Friendships between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the mechanisms of friendships between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification in the Netherlands. The social identity theory argues that identities are shaped and constructed by the social environment. I expected that interaction between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds enhance ethnic identification. Furthermore, I investigated friendships between adolescents with non-Western migration background according to the homogamy theory, which provide a theoretical framework that distinguishes the role of preferences, opportunities and third party in friendship formations. I have used data from semi-structured in-depth interviews that was collected for a qualitative research project by ''Verwey-Jonker Instituut''. Participants were adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds ranging between 16 and 24 years old. Results indicated that perceived similarities, differences and classification by others are important indicators for ethnic identification. Perceived behavioural similarities also enhance the preference to befriend same-ethnic peers.

Author:　　　　**Thanja van Kaam**

SNR:　　　　**2007391**

Supervisor:　　　　**Christof van Mol**

Second reader:　　　　**Ruud Luijkx**

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1. Introduction

The Netherlands can be considered to be a multicultural society including a wide variety of socio-cultural groups. Over two million non-Western immigrants live in the Netherlands, of which the four largest groups are of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean origin (CBS, 2016). The cultural diversity in the Netherlands raises many social questions because living together in a society with a dominant national culture that differs from many migrant cultures is not as self-evident as the ideology of multiculturalism suggests (Geling, 2016).

Recent study by the ''Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2015)'' SCP (2015) has shown that many Turkish and Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands experience moderate segregation, meaning that the social, emotional and cultural distance with Dutch society is rather large. Individuals who experience segregation often indicate that their health is bad, that they are unhappy and that their life situation is poor compared to others (SCP, 2015). Turkish and Moroccan youngsters often have contact with native Dutch people, but they primarily identify with their country of origin. Adolescents do not only identify with their country of origin, but also have strong social and emotional relationships with other youngsters from the same group of origin. This can be referred to as ethnic identification (Phinney, 1992). Ethnic identification is the extent to which individuals feel a sense of belonging to an ethnic group. Feelings of group membership contribute to an individuals' psychological well-being. It enhances self-esteem and plays an important role in a persons' self-concept (Phinney, 1992). Two components of ethnic identity can be distinguished according to Sabatier (2008): ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration. Ethnic affirmation refers to a sense of group membership and the attitudes that arise with it, while ethnic exploration results from engagement in the developmental process of ethnic identity (Sabatier, 2008).

Adolescents often believe that the identification with their religious group and with their country of origin become stronger during their life (SCP, 2015). At the age of 8 or 9, the social environment of children changes from family to the community of peers at school. Peers become more important and the development of friendships starts during this transitional period (Schrum, 1988). Even though friendships are self-determined, they are constructed, developed and altered through broader social contexts (Adams, & Allan, 1998). For example, Schrum (1988) examined friendship ties between third graders and found that almost 88% are formed within their own grade at school. Friendships are also related to identification processes. For example, Maliepaard, Karen, Mieke, and Phalet (2012) argue that there is a strong correlation between group identification and intergroup contact.

Adolescents who share common attributes often interact with each other and tend to influence one another (Kandel, 1978). Hence, it could occur that ethnic minorities feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic group and therefore are more likely to befriend other members of the ethnic group. Adolescents may select friends based on similarities in behaviour, but adolescents also adopt behaviours through interaction with their friends (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Friendships between same-ethnic peers, cause positive in-group evaluations and this could lead to a stronger sense of ethnic identification (Stark & Flache, 2012; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006).

Previous research has mainly focussed on the mechanisms between segregation[1] and ethnic identification amongst adolescents e.g. (Bagci, 2017; Moody, 2001; Phinney, 1992; van Bergen, Feddes, Doosje, & Pels, 2015). Comparatively little research has been done on the association between friendships and ethnic identification. Existing studies on those topics mainly focus on friendship preferences when adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds already have a strong sense of ethnic identification. In contrast, this thesis will investigate the relationship between friendship and identification of adolescents, focusing particularly on the following central research question: *which mechanisms explain the relationship between in-group friendships of adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification?*

Focusing on this research question, I will contribute to the scientific literature in two ways. Firstly, many studies measured ethnic identity using the 'Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure' (MEIM) e.g. (Leszczensky, 2018; Pahl & Way, 2006; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Sabatier, 2008; Supple et al., 2006). They used questions with a 5-point scale such as: ''I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group''. In this thesis I want to investigate the underlying motives using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Secondly, many studies focused on students at the beginning of secondary school (Leszczensky, 2018; Munniksma, Verkuyten, Flach, 2015). Stark and Flache (2012) for example, focused on adolescents in their first year of secondary school. This is the first year where interpersonal relations are newly formed. However, previous studies showed that the ethnic self-image develops over time (Pahl & Way, 2006). Therefore, adolescents at later ages might be more aware of their

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[1]*In this thesis I use the term 'segregation' to refer to ''a measure of the extent to which members of a minority group interact with the majority group or with each other''* (Gorard, Taylor, 2002, p. 877)*.*

ethnic identification than 13-year-old adolescents. Consequently, I will focus on an older age group, ranging between 16 and 24 years old.

2. Theoretical Background

In this section I will outline the theoretical underpinnings of this study. More specifically, I will elaborate on the concepts of homophily and ethnic identification and present the empirical findings of previous studies.

2.1 Homophily

2.1.1 Theory

Ethnic homophily means a preference for same-ethnic ties (McPherson et al., 2001). Homophily theory states that interaction is more likely between individuals who share similarities (McPherson et al., 2001). Kalmijn (1998) described marriage patterns according to the homogamy theory. Social homogamy theory can be used to describe how people of different ethnic backgrounds are attracted to one another (Buss, 1994). It provides a theoretical framework that distinguishes between *preferences, opportunities and third parties* (McPherson et al., 2001; Moody, 2001; Kalmijn, 1998; Smith, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2016; Stark & Flache, 2012).

Preferences

The first component of the theoretical framework is *preferences.* According to Hallinan and Williams (1987), similarities are the basis for interpersonal attraction. Peers have a greater preference for friends with the same status characteristics than friends without similar status characteristics. Hence, adolescents with similar ethnic background characteristics are more likely to befriend each other because of shared interests, tastes, knowledge, values and so forth. Similarities in knowledge enhances mutual understanding because it provides a common basis for conversation. Similarity in taste and interests enlarges the likelihood to participate in joint activities. Similarities in opinion and values leads to mutual confirmation of each others worldview (Berten & van Rossem, 2015; Kalmijn, 1998).

Opportunity

The second component argues that the tendency to choose friends from the same race depends on the *opportunities* to meet each other (Bagci, 2017; Leszczensky, 2018; McPherson et al., 2001; Moody, 2001; Smith et al., 2016; Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). Hallinan

and Williams (1987) argues that the attractiveness of actual or potential alternatives to a relationship is an important component that influences the cohesiveness of a social relationship. Ties, that are not family, are mainly formed through school, work and the neighbourhood. Personal relationships are formed through these organizational foci because it puts people in contact with one another (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010), i.e. they provide opportunities for contact. For example, the racial composition of a classroom can stimulate or limit the opportunity for same-ethnic ties. Adolescents with similar backgrounds and achievements are often grouped into the same classes due to segregated tracks in schools. As such, homophily is more likely in ethnic segregated classes because there is less opportunity to befriend peers with other ethnic backgrounds (Hallinan & Williams, 1987; McPherson et al., 2001).

Third party

Third parties such as friends and family are important 'gatekeepers' to homogeneity in friendships between adolescents (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). Social networks show a high degree of reciprocity: friendships tend to return because there is a high tendency for A to be friends with B if B is already friends with A. Another important influence of third parties on racial homophily is through 'triadic closure' – the tendency for friends of friends to befriend one another (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). According to Kalmijn (1998) third parties stimulate homophily in two ways: by group identification and by group sanctions. Firstly, when people feel a strong sense of belonging to a group they tend to internalize norms[2]; which increases the likelihood to cluster together with someone of their own group. Secondly, third parties such as parents, the church, etc. can sanction members when socializing with individuals who do not belong to the same group (Kalmijn, 1998).

2.1.2 Empirical findings

The first evidence of homophily was measured among college students, urban neighbourhoods and school children (McPherson et al., 2001). They found homophily based on demographic characteristics such as gender, sex, ethnicity, age and education. After the first evidence of homophily based on demographic characteristics, many researchers focussed on race and ethnic homophily (Hallinan & Williams, 1987). Hallinan and Williams (1987) argue that ethnicity is one of the most important criteria in friendship selection. The tendency to choose friends from the same race starts in the early years of adolescence (Berten & van Rossem, 2015).

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[2] *Accepted norms and values through socialization (Campbell, 1964).*

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Preferences

Berten and van Rossem (2015) tested behavioural homophily and status homophily for same-ethnic friendships. They found that behaviour homophily was strongly observed between same-ethnic friends, but this was not the case for status homophily. This means that preference for same-ethnic friendships occurs because adolescents perceive behavioural similarities and do not select friends based on ethnic backgrounds (Berten & van Rossem, 2015). Starke and Flache (2012) supported this theory as their results first showed that peers had a preference for same-ethnic friends. However, when Starke and Flache (2012) took friendship selection based on opinion similarity into consideration, they found that ethnic homophily was largely caused by preference for friends with similar opinions and not for friends with similar ethnic backgrounds (Stark & Flache, 2012).

Based on the theory I expect *adolescents with a non-Western migration backgrounds prefer to befriend same-ethnic peers based on similar behaviour characteristics.*

Opportunity

Smith et al., (2016) examined the relationship between ethnic homophily and opportunity structures among secondary education students. Smith et al., (2016) found that the tendency to befriend same-ethnic peers depends upon the ethnic composition[3] within classrooms (Smith et al., 2016). Students have more opportunities to meet peers from other ethnic backgrounds when school classes are ethnically diverse. Subsequently, this increases ethnic homophily. Results also showed that immigrants' same-ethnic friendship preferences increase with moderately ethnic diverse classes but decreases with most ethnically diversity (Smith et al., 2016). When the in-group of immigrants expand in more ethnically diverse classes, the likelihood of befriending same-ethnic peers increases. When classes become most ethnically diverse, the in-group decreases again and the opportunity for cross-ethnic friendship increases (Smith et al., 2016). Moody (2001) argues that extracurricular mixing decreases racial segregation in school. Hence, when adolescents join extracurricular activities that are racially mixed, same-ethnic friendship preferences decreases (Moody, 2001).

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[3] *Ethnic composition means the numbers of minority and majority members in class.*

Based on the theory I expec*t that adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds in classes and neighbourhoods that are ethnically less diverse have a tendency for ethnic homophily.*

Third party

Wimmer and Lewis (2010) found reciprocity, triadic closure, and sharing the same physical environment influence the degree of network homogeneity. Adolescents often feel obliged to reciprocate a friendship or to befriend friends of their friend. Closing triads and reciprocate ties will increase homophiles groups (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). Labianca, Brass, and Gray (1998) have researched the interpersonal relationships and perceptions of intergroup conflict and found that friends, who do not have access to members of an out-group, will rely on the information they obtain from friends. While the information is being transmitted, one could have a more extreme view than the person who originally experienced intergroup conflict. These people tend to choose friends who share similar perceptions and avoid interpersonal relationship with members of the out-group (Labianca et al., 1998).

Based on the theory I expect e*thnic homophily to be more salient among adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds when they have more homogeneous networks of family and friends.*

2.2 Social Identity Theory

2.2.1 Theory
Social identity theory argues that a persons' identity is formed through the process of self-categorization and comparison (Jenkins, 2014). The study of Jenkins (2014) highlights that identities are not 'fixed' but they are flexible and negotiable. Identification is the process of 'being' or 'becoming' and not a 'thing''. Similarity and differences are the main principles of identification (Jenkins, 2014). Identities can be defined as social identities as the social environment shapes them. Sociological reviews often suggest that interaction always takes place with identification (Jenkins, 2014). First, we classify things or persons and then we associate oneself with something or someone else. Social categorization has two important functions. Firstly, it contributes to the means of defining others. Secondly, it enables individuals to categorize themselves within the social context. "A group is an actually existing concrete point of reference for its members, while category is a collectively defined classification of identity, part of local common knowledge'' (Jenkins, 2014, p. 112). The process of comparison follows after categorization. Previous researches emphasize that differences are key elements in the process of identification (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). 'Differentiation from' permits 'identification with' to happen. Even though Jenkins (2014)

agrees with the argument that differences are important elements of identification, he also stresses the importance of similarities. It is not possible to gain a full understanding of the collective dimension by only highlighting differences (Jenkins, 2014).

Individual and collective identifications are entangled with each other. There are two different ways of looking at collective identification. Firstly, people know who they are and are aware of their membership of a collective. Secondly, membership of a collective is only recognised by others. Classification by others is a way of identifying ourselves. Subsequently, consciousness or group membership creates relationships with other group members. Jenkins (2014) also argues that individuals who are perceived as similar to oneself are labelled as members of the in-group. Furthermore, if persons are perceived as dissimilar when comparing them to the self or the in-group, they will be categorized as out-group members. Thus, social identification is how people see themselves as members from the in-group, in comparison with the perceived out-group. Social identification gives a sense of belonging to a group or a person (Jenkins, 2014). Favourable in-group perceptions could lead to negative evaluations of out-groups because of a sense of in-group superiority (Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007). The interaction *between* groups is a function of the interaction *within* groups (Berten & van Rossem, 2015).

2.2.2 Empirical findings
Phinney et al., (2001) expected that the values and attitudes expressed by parents along with the influence of peers play a role in the process of ethnic identity formation. He assumed that there were three components that influences ethnic identity among adolescents from immigrant families: cultural maintenance by parents, social interaction with peers from the same group and ethnic language proficiency. He found that adolescents who spent more time with same-ethnic peers tend to have a stronger ethnic identity because they make more use of the ethnic language (Phinney et al., 2001). Hence, a strong correlation between social interaction with peers from one's own ethnic group and ethnic identity was found. Phinney et al., (2001) also suggested that knowledge and use of ancestral language helps preserving ethnic identity. It maintains ethnic participation and gives access to ethnic communities. Other important contributions of ethnic identity are strong ethnic communities and parental influences, either through the promotion of ethnic language or directly. Sabatier (2008) tried to improve upon these theories by researching how ethnic identity is constructed based on an ethnic and national approach. He tested the influence of peers, parents, and perceived discrimination on ethnic identity in France. He examined the influence of two critical components: affirmation and ethnic exploration. Ethnic exploration refers to the developmental process where adolescents explore the meaning of their group membership

and ethnic affirmation refers to positive feelings towards the ethnic group and a sense of belonging (Pahl & Way, 2006). She found that attachment of adolescents to the culture of their parents was a strong predictor of ethnic affirmation and exploration. Pahl and Way (2006) examined the developmental trajectories of ethnic exploration and ethnic affirmation among black and Latino adolescents. They found that Latino adolescents maintain high levels of ethnic affirmation and feel a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group. The Latino adolescents in their study are the majority within school and the surrounding neighbourhood. They mention that being surrounded by same-ethnic peers, may give rise to feelings of support and this causes high levels of affirmation (Pahl & Way, 2006).

Based on the theory I expect that *interaction between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds enhances ethnic identification*

3. Research design and methods

The aim of this research project is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between in-group friendships of adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification. For this thesis, I have used data that was collected for a qualitative research project by ''Verwey-Jonker Instituut'', where I did an internship. With this project, ''Verwey-Jonker Instituut'' aimed to investigate the hybrid identities of adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds in the Netherlands. The data collection consisted of one focus group and thirty semi-structured in-depth interviews with adolescents aged between 16 and 24 years old in different parts of the Netherlands, including both rural and urban environments. The participants were recruited by approaching 40 organizations that are often in contact with adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds (see appendix 1). These organizations were, for example, youth organizations, community centres and professional organisations. They also conducted a focus group with 10 respondents. The focus on the worldview of adolescents in the interviews as well as the respondents' characteristics (i.e. aged between 16 and 24 years old, with a non-Western migration background) made the data well suited as an empirical base for my study. This qualitative research design provided the possibility to explore the thoughts, feelings and individual experiences of the respondents. It allowed asking open-ended questions to a relatively small sample size. All interviews were conducted according to a topic list including open and closed questions. The topic list structures the interviews and helps to focus on significant topics. However, the semi-structured format also means that there is room to deviate from the questions. As such, the researcher can respond flexibly to the information that the respondents give and ask for

underlying thoughts and motives. I have focused on the questions about self-image and identification, as well as questions about adolescents' social identification that were asked during the interviews. The interviews took about 1,5 hours. An overview of the questions and themes can be consulted in appendix 2. All interview were conducted in Dutch and were voice recorded. Subsequently, the interviews were transcribed and anonymised.

3.1 Studied population

The 'Verwey Jonker Instituut' envisaged 30 interviews. The 30 adolescents (19 female and 11 male) that were interviewed attended high school, college or university at the time of interviewing. All respondents were born in the Netherlands or came to the Netherlands before the age of 3, and had non-Western migration backgrounds. A non-Western migration background is generally defined as having at least one parent who is born outside Europe, North America or Oceania. For this data collection, it was required that both parents are born abroad to enter the sample. As all respondents are born in the Netherlands or came before the age of 3, it is ensured they are not socialized in another society, which could affect the perceptions and identification at a later stage in life.

Almost half of the studied population (N = 11) had a Moroccan ethnic background. The rest of the respondents had a Turkish (N = 4), Iranian (N = 1), Iraqi (N = 1), Senegalese (N = 1), Kurdish (N = 2), Egyptian, (N = 1) Ghanaian (N = 1) Surinamese (N = 6) Indian (N=1) and Angolan (N = 1) background. The respondents lived in different parts of the Netherlands. Only 8 of the studied adolescents lived in densely populated cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam, while the remaining participants lived in rural areas or less densely populated cities. For the first analysis, I have selected five participants based on differences in gender, age, place of residence, and country of origin. Three of the five participants were men and two were women. Two respondents were twenty-two years old and three were eighteen and nineteen year old adolescents. Two lived in densely populated cities and three in rural areas. The adolescents had different ethnic backgrounds such as Moroccan, Turkish, Iranian and Hindu. The reason I have chosen for variation in the first sample population is because I wanted to maximize the opportunity for emerging new findings in the first analysis. The remaining respondents I have analysed in this thesis were chosen based on theoretical sampling. An overview of the characteristics of the respondents that were included in this thesis can be consulted in appendix 3.

3.2 Data analysis

For analysing the data I have used the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory allows analysis of qualitative data by following systematic, yet flexible guidelines. These guidelines provide a path through the research process that researchers can adopt to conduct diverse studies. A distinction can be made between the different grounded theory approaches of Corbin, Charmaz and Clarke (Kwalon, 2016). Corbin (as cited in Kwalon, 2016) describes grounded theory as an open and flexible approach, in which data analysis plays an important role. The analysis focuses on the development of concepts and themes by the researcher. The approach of Charmaz (as cited in Kwalon, 2016) focuses on studying and discovering emotional and social processes. This grounded theory approach can be characterized as ''constructivist'' because the researcher is 'constructing' a process during the research (Kwalon, 2016). Clarke (as cited in Kwalon, 2016) wanted to use the grounded theory approach to emphasize (temporary) networks of relationships around a social phenomenon. The grounded theory approach from Clarke (as cited in Kwalon, 2016) can be used for researching symbolic changes and shifts in society. For this thesis I was mainly interested in discovering processes, therefore I have followed the guidelines of the grounded theory approach of Charmaz (2006).

Coding

The first step of the analysis is coding the transcribed interviews. ''Coding is an analytic frame from which you build the analysis '' (Charmaz, 2006, p. 45). With coding you provide the data with certain labels, which summarizes, categorizes and accounts for pieces of the data (see appendix 4). Three phases of the grounded theory approach according to Charmaz (2006) can be distinguished: initial coding, focused coding and theoretical coding.

Initial coding

First, I started with initial coding. This means creating codes that best fit the data. With initial coding you remain open to explore new ideas and discoveries about the data (Charmaz, 2006). There are several ways to perform initial coding. Charmaz (2006) describes line-by-line coding as a method in which you name each line of the data. Some grounded theorists also move through the data word-by-word. However, these methods can be very time consuming when you have large amount of data to code and not every line or word is relevant for your research. For this reason I have codes several phrases or sentences at once and stayed close to the meaning of the data. I constructed short codes by using the method of in vivo coding. With this method I am using the language and the words of the respondents themselves. In vivo coding is useful to identify 'what' is actually in the data and it helps to analyse the data without being biased by preconceived theories. During the coding

process, I constantly compared transcripts and trying to see similarities and differences in the data. I only focused on pieces of the data that seemed important for my thesis in order to avoid collecting data with no theoretical relevance. For this reason I only coded questions about self-image, personal identification and social identification. For the coding process I used ATLAS.ti version 8.3.17, a qualitative data analysis system.

Focused coding

After initial coding I started with focused coding. Focused coding means analysing the data at a broader scale. Codes are more selective than line-by-line coding. Focused codes makes it possible to compare people's experiences, interpretations and actions (Charmaz, 2006). The goal of focused coding is to use the most frequent and significant codes to categorize larger segments of data (Charmaz, 2006). To narrow down the number of codes and to get a good overview, I changed the spelling of similar codes and see if I could combine them. Data was compared with data and in order to identify the most salient themes. Subsequently, these codes were compared to the data to refine the focused codes. Codes that described the same concept were marked with the same colour in the ''code manager'' of ATLAS.ti version 8.3.17.

Memo writing

Memo writing was an important part of the analysis. Memo writing means constructing notes to elaborate and fill out categories (Corbin, Strauss, 2008). It keeps the researcher involved in the analysis during the research process and helps to emerge new ideas about the data. Furthermore, it also allows making comparisons between data and analyse the relationships between codes (Charmaz, 2006). I created memos during the entire process and wrote reflections on ideas that appeared while coding. During the first analysis I mostly wrote descriptive notes and after that I started to write more analytic notes. I compared some of my notes with previous findings of the literature and it helped me to identify a link between the literature and findings of the data. Memo writing made it possible to refine ideas about the categories and to look at the bigger picture. Furthermore, it helped me to decide which data was still missing and which data still needed follow-up.

Theoretical coding

The last phase of coding is theoretical coding. This was done by the use of memos and constant comparison of the focused code. This process resulted in the emergence of six theoretical categories. Theoretical categories conceptualize how codes are related and moves the analysis in a theoretical direction (Charmaz, 2006).

Theoretical saturation

I defined six core categories after the first analysis, consisting of a heterogeneous group of five participants. Categories provide an analytic handle when they fully reflect the respondents' experiences. The categories that were constructed seemed valuable for an abstract analysis. However, after the first analysis properties of the categories were still thin and a lot of information remained questionable or assumed. Hence, I gathered more data to refine the categories and their characteristics clearly. This strategy is called theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling means selecting participants with specific characteristics based on the results of the data collection. The results that emerged from the first analysis were analyzed and I identified what data was still missing or was still unclear. I have therefore selected participants who gave new theoretical insights in the data or who clarified the preliminary data.

Theoretical sampling continues until categories are 'saturated'. Categories are 'saturated' when no further theoretical insights can be gained out of the data (Charmaz, 2006). After twelve interviews, I noticed that no new codes could be ascribed to the data. Hence, this meant that no new patterns were discovered and from that point on I started working on the results section.

4. Results

In this section I outline the main findings. First, I elaborate on the findings of identification and then I explain mechanisms of friendships.

4.1 Personal identification

Previous research has shown that similarities and differences are the main principles in the process of identification (Jenkins, 2014). Individuals first classify others and then categorize themselves within the social context. According to the literature, social identification is how individuals see themselves as members of a collective (Jenkins, 2014). When I asked the interviewed students in this study to describe themselves, they mainly mentioned personal characteristics like being social, cheerful or sensitive. They named things they were good at or described positive attitudes about themselves. The following quote illustrates this process:

''Very spontaneous. Very open and social and love to talk to people. I am interested in many topics. I am impulsive. I am always there for everyone. I am also very much a scatterbrain. I do so many things at the same time and I like to do everything. I find it

sometimes difficult to note appointments and this makes me a scatterbrain.''
Female, 20 years

In general, the adolescents could properly identify their strengths and weaknesses. Interestingly, the students left ethnicity and ancestry out of consideration when they had to describe themselves: it was not the first thing that came to their minds. However, when asking them if they feel different compared to other adolescents in the Netherlands, they mostly took ethnicity into account. Hence, ethnicity seems more important in the process of comparison than in the process of self-identification. This suggests that *the ethnic identification of adolescents is mainly related to their social identity.*

The analysis also suggests significant differences in who the reference groups are. Some students compared themselves with same-ethnic peers in the Netherlands, while others compared themselves with native Dutch adolescents. The reference group[4] depended on the group with whom they perceive similarities and differences. The majority indicated that they feel different than native Dutch peers. They mentioned that they notice differences in norms and values. This can be explained due to differences in upbringing, culture and religion:

''I sometimes find myself quite different than other young people in the Netherlands. I think this is because of my culture and religion. I was raised very differently so I have other norms and values than many young people in the Netherlands. This occasionally collides and then I feel like an outsider.''
Male, 19 years

When comparing themselves to same-ethnic peers, some respondents also notice differences in attitudes with same-ethnic peers. This could be due to differences in upbringing. One respondent mentioned that she was raised more strictly by her parents than other Moroccan youngsters. This shows that *adolescents do not always identify with ethnic-peers and the ''other'' does not necessarily have to be native Dutch adolescents.* The following quote shows this:

''There are many Moroccan Muslim's and many Moroccan youngsters, but I think that my parents are a bit stricter than the rest. One is Islamic[5] and Moroccan and is allowed to do

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[4] *Reference groups refers to comparing with other individuals or groups that shape behavior and evaluations (Bearden & Etzek, 1982)*
[5] *The religious faith of Muslims*

something and the other is Islamic and Moroccan and is not allowed to. I was raised a bit more strictly than other youngsters.''
Female, 18 years

It also appears that the social context[6] can influence the self-image of adolescents. One respondent felt that he was seen as inferior at work because of his ethnic background. He mentioned for example that his colleagues only greeted other native Dutch colleagues and not him. For this reason he felt different than other native Dutch adolescents. Another respondent claimed that she felt different than native Dutch peers at high school because she was the only person with an ethnic background. She found this difficult and was very much searching for her identity. In both cases, the respondents did not feel that they were being accepted by native Dutch peers. Furthermore, the social environment[7] can ensure that adolescents do not feel different than other peers. This seemed the case with a respondent who indicated that she only surrounded herself with same-ethnic peers. She did not feel different than other adolescents in general because, from her point of view, all peers are similar. *Hence, the social context and the social environment can be decisive in how adolescents see themselves in comparison with others.* This is in line with the literature, which argues that identities can be defined as social identities because they are shaped by the social environment (Jenkins, Social Identity, 2014).

4.2 Ethnic Identification

In order to gain a better insight in the identification process of adolescents, respondents were asked about their sense of belonging to a group. The first thing that came forward was that most adolescents felt part of more than one group. Groups they mentioned are: students, ethnic group, Muslims, the Dutch, and youngsters in general. The extent to which the respondents felt connected to a group depends on the social context and the social environment. Some respondents indicated that they felt more connected with their ethnic group when they are surrounded by ethnic peers. The adolescents can talk about common things due to similarities in upbringing and cultural practices. This enhances the feeling of mutual understanding. Religion also seems to play a role in the extent to which adolescents feel connected to a group. One respondent indicated for example: ''when we talk about religion we feel stronger connected''. Some respondents also mentioned that they feel more connected to their ethnic group when they make use of their cultural language, for example:

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[6] *Social context refers to connections and relationships with other people within places or shared activities (Batorowicz, King, Mishra, & Missiuna, 2016).*
[7] *Social environment refers to unidirectional influences of people and institutions, also known as socio-physical structures (Batorowicz et al., 2016).*

''I feel a bit of everything. If someone asks what are you? Then I say Sudanese/Iraqi. I would not immediately say I am Iraqi or Sudanese. I'll only say it if someone asks. When I am with my father I feel Iraqi and with my grandmother Sudanese. This is due to speaking the language.
Some words are Sudanese and some Iraqi. Also because of the culture, for example with weddings. I see differences between them. It depends on the environment. When the two groups come together, I feel both. It depends on where I am.''
Female, 18 years

Adolescents do not necessarily identify with same-ethnic peers in their country of origin, but rather with the group of foreigners in the Netherlands. One reason for this is that they see more similarities in lifestyle and have a better understanding with same-ethnic peers in the Netherlands than same-ethnic peers in their country of origin. It can be suggested that similarities and mutual understanding are important factors in the process of identification. The following quote illustrates this:

''I am Iranian, you feel connected to all other Iranians. Especially with Iranians in the Netherlands and less with the people in Iran. The Iranians in Iran are different or have a different way of life. I also think because they are stricter there and therefore many people cannot show their true self. I think people are fake there. It fits within our culture that you are polite and subdued. I think they sometimes overdo it. I think sincerity is very important. I also feel less connected to Iranians there.''
Female, 18 years

Some of the interviewed adolescents feel a stronger connection to the Dutch when they are surrounded by Dutch natives, for example at school or at a congress. A number of respondents also mentioned that they feel more connected with their ethnic group when they are surrounded by Dutch natives. The extent to which young people feel a sense of belonging to a group also seem to depend on how other people see them. When adolescents experience feelings of exclusion by Dutch natives they often do not feel connected to the Dutch. The respondents also feel that they are often being stereotyped in a group and adolescents tend to identify with the group in which they are stereotyped. The literature supports this finding by indicating that classification by others is a way of identifying ourselves (Jenkins, 2014). Adolescents also tend to identify with their ethnic group when negative comments about the country of origin are made. One respondent for example said:
″when people talk negative about Moroccans, I automatically take it personally and feel one

of them.'' *The direct environment seems an important indicator for identification, especially stereotyping plays a large role.*

In general, the dual identities do not have to conflict with each other according to the youngsters. The adolescents like that they get the best of both worlds and they can use it in different situations. They do not necessarily see these cultural identities as different worlds because it goes naturally for them. They can often quickly adapt their behavior to the social environment and to the wishes of others in different social contexts. Some respondents also indicated that they sometimes find it difficult to have multiple cultural identities when norms and values are in conflict with each other. Adolescents especially face difficulties when native Dutch adolescents do not understand their cultural customs. It is often difficult for them to explain it. Even though some respondents like it when people show interest in their culture or region, they often do not believe that a friendship with native Dutch adolescents can be formed.

4.3 Friendships

Friendship seems an important indicator of the social identification of adolescents. As indicated earlier, three factors that play a role in the formation of friendships are: preferences, opportunities and third parties (McPherson et al., 2001; Moody, 2001; Kalmijn, 1998; Smith, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2016; Stark & Flache, 2012).

4.3.1 Preferences

Adolescents were asked how they choose their friends and what they find important in a friendship in order to learn more about the preferences of adolescents. They were also asked what characteristics they can ascribe to their circle of friends and what the ethnic composition is.

Adolescent mostly indicated that they do not consciously choose friends but they see it as a natural process. There are several things that adolescents find important in a friendship. One important thing is that they are able to trust somebody and that the other person can trust them as well. This means that a friend is someone they can tell everything to. At the same time they expect that a friend is being honest with them and do not talk bad behind their back.

The adolescents also described that they need to have a certain ''click'' with somebody. Having a ''click'' means someone with whom they have many things in common with, someone they can talk to and understands them. According to the interviewed respondents,

having similar norms and values is important for a friendship. This means someone who has the same mindset and similar boundaries as them. They recognize things from each other and therefore understand each other in a better way. This is in line with previous studies arguing that similarities in preferences and interests enhance mutual understanding because it provides a common basis for conversation (Berten & van Rossem, 2015). Similar interests and humor are also mentioned as important factors in friendship formations. For example, one respondent indicated the following:

''I want to be surrounded by good people. I do not feel much for being surrounded by too many friends and people anymore. I don't feel like bullshit anymore. I am always open to meet people and become friends. I think someone might be a nice friend if she has the same interests and the same humor. Someone you have a ''click'' with and a good feeling. Humor is always important.''
Female, 18 years

The respondents indicated that having the same ethnic background is not a requirement for a friendship, but it makes friendships often easier. Religion also seems to play a large role. According to some respondents, having the same religion could lead to more mutual understanding because of following similar rules of life.

Some of the interviewed youngsters mentioned that they also have friends with native Dutch backgrounds but they are not as comfortable with them as they are with their same-ethnic friends. They mainly describe these friendships as ''formal friendships''. Previous theory support this finding by arguing that adolescents with similar ethnic background characteristics are more likely to befriend each other because of shared interests, values and preferences (Berten & van Rossem, 2015).

4.3.2 Opportunity
The interviewed respondents were asked about their experiences at primary, secondary and tertiary education, as well as about their contact with classmates and the ethnic composition of the school.

Most adolescents talk positive about elementary school. They mentioned that elementary school was fun and that contact with classmates and teachers were mostly good. Many adolescents are still friends with people they have known since primary education. Respondents who attended a primary school with an ethnically mixed student population mentioned it was nice having same-ethnic pupils at school. They mostly associated with

same-ethnic peers because they perceived similarities and felt connected to them. Adolescents who attended a school where the majority was native Dutch, associated with native Dutch peers. They often did not mind being the only pupil with a non-Western migration background in class. In fact, some even felt Dutch and being around native Dutch peers was normal to them. They were often unaware of the differences in ethnic background or did not pay attention to it. This can be illustrated by the following quote:

''It was a Catholic school with many Dutch people in the classroom. I really learned how to deal with Dutch people back then. I first came into contact with pupils with a non-Western when I was in high school. I thought that was very weird because I had never experienced that but I did like it more. I noticed that there was a big difference between the Dutch and the Moroccan. I was the only pupil with a non-Western migration background at primary school and I had many Dutch friends. I could get along very well with my classmates. I did not notice that I was different yet.''
Female, 16 years

These adolescents often grew up in neighborhoods where the majority was native Dutch. Some adolescents, who were the only pupil in class with a non-Western migration background, did not feel comfortable in class. This had to do with the fact that they did not feel accepted and were often bullied. It raised the need to connect with pupils who were more similar to them.

High school seems to be a more difficult period for the respondents. Youngsters ended up in a new social environment and the composition of the pupils' population changed. Some youngsters experienced this as positive and others as negative. The change from a less ethnic diverse elementary school to an ethnic diverse school was pleasant for some respondents. They were not used to attend a school with students who had non-Western migration backgrounds. One respondent indicated that she felt relieved because it was much nicer being around same-ethnic peers. They indicated that they understand each other's norms and values and also each other's humor. This illustrates 'preferences' of the homogamy theory (Kalmijn, 1998). Respondents, who made a switch from a diverse elementary school to a non-diverse secondary school, mostly indicated that they did not feel at home. It had a negative impact on their study results and one respondent even mentioned that this would have been different if they had same-ethnic peers in their class. So ethnic differences seem to become more visible for the adolescents during high school. It is a phase where many friendships arise but adolescents also seem more critical towards other peers. One respondent mentioned that she became more aware of her ethnic identity as she

grew older. As a consequence, she made a switch in her circle of friends. She befriended more adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds. Attending a secondary school that was less ethnic diverse would not have mattered according to her. She would have made this switch anyway at a later stage in life. She indicated the following:

''I have not experienced one as more positive than the other. I also enjoyed the first 2 years of high school when I only associated with Dutch pupils. I am attending a white school now and I notice that I feel different now than I felt in high school. I am different than a couple of years ago. Back then, I was unaware of ethnic differences and my ethnicity never came up. I really felt Dutch. I was totally not concerned with my ethnic background but as I grew older I start to realize it more. You can also see that in the Switch I made in my circle of friends. This happened when I was 14. I think that I would have made that switch anyway at a later stage in life.''
Female, 18 years

The pupil population at university mainly consists of native Dutch students. Contact with classmates is mostly good, but it remains superficial. This is due to differences in experiences like going out or ''the student life''. Students who attended a tertiary education with an ethnically mixed student population often made friendships with same-ethnic peers.

When asking the respondents how they met their friends, most of them indicated that they know their friends through school, neighborhood or through family. Adolescents became friends with same-ethnic peers because other friends in their network introduced them to each other. Respondents also indicate that they have known their same-ethnic friends from the mosque or Arabic lessons. This illustrates 'opportunities' of the homogamy theory: the tendency to choose friends from the same race depends on the opportunities to meet each other (Moody, 2001; Smith et al., 2016; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Wimmer, Lewis, 2010; Leszczensky, 2018; Bagci, 2017). Being in homogeneous neighborhoods seem to play role in friendship formation. The following quote illustrates this:

''I have a very broad group of friends. I only do not speak with everyone as much. They are, if I am honest, mostly adolescents with a non-Western migration background. That is not a conscious choice. As I mentioned before, you do not really search for friends. I have been living in ''Kanaleneiland'' since I was young. Most people who live there have a migration background. It goes automatically that those people become your friends''
Male, 23 years

Many adolescents are still friends with peers they grew up with and who lived in the same neighborhood. One respondent grew up in a neighborhood where the majority was native Dutch. His parents did not really have attachment with their ethnic community and he did not learn much of his culture from his parents. He indicated also that he hardly knows any Surinamese adolescents. He always felt ''white'' because his social environment was mostly white. He finds it interesting to meet peers from different cultures but ethnic background does not seem to play a role. It seems that he had less opportunity to meet same-ethnic peers due to a lack of cultural maintenance by his parents. Ethnic homophily also does not seem to be important.

4.3.3 Third party

Friends and family are important ''gatekeepers'' to homogeneity in friendships between adolescents. The respondents were asked how they form their opinions and who plays a role in this. Most respondents first mentioned that they base their opinions on their own norms and values or the norms and values they got from their parents. They also often go in search of information themselves and base their opinion on facts they observe or on their own line of thoughts. Most of the interviewed respondents indicated that they do not let their friends influence their opinion. They often listen to their friends' arguments and have discussions with them, but they do not simply take over their views. Friends could influence their opinion when they have good arguments but their approval does not seem important to them. Many adolescents mentioned that the opinion of their parents is more important to them. They would not easily make a decision if their parents disagree. One respondent mentioned that if a new friend comes to her home, the first impression always has to be good in front of her mother. If her mother gets the impression that her friend is not good for her, she cannot hang out with her anymore. It can be suggested that they do not necessarily adopt the opinion of their parents, but when it comes to decision-making they often take the opinion of their parents into account. This can be shown by the following quote:

''I search for information myself. I also ask advice to friends and it would be part of my choice. With my parents, it would depend on what. My parents' approval is important. Approval of my friends is not so important. If I have made a choice, their opinion does not affect my choice. You know that your parents want the best for you and you do not always know that with friends''
Students 18 years.

This suggests that parents fulfil the role of third parties and not the youngsters' friends.

5. Discussion & conclusion

This thesis focused on the mechanisms that explain the relationship between in-group friendships of adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification. Relying on two theoretical perspectives, namely the social identity theory and the homogamy theory, I particularly focused on friendships between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and the process of ethnic identification. Based on the presented analysis, five main conclusions can be made.

First, it can be suggested that the ethnic identification of adolescents is mainly related to their social identity. This finding is in line with previous research, which argues that identities can be defined as social identities because they are shaped and constructed by the social environment (Jenkins, 2014). Instead of focusing immediately on their ethnic background, the interviewed respondents mainly talked about their personal characteristics when they had to describe themselves. Ethnicity was only taken into account when the respondents compared themselves to other adolescents. Hereby, different reference groups were mentioned. Some respondents compared themselves with ethnic-peers in the Netherlands, while other youngsters compared themselves to native Dutch peers. This depended on the extent to which they perceived cultural similarities and differences. It also depended on the classification by others. When they experienced stereotyping or feelings of exclusion by the reference group, they also tend to feel different.

Second, it seems that the degree to which adolescents identify with their ethnic group depends on the situation. This can be referred to as ''situational identities''. Situational identification means that the extent to which individuals identify, depend on the situation individuals find themselves in (Cohen, 2012). Perceived similarities, differences and classification seem important indicators for ethnic identification. Youngsters seem to feel more connected to their ethnic group when they are surrounded by same-ethnic peers. In such situations, they tend to see similarities such as similar upbringing, cultural practices and sharing the same religion, which seem to enhance the feeling of belonging to their ethnic group. This tendency seems to depend on the extent to which they perceive differences in cultural practices with native Dutch peers and the extent to which they experience stereotyping and exclusion by them. Adolescents tend to identify with the group in which they are being stereotyped. Usage of the ethnic language between peers also seems to contribute to feelings of belonging to their ethnic group. This is supported by previous study, which argues that knowledge and use of ancestral language helps preserving ethnic identity

(Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Phinney et al., 2001). These findings are in line with my expectation: *interaction between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds enhances ethnic identification.*

The third major conclusion of this thesis is that it can be suggested that adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds tend to befriend same-ethnic peers because of perceived similarities. This finding is in line with my expectation. This argument is also supported by the homophily principle which argues that preferences for same-ethnic friends occurs because adolescents perceive behavioral similarities (Berten & van Rossem, 2015). The interviewed respondents in this study mostly indicated that they do not consciously choose friends based on ethnicity but friendships with ethnic peers are often easier. They often mentioned that there is more mutual understanding due to similarities in norms, values, interest, behaviour and humour. However, friendships with native Dutch peers also occur but adolescents referred to them as 'formal' friendships.

The fourth conclusion suggests that the opportunity to meet same ethnic peers is an important indicator for friendships between ethnic peers in the early years of adolescence, but becomes less important as youngsters grow older. This is partially in line with the second component of the homogamy theory (Kalmijn, 1998), which argues that the tendency to choose friends from the same race depends on the opportunities to meet each other (Bagci, 2017; Leszczensky, 2018; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Moody, 2001; Smith, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2016). When the majority of the pupil population at primary school was native Dutch, the adolescents often associated with native Dutch peers and even felt more Dutch. Being surrounded by native Dutch peers was often perceived as 'normal' and they did not seemed to be concerned about ethnic differences. However, it appeared that ethnic differences became more visible when adolescents attended an ethnically diverse school at a later stage in life. Some of the respondents indicated that a world opened up to them and they grew a stronger preference for being around ethnic peers. This argument is not in line with my expectation: adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds in classes and neighborhoods that are ethnically less diverse have a tendency for ethnic homophily.
It can also be suggested that due to perceiving similarities and differences, the adolescents became more aware of their own ethnic identity and this seemed to contribute to their sense of belonging to their ethnic group. 'Differentiation from' permits 'identification with' to happen (Jenkins, 2014).

The fifth conclusion is that parents seem to have a big influence on the opinions and choices of the respondents. They indicated that parental approval is important to them and often will not make a choice if their parents disagree. It seems that youngsters attach less

value to the opinion of their friends. It can be suggested that parents fulfil the role of third parties. This argument is supported by previous research, which argues that parents are the most important source for advice for adolescents (Collins & Madsen, 2006). However, not enough arguments have been found to suggest that parents influence the extent to which the youngsters prefer friendship with same-ethnic peers. It has been mentioned during the interviews that parents tend impose sanctions and this is also in line with the homogamy theory (Kalmijn, 1998). However this finding does not suggest that ethnic homophily is more salient among homogeneous networks. These arguments are therefore not in line with my expectation, which is: e*thnic homophily tend to be more salient among adolescents with non-Western migrations when they have more homogeneous networks of family and friends.*

The following main conclusion can be suggested: similarities, differences and classification by others seem to be the most important indicators for ethnic identification. The mechanisms between in-group friendships between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification seem to go in mutual directions. Firstly, when adolescents perceive more behavioural similarities with same-ethnic peers, it appears that they identify stronger with their ethnic group. Secondly, this might enhance the tendency to choose friends from the same race, which could lead to perceiving more similarities with same-ethnic peers and this contributes to ethnic identification again. The degree to which young people feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic group may depend on the context or situation. When they are being surrounded by native Dutch peers, they often perceive behavioural and cultural differences. This often enhances the sense of belonging to their ethnic group. Another situation where adolescent can feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic group is when they experience stereotyping or feelings of exclusion by native Dutch peers.

One of the main findings of this thesis is that the extent to which adolescents identify depends on the social context. Classification by others within the social context seems to play a large role in the process of identification. However, this thesis has not focused on the differences between social contexts. This could be important because of different types of interactions within social contexts. Previous studies has shown that teachers might influence the self-images of students and their sense of belonging to a social group by defining students based on prejudices (Maton, van Krieken, Martin, & Smith, 2014). The sense of identity could therefore be shaped by the projected image of teachers that result from multiple interactions on a daily base. Other social contexts that could be further investigated are after-school activities. Previous research has show that when adolescents join extracurricular activities that are racially mixed, same-ethnic friendship preferences decreases (Moody, 2001). The tendency to interact with same-ethnic peers also often becomes less salient within sports clubs (Wauters, Levrau, Michielsen, Clycq, & Timmerman,

2017). The social context of sports clubs or extracurricular activities could therefore contribute to the development of interethnic friendships.

This thesis did not show which adolescents participate in after-school activities and what influence it has on their friendship preferences.

Future research could compare interaction between adolescents with non-Western migration background within different social contexts. Furthermore, the differences between gender are not investigated in this thesis. It can be argued that perceived discrimination has a bigger influence on men than it has on women (Zoller Booth et al., 2015). This could mean that stereotyping is a more important indicator in the process of ethnic identification for men than for women. Research has also shown that there is a difference is social circles between boys and girls. Boys are often in larger, more heterogeneous groups and girls in smaller, more heterogeneous cliques. Girls' friendship also seems to be more intimate than boys' friendships (McPherson et al., 2001). Hence, this could influence the extent to which they prefer to interact with same-ethnic peers. Follow-up research could exert a comparative analysis to outline differences in friendship formations between men and women. They could examine if there is a difference in the intensity of friendships between men and women and see how this relates to same-ethnic friendship preferences. Furthermore, differences in socio-economic status (SES) have not been taken into account in this thesis. Families with higher SES could retain less attachment to their ethnic culture and lower levels of language proficiency because they are more integrated in the dominant society. However, this does not lead to a decline in the sense of ethnicity of adolescents (Phinney et al., 2001). Results have indicated that adolescents often become more aware of their ethnic identity as they grow older. It may be that adolescents in higher SES families, who received less cultural maintenance from their parents, explored more of their ethnic culture themselves (ethnic exploration). This could enhance the sense of belonging to their ethnic group (ethnic affirmation). Further research could examine the relationship between SES of adolescents' families and ethnic identification.

 A distinction can be made between ethnic exploration and ethnic affirmation in order to discover different patterns. Another limitation of this thesis is neglecting cultural differences between groups. This thesis has considered all adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds as a single ethnic group. Immigration history, cultural background and present situation of different cultural groups vary. Coherence and strength of an ethnic community could for example provide more opportunities to meet ethnic peers (Phinney et al., 2001). Differences between cultural groups should therefore be taken into consideration when analyzing ethnic identification among adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds.

Future research could also examine how intercultural friendships are formed among native Dutch peers. This will give more insight in the difference in preferences and experiences of adolescents when in comes to friendship formation. The role of third parties has not been properly identified in this thesis. In order to measure if ethnic homophily is more salient among adolescents when they have more homogenous networks of family and friends, a comparative analysis is necessary. Further research could make a comparison between adolescents who have homogenous networks and adolescents who have more heterogenous networks of friends and family and investigate the salience of ethnic homophily. Parental approval also seemed important but it is still unclear if they affect friendship choices of adolescents. Results also indicated that the opinion of peers is not important for adolescents when making choices. Further research could focus more on internalized norms of homophily. They might be influenced unconsciously and adopt norms and values from different social groups. Future research could also focus on influences of communities, social networks and family members. At last, a quantitative analysis would be a relevant addition to this thesis. By drawing a quantitative analysis researchers could investigate if the results are generalizable for the population.

In summary, in this article, I provided a better understanding of the friendships between adolescents with non-Western migration backgrounds and ethnic identification. First, I showed how ethnic identity is constructed and then I explained how this is related to same-ethnic friendships. My main results suggest that cultural similarities, differences and classification by others are important indicators for ethnic identification. Perceiving cultural similarities with same-ethnic peers creates mutual understanding and this enhances feelings of belonging to their ethnic group. However, the dual identities of adolescents do not seem to collide and the extent to which they feel a sense of belonging to their group depends on the social context. Their ethnic identity seems to be predominant when they are being stereotyped.

This thesis shows that the worldview of adolescents is often perceived as complex from the outside but switching between identities seems entirely normal to them. Stereotyping becomes a vicious circle. It reinforces their ethnic identity the more they are treated stereotypically.

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Appendix

1. Request for respondents in the research project

Beste relatie,

Voor het Kennisplatform Integratie & Samenleving (Programma gefinancierd door het Ministerie van SZW) doen wij momenteel onderzoek naar de (sociale) binding van jongeren met een migratieachtergrond aan de Nederlandse samenleving. In de politiek en in het publieke debat wordt veel over dit thema gesproken, wij zijn vooral benieuwd naar het perspectief van jongeren zelf. De focus van het onderzoek ligt op het in kaart brengen van mechanismen achter verbondenheid aan kerninstituties zoals school, vriendenkring, stad en bredere samenleving.

Voor dit onderzoek willen wij graag interviews afnemen bij jongeren met een migratieachtergrond. Zou u ons in contact kunnen brengen met jongeren die bekend zijn bij jullie organisatie en bereid zijn mee te werken aan een interview? De interviews zullen ongeveer een uur duren en worden geanonimiseerd. Uiteraard komen wij naar de respondenten toe. Na afloop krijgen de respondenten elk een tegoedbon t.w.v. 15 euro.
Ik hoop op een spoedige reactie van u.
Ik heb de projectomschrijving toegevoegd aan de bijlage.

Met vriendelijke groet,
Thanja van Kaam

Verwey-Jonker Instituut
25 jaar onafhankelijk onderzoek. Actueel en richtinggevend

2. Topic list

Topiclijst binding perspectief van jongeren

<u>Achtergrondgegevens</u>
Leeftijd
Gender
Opleiding
Woonplaats
Etnische achtergrond
Religie
Gezinssamenstelling
<u>Zelfbeeld en persoonlijke identiteit</u>
- Hoe beschrijf jij jezelf?
- Wat is het eerste wat in je opkomt als je aan jezelf denkt? Waarom?
- Wat zijn sterke kanten van jou? Waar ben je goed in?
- Wat zijn minder sterke kanten aan jou? Waar ben je minder goed in?
- Vind je jezelf anders dan veel jongeren in Nederland? Zo ja, waarom? Speelt etniciteit, cultuur of religie een rol?

<u>Sociale identiteit</u>
- Met wie breng jij veel tijd door?
- Met wie breng jij de meeste tijd door?
- Met wie heb jij een sterke band?
  [*Vraag ook door naar familie of vrienden wanneer een van deze niet aan bod komt]*

Vrienden
- Hoe kies jij je vrienden uit? Wat is belangrijk voor jou in een vriendschap?
- Hoe ziet je vriendenkring eruit? Wat doe je zoal met je vrienden?
  Vraag door naar de diversiteit van zijn/haar vriendenkring van gender tot etnisch-culturele en religieuze diversiteit
- Hoe en waar heb jij je vrienden leren kennen?

Social media
- Maak je actief gebruik van social media?
  o Welke kanalen (WhatsApp, snapchat, facebook, twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, Tumblr, YouTube, LinkedIn) en met welk doel?
- Waar gebruik je social media het meest voor?
  o Post jij dingen vaak op social media? Zo niet, waarom niet. Zo ja, wat post je zoal en op welk platform? Wat zie je graag van anderen?
- Wat voor accounts volg je? Zijn deze allemaal Nederlandstalig?
- In hoeverre speelt social media een rol in het onderhouden van contacten met je vrienden of familie? En in relatie tot land van herkomst?
- Heb je mensen leren kennen via social media? Heb je daar een vriendschap mee opgebouwd? Komen die mensen allemaal uit Nederland? Voel je je hierdoor verbonden met mensen/plaatsen die ver weg zijn?

<u>Normatieve dimensie van binding</u>
- Wat houdt jou bezig? Wat zijn maatschappelijke kwesties die voor jou van belang zijn?
- Hoe vorm jij je mening? Wie of wat spelen daarin een rol?
  Doorvragen, geef voorbeeld van maatschappelijke kwesties en politiek.

<u>Emotionele dimensie van binding/identificatie</u>

- Reken jij je zelf tot bepaalde groepen of een groep? Van welke groep(en) voel jij jezelf een onderdeel?
- Waarom? Waar komt dat vandaan?
- Wanneer voel jij je sterk verbonden met die groep(en). En wanneer niet?

Culturele dimensie van binding
Taal
- Welke taal spreek je thuis? *Doorvragen naar ouders en siblings.*
- In welke taal denk jij?
- In welke taal kan jij jezelf het beste uitdrukken?
  Vraag door naar de context waarin de taal wordt gebruikt bv thuis, school werk etc.

Roots
- Wat is echt Marokkaans/Turks/Surinaams/Arubaans etc. aan jou? En aan je omgeving?
- Wat is echt Nederlands aan jou? En je omgeving?
- Ben je veel bezig met je roots? En met Nederland? Op welke manier?
- Vind je het moeilijk om bi-cultureel te zijn? Zo ja waarom, en op welke vlakken? Zo nee, waarom niet.

Religie
- Vind je religie belangrijk?
- Wat is de rol van religie in jouw dagelijkse leven?
  - Indien belangrijk. Heb je religie van huis uit meegekregen of ben je later zelf op zoek gegaan?

Opvoeding
- Hoe heb jij je eigen opvoeding ervaren?
- Wat stond centraal in je opvoeding?
- Wat was de rol van cultuur en religie?
  Vraag naar voorbeelden/anekdotes.

Onderwijs
- Hoe heb je je basisschoolperiode ervaren?
- Hoe heb je je middelbare schoolperiode ervaren?
- Eventueel mbo/hbo/wo? Werk?
- Voelde je je daar op je plek?
- Hoe was je contact met je klasgenoten?
- Hoe was je contact met je docenten?
  Maak eventueel een vergelijking tussen de verschillende scholen en samenstelling leerlingpopulatie.
- Heb je normen en waarden op school anders ervaren dan die van thuis?

Lokale en nationale binding
- Voel je je verbonden met je stad? Waarom wel/niet?
- Voel je je verbonden met je wijk? Waarom wel/niet?
- Voel je je verbonden met Nederland? Waarom wel/niet?
- Voel je je verbonden met het land van herkomst? Waarom wel/niet?

Maatschappelijke betrokkenheid
- Doe je aan vrijwilligerswerk? Zo ja, op welke wijze?
- Vind je het belangrijk om maatschappelijk betrokken te zijn? Waarom en voor wie?

3. Overview of the characteristics of the respondents

Sample population of the first analysis

City	Gender	Age	Race
Tiel	Male	22	Moroccan
Oss	Male	19	Hindu
Arnhem	Female	18	Iranian
Rotterdam	Male	22	Turkish
Amsterdam	Female	18	Moroccan

Remaining respondents

City	Gender	Age	Race
Nijmegen	Female	18	Moroccan
Rotterdam	Male	19	Surinamese
Nijmegen	Female	16	Moroccan
Arnhem	Female	18	Moroccan
Utrecht	Male	23	Turkish
Den Dolder	Female	20	Moroccan

4. Example of coding scheme

Theoretical codes	Focused codes	Initial codes
Culturele binding	Culturele binding – diversiteit omgeving, niet verbonden LVH, verbonden-context, verbonden-humor, verbonden-oprechtheid, Verbonden-zelfde interesses e.d.	Culturele dingen, familiecultuur, geboren en getogen e.d.
Identificatie	Bi-cultureel niet moeilijk, groep-stereotypering, identificatie-beide culturen, identificatie religie, groepen-meerdere groepen e.d.	Taal, etniciteit, mengelmoes, mijn omgeving e.d.
Invloed	Invloed-geen vrienden, invloed-omgeving, invloed-ouders, mening-ervaring, mening-normen en waarden, mening-religie e.d.	Normen en waarden, ouders, religie e.d.
Samenstelling onderwijs	Basisschool-migratieachtergrond, Samenstelling onderwijs-blank, samenstelling onderwijs-divers, samenstelling, samenstelling vriendenkring-Nederlands e.d.	Dezelfde denkwijze, gemengd, middelbare school, een witte school, katholieke basisschool e.d.
Vriendschap	Belangrijk vriendschap-eerlijk, belangrijk vriendschap-grenzen, belangrijk vriendschap, klik, belangrijk vriendschap-humor, belangrijk vriendschap-luisteren e.d.	Bevriend, dezelfde doelen, dezelfde interesses, divers, eerlijk zijn, een klik, hetzelfde proces, natuurlijke wijze e.d.
Zelfbeeld	Anders-context, anders-opvoeding, anders dan Nederlanders, Anders dan etnische jongeren, persoonlijke kenmerken	Verkaast, aardig, ambitieus, spontaan e.d.