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Asylum-seekers, Integration, & Electoral Disparities:
A Focus on Northern Netherlands

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Acronyms

Dutch Political Parties

CDA	Christian Democratic Appeal
CU	Christian Union
D66	Democrats '66
FVD	Forum for Democracy
GL	Green Left
PvdA	Labour Party
PvdD	Party for the Animals
PVV	Party for Freedom
SGP	Reformed Political Party
SP	Socialist Party
VVD	People's Party for Freedom & Democracy
PvhN	Party for the North
GB	Groningen Interests
50+	-
DENK	-

European Parliament Political Groups

EP	European Parliament
EPP	European People's Party
S&D	Socialists & Democrats
RENEW	Renew Europe
Greens-EFA	Greens – Europeans Free Alliance
ID	Identity & Democracy
ECR	European Conservatives & Reformists
GUE-NGL	European United Left – Nordic Green Left

Other

PRR	Populist Radical Right
CBS	Central Agency for Statistics

Abstract

During the Dutch provincial election of 2019, the populist radical right-wing party Forum for Democracy grew to be the largest party in the Netherlands. In the province of Groningen, they drew their largest support from the rural municipalities in *eastern Groningen*, while they had limited success in the urban municipality of *Groningen*. As the theme of immigration played role during this election, this dissertation examines the spatial electoral disparity by evaluating the attitudes towards people of an asylum-seeker background across the research area. By conducting an online survey (N=356), this dissertation examines the differences in attitudes towards asylum-seekers and level of intergroup interaction between groups of residents of different municipalities and different voting patterns. The research finds no significant differences between the municipalities of Groningen. It does find that respondents voting for populist radical right-wing parties report interacting with asylum-seekers at similar rates to other parties, and rate both their interactions with and their attitudes towards asylum seekers as significantly more negative.

1 – Introduction

Background

Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom has long filled the role of populist radical right party in Dutch politics, ever since first being identified as such (Mudde, 2007). In 2017, they were joined in parliament by a new party, namely the Forum for Democracy, who gained 2 out of 150 seats in the Dutch parliament. During the last provincial elections in the Netherlands in 2019, Forum for Democracy – abbreviated as FVD – gained the most seats across all 12 provinces (Kiesraad, 2019). This is significant, because the provincial councils indirectly elect the Dutch senate, making FVD the shared largest party. Immigration was a theme in this winning party's campaign, and since the election took place four years after the height of the refugee-crisis of 2015, views on migration and asylum-seekers may have had a significant impact on the election-outcome

The relation between attitudes towards people with migrant-backgrounds and voting behaviour of host societies has been analysed by several researchers, such as Charitopoulou & García-Manglano (2017) and Dustmann et al. (2018). The latter also put this in a spatial context, by comparing urban and rural municipalities.

This relates to the aforementioned election results, because there was a geographical disparity visible in the province of Groningen. The central and – with 231,299 inhabitants – most populous municipality, also called *Groningen,* voted largely in favour of the Dutch green party. On the other hand, the eastern, more rural municipalities in the province, with collectively 220.437 inhabitants, voted largely in favour of the Forum for Democracy. The Party for Freedom also saw a far larger share of the vote here.

The fact that these parties did so well in the east of Groningen is interesting in the context of immigration, because the Dutch *Central Organ reception Asylum-seekers* has two reception locations in the east of Groningen, in the municipalities of *Delfzijl* and *Westerwolde.*

Research problem

There was thus a visible spatial disparity in the electoral success of populist, radical right-wing parties that campaigned on restricting migration. This spatial dynamic requires further examination, because there is yet no clear explanation for this geographic electoral disparity. An explanation of this problem is necessary if the success of these types of parties is to be fully understood. As migration played a role during this election, the aim of this research was to examine to what extent attitudes towards asylum-seekers play a role in the outcome of elections, in a spatial context. This dissertation examined this problem in the context of the province of Groningen, where this spatial divide was clearly visible. Therefore, the question this dissertation sought to answer was:

> *How do attitudes towards asylum-seekers influence differences in the voting behaviour between the inhabitants of the municipality of Groningen and of the other municipalities of Groningen?*

To answer this main question, this dissertation has examined whether there are any significant differences in attitudes towards asylum-seekers between municipality of *Groningen* and the municipalities of eastern *Groningen*, and how any potential differences therein relate to voting behaviour and degrees of intergroup contact.

Structure

This dissertation has been divided into 7 separate sections. Section I has discussed the background of the research and the research question that will be answered. Section II will discuss a diverse range of previous literature on the subject and construct a theoretical framework that the research will employ to answer the research questions. Section III will discuss the research methodology and methods of data-analysis. Section IV will present and discuss the results of the data-analysis. Section V will present the conclusions of the research. Section VI contains this dissertation's references, and lastly, section VII contains the appendices.

II - Framework

Dutch politics

As indicated by Otjes (2020), Forum for Democracy does not fit the typical mould of populist radical right-wing parties. Otjes finds that the electoral base that the party draws from, is functionally equivalent to the electoral base of what are called neo-liberal populist parties in other nations. Going by the party's manifesto however, it can be seen that they are strongly Eurosceptic and have a strong nativist component: two features that are typical of PRR-parties, and not typical of neo-liberal populism. Therefore, FVD is a case that straddles the border between neo-liberal populism and radical right-wing populism, possessing aspects of both streams.

Both FVD and PVV have a manifesto that is strongly anti-(mass)immigration. The PVV claims to want zero asylum-seekers and zero immigrants from what it deems as Islamic countries to enter the Netherlands. FVD claims to want a "restrictive immigration policy", following the model of Australia. This would include, among other things, a focus on the remigration of asylum-seekers when their country of origin is deemed safe.

Previous research has indicated that anti-immigrant sentiment has long been an important factor in explaining the success of radical right-wing parties, and that negative views and experiences with migrants and asylum-seekers have been a strong motivator for individuals to vote for PRR parties (Van Kessel, 2011; Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Nijs et al., 2019). Considering this context, this research has examined in what way the attitudes towards asylum-seekers influenced elections.

Intergroup Contact Theory

This dissertation approached the subject through the lens of Intergroup Contact Theory. Originally described by Allport in 1954, this hypothesis proposes that in appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact between groups of different backgrounds, leads to the reduction of prejudice and improved overall relations between the groups. By interacting with individuals of a different background, potential fears and anxieties – informed by initial prejudices – can be reduced. At the same time, it can increase one's capacity to empathize with the other individuals, as you start to see their perspective through interaction. According to Allport, a prerequisite for this interaction is that participants have an equal status and must not be in some form of competition. Vast differences in terms of status could reinforce negative attitudes, and competition could drive hostility between groups.

According to Kotzur et al. (2018), Intergroup Contact Theory is an important lens through which to examine the attitudes of host-societies towards people with migrant backgrounds. They find that intergroup contact of a positive nature, improves relations between asylum-seekers and the host population. Therefore, in areas where there is greater frequency of positive intergroup contact, the members of the host population will generally have a more positive view of asylum-seekers. In a geographical context, this effect shows itself in the findings of Glorius (2017), who concludes that residents of rural regions, who have less experience with diversity, exhibit more xenophobic behaviour. Disparities in the frequency of intergroup contact between geographical regions could thus influence general attitudes towards asylum-seekers, which could influence voting behaviour.

Kotzur et al. do find that there are a multiplicity of factors that influence the outcome of intergroup contact (2018). They find that the manner of encounter, pre-existing prejudices, and existing tensions between groups can all influence perception of the interaction, and so influence the views of individuals. These factors generally align with Allport's prerequisites for contact (1954). This means that, while positive contact can improve relations, contact of a negative nature can reinforce negative attitudes towards other groups.

Nijs et al. (2019) come to this very conclusion, finding that experiencing intergroup contact that was of a negative nature, correlated with individuals voting for radical right-wing parties. Homola & Tavits (2017) also find this and emphasize the importance of motivated reasoning. They find that previously held political views may colour the perception that an individual has of an interaction. So not only can negative intergroup contact influence individuals' attitudes, but individuals' previously held biases can influence their valuation of intergroup contact. So, besides disparities in frequency of contact, disparities in the nature of contact between groups could also explain different election outcomes.

Recognizing this importance of context, Graf & Sczesny (2019) make a useful distinction in their research. They distinguish intergroup contact framed through (social)media sources, and direct interpersonal contact. They find that direct contact is correlated with higher support for people with a migrant background, but mass-mediated contact is not. Other researchers found that the discourse in media may contain frames that even reinforce negative attitudes (Gottlob & Boomgaarden, 2019; Pruitt, 2019). Therefore, frequent, positive, direct contact should generally reinforce positive attitudes, whereas infrequent or negative direct contact would generally reinforce negative attitudes. Lastly, indirect contact has a varying level of impact, depending on whether the medium contains potential framing to reinforce either positive or negative attitudes towards asylum-seekers.

Conceptual Model

Using this collection of literature, the researcher constructed a conceptual model of the manner in which voting behaviour is influenced by intergroup contact, through the lens of Intergroup Contact Theory. The visualization of this conceptual model can be found in figure 1.

Intergroup contact – whether positive, negative, direct, or indirect – will affect an individual's attitude towards asylum-seekers. The nature of the contact will determine in which way this attitude is influenced. Positive, direct contact will generally influence one's attitude positively, and negative or indirect contact should generally do the opposite.

One's attitude towards asylum-seekers will inform one's political views about asylum-seekers, and those political views will inform one's voting behaviour.

Lastly, as indicated by both Kotzur et al. (2018) and Homola & Tavits (2017), previously held biases, informed by political views, can influence the contact or the perception of the contact that an individual has.
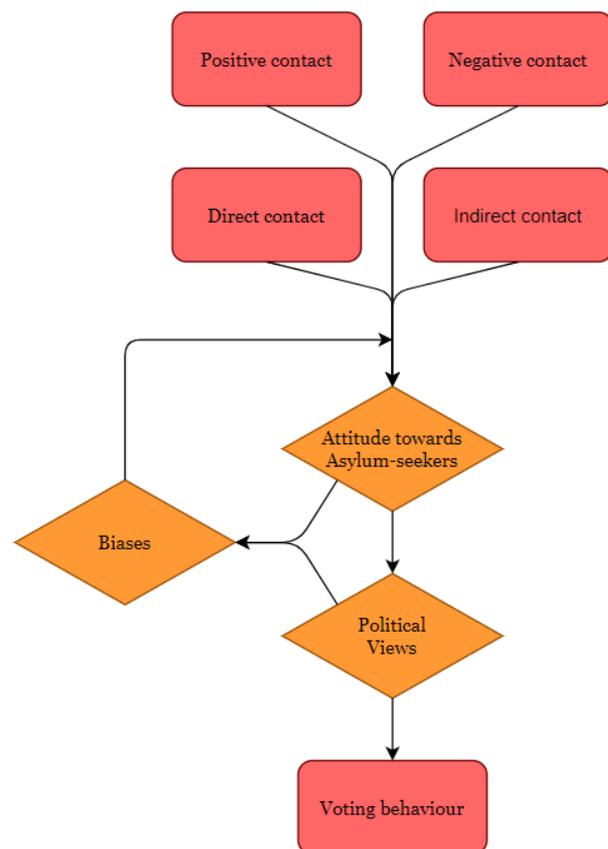
Figure 1: Conceptual model

This model will be assessed by relating the voting behaviour, attitudes towards asylum-seekers, and the frequency, valuation, and context of intergroup contact of voters in the province of Groningen.

Geographical context

Dustmann et al. (2018) find higher voter-shares for right-leaning, anti-immigration parties in more rural municipalities of Denmark. These municipalities often have lower percentages of people with a migrant background. This agrees with the findings of Charitopoulou & García-Manglano (2017), who say that as the amount of people with a migrant background in a municipality grows, the support for anti-immigration, right-leaning parties decreases. Dustmann et al. also found that rural municipalities are more often faced with involuntary refugee allocation. Glorius (2017) also finds this, observing more xenophobic behaviour in rural municipalities with involuntary refugee allocation. Considering the eastern municipalities of Groningen harbour two Asylum-seeker centres, meaning residents could be faced with involuntary intergroup contact, this could very well be an explanatory factor.

Van Wijk et al. (2020) found a similar effect. They looked at the support for the populist radical right-wing party PVV in the Netherlands. They found that support for this party was largest in both municipalities with a very low, and a very high percentage of people with a migrant background. They observed a 'tipping-point' in areas with about 25% of the population being of a migrant background. In these areas support for the PVV was lowest. The municipality of *Groningen* has a population of people with a migrant background around 24% (CBS, 2019), with all other municipalities in Groningen having a lower percentage. Support for PRR parties is lowest in *Groningen*, so this follows the findings of van Wijk et al.

Expectations

By combining the conceptual model with the findings of geographical research, the researcher formed several expectations for the outcome of the research. When it came to political parties, it was expected that individuals who voted for populist radical right parties, would generally have a more negative attitude towards asylum-seekers. It was also expected that these individuals would interact with asylum-seekers less frequently than other groups, and they would generally rate these interactions as being more negatively.

Looking at the geographical context, it was expected that in a large, urban municipality like *Groningen* – with a larger share of people with a migrant and asylum-seeker background – there would on average be more frequent intergroup contact. It was also expected that the intergroup contact in the municipality of *Groningen* was of a more positive nature. Lastly, it was expected that in the municipality of *Groningen*, attitudes towards asylum-seekers were on average more positive.

On the other hand, in smaller, more rural municipalities like those of *eastern Groningen*, considering the findings of Dustmann et al. (2018) and Nijs et al. (2019), there was expected to be less frequent intergroup contact on average. It was also expected that any interaction taking place would be of a generally more negative/involuntary nature. This infrequent, negative intergroup contact would then correlate with negative attitudes towards asylum-seekers.

These average differences in attitudes towards asylum-seekers would then explain the relative over-representation of individuals voting for populist radical right-wing parties in the municipalities of *eastern Groningen*, as compared to the municipality of *Groningen* itself

III - Methodology

Method
The main research question of this dissertation is:

> '*How do attitudes towards asylum-seekers influence differences in the voting behaviour between the inhabitants of the municipality of Groningen and of the municipalities of eastern Groningen?*',

The aim of this dissertation was thus to make sense of a phenomenon on a large geographical scale. Due to this large scale, and the quantifiable nature of the variables involved, a quantitative research design was most appropriate. This design falls within the positivist research paradigm. This paradigm states that reality can best be understood through quantitative means – such as quantifiable observation, experimentation, and measurement – and that this knowledge can be systematized into generally applicable theories. By gathering data about individuals within the target area, belonging to varying groups, that data can be statistically analysed and systematized, to then come to an answer to the research question. To this end, this dissertation made use of a questionnaire in combination with statistical analysis.

Data collection

Primary data was gathered through a short, online survey, targeted towards residents of the province of Groningen, this dissertation's research area. The survey consisted of mostly closed questions, with some indicated questions containing an optional open answer, for respondents to write in an answer they felt was missing from the list. See Appendix I for the survey in full detail. To assess the conceptual model, and compare the different geographical areas, this survey assessed respondents' voting behaviour, their attitude towards asylum-seekers, the frequency of interaction with asylum-seekers, their valuation of this contact, and the context of the contact.

Due to limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, physical interaction with respondents was prohibited by the University of Groningen. Thus, the survey was mainly spread through social media-networks instead of through physical surveying. To still get a sample of respondents primarily from the target area, the researcher made use of local social groups on large social media websites and online social fora. These groups were mainly frequented by residents of specific municipalities, or the province of Groningen as a whole. They allowed the researcher to gather data from a specific geographic area through online means.

This dissertation also made use of the election results on the municipal level of the 2019 provincial elections, publicly available through the Kiesraad institution (2019). It used this data as a reference point. The primary data gathered through the survey could be compared to these outcomes, to examine if the sample is representative in terms of the proportions of political parties per municipality.

The survey had 426 initial respondents. The data was entered into the program SPSS Statistics for analysis. A certain number of cases were removed from the data, because the survey had either not been completed, or the respondent indicated a municipality of residence not within the research area. This left the sample with 356 responses (72% female; mean age 42.54, standard deviation 15.28). See appendix II for full descriptive statistics.

After this, the questions that had an open-ended option were analysed and categorized where appropriate. Any changes made were added to the survey (see appendix I).

Municipalities

In the 2019 provincial election, there was an electoral disparity between the municipality of *Groningen* and the region of *eastern Groningen.* Therefore, the data on municipalities was recoded into a new variable, with municipalities grouped together (see table I). Map I displays the province of Groningen and shows the grouping of municipalities.

Municipalities
☐ Groningen
■ Eastern Groningen
☐ Remaining municipalities
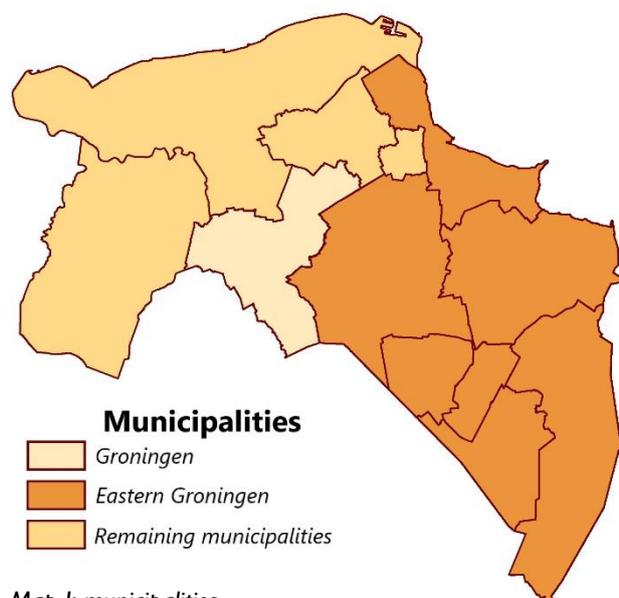
Map I: municipalities

Municipalities	Municipality variable	Case count
Groningen	Groningen	135
Midden-Groningen, Veendam, Pekela, Stadskanaal, Westerwolde, Oldambt, & Delfzijl	Eastern Groningen	182
Loppersum, Appingedam, Het Hogeland, & Westerkwartier	Remaining municipalities	39

Table I: Municipalities

In SPSS, using the Mann-Whitney test, the municipality of *Groningen* was compared in two sets. In one set, it was compared against the municipalities of *eastern Groningen*. In the second set, it was compared against *eastern Groningen* combined with the *remaining municipalities*. In both sets, it was compared in terms of the distribution of attitudes towards asylum-seekers, frequency of intergroup contact and rating of intergroup contact.

Political groups

The data on voting behaviour left the researcher with 2 sets of cases. One set contained the voting behaviour of the respondents in the 2019 provincial election, called *Set - 2019*. The other set contained the voting intentions of respondents for the next national election, called *Set - Now*.

The political parties in these two sets were grouped, according to the European Parliament political groups each party sits in (see table II). This was done to both increase the sizes of the groups that were to be compared and ensure relative intelligibility of the different groups for those not familiar with the Dutch political context by grouping in parties with a relatively similar political philosophy. When grouping the parties, two significant exceptions were made:

I-   Firstly, the parties FVD and PVV were grouped together as 'PRR'. This was done because both FVD and PVV are cited as populist radical right-wing parties in existing literature, and both have manifestos and policy positions that are explicitly anti-(mass)immigration (Otjes, 2020).

II-   Secondly, in the actual European Parliament, the SGP party sits in a political group together with the FVD party. However, the SGP party is not commonly identified as populist radical right-wing in existing literature and has a very different electoral basis and history than both other populist radical right-wing parties. Therefore, in this research, it was sorted into the 'EPP' -group.

Dutch Political Parties	European Parliament Political Group	Case Count: Set - 2019	Case Count: Set - Now
FVD / PVV	PRR	58	61
D66 / VVD	RENEW	55	48
GL	Greens-EFA	47	33
PvdA	S&D	31	31
SP / PvdD	GUE-NGL	55	38
CDA / CU / 50+ / SGP	EPP	25	21
PvhN / GB	Local Politics	13	/
Did not vote/Not eligible/Don't know	Non-decided	72	124

Table II: Political groups

In SPSS, using the Kruskall-Wallis test, both the *Set - 2019* and the *Set - Now* were compared in terms of the distribution of attitudes towards asylum-seekers, frequency of intergroup-contact and rating of intergroup-contact.

Additional analysis

Additionally, the answers to the questions "*How did or do you come to interact with this person/these people?*" and "*Which source would you say most influenced this opinion?*" – because they allowed a maximum of 3 responses – were entered into a Multiple Response variable set in SPSS. The sets of political groups and the sets of municipalities were set out in cross tables and compared in terms of the frequency of answers to these two questions being selected. This way, the cross tables could give an insight into possible differences in motives for certain attitudes or voting behaviours between the municipalities or the political groups.

IV - Results

Attitudes – Municipalities

Both the Mann-Whitney test comparing the municipality of *Groningen* with *Eastern Groningen* and *Groningen* with *all other municipalities* showed no difference in terms of the distribution of attitudes towards asylum-seekers, at the 95% confidence level (Table III). This means that respondents from the municipality of *Groningen* did not rank their attitude towards asylum-seekers significantly higher or lower than respondents from *eastern Groningen* or *all other municipalities*. This lack of significance runs counter to the expectation of a significantly higher rating in the municipality of *Groningen*, and a significantly lower one in *Eastern Groningen*.

Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mann-Whitney U	P
Comparison I					
Groningen	134	163.59	21920.50	11512.500	.388
Eastern Groningen	182	154.76	2865.50		
Comparison II					
Groningen	134	185.79	24896.00	13763.00	.258
All other municipalities	221	173.28	38294.00		

Table III: test results attitudes – municipalities

However, the fact that this expectation is not reflected by the data, may be potentially be the result of a sampling error. Map II displays the outcomes of the 2019 provincial election. It shows the vote count per party for each municipality (Kiesraad, 2019).
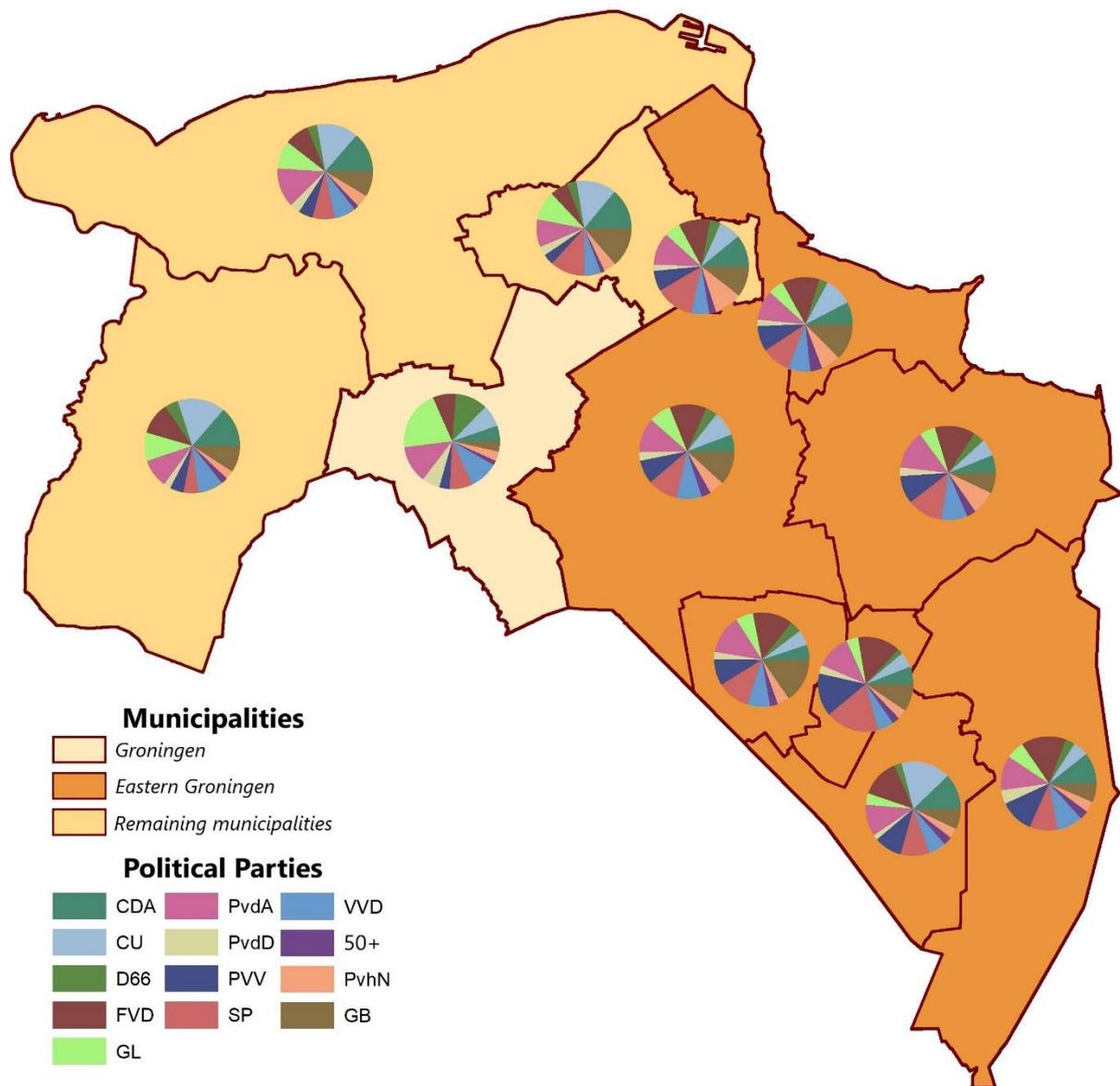
Map II: Election results – 2019 provincial election

Similarly, map III displays the voting behaviour of respondents to the survey in the 2019 election. These figures demonstrate that the data derived from the survey may not be reflective of Groningen in a geographical sense. In most municipalities, the proportion of all political parties in the survey sample are not reflective of the proportion of these parties in the actual election outcomes (see maps II and III). As many municipalities in the sample show a distorted picture as compared to the 2019 election, this could indicate an unrepresentative sample due to sampling error.
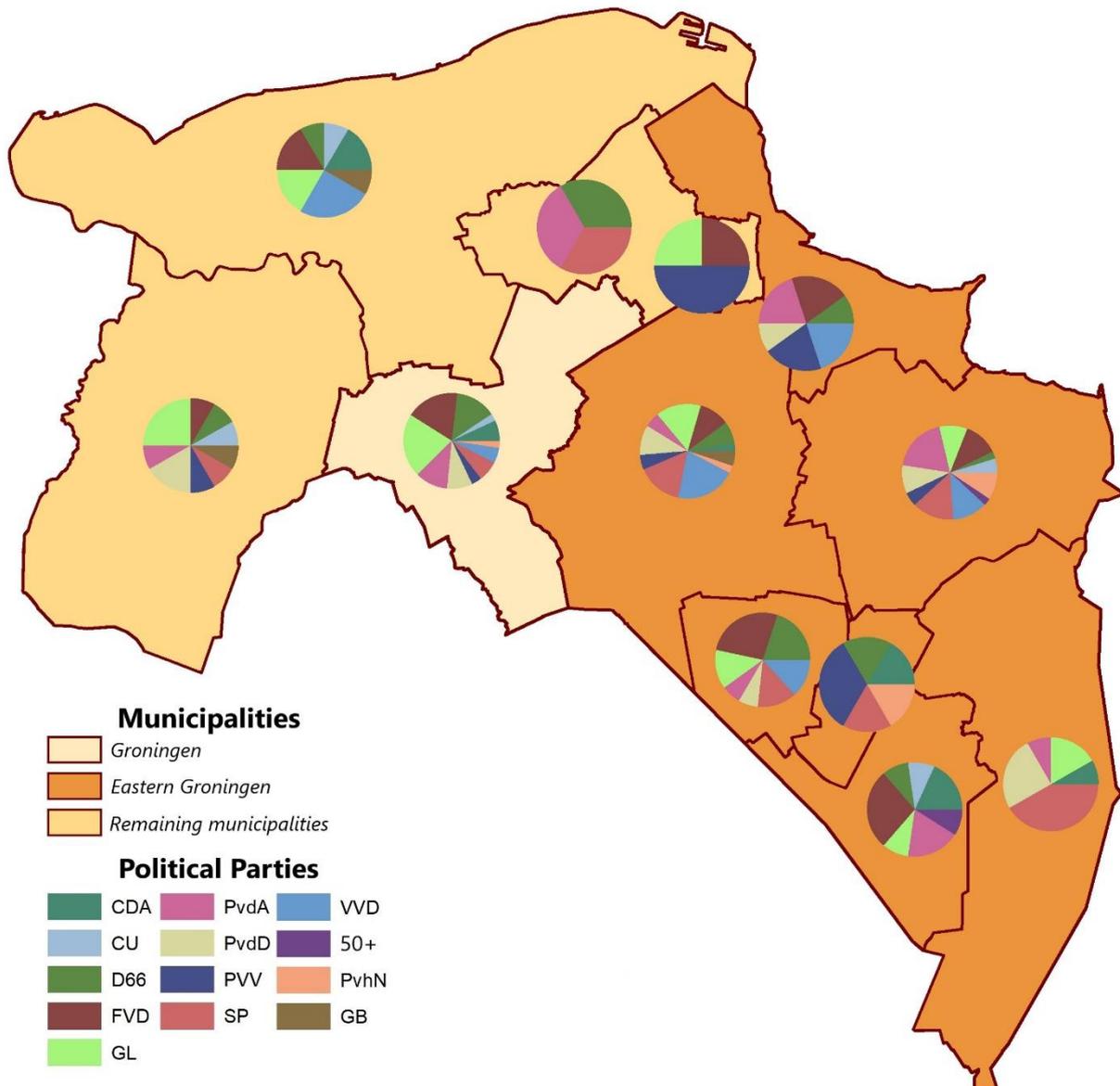
Map III: Sample results

Because of the overrepresentation of respondents that voted for PRR-parties in the municipality of *Groningen*, and the overrepresentation of voters for more left-wing and centrist parties in the surrounding municipalities, the data may not be reflective in a geographical sense. Individuals from different regions voting for the same party may have similar attitudes, meaning that the data may be representative of the attitudes of voters for certain political parties. However, since in the sample those parties are not spread across the research area in accordance with the actual election outcomes, the sample may not be representative in terms of attitudes of the residents of certain municipalities. This may indicate undiscovered significance.

Attitudes - Political Groups

The Kruskall-Wallis test comparing the political groups of the *Set – 2019* in terms of the distribution of attitudes, found significance (H = 80.155, df = 7, p < .001) at the 95% confidence level. Likewise, so did the test comparing the political groups of the *Set – Now* (H = 88.723, df = 6, p < .001). Results are displayed in table IV.

Political Group	N	Mean Rank	df	Kruskall-Wallis H	P
Set – 2019					
PRR	58	82.57	7	80.155	< .01
RENEW	55	206.16			
Greens-EFA	47	240,57			
S&D	31	189.71			
GUE-NGL	55	207.86			
EPP	25	184.72			
Local Politics	13	176.65			
Non-decided	72	165.04			
Set – Now					
PRR	61	82.07	6	88.723	< .01
RENEW	48	201.76			
Greens-EFA	33	259.18			
S&D	31	218.89			
GUE-NGL	38	213.76			
EPP	21	164.45			
Non-decided	124	176.94			

Table IV: test results attitudes – political groups

Table V displays the median and mean attitudes for both sets. These give an indication as to which group(s) differ significantly. In both sets, the most common median attitude is 7. As the rating of attitude was asked on a Likert-scale, running from 1 to 10, this indicates that most groups rate their attitude as generally positive. The PRR group has a median attitude of 5 in both sets, indicating this group generally rates their attitude as indifferent or neutral, though leaning more negative. This is significantly lower than the other political groups.

Political Group	Set - 2019		Set - Now	
	Median Attitude	Mean Attitude	Median Attitude	Mean Attitude
PRR	5	4.50	5	4.43
RENEW	7	6.96	7	6.77
Greens-EFA	8	7.43	8	7.76
S&D	7	6.61	7	7.16
GUE-NGL	7	6.91	7	7.05
EPP	7	6.48	6	6.24
Local Politics	7	6.46	/	/
Non-decided	6	6.12	7	6.40

Table V: political groups mean & median attitudes

The cross table of the answers to the question "*Which source would you say most influenced this opinion?*", was analysed, and the different political groups compared. All political groups, in both sets, selected *personal experience* as the predominant source for their attitudes.

In both sets the respondents in the Greens-EFA group were most likely to select *information from my education* as a source for their attitude. The PRR group selected this answer the least, with only 10,3% and 13,1% of respondents. This could mean that respondents from the PRR group are less likely to have a higher level of education, where they would receive information that may influence their attitude. However, the data shows that a significant portion of respondents in this PRR group have had either a bachelor or post-graduate level education (see figure II). In fact, the respondents in the Greens-EFA and PRR group selected having enjoyed a higher level of education in similar proportions. This could have several implications. One is that people of different political backgrounds may choose different fields of education, with respondents voting for the Greens-EFA group choosing fields that touch more on issues to do with migration. Another implication might be that respondents who vote for the PRR group may not consider the information drawn from their education to have changed their views or attitudes significantly one way or the other.
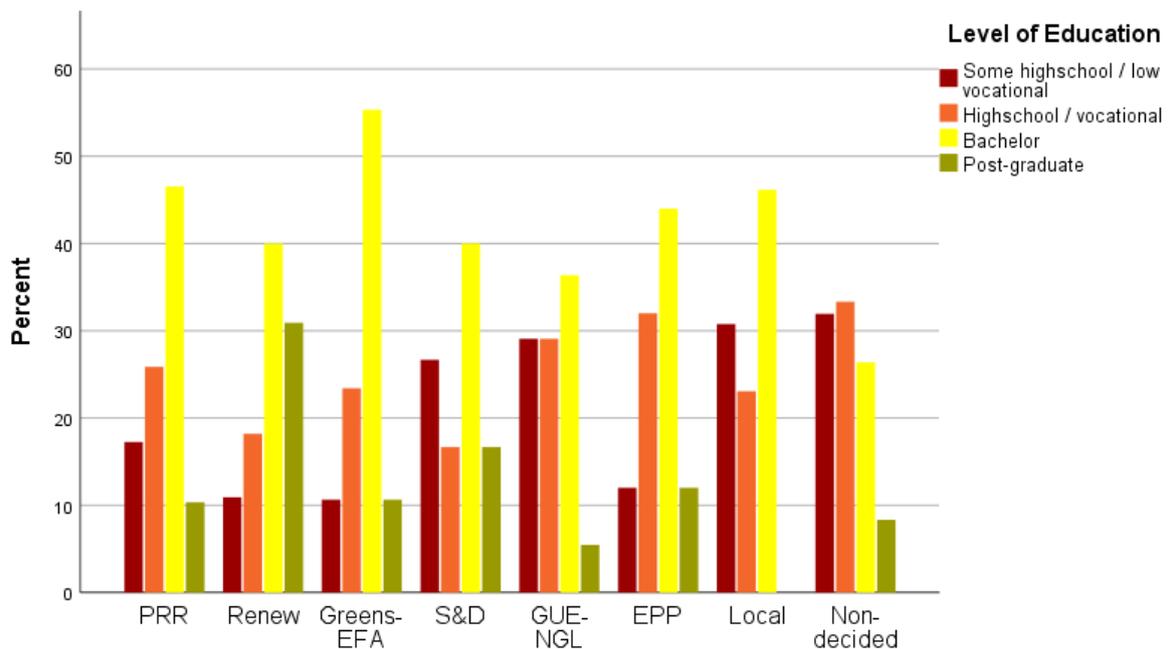
Figure II: distribution of level of education across political groups; Set – 2019.

It is also noteworthy that in both sets, the PRR group was most likely to select *messages on social media* as a source, with 31% and 34,4%. They selected this more often than *messages in print media* or *reports on television/radio*. In the *Set – Now*, it was even their second most common answer after *personal experience*. Concretely, this means that about a third of respondents voting for populist radical right-wing parties select social media as being a significant source of their attitude towards asylum-seekers.

Cross-tabulating the answers to the question "*Which source would you say most influenced this opinion?*" with age groups, shows us that it is predominantly respondents within the age range of 16-24 that select social media as a source. Around 33-34% of respondents in that age range select this answer. Looking then at the age distribution across the political groups of both sets (see figure III), shows us that the PRR group has a large proportion of respondents in that age range, which might partly explain the predominance of *messages on social media* as a source within that political group.

However, as figure III shows, several other political groups besides the PRR group have a substantial number of respondents in the age range 16-24, and none of them selected *messages on social media* to such a large degree as the PRR group. This would suggest that the PRR group does have a more significant propensity to draw their views from social media.
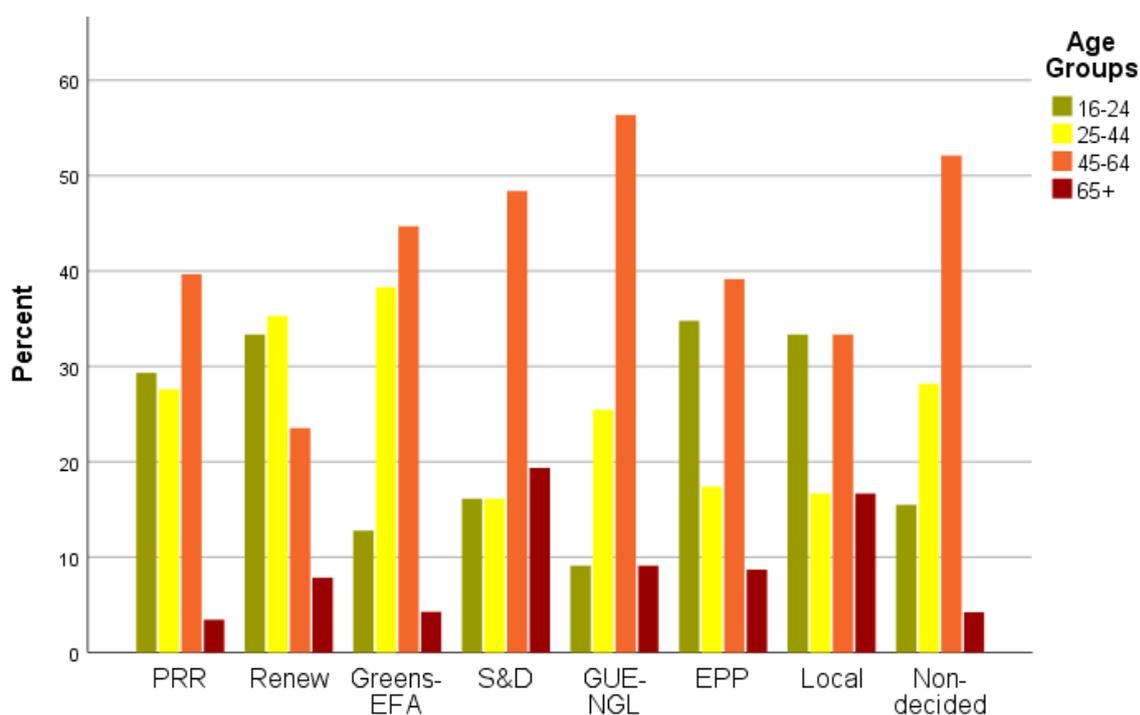
Figure III : Age distribution across political groups; Set – 2019.

Intergroup Contact – Municipalities

When it comes to the distribution of frequency of interaction with asylum-seekers, the Mann-Whitney test found no significance between either the municipality of *Groningen* and *eastern Groningen,* or municipality of *Groningen* and *all other municipalities* (see table VI)

Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mann-Whitney U	P
Comparison I					
Groningen	134	167.21	22406.50	11026.50	.142
Eastern Groningen	182	152.09	27679.50		
Comparison II					
Groningen	134	187.79	25163.50	13495.50	.158
All other municipalities	221	172.07	38026.50		

Table VI: test results frequency of intergroup contact – municipalities

The similarity in frequency, could be due to the fact that *eastern Groningen* houses two reception centres for asylum-seekers, while *Groningen* doesn't. However, it should be noted that the municipalities that house the reception centres, *Delfzijl* and *Westerwolde,* fielded 15 and 13 respondents respectively, out of 356. With such a relatively low number of respondents from the near area, it is unclear whether these reception centres had an impact on the data.

The Mann-Whitney test analysing the distribution of the rating of interaction also found no significant difference between the regions (see table VII). This means that respondents from all regions reported similar levels of frequency of intergroup contact, and similar levels of rating of contact. This lack of a disparity in rating disagrees with the findings of Glorius (2017) and Dustmann et al. (2018), who found that involuntary asylum-seeker allocation in rural municipalities correlated with more xenophobic attitudes.

Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mann-Whitney U	P
Comparison I					
Groningen	134	127.49	14023.50	6821.50	.309
Eastern Groningen	182	118.41	15866.50		
Comparison II					
Groningen	134	144.55	15900.50	8354.50	.257
All other municipalities	221	133.63	22049.50		

Table VII: test results rating of intergroup contact – municipalities

When analysing the cross table of the answers to the question "*How did or do you come to interact with this person/these people?*", the 3 groups – the municipality of *Groningen, eastern Groningen* and the *remaining municipalities* – were relatively similar in the proportion of the answers they gave, mostly falling within 10% difference. Noteworthy exception was the fact that 44% of respondents from *eastern Groningen* selected the option *in the public sphere*, as opposed to 33,6% and 32,3% from the municipality of *Groningen* and the *remaining municipalities,* respectively.

Similar to this, 41,8% of respondents from *eastern Groningen* and 41,9% of respondents from the *remaining municipalities* indicated having come to interact with people of an asylum-seeker background *in their residential environment*, as opposed to just 26,4% of the respondents from the municipality of *Groningen*. It thus seems that especially *eastern Groningen* – and to a lesser degree all surrounding municipalities as a whole – seem to interact with asylum seekers to a greater degree in a public or residential setting, than residents of the municipality of *Groningen.*

Intergroup Contact – Political Groups

The Kruskall-Wallis tests comparing the distribution of frequency of interaction with asylum-seekers between the different political groups of both sets found no significance (see table VIII). This would indicate that respondents across these groups have contact with asylum-seekers at generally similar rates.

Political Group	N	Mean Rank	df	Kruskall-Wallis H	P
Set – 2019					
PRR	58	202.54	7	10.573	.158
RENEW	55	151.21			
Greens-EFA	47	182.33			
S&D	31	158.82			
GUE-NGL	55	171.06			
EPP	25	200.56			
Local Politics	13	197.08			
Non-decided	72	181.48			
Set – Now					
PRR	61	178.48	6	3.293	.771
RENEW	48	175.38			
Greens-EFA	33	194.70			
S&D	31	155.92			
GUE-NGL	38	181.71			
EPP	21	161.02			
Non-decided	124	183.03			

Table VIII: test results frequency of intergroup contact – political groups

With a significant difference in terms of attitude, and none in terms of frequency of interaction, it may simply be the case that frequency of interaction is not as relevant as the nature of intergroup contact. This concept is reinforced by the test comparing the distribution of the rating of these interactions. It did find significance, both in the *Set – 2019* (H 51.59, df 7, p <.001), and the *Set – Now* (H62.22, df 6, p <.001) at a confidence level of 95% (see table IX).

Political Group	N	Mean Rank	df	Kruskall-Wallis H	P
Set – 2019					
PRR	52	74.41	7	51.591	< .01
RENEW	41	150.15			
Greens-EFA	35	189.06			
S&D	23	147.02			
GUE-NGL	41	151.09			
EPP	21	139.21			
Local Politics	12	144.79			
Non-decided	51	144.05			
Set – Now					
PRR	49	69.70	6	62.222	< .01
RENEW	42	146.51			
Greens-EFA	27	200.83			
S&D	21	166.83			
GUE-NGL	30	163.47			
EPP	15	114.20			
Non-decided	92	142.63			

Table IX: test results rating of intergroup contact – political groups

In both the *Set – 2019* and the *Set – Now*, the median rating from most political groups is either 7 or 8 (see table X). This means that most groups rate their interactions with asylum-seekers to be generally positive.

In both sets, the respondents from the PRR group have a median rating of 5, significantly lower than other groups. This indicates that PRR voters that have interacted asylum-seekers, report those interactions as being more neutral than respondents from other political groups, with 5 being neutral, leaning slightly negative. This aligns with the previous finding that respondents from the PRR group report a more neutral attitude towards asylum-seekers, as compared to respondents from other groups.

Political Group	Set - 2019		Set - Now	
	Median Rating	Mean Rating	Median Rating	Mean Rating
PRR	5	4.98	5	4.86
RENEW	8	7.15	7	7.00
Greens-EFA	8	7.97	8	8.26
S&D	7	7.13	7	7.62
GUE-NGL	7	7.12	8	7.43
EPP	8	6.62	6	5.93
Local Politics	7	7.08	/	/
Non-decided	7	7.06	7	7.00

Table X: Rating of intergroup-contact across political groups

When analysing the cross table of the answers to the question "*How did or do you come to interact with this person/these people?*", most political groups, selected the settings *in public space* or *in my residential environment*, with generally between 30% and 50% respondents per group. The PRR group had the largest proportion of respondents selecting both *in public space* and *in my residential environment* of all groups. Noticeably, no respondents of the PRR group selected *through my family*.

V - Conclusion

Intergroup Contact Theory

When comparing different political groups, the data shows that voters of Dutch populist radical right parties do have a significantly lower attitude towards asylum-seekers than voters of other parties, corroborating previous research that found similar implications (Mudde, 2007; van Kessel, 2011; Lubbers & Coenders, 2017; Otjes, 2020). This validates the concept that attitudes towards asylum-seekers inform political view and voting behaviour.

Counter to the expectations formed by Intergroup Contact Theory, voters for PRR-parties do not interact with asylum-seekers less frequently than voters for other parties. They also reported their interactions with asylum-seekers generally taking place in similar settings to other groups: predominantly in public or in residential settings.

However, whereas most political groups rate their interactions to be generally positive, voters for PRR parties, rate them to be neutral, even leaning slightly negative. This reinforces the conclusions of Kotzur et al.

Figure IV: conceptual model

(2018), Nijs et al. (2019) and even Allport (1954), that the context and conditions of intergroup contact are critical when it comes to determining one's attitude. The data thus implies that quality of intergroup contact – whether it's of a positive or negative nature – is more significant than actual frequency when it comes to informing attitudes and voting behaviour.

The fact that the lower rating of interaction is exclusive to the PRR group, while the interaction takes place in generally similar settings, may be evidence of the findings of Homola & Tavits (2017). Namely, that pre-existing biases, informed by political views, influence the perception of interaction.

Municipalities

Counter to expectations, the data did not show a significant difference in terms of attitudes towards asylum-seekers between the municipality of *Groningen* and *eastern Groningen*. This runs counter to previous conclusions by Glorius (2017) and Dustmann et al. (2018), who found that residents of rural municipalities exhibited more xenophobic attitudes. However, with a sample that is not reflective of the actual election outcomes in every municipality, the patterns and differences found – or not found – in the data may not be reflective of the overall population. Sampling error may thus have impacted the findings of the research comparing the municipalities.

The analysis of the data also found no disparity between the regions, either in terms of the frequency of intergroup contact or the rating of intergroup contact. The respondents from both regions generally rated their interactions similarly. However, again, due to the disparity in terms of voting behaviour between the sample and the election outcomes, it cannot be ruled out that sampling error influenced this finding.

This dissertation's research question was:

> *How do attitudes towards asylum-seekers influence differences in the voting behaviour between the inhabitants of the municipality of Groningen and of the other municipalities of Groningen?*

When answering this question, considering the research findings, the answer must consist of two parts.

Firstly, the data agrees with the conceptual model, and shows that attitudes towards asylum-seekers – informed by intergroup contact – correlate with voting behaviour. Dutch populist radical right-wing parties Forum for Democracy and the Party for Freedom largely draw their electoral support from voters that have significantly more negative attitudes than other parties.

Yet, the data does not show any disparities between the geographical regions. This means there is no indication that attitudes towards asylum-seekers had a significant effect on the electoral disparity during the 2019 provincial election. However, due to the lack of a geographically representative sample, any potential differences or effects cannot be conclusively ruled out. Therefore, the researcher strongly suggests this research be carried out on a larger scale, and with a different sampling strategy.

Reflection

Due to limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the researcher was unable to conduct physical surveying. Therefore, the survey was spread mainly through social media networks. This may have resulted in the sample not being wholly geographically representative. By being limited to certain networks, it may have only reached specific demographics. Therefore, the researcher recommends that this research be repeated, but this time to conduct the survey on a larger scale, with a different sampling strategy including physical surveying. A greater number of respondents from a greater number of municipalities might increase the representativity of the sample, leading to possible undiscovered results.

In a similar vein, the researcher was unable to adopt a mixed-methods approach, as was originally planned. It was initially proposed to conduct two focus-group discussions: one of residents from the municipality of *Groningen,* and one of residents from *eastern Groningen*, to examine the voting behaviour and attitudes towards asylum-seekers of residents from both areas in a deeper way. As physical contact with other individuals was prohibited, these discussions had to be changed from a physical to an online format. However, it proved difficult to find enough able and willing respondents through online means. Therefore, regrettably, a qualitative section could not be included. The researcher recommends that in a possible future repeat of the study, these focus-group discussions are conducted, to expand the scope of the research and give more insight into the differences between voters for different political groups and geographical regions.

VI - References

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VII - Appendices

Appendix I – Survey

(*) – Question is optional
(**) – Question contains open answer
(***) – Option added through write-in answers

1. What is your municipality of residence? (**)
   A) *Groningen*
   B) *Midden-Groningen*
   C) *Veendam*
   D) *Pekela*
   E) *Stadskanaal*
   F) *Westerwolde*
   G) *Oldambt*
   H) *Delfzijl*
   I) *Loppersum*
   J) *Appingedam*
   K) *Het Hogeland*
   L) *Westerkwartier*
   M) *Other (open question)*

2. What is your age in years? (*)
   (*Write in*)

3. What is your sex? (*)
   A) *Male*
   B) *Female*
   C) *Prefer not to say/other*

4. What level of education did/do you attend? (*)
   A) *Elementary Education*
   B) *Vmbo/Mavo/Ulo/Mulo*
   C) *Havo/Vwo/Mms/Hbs substructure*
   D) *Mbo1*
   E) *Havo/Vwo/Mms/Hbs superstructure*
   F) Mbo2
   G) Mbo3
   H) Mbo4
   I) Hbo-bachelor
   J) Wo-bachelor
   K) Wo-master
   L) Wo-doctoral

5. What political party did you vote for during the provincial elections of 2019?
   A) *Christian-Democratic Appeal (CDA)*
   B) *Christian Union (CU)*
   C) *Democrats 66 (D66)*
   D) *Forum for Democracy (FVD)*
   E) *GreenLeft (GL)*
   F) *Party for Labour (PvdA)*
   G) *Party for the Animals (PvdD)*
   H) *Party for Freedom (PVV)*
   I) *Socialist Party (SP)*
   J) *People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)*
   K) *50PLUS*
   L) *DENK*
   M) *Party for the North (PvhN)*
   N) *Groningen Interests (GB)*
   O) *Did not vote/Voted blank*
   P) *Not eligible to vote*

6. What political party would you vote for if there was a national election tomorrow? (**)
   A) *Christian-Democratic Appeal (CDA)*
   B) *Christian Union (CU)*
   C) *Democrats 66 (D66)*
   D) *Forum for Democracy (FVD)*
   E) *GreenLeft (GL)*
   F) *Party for Labour (PVDA)*
   G) *Party for the Animals (PvdD)*
   H) *Party for Freedom (PVV)*
   I) *Socialist Party (SP)*
   J) *People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)*
   K) *50PLUS*
   L) *Reformed Political Party (SGP)*
   M) *DENK*
   N) *Other (open question)*
   O) *Do not intend to vote*
   P) *I don't know/Voting blank*

7. Have you personally had interactions with people of an asylum-seeker background or people who have moved to the Netherlands from another country?
   A) *Yes*
   B) No

8. (If yes to question 7) How frequently did or do you interact with said person/people?
   (Likert-scale ranging from: *1: Very rarely* to *10: Very frequently*)

9. (If yes to question 7) How would you rate the interactions you had with people of an asylum-seeker background?
   (Likert-scale ranging from: *1: Extremely negative* to *10: Extremely positive*)

10. (If yes to question 7) How did you come to interact with this person/these people? (**)
    A) *In the public sphere*
    B) *In my residential environment*
    C) *Through my work*
    D) *Through my education*
    E) *Through a sport or hobby*
    F) *Through family*
    G) *Through friends*
    H) *Other (open question)*
    I) *Through my church (***)*
    J) *Through volunteering work (***)*
    K) *Through social media (***)*

11. How would you rate your opinion of people with an asylum-seeker background in general?
    (Likert-scale ranging from: *1: Extremely negative* to *10: Extremely positive*)

12. Which source would you say most influenced this opinion? (**)
    A) *Personal experience*
    B) *Experience from family/friends*
    C) *Information attained through education*
    D) *Reports in printed media*
    E) *Reports on televised/radio media*
    F) *Reports on social media*
    G) *Other (open question)*
    H) *My own conviction (***)*

Appendix II – Descriptive Statistics

Statistics

		Sex	Agegroups	Level of Education
N	Valid	356	348	355
	Missing	0	8	1
Mean		1.74	4.2672	7.55
Mode		2	5.00	9

Level of education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Elementary Education	1	.3	.3	.3
	Vmbo / Mavo / Ulo / Mulo	41	11.5	11.5	11.8
	Havo / Vwo / Mms / Hbs Substructure	25	7.0	7.0	18.9
	Mbo1	8	2.2	2.3	21.1
	Havo / Vwo / Mms / Hbs Superstructure	18	5.1	5.1	26.2
	Mbo2	5	1.4	1.4	27.6
	Mbo3	17	4.8	4.8	32.4
	Mbo4	52	14.6	14.6	47.0
	Hbo-bachelor	102	28.7	28.7	75.8
	Wo-bachelor	41	11.5	11.5	87.3
	Wo-master	32	9.0	9.0	96.3
	Wo-doctoral	13	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	355	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		356	100.0		

		City of Groningen	All surrounding municipalities
Level of Education	Primary Education	0	1
	Vmbo / Mavo / Ulo / Mulo	8	33
	Havo / Vwo / Mms / Hbs substructure	5	20
	Mbo1	2	6
	Havo / Vwo / Mms / Hbs superstructure	5	13
	Mbo2	1	4
	Mbo3	3	14
	Mbo4	8	44
	Hbo-bachelor	42	59
	Wo-bachelor	30	11
	Wo-master	21	11
	Wo-doctoral	9	4

Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	96	27.0	27.0	27.0
	Female	257	72.2	72.2	99.2
	Other / Rather not say	3	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	356	100.0	100.0	

Sex
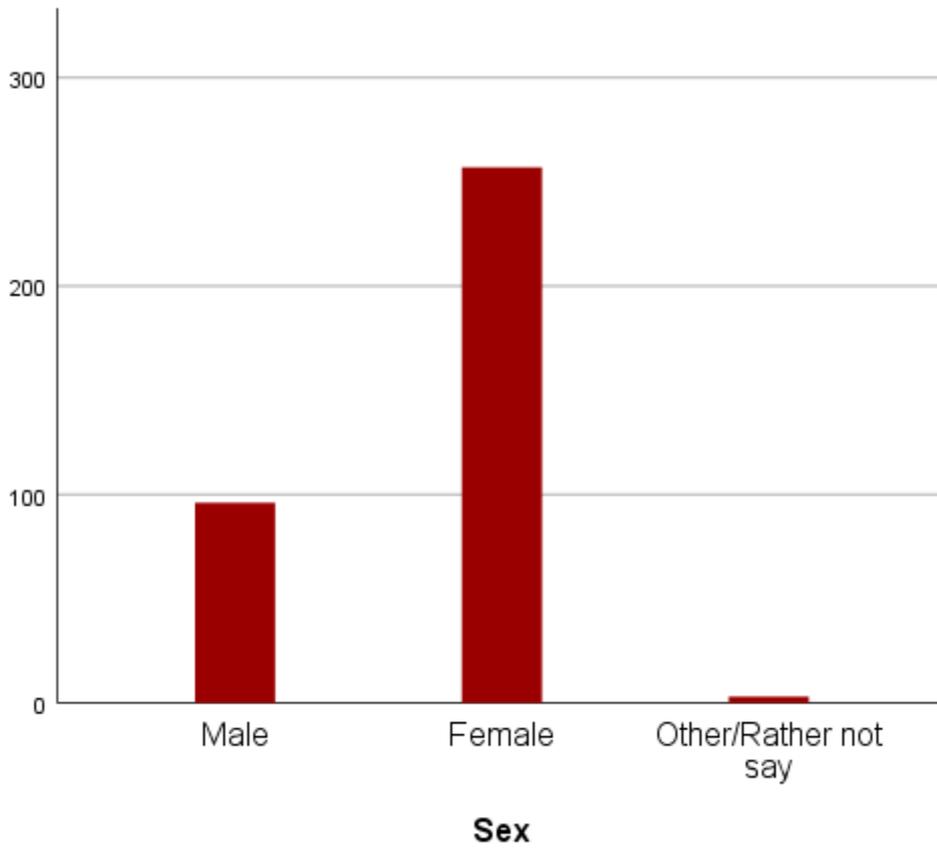
Age groups

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	16-17	6	1.7	1.7	1.7
	18-24	67	18.8	19.3	21.0
	24-34	38	10.7	10.9	31.9
	35-44	59	16.6	17.0	48.9
	45-54	101	28.4	29.0	77.9
	55-64	51	14.3	14.7	92.5
	65-74	24	6.7	6.9	99.4
	>75	2	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	348	97.8	100.0	
Missing	System	8	2.2		
Total		356	100.0		

Age groups
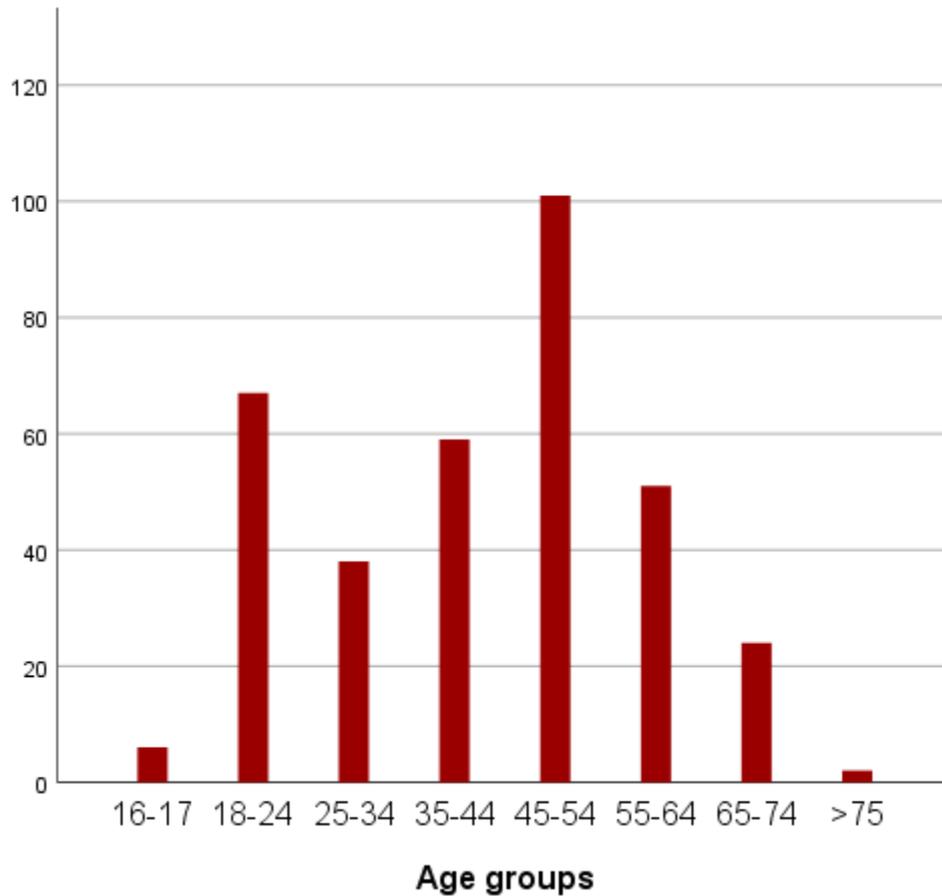
Appendix III – Test Results - Attitudes within municipalities

Test I – Mann-Whitney Test

Attitudes towards people with an asylum-seeker background: City of Groningen compared to Eastern Groningen

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Attitude Rating	356	6.36	1.898	1	10
Municipalities	355	1.7324	.64567	1.00	3.00

Ranks

	Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Attitude Rating	City of Groningen	134	163.59	21920.50
	Eastern Groningen	182	154.76	28165.50
	Total	316		

Test Statistics[a]

	Attitude Rating
Mann-Whitney U	11512.500
Wilcoxon W	28165.500
Z	-.863
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.388

a. Grouping Variable: Municipalities

Test II – Mann-Whitney Test

Attitudes towards people with an asylum-seeker background: City of Groningen compared to all other municipalities

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Attitude Rating	356	6.36	1.898	1	10
Municipalities	355	1.7324	.64567	1.00	3.00

Ranks

	Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Attitude Rating	City of Groningen	134	185.79	24896.00
	All other municipalities	221	173.28	38294.00
	Total	355		

Test Statistics[a]

	Attitude Rating
Mann-Whitney U	13763.000
Wilcoxon W	38294.000
Z	-1.132
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.258

a. Grouping Variable: Municipalities

Test III – Multiple Response Crosstable

Sources of overall attitude: City of Groningen compared to all other municipalities

			Municipalities			
			City of Groningen	Eastern Groningen	Remaining Municipalities	Total
Sources[a]	Personal experience	Count	90	126	29	245
		% within municipalities	67.2%	69.6%	74.4%	
	Experience of family/friends	Count	34	54	11	99
		% within municipalities	25.4%	29.8%	28.2%	
	Information from my education	Count	40	32	6	78
		% within municipalities	29.9%	17.7%	15.4%	
	Reports in print media	Count	30	46	12	88
		% within municipalities	22.4%	25.4%	30.8%	
	Reports on television/radio	Count	49	54	13	116
		% within municipalities	36.6%	29.8%	33.3%	
	Messages on socia media	Count	33	34	9	76
		% within municipalities	24.6%	18.8%	23.1%	
	Personal conviction	Count	3	4	1	8
		% within municipalities	2.2%	2.2%	2.6%	
Total		Count	134	181	39	354

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Appendix IV – Test Results - Attitudes within political groups

Test I – Kruskall-Wallis Test

Attitudes towards people with an asylum-seeker background: Political parties of the 2019 provincial election grouped

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Attitude Rating	356	6.36	1.898	1	10
2019 - Parties Grouped	356	4.2837	2.48054	1.00	8.00

Ranks

	2019 - Parties Grouped	N	Mean Rank
Attitude Rating	PRR	58	82.57
	RENEW	55	206.16
	Greens-EFA	47	240.57
	S&D	31	189.71
	GUE-NGL	55	207.86
	EPP	25	184.72
	Local	13	176.65
	Non-decided	72	165.04
	Total	356	

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Attitude Rating
Kruskal-Wallis H	80.155
df	7
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: 2019 - Parties Grouped

Report

Attitude Rating

Parties Grouped - 2019	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Median
1.00	1.760	4.50	58	5.00
2.00	1.401	6.96	55	7.00
3.00	1.557	7.43	47	8.00
4.00	1.726	6.61	31	7.00
5.00	1.323	6.91	55	7.00
6.00	1.896	6.48	25	7.00
7.00	2.184	6.46	13	7.00
8.00	1.913	6.12	72	6.00
Total	1.898	6.36	356	7.00

Test II – Kruskall-Wallis Test

Attitudes towards people with a n asylum-seeker background: Political parties of the next national election grouped

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Attitude Rating	356	6.36	1.898	1	10
Now - Parties Grouped	356	4.3933	2.34788	1.00	7.00

Ranks

	Now - Parties Grouped	N	Mean Rank
Attitude Rating	PRR	61	82.07
	RENEW	48	201.76
	Greens-EFA	33	259.18
	S&D	31	218.89
	GUE-NGL	38	213.76
	EPP	21	164.45
	Non-decided	124	176.94
	Total	356	

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Attitude Rating
Kruskal-Wallis H	88.723
df	6
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Now - Parties Grouped

Report

Attitude Rating

Parties Grouped - Now	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Median
1.00	1.857	4.43	61	5.00
2.00	1.825	6.77	48	7.00
3.00	1.275	7.76	33	8.00
4.00	1.551	7.16	31	7.00
5.00	1.394	7.05	38	7.00
6.00	2.143	6.24	21	6.00
7.00	1.529	6.40	124	7.00
Total	1.898	6.36	356	7.00

Test III – Multiple Response Crosstable

Sources of overall attitude: Political parties of the 2019 provincial election grouped

					Parties Grouped - 2019						
			PRR	RENEW	Greens-EFA	S&D	GUE-NGL	EPP	Local	Undecided	Total
Sources[a]	Personal experience	Count	43	36	34	22	34	18	11	48	246
		% within Parties	74.1%	65.5%	72.3%	71.0%	61.8%	72.0%	84.6%	67.6%	
	Experience of family/friends	Count	22	14	16	7	15	7	3	16	100
		% within Parties	37.9%	25.5%	34.0%	22.6%	27.3%	28.0%	23.1%	22.5%	
	Information from my education	Count	6	15	19	5	13	6	2	12	78
		% within Parties	10.3%	27.3%	40.4%	16.1%	23.6%	24.0%	15.4%	16.9%	
	Reports in print media	Count	13	18	11	8	12	6	4	16	88
		% within Parties	22.4%	32.7%	23.4%	25.8%	21.8%	24.0%	30.8%	22.5%	
	Reports on television/radio	Count	17	19	13	9	19	12	2	25	116
		% within Parties	29.3%	34.5%	27.7%	29.0%	34.5%	48.0%	15.4%	35.2%	
	Messages on socia media	Count	18	8	10	4	13	4	2	17	76
		% within Parties	31.0%	14.5%	21.3%	12.9%	23.6%	16.0%	15.4%	23.9%	
	Personal conviction	Count	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	8
		% within Parties	0.0%	1.8%	2.1%	0.0%	1.8%	4.0%	7.7%	4.2%	
Total		Count	58	55	47	31	55	25	13	71	355

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Test IV – Multiple Response Crosstable

Sources of overall attitude: Political parties of the next national election grouped

					Parties Grouped - Now						
			PRR	RENEW	Greens-EFA	S&D	GUE-NGL	EPP	Undecided	Total
Sources[a]	Personal experience	Count	41	39	25	21	25	12	83	246
		% within Parties	67.2%	81.3%	75.8%	67.7%	65.8%	57.1%	67.5%	
	Experience of family/friends	Count	18	12	6	8	12	9	35	100
		% within Parties	29.5%	25.0%	18.2%	25.8%	31.6%	42.9%	28.5%	
	Information from my education	Count	8	12	15	9	7	4	23	78
		% within Parties	13.1%	25.0%	45.5%	29.0%	18.4%	19.0%	18.7%	
	Reports in print media	Count	17	10	6	11	9	4	31	88
		% within Parties	27.9%	20.8%	18.2%	35.5%	23.7%	19.0%	25.2%	
	Reports on television/radio	Count	20	13	7	7	12	6	51	116
		% within Parties	32.8%	27.1%	21.2%	22.6%	31.6%	28.6%	41.5%	
	Messages on socia media	Count	21	8	6	6	7	3	25	76
		% within Parties	34.4%	16.7%	18.2%	19.4%	18.4%	14.3%	20.3%	
	Personal conviction	Count	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	8
		% within Parties	0.0%	2.1%	3.0%	0.0%	2.6%	4.8%	3.3%	
Total		Count	61	48	33	31	38	21	123	355

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Appendix V – Test Results – Intergroup Contact between municipalities

Test I – Mann-Whitney Test

Frequency of intergroup-contact: City of Groningen compared to Eastern Groningen

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Frequency Rating	356	4.06	3.186	0	10
Municipalities	355	1.7324	.64567	1.00	3.00

Ranks

	Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Frequency Rating	City of Groningen	134	167.21	22406.50
	Eastern Groningen	182	152.09	27679.50
	Total	316		

Test Statistics[a]

	Frequency Rating
Mann-Whitney U	11026.500
Wilcoxon W	27679.500
Z	-1.467
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.142

a. Grouping Variable: Municipalities

Test II – Mann-Whitney Test

Frequency of intergroup-contact: City of Groningen compared to all other municipalities

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Frequency Rating	356	4.06	3.186	0	10
Municipalities	355	1.6225	.48544	1.00	2.00

Ranks

	Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Frequency Rating	City of Groningen	134	187.79	25163.50
	All other municipalities	221	172.07	38026.50
	Total	355		

Test Statistics[a]

	Frequency Rating
Mann-Whitney U	13495.500
Wilcoxon W	38026.500
Z	-1.411
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.158

a. Grouping Variable: Municipalities

Test III – Mann-Whitney Test

Rating of intergroup-contact: City of Groningen compared to Eastern Groningen

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Interaction Rating	276	6.78	2.116	1	10
Municipalities	355	1.7324	.64567	1.00	3.00

Ranks

	Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Interaction Rating	City of Groningen	110	127.49	14023.50
	Eastern Groningen	134	118.41	15866.50
	Total	244		

Test Statistics[a]

	Interaction Rating
Mann-Whitney U	6821.500
Wilcoxon W	15866.500
Z	-1.017
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.309

a. Grouping Variable: Municipalities

Test IV – Mann-Whitney Test

Rating of intergroup-contact: City of Groningen compared to all other municipalities

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Interaction Rating	276	6.78	2.116	1	10
Municipalities	355	1.6225	.48544	1.00	2.00

Ranks

	Municipalities	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Interaction Rating	City of Groningen	110	144.55	15900.50
	All other municipalities	165	133.63	22049.50
	Total	275		

Test Statistics[a]

	Interaction Rating
Mann-Whitney U	8354.500
Wilcoxon W	22049.500
Z	-1.132
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.257

a. Grouping Variable: Municipalities

Test V – Multiple Response Crosstable

Setting of intergroup-contact: City of Groningen compared to all other municipalities

			Municipalities			
			City of Groningen	Eastern Groningen	Remaining municipalities	Total
Setting[a]	In public space	Count	37	59	10	106
		% within municipalities	33.6%	44.0%	32.3%	
	In my residential environment	Count	29	56	13	98
		% within municipalities	26.4%	41.8%	41.9%	
	Through my work	Count	48	63	12	123
		% within municipalities	43.6%	47.0%	38.7%	
	Through my school or education	Count	28	30	6	64
		% within municipalities	25.5%	22.4%	19.4%	
	Through a sport or hobby	Count	17	22	4	43
		% within municipalities	15.5%	16.4%	12.9%	
	Through family	Count	9	9	4	22
		% within municipalities	8.2%	6.7%	12.9%	
	Through friends	Count	19	14	0	33
		% within municipalities	17.3%	10.4%	0.0%	
	Through my church	Count	1	2	1	4
		% within municipalities	0.9%	1.5%	3.2%	
	Through volunteering work	Count	5	3	2	10
		% within municipalities	4.5%	2.2%	6.5%	
	Through social media	Count	2	1	0	3
		% within municipalities	1.8%	0.7%	0.0%	
Total		Count	110	134	31	275

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Appendix VI – Test Results – Intergroup-contact between political groups

Test I – Kruskall-Wallis Test

Frequency of intergroup-contact: Political parties of the 2019 provincial election grouped

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Frequency Rating	356	4.06	3.186	0	10
Parties Grouped - 2019	356	4.2837	2.48054	1.00	8.00

Ranks

	Parties Grouped - 2019	N	Mean Rank
Frequency Rating	PRR	58	202.54
	RENEW	55	151.21
	Greens-EFA	47	182.33
	S&D	31	156.82
	GUE-NGL	55	171.06
	EPP	25	200.56
	Local	13	197.08
	Non-decided	72	181.48
	Total	356	

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Frequency Rating
Kruskal-Wallis H	10.573
df	7
Asymp. Sig.	.158

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Parties Grouped - 2019

Test II – Kruskall-Wallis Test

Frequency of intergroup-contact: Political parties of the next national election grouped

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Frequency Rating	356	4.06	3.186	0	10
Parties Grouped - Now	356	4.3933	2.34788	1.00	7.00

Ranks

	Parties Grouped - Now	N	Mean Rank
Frequency Rating	PRR	61	178.48
	RENEW	48	175.38
	Greens-EFA	33	194.70
	S&D	31	155.92
	GUE-NGL	38	181.71
	EPP	21	161.02
	Non-decided	124	183.03
	Total	356	

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Frequency Rating
Kruskal-Wallis H	3.293
df	6
Asymp. Sig.	.771

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Parties Grouped - Now

Test III – Kruskall-Wallis Test

Rating of intergroup-contact: Political parties of the 2019 provincial election grouped

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Interaction Rating	276	6.78	2.116	1	10
Parties Grouped - 2019	356	4.2837	2.48054	1.00	8.00

Ranks

	Parties Grouped - 2019	N	Mean Rank
Interaction Rating	PRR	52	74.41
	RENEW	41	150.15
	Greens-EFA	35	189.06
	S&D	23	147.02
	GUE-NGL	41	151.09
	EPP	21	139.21
	Local	12	144.79
	Non-decided	51	144.05
	Total	276	

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Interaction Rating
Kruskal-Wallis H	51.591
df	7
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Parties Grouped - 2019

Report

Interaction Rating

Parties Grouped - 2019	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Median
1.00	2.091	4.98	52	5.00
2.00	1.711	7.15	41	8.00
3.00	1.543	7.97	35	8.00
4.00	1.766	7.13	23	7.00
5.00	2.040	7.12	41	7.00
6.00	2.376	6.62	21	8.00
7.00	1.975	7.08	12	7.00
8.00	1.912	7.06	51	7.00
Total	2.116	6.78	276	7.00

Test IV – Kruskall-Wallis test

Rating of intergroup-contact: Political parties of the next national election grouped

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Interaction Rating	276	6.78	2.116	1	10
Parties Grouped - Now	356	4.3933	2.34788	1.00	7.00

Ranks

	Parties Grouped - Now	N	Mean Rank
Interaction Rating	PRR	49	69.70
	RENEW	42	146.51
	Greens-EFA	27	200.54
	S&D	21	166.83
	GUE-NGL	30	163.47
	EPP	15	114.20
	Non-decided	92	142.63
	Total	276	

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Interaction Rating
Kruskal-Wallis H	62.222
df	6
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Parties Grouped - Now

Report

Interaction Rating

Parties Grouped - Now	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Median
1.00	2.062	4.86	49	5.00
2.00	1.913	7.00	42	7.00
3.00	1.163	8.26	27	8.00
4.00	1.564	7.62	21	7.00
5.00	1.906	7.43	30	8.00
6.00	2.631	5.93	15	6.00
7.00	1.834	7.00	92	7.00
Total	2.116	6.78	276	7.00

Test V – Multiple Response Crosstable

Setting of intergroup-contact: Political parties of the 2019 provincial election grouped

			Parties Grouped - 2019								Total
			PRR	RENEW	Greens-EFA	S&D	GUE-NGL	EPP	Local	Undecided	
Setting[a]	In public space	Count	25	17	11	7	15	9	4	18	106
		% within Parties	48.1%	41.5%	31.4%	30.4%	36.6%	42.9%	33.3%	35.3%	
	In my residential environment	Count	23	8	13	8	17	9	3	18	99
		% within Parties	44.2%	19.5%	37.1%	34.8%	41.5%	42.9%	25.0%	35.3%	
	Through my work	Count	21	20	17	14	20	5	4	23	124
		% within Parties	40.4%	48.8%	48.6%	60.9%	48.8%	23.8%	33.3%	45.1%	
	Through my school or education	Count	12	11	6	4	7	6	4	14	64
		% within Parties	23.1%	26.8%	17.1%	17.4%	17.1%	28.6%	33.3%	27.5%	
	Through a sport or hobby	Count	7	5	6	6	9	3	1	6	43
		% within Parties	13.5%	12.2%	17.1%	26.1%	22.0%	14.3%	8.3%	11.8%	
	Through family	Count	0	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	22
		% within Parties	0.0%	9.8%	11.4%	13.0%	7.3%	14.3%	16.7%	5.9%	
	Through friends	Count	5	6	10	2	3	0	3	5	34
		% within Parties	9.6%	14.6%	28.6%	8.7%	7.3%	0.0%	25.0%	9.8%	
	Through my church	Count	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
		% within Parties	1.9%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	2.0%	
	Through volunteering work	Count	0	0	4	0	3	1	0	2	10
		% within Parties	0.0%	0.0%	11.4%	0.0%	7.3%	4.8%	0.0%	3.9%	
	Through social media	Count	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
		% within Parties	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
Total		Count	52	41	35	23	41	21	12	51	276

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Test VI – Multiple Response Crosstable

Setting of intergroup-contact: Political parties of the next national election grouped

			Parties Grouped - Now							Total
			PRR	RENEW	Greens-EFA	S&D	GUE-NGL	EPP	Undecided	
Setting[a]	In public space	Count	25	21	9	5	8	4	34	106
		% within Parties	51.0%	50.0%	33.3%	23.8%	26.7%	26.7%	37.0%	
	In my residential environment	Count	22	11	8	8	11	5	34	99
		% within Parties	44.9%	26.2%	29.6%	38.1%	36.7%	33.3%	37.0%	
	Through my work	Count	16	17	17	11	17	6	40	124
		% within Parties	32.7%	40.5%	63.0%	52.4%	56.7%	40.0%	43.5%	
	Through my school or education	Count	11	13	6	5	6	1	22	64
		% within Parties	22.4%	31.0%	22.2%	23.8%	20.0%	6.7%	23.9%	
	Through a sport or hobby	Count	8	7	3	5	4	2	14	43
		% within Parties	16.3%	16.7%	11.1%	23.8%	13.3%	13.3%	15.2%	
	Through family	Count	0	5	1	2	2	1	11	22
		% within Parties	0.0%	11.9%	3.7%	9.5%	6.7%	6.7%	12.0%	
	Through friends	Count	5	8	5	2	2	0	12	34
		% within Parties	10.2%	19.0%	18.5%	9.5%	6.7%	0.0%	13.0%	
	Through my church	Count	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
		% within Parties	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.3%	2.2%	
	Through volunteering work	Count	0	0	1	2	2	2	3	10
		% within Parties	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	9.5%	6.7%	13.3%	3.3%	
	Through social media	Count	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
		% within Parties	4.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	
Total		Count	49	42	27	21	30	15	92	276

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.