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

perceptions of threat. In sum, our second hypothesis—in which we expected that immigrants from neighboring countries would behave similar to native residents with regard to threat perceptions and acculturation preferences—can be confirmed. Our hypothesis (H3a) that contact with natives would be associated with more support for assimilation can also be confirmed; however, this is not related with more threat perceptions (H3b). On the contrary, contact with natives also relates to less support for multiculturalism. Contact with other immigrants is not significantly related to multiculturalism (H3a) but, in contrast, relates to lower threat perceptions (H3b). Also, we did not find any significant indirect relation between the contact variables and assimilation and multiculturalism.

Immigrants From Distant Countries

For the second immigrant group, people from distant countries, higher immigrant-related threat perceptions are associated with more support for assimilation (0.50; a similar level to natives), whereas there is no significant relationship between threat and multiculturalism. This is a notable finding, indicating that immigrants who feel threatened by newcomers are more supportive of assimilation, actually at a similar level to that of native residents, but at the same time, these threat feelings do not relate to their support for multiculturalism.

Finally, no significant associations are found between the contact measurements and acculturation preferences. Again, we cannot corroborate Hypothesis 3a, in which we expected that contact with other immigrant groups would be associated with more support for multiculturalism and contact with natives would be associated with more support for assimilation. With regard to threat perceptions, the data suggest that immigrants from distant countries who have frequent contact with native residents or who have no partner (compared with those with an own-group partner) show significantly more threat perceptions and those who have frequent contact with members of their own (relatively heterogeneous) groups seem to display significantly lower threat perceptions. This corroborates Hypothesis 3b. Examining the indirect associations via threat, it can be seen that having more contact with native Luxembourg friends is significantly related to more support for assimilation (standard beta = 0.12, p value = .00), whereas having more frequent contact with people from the own group—which is relatively heterogeneous—is significantly related to less support for assimilation (standard beta = −0.09, p value = .01). Furthermore, people who have no partner (standard beta = 0.09, p value = .01) or a partner from the outgroup (standard beta = 0.06, p value = .04) are indirectly associated with higher support for assimilation compared with people who have a partner from the own group.

In Table 5, one can find a short overview of the findings and the hypotheses.

Discussion

In times when societies are becoming increasingly diverse, it is probably more necessary than ever to investigate the opinion of both the majority and minority groups simultaneously, with regard to their preferences for acculturation strategies. This article offers two main contributions. First, it combines insights from acculturation research and from two social psychology theories of intergroup relations (group threat theory and contact theory) to create a larger framework, enabling us to investigate whether the presence of immigrant-related threat shapes the beliefs of both native residents and immigrants on how immigrants should integrate in society, and determines the role of contact with people from outgroups in that process. Previous literature provides only fragmented evidence, focusing only on a subset of elements at a time. Second, we examine whether the same predictors work in a similar way across the majority and two minority groups (immigrants from culturally close and culturally distant countries), which to the best of our knowledge has not previously been investigated and contributes to the previously scarce

Table 5. Overview of the Results With Corresponding Hypotheses for Each Group (Native Residents, Immigrants From Neighboring Countries, and Immigrants From Distant Countries).

	Natives			Neighbors			Distant		
	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism	Threat	Assimilation	Multiculturalism
Perceived threat		+(H1a)	−(H1a)		+(H2)	−(H2)		[a]	
Contact with outgroups		−(H1b)	+(H1b)	−(H3b)			−(H3b)		
Contact with natives				+(H3b)	+(H3a)	[a]	+(H3b)		

Note. The table should be read as following: for natives, we found that respondents with stronger threat perceptions are more supportive of assimilation (thus + H1a) and less supportive of multiculturalism (–H1a), confirming predicted Hypothesis H1a.

[a]A positive relationship was found but no hypothesis was stated for this relationship.

interminority literature. Finally, we perform the analyses on a random sample of residents in Luxembourg, which given its particular demographic context—where the majority is becoming the minority—constitutes an excellent case for examining intercultural relations.

The first important finding is that assimilation and multiculturalism are related differently across the three groups, which confirms the need to assess these dimensions simultaneously (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Celeste et al., 2014). The concepts are not correlated among the native population and the more culturally distant immigrant group, whereas, by contrast, among immigrants from neighboring countries, there is a strong, negative correlation. It seems that for both the natives and the more heterogeneous immigrant group, acculturation dimensions are two concepts between which they distinguish strongly, whereas for immigrants from neighboring countries, the concepts are more closely related to each other. Natives and culturally different immigrants probably see these two acculturation strategies as clearly distinct, as they both benefit more from, respectively, assimilation policy and multicultural policy. The neighboring immigrants are in fact very similar to the native population regarding cultural and historical heritage, language, religion, and even civic engagement (Valentová & Alieva, 2018) in the context of Luxembourg. They probably do not feel the need to assimilate as they "naturally" fit in the host society and also have no need for multicultural policy interventions compared with immigrants from more distant countries. However, we also need to consider the limitations of the two measures for assimilation and multiculturalism used in this study. The measures failed to capture the full complexity of Berry's concepts, and therefore, further research using confirmed acculturation measures is needed.[4]

For natives, the findings suggest that threat perceptions influence the support for assimilation or multiculturalism to a great extent. In line with previous research (Florack et al., 2003; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Tip et al., 2012), when the majority group believes that the minority group is threatening their economic, cultural, and future societal position, they become less open to diversity and prefer assimilative strategies. These results furthermore indicate that threat perceptions, even in a country with objectively low levels of realistic and symbolic threat and a generally positive attitude toward the resident foreign community (Fetzer, 2011; Semyonov et al., 2006), seem to be closely linked to native residents' acculturation preferences.

With regard to immigrants from the neighboring countries, we find that the associations between threat perceptions and assimilation and multiculturalism are the same as those for native residents, although weaker. These results seem to suggest that immigrants from neighboring countries do indeed have similar attitudes to those of natives. For the third group, immigrants from a more distant country, we find a significant positive association between threat perceptions and assimilation, whereas a significant association is absent for multiculturalism. It seems that immigrants with stronger threat perceptions show more support for assimilation in a similar way to that of native residents. One possible explanation for the findings is that considering the heterogeneous society in Luxembourg, this group of residents—especially those who feel threatened by newcomers—feels the need for more assimilation. Between 2001 and 2010, sizeble immigration flows arrived in Luxembourg coming from Portugal, the new member states of the EU, and from outside the EU (Thill-Ditsch, 2010). This rather heterogeneous inflow could raise more threat perceptions because of the large perceived cultural distance between residents and some of the newcomers. Another mechanism that can play is that these newcomers may occupy similar labor market positions as the culturally distant immigrants, which occupy already an insecure labor-market position (Brosius, 2011). A notable finding is, however, that the arrival of newcomers does not relate to more support for diversity among these culturally distant immigrants.

With regard to the number of contacts, for natives, we find evidence that having more friendship contacts with people from neighboring countries is related to less support for assimilation,

whereas we do not find any relation between friendship contacts with people from more distant countries and acculturation preferences. The results are also in line with findings in Switzerland, which show that the presence of culturally similar immigrants is associated with less prejudice, whereas the presence of culturally distant immigrants has rather mixed results (Green et al., 2010). This can partly be explained by the fact that one of the conditions for good contact requires people to have the same group status, and this is more often the case for people from neighboring or very similar countries. Furthermore, some groups have more opportunities and preferences to meet than others (Savelkoul, Tolsma, & Scheepers, 2015); for example, Luxembourg residents are more likely to meet residents from the neighboring countries in the labor market and in civic or leisure activities than culturally distant immigrants (Valentová & Alieva, 2018).

On the contrary, culturally close immigrants who have more contact with native residents are found to have more support for assimilation and less for multiculturalism. For immigrants from distant countries, more contact with Luxembourg natives is related to more threat perceptions, which then only indirectly is associated with more support for assimilation. Similar findings—that contact with natives is related to more support for assimilation—have been found among youngsters in the multiethnic city of Brussels (Teney, 2011), where the majority and minority ratio is similar to Luxembourg. However, the ethnic composition of immigrants is somewhat different, as more immigrants from outside of Europe reside in Brussels. The findings give evidence for the fact that immigrants embrace values from native residents through contact (Kankaras & Moors, 2012). For culturally close immigrants, we find that interethnic contact is related to a reduction in threat perceptions. This is similar to findings from the Netherlands, where contact with other immigrant groups is found to reduce the anxiety about newcomers (Hindriks et al., 2014). For culturally distant immigrants, the results also show a reduction of threat perceptions when there is more contact with other culturally distant immigrants. However, this result cannot be interpreted in the same way as for the culturally close immigrants as the contact measure for contact with outgroup members for the group of culturally distant immigrants also includes contact with members of the own ethnic group. The results of this study add to the literature on interminority contact as we find that minorities embrace values similar to the ones of the host society through contact with natives while interethnic contact (with the exception of contact with natives) relates to lower threat perceptions on newcomers.

The findings regarding contact in this study require some further thought. For both natives and immigrants, we did not find several expected relationships regarding threat perceptions among natives and acculturation strategies regarding immigrants. We propose two explanations. First, other comparative studies show that intergroup contact has a relatively weak effect in wealthy countries with fewer culturally distant immigrants (Schneider, 2008) and in countries where group threat levels are low (Kokkonen, Esaiasson, & Gilljam, 2016). Given Luxembourg's immigrant composition, its socioeconomic position (in 2011, Luxembourg had the highest GDP—per capita in Purchasing Power Standards—among the EU27 countries; Eurostat, 2011), and the fact that compared with other European countries, it has one of the lowest rates of anti-immigrant sentiment (Fetzer, 2011; Semyonov et al., 2006), the country can be considered as having low objective as well as subjective threat levels. This could explain why we failed to find the expected relationships for contact. Second, the measurement used to assess contact is limited by the fact that it only provides broad response categories. Moreover, it was not possible to distinguish between different types of contact or their quality (Freitag & Rapp, 2013). Further studies could also shed more light on this interesting puzzle by extending the contact measurements, for example, by using contacts with foreigners in the workplace, neighborhood contacts, and even forms of extended contact. Moreover, replicating the study of Green and colleagues (2010) in Switzerland, on the presence of culturally distant and culturally close immigrant groups at the municipality level in relation to acculturation preferences, would also enhance our

theoretical understanding greatly. Due to data limitations, this was unfortunately not possible in the current study.

An important remark regarding this study is the construct validity of the acculturation and threat items, as these refer to the generic term "immigrants." Several studies suggest that the meaning native respondents give to the term is relatively consistent (Asbrock, Lemmer, Becker, Koller, & Wagner, 2014; Spruyt, Van Der Noll, & Vandenbossche, 2016), while Hagendoorn (1995) states that immigrants use the same ethnic hierarchy as the dominant ethnic group. In this study, we established measurement equivalence of the constructs among natives, culturally close immigrants, and culturally distant immigrants. We did additional analyses of the threat construct among natives and immigrants across several European countries and established also measurement equivalence on the threat index in a comparative sample.[5] These results provide some evidence that the constructs are understood in a similar manner across natives and immigrants, and also in countries other than Luxembourg. However, further qualitative research is needed to understand how this term is interpreted by natives and immigrants, both in Luxembourg and in other European countries. As many surveys, such as the EVS and the European Social Survey, work with these general items, the research would be very insightful for future studies.

A shortcoming of this study is that the outcomes of our analyses do not allow us to draw any conclusions concerning the causality of effects of threat perceptions and friendship contacts on assimilation and multiculturalism. Further research based on longitudinal data and experimental studies is needed to formulate clear policy suggestions. The findings in this study show also some future directions. First, the present analysis focuses only on Luxembourg; cross-national research using this framework is needed to investigate whether the findings can also be generalized beyond this context. Second, the model in this research could be extended to be able to understand more about the mechanisms underlying the development of threat perceptions and acculturation preferences. One possibility is investigating the political orientation among both majority and minority residents in relation to threat and multiculturalism and assimilation. Research among the majority population has shown that more conservative people tend to prefer less diversity and display higher levels of threat to the national identity (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). The question remains whether this relation is similar among the minority groups. Another important factor to investigate in future research is how the current findings among immigrants relate to cultural identification and bicultural identity (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). It can be expected that immigrants who score high on the two dimensions of bicultural identity (cultural distance and cultural conflict) will behave similar to the native population while immigrants who score low on these dimensions will be associated with higher threat perceptions and also with more support for multiculturalism.

Appendix

Table A1. Bivariate Correlation Matrix for Native Residents ($N = 571$).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Assimilation	1														
2. Multiculturalism	−.01	1													
3. Perceived threat	.39***	−.33***	1												
4. Friends Luxembourg	.01	−.01	−.04	1											
5. Friends neighbors	−.20***	.07	−.16***	.12**	1										
6. Friends distant	−.09*	.11*	−.11**	.04	.49***	1									
7. Ingroup partner	−.03	.04	.12**	−.00	.06	.21***	1								
8. Outgroup partner	.07	−.06	−.09*	.07	−.09*	−.21***	−.87***	1							
9. No partner	−.09*	.05	−.05	−.13**	.05	−.00	−.24***	−.27***	1						
10. ED: Primary	.11**	−.07	.11**	−.14***	−.19***	−.11**	.02	−.04	.03	1					
11. ED: Sec. inf	.11**	.07	.09*	−.04	−.05	−.01	.04	−.02	−.03	−.20***	1				
12. ED: Sec. sup	−.03	−.04	.06	.10*	.07	.13**	.07	−.06	−.03	−.37***	−.38***	1			
13. ED: Post-sec	−.15***	.04	−.24***	.04	.12**	−.05	−.13**	.12**	.03	−.25***	−.26***	−.50***	1		
14. Gender	−.04	.06	−.01	−.02	−.04	−.03	.01	−.02	.02	.00	.04	.01	−.04	1	
15. Age	.06	−.03	−.07	−.05	−.11**	−.37***	−.42***	.37***	.09*	.24***	−.02	−.19***	.04	−.01	1
M	0.63	0.63	5.75	2.93	1.34	0.82	0.44	0.49	0.07	0.16	0.17	0.42	0.25	0.49	42.47
SD	0.21	0.21	2.09	0.31	0.73	0.58	0.50	0.50	0.26	0.37	0.37	0.49	0.44	0.50	17.98

Source. EVS (2008, LISER).

Note. ED = Education with categories primary education, secondary education (inferior level), secondary education (superior level), post-secondary education ; EVS = European Values Study.

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

Table A2. Bivariate Correlation Matrix for Immigrants From Neighboring Countries ($N = 275$).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Assimilation	1														
2. Multiculturalism	−.33***	1													
3. Perceived threat	.30***	−.33***	1												
4. Friends: Luxemburg	.31***	−.07	.01	1											
5. Friends: Neighbors	−.21***	.01	−.10	−.03	1										
6. Friends: Distant	−.17**	.09	−.14*	.02	.33***	1									
7. Ingroup partner	−.01	.01	.01	.01	.07	.14*	1								
8. Outgroup partner	−.18**	.02	−.09	.24***	.09	−.09	−.54***	1							
9. No partner	.19**	−.03	.08	.23***	−.16**	−.05	−.49***	−.47***	1						
10. ED: Primary	.13*	−.16**	.07	.12*	−.22***	−.14*	−.05	−.03	.08	1					
11. ED: Sec. inf	.08	−.01	.10	−.01	−.10	−.03	.14*	−.10	−.05	−.09	1				
12. ED: Sec. sup	.07	.01	.11	.08	−.09	.09	.07	−.11	.05	−.21***	−.20***	1			
13. ED: Post-sec	−.18**	.08	−.20***	−.14*	.26***	.02	−.11	.17**	−.06	−.32***	−.30***	−.70***	1		
14. Gender	−.01	.12*	−.05	.10	−.06	−.09	.08	−.14*	.06	−.01	.02	.15*	−.14*	1	
15. Age	.19**	−.08	.05	.23***	−.19**	−.25***	−.27***	.12	.17**	.28***	−.00	−.09	−.07	.05	1
M	0.47	0.70	4.48	2.18	1.79	0.89	0.36	0.34	0.30	0.09	0.08	0.32	0.51	0.52	42.32
SD	0.22	0.19	2.10	0.94	0.64	0.63	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.28	0.27	0.47	0.50	0.50	18.07

Source. EVS (2008, LISER).

Note. ED = Education with categories primary education, secondary education (inferior level), secondary education (superior level), post-secondary education; EVS = European Values Study.

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

Table A3. Bivariate Correlation Matrix for Immigrants From Distant Countries ($N = 441$).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Assimilation	1														
2. Multiculturalism	.02	1													
3. Perceived threat	.35***	−.09	1												
4. Friends: Luxemburg	.16***	.01	.14**	1											
5. Friends: Neighbor	.01	.09	−.05	.31***	1										
6. Friends: Distant	−.11*	.07	−.19***	.15**	.42***	1									
7. Ingroup partner	−.00	−.07	.08	.05	.08	.13**	1								
8. Outgroup partner	−.06	.04	−.19***	−.12**	−.10*	−.02	−.66***	1							
9. No partner	.08	.03	.15**	.09	.02	−.13**	−.36***	−.46***	1						
10. ED: Primary	−.03	.00	−.04	−.17***	−.29***	−.04	−.21***	.21***	−.00	1					
11. ED: Sec. inf	.02	−.00	.00	.06	−.07	.01	.22***	−.09	−.14**	−.31***	1				
12. ED: Sec. sup	.09	−.02	.07	.12*	.11*	.07	.10*	−.12*	.03	−.47***	−.26***	1			
13. ED: Post-sec	−.08	.01	−.03	.02	.28***	−.04	−.05	−.03	.09	−.39***	−.22***	−.33***	1		
14. Gender	−.05	.01	.04	.05	−.05	−.08	.04	−.05	.01	−.06	.02	.17***	−.14**	1	
15. Age	.06	.00	.07	−.03	−.21***	−.23***	−.35***	.22***	.14**	.36***	−.18***	−.28***	.04	−.10*	1
M	0.48	0.75	4.42	2.05	1.33	1.22	0.34	0.46	0.30	0.35	0.15	0.28	0.22	0.49	38.79
SD	0.22	0.18	2.13	0.98	0.78	0.60	0.48	0.50	0.46	0.48	0.35	0.45	0.41	0.50	16.32

Source. EVS (2008, LISER).

Note. ED = Education with categories primary education, secondary education (inferior level), secondary education (superior level), post-secondary education; EVS = European Values Study.

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

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Notes

1. Because these dimensions are closely linked, we also performed a Multiple Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA) in which all items had to load onto one dimension. The model did not have an acceptable fit: χ^2 value of 322.629 ($df = 132$; standardized root mean square residual [SRMR] = 0.07; root mean squared error of approximation [RMSEA] = 0.11; comparative fit index [CFI] = 0.83). This again confirms that the three dimensions are theoretically and empirically distinct.
2. The contact variables of friendship were introduced into the model as observed variables and not as latent variables.
3. It has been shown that Maximum Likelihood (ML)-based indices CFI, TLI, and RMSEA are sensitive to sample size and non-normality of the data (Nye & Drasgow, 2011).
4. We thank the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.
5. The analyses can be provided upon request to the authors.

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