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Criminalisation of illegal stay

The sentiments behind the approval of

the bill criminalisation of illegal stay in the Netherlands

A research internship at OnMigration

Author
W.R. Berger
S4791223

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Supervisor
Dr. O.T. Kramsch

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Before you lies my master's thesis. In this thesis, the factors that influence the approval of the bill criminalisation of illegal stay in the Netherlands will be investigated.

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Wieke Rixt Berger

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Abstract

In the Netherlands, a bill to criminalise illegal stay is being debated once more. The criminalisation of illegal stay means that undocumented migrants are illegal and must be condemned. This bill is an example of 'crimmigration', which is the collision of immigration and criminal law. This study investigates the factors that influenced the bill criminalising illegal stay in the Netherlands' approval. Several hypotheses have been developed on the basis of theory, in which several variables are thought to influence people's approval. In addition, three counterframes were created in order to reduce approval. Respondents were asked about these variables and counterframes via an online survey. The results revealed that four variables had a significant association with peoples approval. Three of them had a positive association. This means that the probability increases when this variable is present. These variables include having HBO as the highest completed education level, feelings of nationalism, the prioritising of the conformity value. People's chances of approval decrease when they prioritise the fairness foundation. As a result, this study provides tools for organisations that want to change people's attitudes toward undocumented migrants, resulting is less support for the bill criminalising illegal stay in the Netherlands.

Key words: Undocumented migrants – Criminalisation of illegal stay – Crimmigration

Inhoud

1. Introduction

In the Netherlands, the first Rutte cabinet was installed in 2010. The People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) and the Cristian Democratic Appeal (CDA) formed this cabinet with the support and confidence of the Party for Freedom (PVV), giving them a slim majority in the House of Representatives. The VVD and CDA collaborated on a coalition agreement as well as a tolerance agreement with the PVV on a variety of issues, including immigration. This included a legislative proposal that would make illegality a crime (Rutte & Verhagen, 2010). Illegal stay becomes a crime under this proposal, punishable by up to four months in prison or a fine of up to €3900 in the second category (The Senate of the Dutch Parliament, n.d.). Criminalising illegal stay is a manifestation of 'crimmigration' (Van der Woude et al., 2014). Crimmigration is when immigration and criminal law collide to keep undocumented migrants out of society (Stumpf, 2006). This leads to undocumented migrants' social marginalisation and a harsh legal approach in which they are judged on the basis of their identity rather than what they have done (Yeslusic, 2020). Crimmigration, on the other hand, encompasses a social context as well as public and political discourse. The criminal undocumented migrant's identity is formed by the way migrants are stigmatised. Citizens appear to be in danger, and this public discourse is a response to the political discourse (Van der Woude et al., 2014).

This legislative proposal has been dropped (Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2011). As a result, illegal stay is not illegal, but the concept of criminalising illegality has not yet been abandoned. Eerdmans, a member of the Dutch parliament, introduced a motion in 2021 to criminalise illegality. During the vote, this motion was defeated, but five parties voted in favor (The House of Representatives, 2021). This demonstrated that the concept of criminalising illegality is still alive and supported. But what is the source of this approval? And is this approval mirrored in the Dutch population?

Criminal immigration legislation is the result of a political, public, and media discourse that portrays undocumented migrants as social threats. This discourse fosters anti-migrant sentiment, which leads to the acceptance of crimmigration (Brouwer et al., 2017). Brouwer et al. (2017) published an analysis of the media portrayer of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands in 2017. They came to the conclusion that increased negative media did not precede the criminalisation of illegal stay. Instead, the media appears to be following pre-existing ideas and frames. This is why this research investigates the public discourse.

The legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay is the research objective and this research investigates the sentiments that influence the approval of the legislative proposal. Why would Dutch citizens approve of this legislative proposal? What factors are they driven by? By examining the factors that influence this sentiment, it will become clear what the reinforcing effects are, allowing us to better understand how to combat these feelings. But, in the end, knowledge must be translated into action. With a better understanding of the variables, we may consider how individuals can have a more favorable perception of migration. To that purpose, we investigate which storylines produce the desired result. As a result, it becomes evident how best to persuade people to have less approval for the legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay. Multiple factors have been selected through literature research. These are combined under the five names of feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization, moral foundations and basic human values. This research will dig into these factors and its effects on the approval of criminalising illegal stay.

Research aim and question

The research aim is to examine the factors that influence the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay in the Netherlands and providing tools for organizations that want to improve the overall perception of migration. This leads to the following research question:

To what extend is the legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay in the Netherlands crimmigration and how do feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization, moral foundations and basic human values influence the legislative proposal's approval?

And the following sub-questions:

- *What is the criminalisation of illegality?*
- *What is crimmigration?*
- *What is the effect of feelings of insecurity on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*
- *What is the effect of othering on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*
- *What is the effect of securitization on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*
- *What is the effect of moral foundations on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*
- *What is the effect of basic human values on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*
- *Which narrative should be used to make people less likely to approve?*

To provide tools for organizations, this research examines through which narratives people are more positive towards migration and thus have less approval for criminalising illegal stay. This is accomplished using several counterframes. The inspiration for these counterframes came from a review of the literature. This research not only collects knowledge, but it also allows organizations to put that knowledge to use.

Societal relevance

The most pressing social issue is that we are not always aware of the factors that influence our policy ideas and how we subconsciously approve of legislation. Undocumented migrants and the potential criminalisation of illegal stay are critical issues for Dutch society as a whole. This is an issue that many organizations, including OnMigration, are dealing with. They attempt to shift public opinion and make people more accepting of undocumented migrants. Part of this is the approval of a bill making illegal stay a crime. However, in order to do so, it must be clear why people support this bill. This study attempts to address this societal issue by identifying the factors of influence and their degree of influence. To determine whether the sentiments and counterframes are effective, they must be examined. This will provide insight into how our opinions are shaped by various factors that may lead us to believe that crimmigration policies are the way to go. In turn, this knowledge gives organizations the tools they need to address the issue and increase support for undocumented migrants. These insights will hopefully help these organizations understand what motivates people and what can persuade them to change their minds.

Scientific relevance

The scientific relevance of this study stems from the fact that it examines not only the factors that influence why people have certain ideas, but also whether or not these ideas indicate support for a criminal immigration bill. According to the theory, many studies on sentiments such as othering and nationalism have already been conducted, but no one has yet made the connection to this specific bill. Nonetheless, this bill resurfaces every few years. It is thus time to make the theoretical connection

with the passage of this bill. In doing so, it is critical to not only ask if, but also why people have approval. As a result, the researcher would like to take a step back and examine how our own ideas and frames, rather than the law itself, contribute to the criminalisation of illegality. This understanding will help us understand crimmigration as a concept and why we should fall into this frame. This study will hopefully show that in order to change this crimmigration sentiment, we must also focus on the residents of a state. They are the ones who must approve policies, so they should be the next research goal.

2. The bill criminalisation of illegal stay in the Netherlands

For a long time, there has been a desire to criminalise illegal stay in the Netherlands. Foreigners who were illegally present on Dutch soil have always existed, but the policy has become more restrictive since the 1990s. The idea of criminalising illegality in the law first appears in the Balkenende I cabinet's strategic agreement (CDA, LPF, VVD) in 2002 (Balkenende et al., 2002). The cabinet fell apart quickly, preventing the plans from moving forward.

Minister Verdonk examined and investigated the criminalisation of illegal stay in the Balkenende II Cabinet in 2004. She came to the conclusion that due to a lack of capacity in prisons and the criminal justice system, this law could not be implemented. Further difficulties would arise in enforcing the law, and its effectiveness would be called into question. As a result, the government's reasons for not continuing to work on this were primarily practical (Van Geenen, 2012).

> *"Penalizing illegal stay could serve as a warning signal." The government, on the other hand, believes that combating illegal stay necessitates first and foremost the termination of the stay. On the other hand, making illegal stay a criminal offence, when it comes to detention, would prolong the stay. Given the relatively minor seriousness of the punishable conduct and the limited capacity of the Public Prosecution Service and the police, selective enforcement – and prosecution – is to be expected – especially given the capacity required for enforcement of other criminal offenses that are considered serious in society. For the time being, the government has decided that illegal stay should not be made a criminal offense*" (Verdonk, 2004).

Several motions for the criminalisation of illegal stay were filed in the years that followed. The minister was always told to look into the benefits and drawbacks of such a law. A motion on this subject, for example, was passed in 2005, and the then-minister Donner argued that making illegal stay a criminal offense was a good idea based on four points. To begin with, criminalisation would serve as a signalling function, as illegal stay would be viewed as a violation of public order that would be punished. Second, it would act as a deterrent, preventing migrants from entering the Netherlands illegally. Third, there would be a deterrent effect, causing illegal migrants already in the Netherlands to flee the country. Finally, criminalisation would result in a more effective strategy because criminal law could be applied to the problem of illegal immigration. The criminalisation was not adopted due to too many objections in the second chamber (Van Geenen, 2012).

In 2010, the minority cabinet's coalition agreement and tolerance agreement with the PVV stated that illegal migrants should be dealt with more harshly. This also reflected the idea of making illegal stay a criminal offense (Rutte & Verhagen, 2010). This resulted in a legislative proposal from then-minister Leers in 2011. The legislative proposal adds to the existing Aliens Act by making illegal stay in the Netherlands a crime (Van Geenen, 2012). The legislative proposal was not adopted because it was not approved by the Senate (Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2011). In 2013 and in 2021 another member of the Dutch parliament presented a legislative proposal to criminalise illegal stay. The legislative proposal was rejected by the Dutch parliament (The House of Representatives, 2021). As a result, the idea of criminalising of illegal stay is always present. Every time a motion is not saved by a majority of votes in either the second chamber or the first chamber, the motives appear to be the same.

So, in the Netherlands, this debate has been going on for years, and there are several proponents and opponents. Several organizations are fighting against this criminalisation and set up petitions. For example, there is a working group website where several organizations that help migrants and the church urge Dutch residents to speak out against the bill criminalisation of illegal stay. The signatories do not encourage illegal stay, but they are opposed to criminalising it because it will harm

disadvantaged populations and society as a whole. It is an attack on human rights, threatens the most vulnerable groups, fosters exploitation, increases the distance between the supply of help, is detrimental to security and public order, and increases societal tensions (Working group petition no criminalisation, n.d.).

Surprisingly, no groups of the same size are openly supportive of the bill. There are no organizations that make their voices heard on the internet. The VVD, on the other hand, has published its position on the criminalisation of illegal stay and its underlying motivation online. As a result, they are one of the bill's political supporters. They are also motivated by the fact that illegality can lead to exploitation and crime. They intend to prevent this by making illegal stay punishable. A second motivation is that people will have to leave the Netherlands and will not be able to find work as illegal immigrants. They must obtain a stay permit or leave (VVD, n.d.).

When looking for supporters and opponents of this bill online, it becomes clear that there are many opponents. Many organizations are working to oppose this bill, and many are asking for signatures on petitions. Politicians seem to be the only people who support the bill. This raises the question of what Dutch citizens think of this bill. Do they agree with the negative reactions that can be found all over the internet? Have they all signed the petition? Is there a silent majority of people who support this bill? This necessitates further research into the level of approval among Dutch citizens. This chapter provided an answer to the sub-question *What is the criminalisation of illegality?*

3. Theoretical Framework

The concepts that will be used in this study are discussed in this theoretical framework. First, crimmigration will be explained so that the legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay can be tested on this. If a criminal law cannot be legally justified, there must be a societal context in which it is approved. Multiple factors are identified in the literature on crimmigration that lead to the possible approval of this legislative proposal. These will be discussed in this chapter, and they lead to a number of hypotheses about why the criminalising illegality immigration law is approved. This review of the literature demonstrates the expected effect of the factor on approval. The second section of the chapter will look at the theoretical foundation for the narratives that will be created. Finally, everything is summarized in a conceptual model.

3.1 Crimmigration

Crimmigration is the process by which criminal law and immigration law become inextricably linked. This results in the criminalisation of immigration law, also known as "crimmigration law" (Stumpf, 2006). Infractions of immigration rules are criminalised, and negative immigration consequences become a sanction for migrants' criminal behavior (Rosenberg Rubins, 2021). The membership theory is one of the theoretical impulses of criminal immigration law.

Individual rights and privileges are limited to members of the social contract between the government and the people, according to the membership theory. This refers to a state's legal residents. According to this theory, the social contract between the government and the people only applies to the true citizens of a state. The societal contract addresses the government's struggle to protect its citizens and provides citizens with positive rights. However, only state members benefit from this social contract; others are excluded. Individuals are either included in or excluded from the social contract. The rights to protection and benefits from the social contract are only available to members of the state and its social contract. This justifies crimmigration, or the denial of these individual rights and privileges to migrants. They are not a part of the society with which the government has a social contract because they are not a part of the social contract (Stumpf, 2006).

Criminal law necessitates a reasonable fear of harm, as well as a requirement of culpability. People are held accountable for their criminal acts. The legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay does not meet these standards. Someone can be punished not for their criminal actions, but for their "illegality". Criminalisation is a result of one's given identity (Yeslusic, 2020). Immigration law punishes people for being wrong, not for doing wrong (Šalamon et al., 2020). As a result, immigration law may not be legal from a legal standpoint.

This demonstrates the legal aspect of crimmigration, but other scholars have proposed a broader definition, in which crimmigration is defined as the intertwining of crime and migration control. So, in addition to the legal aspects, crimmigration has a social context and a public and political discourse on crime and migration issues (Van der Woude & Van der Leun, 2013; Van der Woude et al., 2014). Crimmigration law, which provides for the exclusion of undesirable migrants from a society, is the result of the intertwining of crime control and immigration control. It evolved into a criminological paradigm for immigration control, in which migrants and immigration are criminalised through exclusion (Staring & Timmerman, 2021).

The main focus of this thesis is on crimmigration and how it excludes undesirable migrants, as well as the sentiment behind it. This provides a response to the sub-question *What is crimmigration?* The criminalisation of illegal stay exemplifies this discourse, in which migrants are viewed as illegal and

thus criminals, resulting in a crimmigration law that carries a fine or prison sentence. This means that the criminalisation of illegal stay is a form of crimmigration.

3.2 Feelings of insecurity

Crimmigration portrays migrants as criminals, instilling in citizens a sense of insecurity (Van der Woude et al., 2014). Insecurity is a perception influenced by one's personal circumstances and one's perception of crime as a social problem. On the one hand, there is objective safety, which is the probability of a situation that puts someone's safety in jeopardy. Subjective safety, on the other hand, refers to a person's sense of security. So subjective and objective safety differ (Müller, 2013). As a result, even those who have a remote chance of becoming a victim of crime may feel extremely exposed. People who are more insecure are more likely to approve crimmigration because they believe that they need the protection/to be protected against migrants. This leads to the next hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1a people who feel insecure are more likely to approve the criminalising of illegality

However, personal circumstances such as one's gender can influence one's insecurity. Women are more likely than men to feel insecure. This is because gender is a social construct rather than a biological one and gender creates a socially constructed identity where men and women perceive different dangers and assess the risks associated with these dangers. Gender as a social construct, on the other hand, appears to separate men and women's lives; there is a gender segregation. As a result, they also experience different dangers and have different experiences. So women have a higher risk perception than men (Gustafson, 1998). If a women feels insecure, her gender will probably strengthen her approval of crimmigration legislation. This leads to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1b: the positive relationship between feelings of insecurity and approval of criminalisation of illegality is stronger for a woman than for a man

3.3 Othering

Borders used to be the dividing line between citizen and non-citizen, but globalization has blurred that line. A national barrier could no longer separate the people of a country. The citizen status maintained, notwithstanding the disappearance of the physical lines. Citizenship has experienced significant changes (Rosenberg Rubins, 2021). While the physical border has dissolved, there is still an identity border. We develop a social construction of a *we-community* with its own identity through *othering*. This "we" is diametrically opposed to an "other", to whom we attach a completely different identity than ours (Van Houtum, 2021). The "we" and "other" in this case are identities, identities that are nothing more than a replicated frame. Because identity is a socially formed concept, our personal identity is mothering more than our imagination (Butler, 1993; Butler, 2009). This can also be seen in social identity theory. We strive to be a part of specific social groups that provide us with a sense of social identity. This distinguishes us from an "other" who does not belong to our social group and does not share the same social identity (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

As stated previously, the membership theory creates a difference between people who are included from the social contract and people who are excluded. This creates the concept of an "other', the one who is excluded and therefore different from the ones who are included. These others do not belong in the insiders' society and culture. This creates the perception of a "we", who are already members of a society, and an "other", who is a newcomer to the society but is not included in its societal contract

(Brouwer, 2019). The membership theory demonstrates that depriving migrants of their individual and human rights is justified because we believe they are not a part of our society. The idea that people have a nationhood that decides whether they are a member or excluded makes that they think in an "us" and an "other". Their national identity can only become meaningful by differentiation from the other. As a result, we require a significant other in order to form an "us" and distinguish ourselves from the "other" (Bajt, 2020). If we have the illusion of having a significant other, we must accept that they are not a part of society or the societal contract. Because the government is not required to protect their human and individual rights, crimmigration legislation is permitted. This would mean that they would approve the criminalising of illegal stay. As a result, the following hypothesis emerges:

Hypothesis 2b: people who believe in the illusion of a significant other are more likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay

The nationhood that unites us is founded on the country in which we live. The appearance of homogeneity is linked to a country to which one belongs or does not belong. People have a strong sense of belonging to a country and its territory, and they are loyal to it. These feelings of nationalism are a discourse (Bajt, 2020). This is a false discourse because no single state has a homogeneous population, despite the fact that multiple states claim to represent one. Different populations are assimilated or marginalized as a result of this false sense of unity. Based on a nationalistic discourse, they are not considered members of the community (Knippenberg, 2002). This gives the impression that people who are more nationalistic are more likely to support crimmigration because their nationalistic feelings fuel their illusion of the significant other. As a result, the following hypothesis emerges:

Hypothesis 2c: people who identify as nationalists are more likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay

In a discourse where the other is frequently demonized, the concept of an other emerges. The use of the term "illegal asylum seeker" is an example of this, where the asylum seeker is immediately labeled as such without being based on someone who has committed a crime (Šalamon et al., 2020). This leads to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2d: people who agree with negative rhetoric of migrants are more likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay

3.4 Securitization

When migrants are viewed as the "other", it is mostly an "other" from whom we must protect ourselves. There is a framing that leads to distrust of the opposing group (Adamides, 2015). When migrants are portrayed as the "other", they are portrayed as criminals who pose a security risk. When people consider migration, the first thing that comes to mind is security (Bajt, 2020; Rosenberg Rubins, 2021). This leads to the securitization of immigration, in which immigration is associated with crime, which is associated with security (Brouwer et al., 2017).

As a result, the government must resolve this security risk. This can be accomplished by implementing safety measures, but the emphasis quickly shifts to the idea that safety should come first. This is one of the risk-regulation reflexes of safety, according to Helsloot and Scholtens (2015). Safety is regarded as the most important value, so it is safety above all. Freedom and privacy must give way so that as many security measures as possible can be implemented. When the concept of safety is projected onto migration, the use of crimmigration law appears to be permissible. The criminal immigration law

violates several rights of migrants, but it can be passed because security trumps these rights (Helsloot & Scholtens, 2015). When people prioritize security above all, they are more likely to agree to crimmigration law such as the criminalisation of illegal stay. As a result, the following hypothesis emerges:

Hypothesis 3: *people who agree with the idea of safety above all are more likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay*

3.5 Moral Foundations of liberalism and conservatism

Individual liberty is the highest value of liberalism (Gutmann, 2001). Liberals have a positive outlook and believe that people should be given as much freedom as possible to achieve their own pleasure (Sowell, 2002). Liberals are more receptive to new experiences and changes than conservatives (McCrae, 1996). Conservatives seek stability and predictability and conservatism is about resistance to change (Jost et al., 2008; McCrae, 1996). They are afraid of threats to social order, and they are willing to give up liberty in order to keep order and peace (Altemeyer, 1996; McCann, 2008; Stenner, 2005). Because liberals are less afraid of threats to social order and more open to changes than conservatives, they will be less likely to approve of crimmigration law like the criminalisation of illegal stay. Conservatives are afraid that the social order will disappear and are more willing to take measures, even if it means fewer freedoms. Liberals and conservatives have a different point of view on justice.

Five moral foundations underpin our sense of justice. These are care, fairness, loyalty, authority and sanction. These moral foundations, when taken together, form our moral compass, determining what we consider fair and what we do not. This is what the moral foundations theory of Haidt (2012) is about.

The care foundation makes us become more sensitive to signs of suffering and need. We want to protect and care for children, which motivates us to show compassion. Caring and kindness are valuable qualities to possess.

The fairness foundation is all about working together with others. This is about two-way collaborations. We become enraged when someone does not cooperate with us or even cheats, and we shun or punish the cheater. Fairness, justice, and trustworthiness are all important virtues.

Thanks to the loyalty foundation we can form and maintain coalitions. Others on the team are quickly trusted and rewarded for their contributions. Our team is something we are very proud of. We become enraged when someone betrays us or our group. Loyalty, patriotism, and self-sacrifice are all important virtues.

The authority foundation fosters beneficial relationships within hierarchies. We are sensitive to others' and our own ranks and status. These instill a sense of awe and fear. Obedience and deference are relevant virtues.

Because of the sanctity foundation we value symbolic objects and threats. We are attempting to defile our own sanctity as well as the sanctity of our group in this manner. Temperance, chastity, piety and cleanliness are all relevant virtues.

Individuals are protected and treated fairly through the care foundation and the fairness foundation. These foundations are "individualizing". The loyalty, authority and sanctity foundation are "binding" foundations. They underpin moral systems that link people to bigger groups and organizations and focus on the relationships within a group. The moral compass of this individual determines whether or

not something is approved. As a result, these moral foundations have an impact on whether or not the criminalisation of illegal stay is approved. Everyone believes in these five key moral foundations, but not everyone values each of them equally (Haidt, 2012). Liberals and conservatives are divided in this way.

The five moral foundations are valued differently by liberals and conservatives. Liberals value individualizing foundations such as harm and fairness more than loyalty, authority and sanctity. Conservatives have more binding group-focused foundation endorsements than liberals, but they use all five foundations equally. As a result, liberals are primarily concerned with harm and fairness, whereas conservatives place roughly equal value on all five moral pillars (Graham et al., 2009). This means that liberals value harm foundation and fairness foundation over loyalty, authority and sanctity foundation. Because of their openness to change and less fear of disrupting social order, liberals are thought to be less afraid of immigration and less supporting of crimmigration law, such as the criminalisation of illegal stay. According to the moral foundations theory, the focus of liberals on the harm foundation and the fairness foundation would influence this approval. This leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4a: *people who value the harm foundation over the loyalty foundation, authority foundation and sanctity foundation are less likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay*

Hypothesis 4b: *people who value the fairness foundation over the loyalty foundation, authority foundation and sanctity foundation are less likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay*

3.6 Basic Human Values

People's values, like their feelings about immigration, are very personal. Values are linked to one another in a methodical but personal way. In the short term, they differ little in relative value prioritization within individuals, but they differ significantly in relative value prioritization between individuals. Values can be used to predict people's attitudes and behavior (Dennison, 2020). Values are defined in terms of motivational goals in the Basic Human Values theory. Everyone has the same ten core values, but we prioritize them differently. These values have an impact on our lives and how we view the world (Schwartz, 1992). Table 1 shows the ten essential values and their basic motivational goal:

Value	Basic motivational goal
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for all people's and nature's well-being
Benevolence	Preserving and improving the well-being of people with whom one has frequent personal contact
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas imposed by one's culture or religion
Conformity	Restriction of actions, inclinations, and impulses that are likely to irritate or harm others and violate social expectations and norms
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationship and of self
Power	Attainment or preservation of a dominant position within the more general social system
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
Hedonism	Pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life (a varied life, an exciting life, daring)

Self-direction	Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring

Table 1: Schwartz's ten basic human values (Schwartz, 1992).

Because of their similarities and differences, these values are related to one another. Some values are more closely related to one another than to others. On two dimensions, the ten values can be arranged in relation to one another. The first is the distinction between self-transcendence and self-enhancement. The second debate is between conservatism and openness to change. Values with commonalities are brought closer together and literally placed next to each other. Values that are diametrically opposed are placed in direct opposition to one another (Schwartz, 1992). Figure 1 depicts the sum of the values in this circumplex.

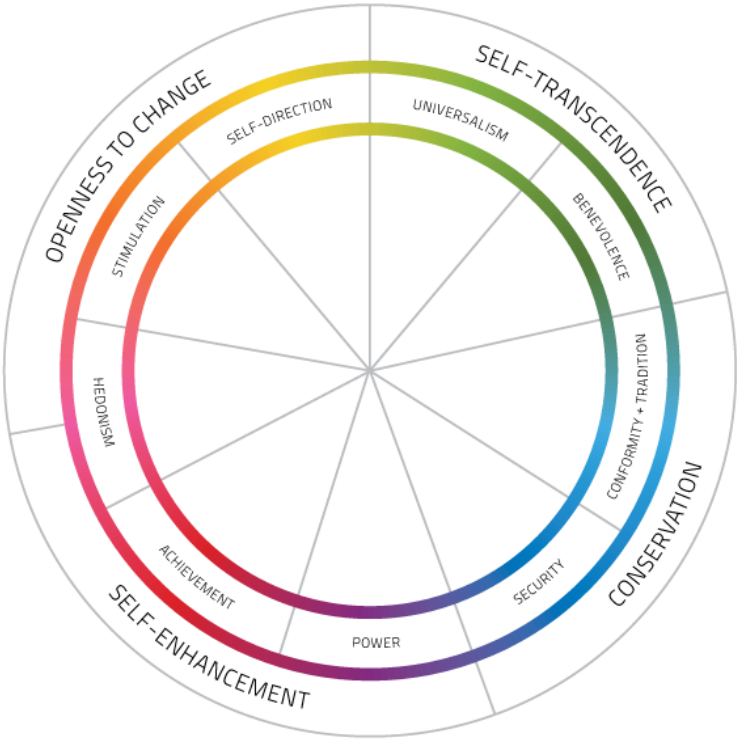


Figure 1: The Values Circumplex (Schwartz, 1992)

According to studies by Schwartz and Sagiv (1995), Davidov and Meuleman (2012), and Davidov et al. (2008, 2014), the two values of "universalism" and "benevolence" increase immigration positivity. The conservation order values "security," "conformity," and "tradition" all reduce positivity toward immigration. The criminalising of illegal stay assumes a negative immigration idea. This would mean that people who approve of this legislative proposal, will most likely prioritize the values "security", "conformity" and "tradition". This leads to the following three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5a: *people who prioritize the value security are more likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*

Hypothesis 5b: *people who prioritize the value conformity are more likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*

Hypothesis 5c: *people who prioritize the value tradition are more likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*

3.7 Counterframing

According to the hypothesis, the eleven factors listed above will have a positive impact on the approval of criminalising illegality in the Netherlands. This indicates that the public supports the legislative proposal and, as a result, crimmigration in the Netherlands. The second goal of this study is to develop tools for organizations that want to improve people's attitudes toward migration. Counterframes can be used to achieve this. Frames that work against the existing frames that people use to form their feelings. Van Gorp et al. (2020) present a total of seven counterframes to the problematizing frames. However, before choosing a frame, it must be clear which frame must be countered.

Van Gorp et al. (2020) identified four frames that create a problematic view of refugees and migration. One of these frames is the frame of the *hostile intruder*. The migrant is an unknown outsider who is alien to the culture and poses a threat, according to the cultural theme of this frame. Refugees/migrants wreak havoc on the country and make it unsafe. They bring crime and a terrorist threat with them when they arrive. And this is despite the fact that public safety is of the utmost importance. People want a bold migration policy because of high crime rates. The solutions lie in fortifying Fortress Europe. The safety of our own people is of the utmost importance. A second frame is the *control* frame. The cultural theme of this frame is the need to control and contain external factors. It is felt that a strict policy that manages the uncontrolled influx of refugees/migrants into an already overburdened country is lacking. The reason for all this is that national legislation is not sufficient and that inefficient cooperation creates a pull effect for migrants. The solution to this problem must be found in pragmatic, efficient cooperation and an even distribution of the burden across countries, including the countries of origin. As a result, the migration problem is viewed as a legislative issue, with stricter legislation being proposed as a solution. These two frames represent the motivation for crimmigration. As a result, it is entirely possible that these two frames convert the negative sentiment of immigration into approval of crimmigration.

There are seven counterframes for problematized immigration sentiments. The study by Van Gorp et al. (2020) showed that two of these counterframes should be used to deproblematize immigration sentiments. The first counterframe is the idea of *win-win*. The win-win counterframe tries to persuade people that different parties can personally benefit from the situation. Every country has its own set of issues that migrants can assist in resolving. They will be able to solve the problems associated with population aging in this manner. As a result, migrants are portrayed as human resources capable of contributing to the labour market and the economy. Allowing migrants to perform certain squeeze jobs benefits everyone. The second counterframe is *the innocent victim*. This counterframe depicts the migrant as having been through a traumatic event. The migrant is powerless to change this on his or her own and deserves our support and assistance. For example, an migrant may have been forced to flee their home country due to physical, political, or economic threats. It is up to the host country to provide this assistance out of mercy. The issue with this counterframe is that migrants are expected to contribute to society. They must, for example, work in health care. Not all migrants meet those criteria.

These two counterframes should be used in conjunction with the control framing. Another finding of the study is that it is critical to express sympathy and compassion for the message of those who have negative feelings about immigration. This can be accomplished by combining the two counterframes with the problematizing control frame. This was the most common frame among survey respondents. It is useful to recognize that migration can be a control issue that a country cannot yet resolve. And a

solution must be devised. The two counterframes of win-win and innocent victim will add nuance to the finding in the search for the solution. Finally, most people want to gain control over migration issues (Van Gorp et al., 2020).

This, in turn, serves as a theoretical foundation for developing the narratives in this study. According to the study, narratives should emphasize control, win-win situations, and the innocent victim in order to influence as many people as possible to think positively about migrants. As a result, the following hypotheses emerge:

Hypothesis 6a: a *narrative which focuses on control, but as a counterframe, will make people less likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*

Hypothesis 6b: *a narrative which focuses on win-win will make people less likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*

Hypothesis 6c: a *narrative which focuses on the innocent victim will make people less likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*

3.8 Conceptual model

Figure 2 depicts the conceptual model, in which the hypotheses are clearly presented in relation to one another.

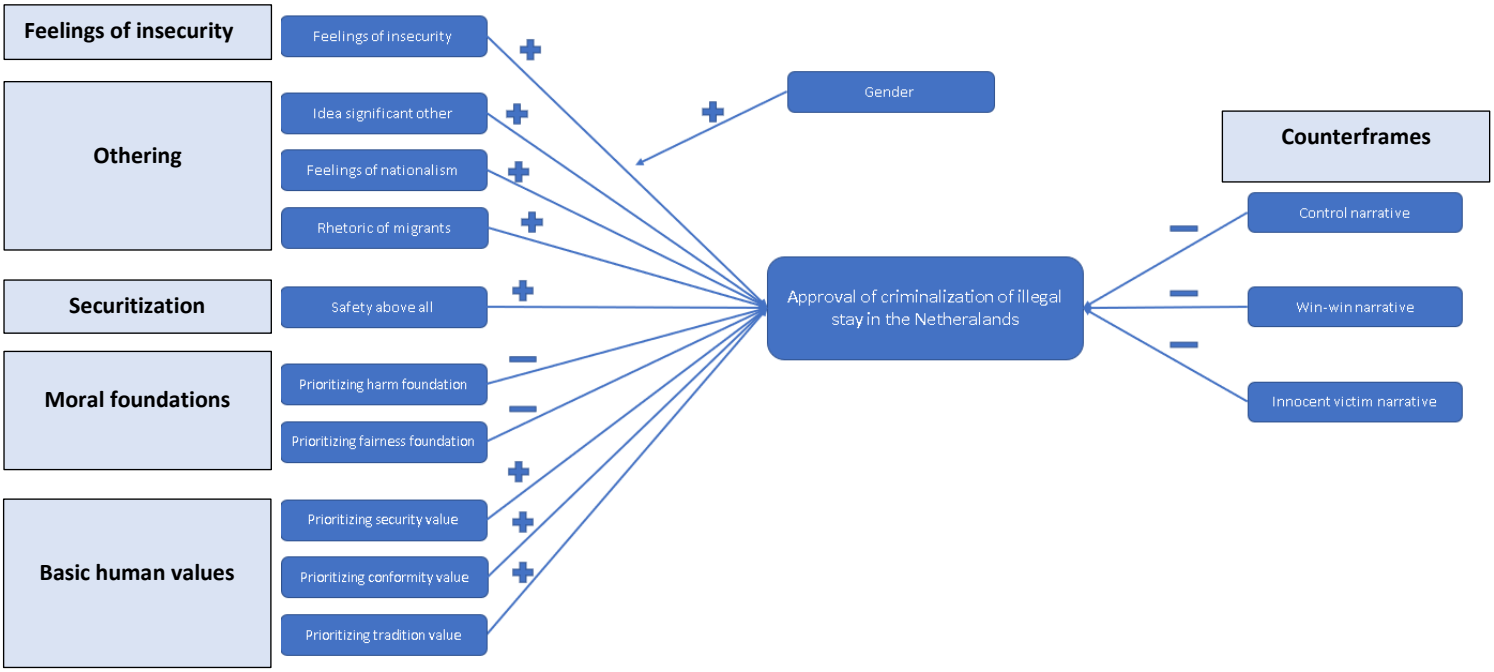


Figure 2: Conceptual model

4. Methodology

The methodology explains the methods used to obtain the results. First and foremost, the theoretical concepts mentioned above that are related to one another are operationalized. In the following sections, the methods used in this study are justified through a discussion of the research strategy, data collection, and research units of this study. It is then explained how the collected data was analyzed. Following that is a description of the study's assumptions. Finally, the research's reliability and validity will be discussed.

4.1 Operationalisation

The operationalisation takes place in three steps: providing a definition, breaking it down into forms of expression and assigning the level of measurement (Van Thiel, 2015, p. 56). The questionnaire's scalability is also taken into account. A factor analysis is used to determine how many factors make up a scale when several survey questions are used for one variable. This was accomplished through the use of principal component analysis. The internal consistency of items is shown by the Cronbach's Alpha. When the Cronbach's Alpha .70 or higher, the internal consistency is good. The column 'Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted' also shows how the Cronbach's Alpha will change if the item in question is removed from the scale. To improve scalability, items with a 'Cronbach's Alpha If Item Deleted' can be removed (Field, 2013).

4.1.1 Approval of legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay

The approval of the legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay is the dependent variable in this research. The approval of the legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay is defined as the approval of a legislative proposal where illegal stay in the Netherlands would become a crime. The following survey question (appendix 1) is being used to gauge this approval: To what extent do you agree with the following statement?: I think it is a good idea to make undocumented stay in the Netherlands punishable by law. This would mean that someone who does not have a stay permit would be punishable by law and could therefore be imprisoned or receive a fine. Proponents say that this will make it less likely that people will come to the Netherlands undocumented. In their view, this idea has a deterrent effect. Opponents believe that you cannot be punished by being in a country. They find the idea inhumane and discriminatory. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly opposes this legislative proposal and therefore shows no approval. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly supports this legislative proposal and therefore shows approval. Table 2 provides a clear overview of the concept approval of the legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Approval of the legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay	The person agrees with a law that makes illegal stay in the Netherlands a crime	The degree to which a Dutch citizen supports a law that makes illegal stay in the Netherlands a crime.

Table 2: operationalisation approval of the legislative proposal criminalisation of illegal stay

4.1.2 Feelings of insecurity

Feelings of insecurity is defined as the way in which someone feels secure or insecure in the Netherlands. The following survey question (appendix 1) is being used: to what extend do you agree with the following statement?: I feel secure in the Netherlands. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly does feel insecure. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person does not feel insecure. Table 3 provides a clear overview of the concept feelings of insecurity.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Feelings of insecurity	A person feels insecure	The degree to which a person feels secure in the Netherlands

Table 3: operationalisation feelings of insecurity

Ones feelings of insecurity are probably influenced by ones gender. The definition of gender is the gender which a person identifies with. The following question (appendix 1) was used for this variable: What is your gender? The answer options are 'woman', 'man' and 'other'. Table 4 provides a clear overview of the concept gender.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Gender	A persons gender identity	The gender with which a person identifies based on a binary distribution

Table 4: operationalisation gender

4.1.3 Othering

Othering is made up of three concepts, each of which will be discussed separately.

4.1.3.1 Idea significant other

The idea of a significant other is defined as follows: someone agrees with the idea that undocumented migrants are different than Dutch people. To assess this, survey questions on othering developed by Conzo et al. (2021) are used. The first question (appendix 1) is about tradition: to what extent do Dutch citizens and undocumented migrants value their traditions differently? The following responses are available to the question: 'not', 'very little', 'few', 'a little', 'much', 'very much', and 'no opinion'. The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Not' means that a person disagrees with the idea that there are differences based on how important one's traditions are. 'Very much' indicates that the speaker strongly supports this idea.

The second question (appendix 1) is: To what extent do Dutch and undocumented migrants differ in the type of goals they try to achieve?. The following responses are available to the question: 'not', 'very little', 'few', 'a little', 'much', 'very much', and 'no opinion' (Conzo et al., 2021). When someone answers 'not', they think there is no difference between the goals of Dutch citizens and undocumented migrants. When they answer 'a lot', they think there is a big difference between them.

The third question (appendix 1) is: To what extent do Dutch citizens and undocumented migrants differ with regard to the values they pass on to their children? The following responses are available to the question: 'not', 'very little', 'few', 'a little', 'much', 'very much', and 'no opinion' (Conzo et al., 2021). The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Not' means that a person disagrees with the idea

that there are differences based on the values passed on to children. ‘Very much' indicates that the speaker strongly supports this idea.

The fourth and last question on othering (appendix 1) is: To what extent do Dutch and undocumented migrants differ with regard to the value attached to personal satisfaction at work? The following responses are available to the question: 'not’, ‘very little’, ‘few’, 'a little’, 'much’, 'very much’, and 'no opinion’ (Conzo et al., 2021). The values are then assigned to the answer choices. ‘Not’ means that a person disagrees with the idea that there are differences based on personal satisfaction at work. ‘Very much' indicates that the speaker strongly supports this idea.

Table 5 provides a clear overview of the concept idea significant other.

Concept	Indicators	Operationalisation
Idea significant other	The person agrees with the idea that undocumented migrants differ from Dutch people based on their traditions	The degree to which a Dutch citizen agrees with the idea that migrants are different than Dutch people based on their traditions and thus significant others
	The person agrees with the idea that undocumented migrants differ from Dutch people based on their goals	The degree to which a Dutch citizen agrees with the idea that migrants are different than Dutch people based on their goals and thus significant others
	The person agrees with the idea that undocumented migrants differ from Dutch people based on the values they pass on to their children	The degree to which a Dutch citizen agrees with the idea that migrants are different than Dutch people based on the values they pass on to their children and thus significant others
	The person agrees with the idea that undocumented migrants differ from Dutch people based on their work satisfaction	The degree to which a Dutch citizen agrees with the idea that migrants are different than Dutch people based on their work satisfaction and thus significant others

Table 5: operationalisation idea significant other

As a result, the concept of a significant other is comprised of four indicators and associated questions. A PCA factor analysis (appendix 2) was performed on these to determine whether they belong to one factor, the concept of a significant other. As shown in appendix 2, the variables best explain one factor. The next question is whether the items are sufficiently interconnected to measure the same thing. When the inter-item correlation is between .30 and .70, this is the case (Field, 2013). The factor analysis revealed that the four indicators are strongly interrelated and thus measure the same thing (appendix 2).

The reliability of the items was investigated before they were combined. The Cronbach's Alpha is used to determine internal consistency. This value should be .70 or higher for good internal consistency (Field, 2013). Cronbach's Alpha is .78, indicating a high level of internal consistency. When one of the items is removed (appendix 2), the Cronbach's Alpha does not increase. All four items will be combined as a result of this. The mean score of the four items was used to create a scale.

4.1.3.2 Feelings of nationalism

The second hypothesis under othering is about feelings of nationalism. This is defined as the favourable attitudes toward one's own country (Coenders, 2001). This definition focuses on the chauvinistic aspect of nationalism, like the idea of "America first". Nationalism is questioned through five survey questions, as created by Coenders (2001). The first question (appendix 1) is: to what extent do you agree with the following statement?: I would rather be a citizen of the Netherlands than of any other country in the world. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Totally disagree' indicates that a person would prefer to be a citizen of another country and thus has a negative attitude toward the Netherlands. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person is overjoyed to be a Dutch citizen and, as a result, has a positive attitude toward the Netherlands.

The second question (appendix 1) is: to what extent do you agree with the following statement?: There are some things about the Netherlands today that make me feel ashamed of the Netherlands. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree' (Coenders, 2001). The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Totally disagree' indicates that a person is not ashamed of the Netherlands and thus has a positive attitude towards their country. 'Totally agree' means that a person has a negative attitude towards the Netherlands.

The third question (appendix 1) is: to what extend do you agree with the following statement?: The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Dutch people. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree' (Coenders, 2001). The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Totally disagree' indicates that a person has a negative attitude towards the Netherlands. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person has a positive attitude towards the Netherlands.

The fourth question (appendix 1) is: to what extend do you agree with the following statement?: Generally speaking, the Netherlands is a better country than most other countries. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree' (Coenders, 2001). The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Totally disagree' indicates that a person has a negative attitude towards the Netherlands. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person has a positive attitude towards the Netherlands.

The fifth and last question (appendix 1) is: to what extend do you agree with the following statement?: People should support their country even if the country is wrong. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree' (Coenders, 2001). The values are then assigned to the answer choices. 'Totally disagree' indicates that a person is not chauvinistic at all. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person is very chauvinistic.

Table 6 provides a clear overview of the concept feelings of nationalism.

Concept	**Indicator**	**Operationalisation**
Feelings of nationalism	The person prefers being a Dutch citizen	The favourable attitudes toward one's own country showing in their citizenship preferences
	The person does not feel ashamed of the Netherlands	The favourable attitudes toward one's own country showing in them not being ashamed
	The person thinks the world would be a better place if	The favourable attitudes toward one's own country showing in them thinking Dutch people create a better world

	people would be more like Dutch people	
	The person thinks that the Netherlands is the best country in the world	The favourable attitudes toward one's own country showing in their idea about the best country
	The person supports its own country even if it is wrong	The favourable attitudes toward one's own country showing in their support

Table 6: operationalisation feelings of nationalism

These five items were used to gauge people's feelings about nationalism. The researcher tested whether they measure the same factor by running a PCA factor analysis. The variables, as shown in appendix 2, explain one factor. The next question is whether the items are related enough to measure the same thing. This is true when the inter-item correlation is between .30 and .70. (Field, 2013). The factor analysis revealed that the five indicators are not all highly correlated. The question *There are some things about the Netherlands today that make me feel ashamed of the Netherlands* does not have any inter-item correlation above .30 with any other item. Furthermore, the question *People should support their country even if the country is wrong* has no strong inter-item correlation with *The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Dutch people* and *Generally speaking, the Netherlands is a better country than most other countries* (appendix 2). The Cronbach's Alpha is .655, so there is no good internal consistency (Field, 2013). When the question about shame is removed the Cronbach's Alpha increases slightly, but not significantly. Nonetheless, it was decided that no items would be removed. This was not done because this set of questions was taken from another study (Coenders, 2001) that also looked into feelings of nationalism. Because this set of questions was used in that study as a whole, the researcher decided to use it again in this study. The item does not have a strong inter-item correlation and removing the item leads to a small change in the Cronbach's Alpha. But these changes are minor and, according to the researcher, do not outweigh the preservation of this set of items as a whole. This is why all five of the items are still in use. The mean score of the five items was used to create a scale.

4.1.3.3 Rhetoric of migrants

The rhetoric of migrants is defined as the way that a person agrees with negative rhetoric of undocumented migrants. Following the research of Rowe and O'Brien (2014) the negative rhetoric is about an undocumented migrant being legal, genuine and a refugee. The first question (appendix 1) is: to what extent do you agree with the following statement?: Undocumented migrants are legal. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly disagrees with the idea of undocumented migrants being legal. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly agrees with this idea.

The second question from Rowe and O'Brien (2014) asks the respondent if they think an undocumented migrant is genuine or non-genuine. The question reads as follows: to what extent do you agree with the following statement?: Undocumented migrants are genuine. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly disagrees with the idea of undocumented migrants as sincere people. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly agrees with this idea.

The third question is: To what extent do you agree with the following statement?: Undocumented migrants are refugees. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree' (Rowe & O'Brien, 2014). The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly disagrees with the idea of undocumented migrants as refugees. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly agrees with this idea.

Table 7 provides a clear overview of the concept rhetoric of migrants.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Rhetoric of migrants	The person does not view undocumented migrants as legal	The degree to which a person views undocumented migrants as illegal asylum seekers thus agreeing with the rhetoric of migrants
	The person does not view undocumented migrants as genuine	The degree to which a person views undocumented migrants as non-genuine thus agreeing with the rhetoric of migrants
	The person does not view undocumented migrants as refugees	The degree to which a person views undocumented migrants non-refugees thus agreeing with the rhetoric of migrants

Table 7: operationalisation rhetoric of migrants

The rhetoric of migrants is questioned through three items. The PCA factor analysis (appendix 2) shows that they measure one factor. The inter-item correlation matrix shows that the item *Undocumented migrants are refugees* does not correlate with the other two items. The reliability of the items was investigated before they were combined. The Cronbach's Alpha is used to determine internal consistency. This value should be .70 or higher for good internal consistency (Field, 2013). Cronbach's Alpha is .514, which is not enough. The Cronbach's Alpha will become .604 if the item about undocumented migrants being refugees will be removed. This is a large growth and brings the Cronbach's Alpha almost to 0.70. This item significantly lowers the Cronbach's Alpha and correlates poorly with the other items, so it is removed. The reason for this could be that the term "refugee" allows for a subjective interpretation.

4.1.4 Securitization

Safety above all is defined as the degree that a person prioritizes safety above freedom and privacy. Three questions are being used. The first question (appendix 1) is: on a scale of 0 to 10. How important is safety to you? The respondent can choose a number between 0 and 10. The chosen number is the number of points safety gets from this respondent. The second question (appendix 1) is: on a scale from 0 to 10. How important is freedom to you? The respondent can choose a number between 0 and 10. The chosen number is the number of points freedom gets from this respondent. The third question (appendix 1) is: on a scale from 0 to 10. How important is privacy to you? The respondent can choose a number between 0 and 10. The chosen number is the number of points privacy gets from this respondent. The answers to these three questions are assigned values. When security is assigned more points than freedom and privacy, safety is prioritized over freedom and privacy. Safety is then deemed more important than freedom and privacy. When someone gives security the most points while giving

the same number of points to freedom or/and privacy, this is still seen as safety above all. Table 8 provides a comprehensive overview of the concept of security.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Safety above all	The person ranks safety as more important than freedom and privacy	The way that a person ranks safety compared to freedom and privacy

Table 8: operationalisation safety above all

4.1.5 Moral foundations

Prioritizing the harm foundation is defined as the degree that a person prioritizes the harm foundation above the other moral foundations. Table 9 provides a clear overview of the concept prioritizing harm foundation.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Prioritizing harm foundation	The person ranks the harm foundation as one of the two most important foundations	The way that a person ranks the harm foundation compared to the other foundations

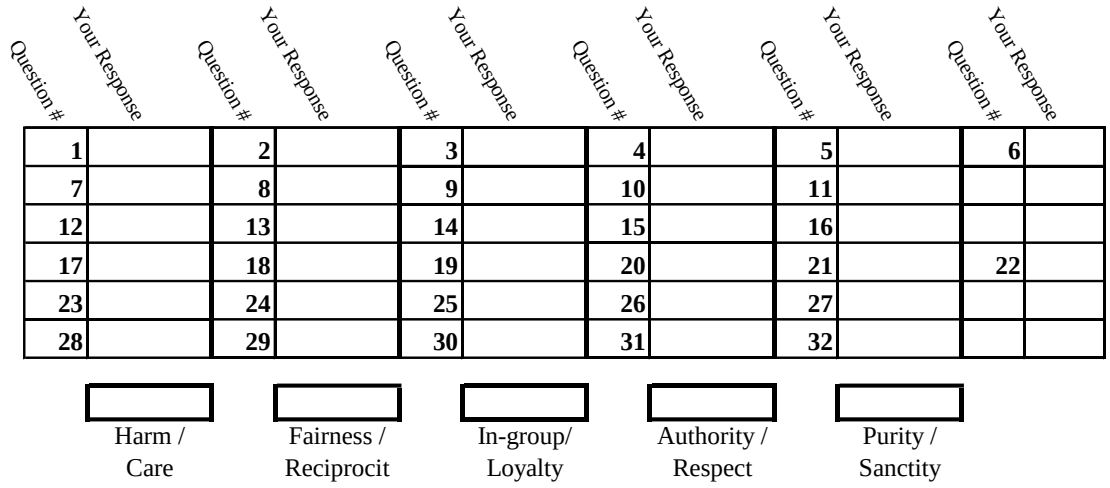
Table 9: operationalisation prioritizing harm foundation

Prioritizing the fairness foundation is defined as the degree that a person prioritizes the fairness foundation above the other moral foundations. Table 10 provides a clear overview of the concept prioritizing fairness foundation.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Prioritizing fairness foundation	The person ranks the fairness foundation as one of the two most important foundations	The way that a person ranks the fairness foundation compared to the other foundations

Table 10: operationalisation prioritizing fairness foundation

The prioritizing of these two moral foundations are simultaneously queried (appendix 1). This takes place in two parts, as created by Graham et al. (2008). The first part asks about the relevance of multiple statements when deciding whether something is right or wrong. This happens on a 0 to 5 scale. Zero is not at all relevant, one not very relevant and five extremely relevant. In the second part, the respondent indicates their agreement or disagreement on a scale of 0 to 5. Zero means strongly disagree, five means strongly agree. The scores of the two parts are combined and creates five scores, each for every foundation. This happens with the score table as can be seen in figure 3.



Question #	Your Response	Question #	Your Response	Question #	Your Response	Question #	Your Response	Question #	Your Response	Question #	Your Response
1		2		3		4		5		6	
7		8		9		10		11			
12		13		14		15		16			
17		18		19		20		21		22	
23		24		25		26		27			
28		29		30		31		32			

Figure 3: score table moral foundations (Graham et al., 2008)

The harm foundation is comprised of questions 1, 7, 12, 17, 23, and 28. The fairness foundation is comprised of questions 2, 8, 13, 18, 24, and 29. Both variables' items have a low mutual correlation (appendix 2). As a result, it appears to be an incoherent whole. However, these questions belong together and have been used in this manner for many years. As a result, the researcher assumes that this incoherence is not a problem. The researcher must manually check whether the harm foundation and the fairness foundation are in the top two after adding up all of the questions that comprise a foundation. When there are no two or more foundations with a higher score, this is the case. In the event of a tie, the foundation ranks second. As a result, there is sometimes some leeway. When a respondent ranks the harm foundation among the top two, they rank it ahead of the other foundations. When a respondent ranks the fairness foundation among the top two, they rank it ahead of the other foundations. The foundations can be measured in this manner.

4.1.6 Basic human values

Prioritizing the security value is defined as the degree that a person prioritizes the security value over the other basic human values. Table 11 provides a clear overview of the concept prioritizing security value

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Prioritizing security value	The person ranks the security value as one of the three most important basic human values	The way that a person ranks the security value compared to other values

Table 11: operationalisation prioritizing security value

Prioritizing the conformity value is defined as the degree that a person prioritizes the conformity value over the other basic human values. Table 12 provides a clear overview of the concept prioritizing conformity value

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation

Prioritizing conformity value	The person ranks the conformity value as one of the three most important basic human values	The way that a person ranks the conformity value compared to other values

Table 12: operationalisation prioritizing conformity value

Prioritizing the tradition value is defined as the degree that a person prioritizes the tradition value over the other basic human values. Table 13 provides a clear overview of the concept prioritizing tradition value

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Prioritizing tradition value	The person ranks the tradition value as one of the three most important basic human values.	The way that a person ranks the tradition value compared to other values

Table 13: operationalisation prioritizing tradition value

The prioritizing of these three values are simultaneously queried (appendix 1). The respondent is asked to rate the ten values on a 8-point scale, as created by Lindeman and Verkasalo (2005). The values are explained in a few words. The respondent rates the ten values on a scale of 0 to 8. Zero stands for “opposed to my principles”, one is “not important”, four indicates “important” and eight is “of supreme importance”. The respondent demonstrates their prioritization when assigning a zero to eight per value.

To be prioritized, the value must be in the top three. This means that three or more other values cannot have a higher score. When there is a tie, there is no higher score, so it is possible that there are four highest scores. When the security value is among the top three, it takes precedence over the other values. When the conformity value is among the top three, it takes precedence over the other values. When the value of tradition ranks among the top three, it is prioritized over the other values. The researcher must manually check whether the security value, conformity value and tradition value are in the top three.

4.1.7 Counterframes

There are several handles in the literature for creating counterframes in the form of narratives. These stories should persuade people to be more accepting of immigrants. As a result, someone is less likely to support the legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay. The theoretical foundation is used to construct multiple narratives in this study. This is a narrative about control, a narrative about win-win situations and a narrative about the innocent victim. According to the theory, these three frames should be combined. This study examines how much the three frames contribute to a more positive image. As a result, they are treated separately. The results will indicate the frame's strength and which frames should be included in a narrative.

The first narrative contains framing of control. This is defined as the need to take back control, because the migrant problem became uncontrolled. We do so by creating better legislating and pragmatic and efficient cooperation. The following question (appendix 1) is being used: to what extent do you agree with the following statement?: Migration is a problem because it is no longer under control. In the

Netherlands, we must ensure that we can get everything back on track. This is accomplished through effective collaboration and improved legislation. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly disagrees with the control frame in this narrative. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly agrees with this narrative. Table 14 provides a clear overview of the concept control narrative.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Control narrative	The person agrees with the control frame	The degree to which a person becomes agrees with the control frame in this narrative

Table 14: operationalisation control narrative

The second narrative is about a win-win situation. This is defined as a situation where migrants can work in the Netherlands and thereby help with the labour shortages in some sectors. This way everyone benefits from migration. The following question (appendix 1) is being used: to what extend do you agree with the following statement?: When migrants work in the Netherlands, they can solve the labour shortages in our country. For example, they can work in healthcare, where workers are still needed. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly disagrees with the win-win frame in this narrative. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly agrees with this narrative. Table 15 provides a clear overview of the concept win-win narrative.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Win-win narrative	The person agrees with the win-win frame	The degree to which a person becomes agrees with the win-win frame in this narrative

Table 15: operationalisation win-win narrative

The third narrative focuses on the innocent victim. This is defined as a frame where the migrant is portrayed as a powerless person because they are innocent on their situation. They deserve our support and assistance. The following question (appendix 1) is being used: to what extent do you agree with the following statement? Migrants flee a terrible situation over which they have no control. It is up to us to accept and assist them. This question has the following response options: 'totally disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', 'totally agree'. The values are then associated with the answer options. 'Totally disagree' means that a person strongly disagrees with the innocent victim frame in this narrative. 'Totally agree' indicates that a person strongly agrees with this narrative. Table 16 provides a clear overview of the concept innocent victim narrative.

Concept	Indicator	Operationalisation
Innocent victim narrative	The person agrees with the innocent victim frame	The degree to which a person becomes agrees with the innocent victim frame in this narrative

Table 16: operationalisation control narrative

Respondents should ideally be presented with a narrative that is related to their previous answer options. Unfortunately, this is not an option because the foundations and values can't be calculated until later. However, it is possible to examine the respondent's data after the survey and determine which narratives correspond to which respondent profiles.

4.2 Justification for methods

The justification for methods is discussed in this section. The research strategy is explained first. Then there will be talked about how the data was gathered and how many responses there are. Gender, age, and education level are all considered in these responses. After that, the data is analyzed. The logistic regression analysis assumptions are tested, and the study's reliability and validity are discussed.

4.2.1 Research strategy

Quantitative research methods are used to analyze the research data. This information was gathered through a survey of the Dutch population. A questionnaire was created ahead of time and distributed to Dutch citizens through online surveys. The online survey is made up of 64 closed questions and one open question, the one about peoples age (appendix 1).

A structured survey was used in this study. As a result, each respondent has the same questions and answers them in the same order. Only the question "what is your age?" is not a closed question. The researchers know the exact age of the respondents because they had to fill out this question themselves. When using the categories in the answer option, this exact age cannot be found. This query has been added to the database. The use of closed questions allows for the creation of a clean data file.

4.2.2 Data collection

The participants in this study are all Dutch citizens, and the purpose of the study is to find out why they agree or disagree with this bill. Because Dutch citizens have the right to vote, they can sway the political parties that propose the bill, as well as those that vote for or against it. As a result, the respondents must represent the entire Netherlands. A wider range is created by using an online survey.

The data was gathered by conducting an online survey. This was accomplished through the use of Facebook, Instagram, and Whatsapp. The survey was also distributed online via email by OnMigration. Respondents were also asked to help spread the word about the survey. As a result, the survey was able to reach out beyond the researcher's own social network. Respondents were able to easily share the survey on social media, allowing it to reach a wider audience. Respondents to online surveys can also choose to remain anonymous. The respondent has the option of remaining completely unnoticed.

In total, 196 people responded to the online survey. Regrettably, data analysis revealed that not all respondents had answered all of the questions. The number of respondents was 110 after the missings were removed (N=110).

4.2.3 Research units

It is critical to verify that the study's research units are representative of Dutch citizens. This is accomplished by examining the gender, age, and educational level distributions.

4.2.3.1 Gender

Figure 4 depicts the gender distribution of the research. The survey was completed by 110 people in total. There were 70 (63.6%) women and 40 (36.4%) men. Zero respondents identified themselves as anything else, using the option 'other'. The total population of the Netherlands in 2021 was 17,475,415. There were 8,788,879 (50.3%) women and 8,686,536 (49.7%) men (CBS, 2021). The survey has a significantly higher proportion of female respondents. They account for a larger proportion of respondents.

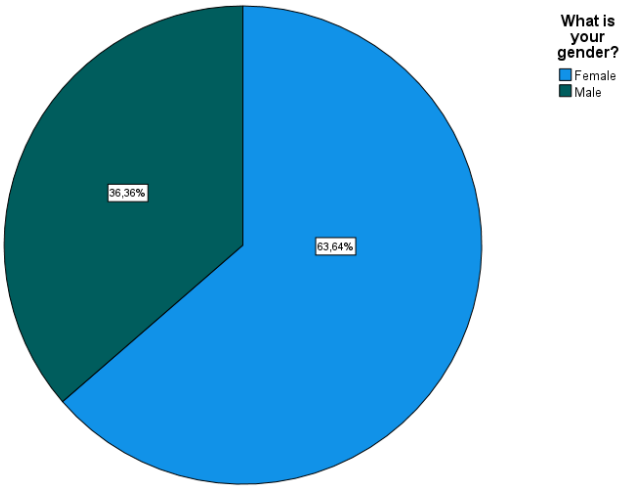


Figure 4

4.2.3.2 Age

There were no respondents in the age range of 0 to 15. With 46.4%, the age group of 15 to 25 accounts for nearly half of all respondents. 19.1% are between the ages of 25 and 45. The 45-65 age group accounts for 24.6%, while those 65 and up account for 10%. Figure 5 shows this distribution. On January 1, 2022, the distribution in the Netherlands was as follows: in the age group 0 to 15, 2,712,461 (15.4%), in the age group 15 to 25, 2,158,241 (12.3%), in the age group 25 to 45 4,399,003 (25%), in the age group 45 to 65 4,795,514 (27.3%), and in the age group 65+ 3,525,453. (20%) (AlleCijfers.nl, 2022). This means that the age distribution among survey respondents differs from the general age distribution in the Netherlands. The 0 to 15 group is completely absent, while the 15 to 25 group is nearly four times as large. The three older age groups are represented in the survey less than they should be based on the age distribution in the Netherlands. This means that a disproportionate number of people between the ages of 15 and 25 completed the survey.

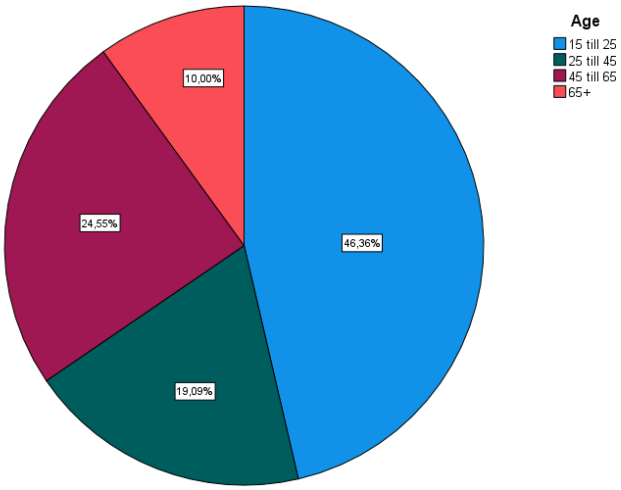


Figure 5

4.2.3.3 Education level

The education level was patriated into five options, but as can be seen in figure 6 no respondent belongs to the level of *basisschool* (primary school). More than half of the respondents have WO(+) as their highest level of education. This means that a disproportionately large group of WO(+) graduates completed the survey. The distribution of education levels in the Netherlands does not follow a five-species model. This is usually more difficult. The survey only had five answer options for the convenience of the respondents. As a result, educational attainment cannot be compared to the national average. As a result, a disproportionately large proportion of respondents are WO(+). This suggests that the respondents do not accurately represent the Netherlands, particularly in terms of education levels.

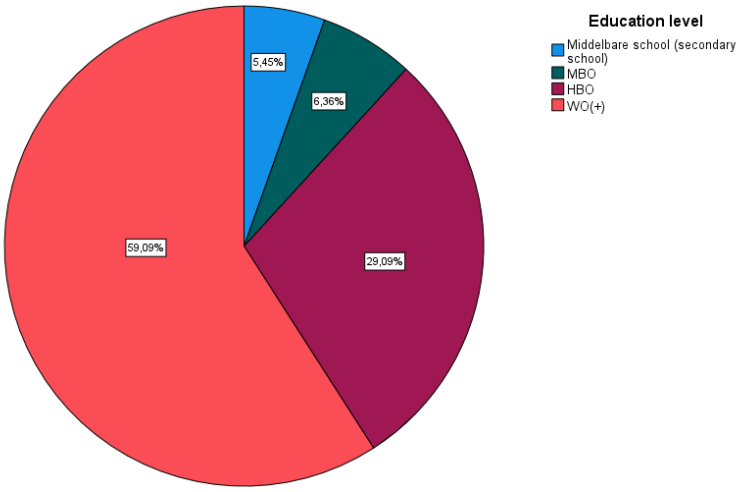


Figure 6

4.3 Data analysis

The data for this study came from an online survey, and it was analyzed using the SPSS program. First and foremost, the data needed to be double-checked and prepared for regression analysis. For instance, the textual answer options were given numerical scores. Scales based on these responses could be created, and analyzes could be performed. Misses had to be eliminated as well. When a respondent leaves one or more questions blank, this is known as a missing. When looking at the data, it was clear that a large number of people had missed one or more of the questions. The reason for this is unknown, but it was quickly realized that removing all of the respondents who had a missing part would result in a very small final group of respondents, and thus the N of this study. This is why it was checked whether the missing question could be replaced for each cluster of questions, the questions that together will form a scale, such as the three questions on rhetoric. When a question was missing from a scale, the answer to the question that was most closely related to the question was substituted. The inter-item correlations were used to determine this. Respondents with only one missing question on a scale were still included in the study in this way. When no replacement answer could be found, because respondents had more than one missing item on a scale of questions, they were removed. The questions that led to the foundations were not approached in this way. This did not work because the correlation between these questions was very low. Respondents who did not provide an answer were removed from the entire file. Finally, respondents who did not complete the dependent approval question as well as the gender, age, and educational level questions were removed.

The data was then analyzed in order to put the hypotheses to the test. Because this is an explanatory study, regression analysis is used (Field, 2013). The original plan was to use a linear regression to divide the level of approval into five response options: ‘totally disagree’, ‘disagree’, ‘neutral’, ‘agree’, and ‘totally agree’. People could agree, disagree (or remain neutral) with the bill in five different ways this way. Three assumptions must be met in order to use a linear regression analysis. The first assumption is that the relationship must be linear. When this assumption was put to the test, it became clear that this was not the case. There was no linearity. In appendix 3 this first assumption is clearly violated. As a result, it was decided to employ logistic regression. Because linearity is not an assumption in this, there is no problem with it being violated. The logistic regression calculates the likelihood and magnitude of an independent variable's influence on the dependent variable. In this case, the dependent variable must be binary. As a result, the approval question is made binary, with the options ‘yes’ and ‘no’. Respondents who chose ‘totally disagree’ or ‘disagree’ on the approval question are categorized as ‘no’. Respondents who answered ‘totally agree’ and ‘agree’ to the approval question are categorized as ‘yes’. Respondents who chose ‘neutral’ did not fit into this binary division and were thus excluded. Only 110 (N=110) of the original 196 respondents remained.

Items from the same variable were combined into a scale. To that end, the mean was calculated after first determining whether the questions belonged on this scale, as described in the operationalization. The probability of the variable's approval could thus be calculated. The researcher checked whether the foundations were in the top two and manually entered whether they were. The researcher also checked whether the values were in the top three and manually entered whether they were. Following that, the likelihood of these variables being approved could be calculated. The findings, if significant, led to the resolution of several hypotheses.

4.4 Assumptions

Non-linear regression must thus be converted to logistic regression. The assumptions required are logit linearity and multicollinearity.

4.4.1 Linearity of the logit

Each continuous variable must be checked to ensure that it is linearly related to the log of the outcome variable. To accomplish this, a logistic regression with predictors that are the interaction between each predictor and the log itself is run. For all continuous variables, these LN-terms were created. These interaction terms have been tested and are not expected to be significant. When an interaction is significant, it means that the main effect violated the linearity assumption. So the LN-terms should be non-significant (Field, 2013). This is true for all variables, as shown in table 17. The Box-tidwell test can be found in appendix 4.

Variable LN	**Boxes**
Significant Other	.509
Nationalism	.611
Rhetoric	.238
Control frame	.945
Win-win frame	.98
Innocent frame	.383
Age	.588
Constant (approval)	.810

Table 17 Box-tidwell test

4.4.2 Multicollineariteit

Multicollinearity is another issue with regression analysis. When two or more variables have a strong correlation, this is known as multicollinearity (Field, 2013, p. 325). We need to look at the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) and the Collinearity Tolerance to see if there is multicollinearity. There is cause for concern when the VIF is greater than 10 and the Tolerance is less than .1. (Field, 2013, p. 326). The Tolerance and VIF values for the independent variables are shown in Table 18. The coefficients table with the VIF statistics can be found in appendix 4.

Variable	**Collinearity Tolerance**	**VIF**
Insecurity	.782	1.278
Age	.598	1.673
Education	.798	1.253
Significant Other	.586	1.706
Nationalism	.641	1.560
Rhetoric	.502	1.993
Safety Above All	.829	1.206
Prioritizing harm	.769	1.301
Prioritizing fairness	.717	1.394
Tradition	.766	1.306
Conformation	.839	1.191
Security	.848	1.179
Control frame	.870	1.149
Win-win frame	.632	1.581

Innocent frame	.482	2.072
Female/gender	.682	1.466

Table 18 Multicollinearity

The VIF value of all independent variables is less than 10 and the Collinearity Tolerance value is greater than .1. Based on these findings, it is possible to conclude that the degree of multicollinearity does not pose a problem and that the independent variables in the regression model are not strongly correlated with one another.

4.5 Reliability and validity

In order to keep track of the research's quality, its reliability and validity are examined. For a study to be reliable, it must be accurate and consistent. Under the same conditions, the same measurement should yield the same results. The higher the accuracy and consistency, the more likely the study's results are systematic rather than coincidental. The term "reliable" refers to research that is free of random errors. Because of the high accuracy and consistency, random errors are avoided. This is demonstrated by the research's repeatability (Van Thiel, 2015; Verhoeven, 2014). This study's accuracy is ensured by proper operationalization. The survey's questionnaire is the result of the operationalization. The steps from theory to survey questions are described in detail and are repeatable. As a result, the study is simple to repeat. By using closed survey questions, the goal is to achieve the highest level of consistency possible. As a result, the study is simple to repeat. By using closed survey questions, the goal is to achieve the highest level of consistency possible.

Internal and external validity are two types of validity. Internal validity determines whether a study's conclusions are correct. In this case, operationalization should be a good measure of the theory. The fundamental ideas must be defined and operationalized. External validity refers to the generalizability of the research and, as a result, the validity of the statements derived from it in other situations (Van Thiel, 2015; Verhoeven, 2014). The theory serves as the foundation for the definition and operationalization of the core concepts, ensuring the research's internal validity. As a result, the interview guide was created. The survey was distributed to a diverse group of people from the general population in an attempt to ensure external validity.

5. Results

The findings of this study are presented in this chapter. First, the variables' descriptions are provided. These can be seen in table 19. The relationship between variables is then discussed. The regression analysis is then performed. As a result, this chapter will provide an answer to the sub-questions *What is the effect of feelings of insecurity on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*, *What is the effect of othering on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*, *What is the effect of securitization on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*, *What is the effect of moral foundations on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?*, *What is the effect of basic human values on the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay?* and *Which narrative should be used to make people less likely to approve?*

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Approval	110	.00	1.00	.309	.464
Feelings of insecurity	110	1.00	4.00	1.800	.740
Idea significant Other	110	1.00	7.00	3.696	1.326
Feelings of nationalism	110	1.40	4.60	2.560	.612
Rhetoric of migrants	110	1.00	5.00	3.059	.812
Safety above all	110	.00	1.00	.164	.372
Prioritizing harm foundation	110	.00	1.00	.846	.363
Prioritizing fairness foundation	110	.00	1.00	.855	.354
Prioritizing security value	110	.00	1.00	.727	.447
Prioritizing conformity value	110	.00	1.00	.200	.402
Prioritizing tradition value	110	.00	1.00	.346	.478
Control narrative	110	1.00	5.00	3.75	.872
Win-win narrative	110	1.00	5.00	3.53	1.081
Innocent victim narrative	110	1.00	5.00	3.40	1.094
Age	110	17.00	74.00	36.28	18.061
Female/gender	110	.00	1.00	.364	.483
Education level	110	2.00	5.00	4.42	.839
Valid N (listwise)	110				

Table 19 Descriptives

5.1 Correlation

The correlation must be tested before the regression analyzes can be performed. A correlation analysis can be used to accomplish this. This demonstrates whether the correlation is positive or negative, whether the correlation value is significant, and how strong the correlation is. When testing the correlation between variables, there are several options from which to choose based on the dependent variable. Because the dependent variable in this study is nominal, a crosstab analysis should be performed. This entails comparing each independent variable to the dependent variable of approval. The crosstabs allow us to see information about how these two variables interact. The percentage age of the independent variable indicates the likelihood of approval. The crosstabs show the relationship in each case and how it changes or not as the independent variable changes. The

hypotheses require that the two variables must be independent. For example, the insecurity hypothesis predicts that people who are more insecure will have a higher chance of approval. As a result, the chances of approval for everyone with varying degrees of insecurity must not be equal everywhere. This is evidenced by the fact that the crosstable displays the same percent age pattern. If this is not the case, the variables influence one another, resulting in a correlation. The nature of the relationship can have a number of advantages. The difference in percent ages between for and against approval is the strength. The Phi, Cramer's V, and Contigency Coefficient can be used to calculate the relationship between the variables. Cramer's V is used in this study. Cramer's V measures the strength of association between two variables and has a maximum value of 1 (Field, 2013).

The magnitude of the effect is indicated by Cramer's V. The value ranges from 0 to 1. A Cramer's of 0 indicates that the distribution is identical because there is no relationship. A Cramer's V of 1 indicates that there is a statistically perfect correlation. The following is the distribution of the value of Cramer's V and thus the strength of the correlation:

0 = No association

.10 = Weak association

.30 = Average (moderate) association

.50 = Strong association

1 = Perfect association

On this basis, the relationship between the dependent variable of approval and all of the individual variables can be investigated. It is required that no more than 20% of the cells have an expected count of less than 5. The association is shown by Cramer's V, but the true adequate effect size is seen later in the odds ratio from the logistic regression analysis (Field, 2013).

Appendix 5 contains crosstabulations of all of the study's independent variables. The variables will be addressed one at a time. The crosstab displays information about how these two variables interact. The independence can be tested in this manner. The Pearson Chi-Square is displayed in the Chi-Square Test. For a significant relationship between the two variables, this must be significant, which is less than .05. Another assumption is that no more than 20% of the expected frequencies can be less than 5. If this is not the case, then the chi-square statistic is incorrect (Field, 2013).

Feelings of insecurity demonstrate a relationship between feelings of insecurity and approval. The nature of the relationship is significant, but according to the chi-square tests table, 37.5% of the cells have an expected count less than 5. These are the two expected counts at the highest level of insecurity, as well as the expected counts at the second highest level of insecurity among people with approval. As a result, the chi-square statistic is incorrect. The Cramer's V demonstrates a moderately significant positive association (appendix 5).

Feelings of insecurity combined with gender have the same issue as feelings of insecurity as a separate variable. There are far too many expected counts that are less than 5. These are once again among the high levels of insecurity. As a result, the chi-square statistic (appendix 5) is incorrect.

Although the concept of a significant other has a positive Cramer's V, it is not significant. There are also an excessive number of cells with an expected count of less than 5. This could be solved using Fisher's exact with a smaller sample, but with a N of 110, this is not possible. You can see that insecurity increases with steps of .25. As a result, it is not surprising that several steps have an N5 (appendix 5). The logistic regression analysis will eventually reveal the actual effect of the concept of a significant

other, but given the disproportionate distribution of respondents and the non-significant Cramer's V, no clear result is expected.

Feelings of nationalism have a moderately positive relationship with approval, and this relationship is significant. There are 23 cells with an expected count of less than 5, but the same problem exists as with significant other. The intensity of feelings or nationalism increases in small steps. Finally, the logistic regression analysis will yield a result (appendix 5).

Based on Cramer's V, the rhetoric of migrants has an almost strong association with approval. It's significant. There are 10 cells with an expected count of less than 5, which is excessive. The lowest and second lowest levels of rhetoric, in particular, have a low expected count. This holds true for both the highest and second highest levels of rhetoric (appendix 5).

The concept of safety above all appears to overlook 92 cases, which is strange. As a result, almost all cells are below the expected count of 5. Cramer's V is also insignificant. It is unclear why this is the case (appendix 5). This means that the chi-square statistic is incorrect and that there is no significant influence on approval.

Prioritizing harm has a very weak positive Cramer's V that is not significant. This is unfortunate because, because it is divided into ‘yes’ and ‘no’, this variable has no problem with an expected count of less than 5 (appendix 5). There is no positive association because the Cramer's V is not significant.

Prioritizing the fairness foundation has a moderately positive and significant association. Because it is also divided into ‘yes’ and ‘no’, this variable has fewer problems with an expected count of less than 5, but 25% of the cells still have an expected count of less than 5. This is due to one of the four cells having a count of 4.9 (appendix 5).

Prioritizing security value has no significant Cramer's V. There are no cells with an expected count less than 5 (appendix 5). However, because Cramer's V is not significant, we cannot conclude that prioritizing security value has a significant influence on approval.

Prioritizing conformity value has no significant Cramer's V. There are no cells with an expected count less than 5 (appendix 5). However, because Cramer's V is not significant, we cannot conclude that prioritizing conformity value has a significant influence on approval.

Prioritizing tradition value has no significant Cramer's V. There are no cells with an expected count less than 5 (appendix 5). However, because Cramer's V is not significant, we cannot conclude that prioritizing tradition value has a significant influence on approval.

The control frame has no significant Cramer's V. There are 5 cells with an expected count less than 5 (appendix 5). As a result, the chi-square statistic (appendix 5) is incorrect and there is no significant influence on approval.

The Cramer's V for the win-win frame is .417, indicating a very weak positive influence. The impact is substantial. Thirty percent of the cells have an expected count of less than five. The ones where people disagree with the win-win frame have extremely low expected counts (appendix 5). The Cramer's V has a positive influence, but because more than 20% of the cells have an expected count less than 5, the chi-square statistic is not entirely correct.

The innocent frame has a Cramer's V of .450, indicating a moderate association between its use and approval. The connection is significant. Only 20% of the cells have an expected count less than 5, indicating that the chi-square statistic is correct (appendix 5). This implies that the innocent frame has a significant influence on approval. There is a moderately positive relationship.

5.2 Logistic regression analysis

The logistic regression analysis is carried out with multiple models, one for each theoretical component. This happens stepwise. New items from the next theoretical component are added to the previous model. Using the Chi-square, each model is evaluated to see how much the model adds and whether it is significant. Only significant models will be used (Field, 2013). Model 0 is the starting point for the logistic regression analysis. Only the constant (approval) and the control variables of gender, age, and education are present in this block. The levels of education are divided into level of education 1, level of education 2 and level of education 3. 0 was primary education, 1 secondary education, 2 MBO, 3 HBO and 4 WO(+). There is no variable level of education 0 because none of the respondents chose this level of education. There is no variable level of education 4 because this is the reference variable. This model 0 is not presented in the table. Model 1 is for feelings of insecurity. In this model feelings of insecurity plus feelings of insecurity combined with gender are added. Model 1 has a Chi-square of 17.85 with a significance of .013 and will therefore be used. Model 2 is about othering. In this model the variables idea significant other, feelings of nationalism and rhetoric of migrants are added. Model 2 has a Chi-square of 38.92 with a significance of .001 and will therefore be used. Model 3 is for securitization. In this model safety above all is added. Model 3 has a Chi-square of 39.424 with a significance of .001. So this model will be used. Model 4 is about the moral foundations. In this model the variables prioritizing harm foundations and prioritizing fairness foundations are added. Model 4 has a Chi-square of 46.529 with a significance of .001 and will therefore be used. Model 5 is about fundamental human values. In this model the variables about the human values are added. These are prioritizing tradition, prioritizing conformity and prioritizing tradition. Model 5 has a Chi-square of 51.232 with a significance of .001 and will therefore be used. Model 6 is for the narratives. In this model the narratives about control, win-win and innocent victim are added. Model 6 has a Chi-square of 52.853 with a significance of .001 and will therefore be used (appendix 6). This means that all models will be used, with the latter model (model 6) serving as the basis for the final conclusions.

Every model has an R-square that explains the model's variance. When there is a positive R-square it implies that as the predictor variable increases, so does the likelihood of the event occurring. This means that the variable increases the likelihood of approval. A negative R-square implies that as the predictor variable increases, the likelihood of the outcome occurring decreases. This research will use the R-square of Nagelkerke because it offers the possibility to reach the theoretical maximum of an R-square of 1 (Field, 2013).

All variables will be presented in table 20 with their B-values, the significances and the standard deviations. The logistic regression analysis can be found in appendix 6.

Model	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Variable						
Approval (constant)	-3.155 (.948)***	-2.733 (2.60)	-2.520 (2.628)	-.081 (2.920)	.208 (3.038)	1.133 (3.532)
Gender	1.860 (1.387)	.697 (1.537)	.586 (1.547)	.632 (1.596)	.443 (1.644)	1.012 (1.737)
Age	-.015 (.017)	-.026 (.019)	-.028 (.019)	-.029 (0.21)	-0.30 (0.23)	-.041 (.025)
Education level (1)	-.049 (1.186)	.130 (1.277)	.142 (1.280)	.548 (1.282)	.037 (1.436)	.361 (1.398)
Education level (2)	.924 (.987)	.760 (1.11)	.749 (1.127)	.581 (1.266)	.546 (1.356)	.792 (1.460)
Education level (3)	1.534 (.643)**	1.410 (.749)	1.439 (.748)*	1.687 (.797)**	1.862 (.872)**	2.136 (.962)**
Feelings of insecurity	1.103 (.431)**	.826 (.474)	.819 (.476)*	.681 (.485)	.685 (.519)	.813 (.552)
Feelings of insecurity*gender	-.609 (.697)	-489 (.791)	-.398 (.800)	-.357 (.857)	-4.14 (.886)	-.810 (.976)
Idea significant other		.267 (.235)	.297 (.239)	.167 (.253)	.107 (.288)	.175 (.300)
Feelings of nationalism		1.108 (.499)**	1.049 (.506)**	.904 (.526)*	1.178 (.605)*	1.209 (.622)*
Rhetoric of migrants		-1.019 (.454)**	-1.039 (.452)**	-.872 (.488)*	-.989 (.499)**	-.840 (.534)

Safety above all			-.579 (.833)	-.748 (.956)	-.716 (.960)	-.871 (.989)
Prioritizing harm foundation				.093 (.855)	.264 (.909)	.313 (.922)
Prioritizing fairness foundation				-2.229 (.908)**	-2.537 (1.018)**	-2.378 (1.061)**
Prioritizing security value					-.636 (.703)	-.635 (.717)
Prioritizing conformity value					1.675 (.812)**	1.654 (.821)**
Prioritizing tradition value					-.636 (.703)	-.396 (.770)
Control frame						-.098 (.379)
Win-win frame						-.400 (.363)
Innocent frame						-.018 (.352)
R^2 of Nagelkerke	**.190**	**.420**	**.424**	**.486**	**.525**	**.538**

N=110
Significant at *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 20 Model of logistic regression with the dependent variable "approval" as the dependent variable and all the variables in the models

Only the significant variables will be looked at to see how they affect the likelihood of approval. This is accomplished by looking into the odds ratio exp (B). This number represents the change in odds. When the odds ratio is greater than 1, it means that as the predictor gets bigger, the chances of the outcome happening get bigger. With a value less than 1, the probability of the outcome occurring decreases as the predictor increases (Field, 2013). This means that the significant variables in this study must be investigated because their odds ratio will reveal whether they increase or decrease the likelihood of someone's approval and what their effect is. The effects of the four significant variables can be seen in table 21.

Variable	Significance	Certainty %	Odds Ratio Exp(B)	Effect
Education level 3	.05	95%	8.464	Increase
Feelings of nationalism	.10	90%	3.351	Increase
Prioritizing fairness foundation	.05	95%	.093	Decrease
Prioritizing conformity value	.05	95%	5.226	Increase

Table 21 Odds ratio

The variable education level 3 was one of the control variables and will therefore not help with the testing of one of the hypotheses. The other three variables are the only three independent variables with which a hypothesis can be tested.

For the variable feelings of nationalism this is hypothesis 2c: *people who identify as nationalists are more likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay*. The significance and odds ratio in table 21 show that, with a certainty of 90%, people are 3.4 times more likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if they have feelings of nationalism. This indicates that the hypothesis has been accepted.

For the variable prioritizing fairness foundation this is hypothesis 4b: *people who value the fairness foundation over the loyalty foundation, authority foundation and sanctity foundation are less likely to approve of the criminalisation of illegal stay*. The significance and odds ratio in table 21 show that, with a certainty of 95%, people are .09 times more likely, which means that they are less likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if they prioritize the fairness foundation over the loyalty foundation, authority foundation and sanctity foundation. This indicates that the hypothesis has been accepted.

For the variable prioritizing conformity value this is hypothesis 5b: *people who prioritize the value conformity are more likely to approve the criminalisation of illegal stay*. The significance and odds ratio in table 21 show that, with a certainty of 95%, people are 5.2 times more likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if they prioritize the value conformity. This indicates that the hypothesis has been accepted.

Finally, there is also the control variable education level 3. From this research it can be said with 95% certainty that people are 8.5 times more likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if their highest level of education is HBO.

6. Discussion and conclusion

This final chapter starts with a discussion in which the research is reflected upon, followed by an examination of the research's findings. The research question that has to be answered based on the findings is *To what extent is the legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay in the Netherlands crimmigration, and how do feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization, moral foundations, and basic human values influence the legislative proposal's approval?* This research then provides organizations with the tools they need to change this approval, resulting in a more positive perception of undocumented migrants. It also looks at three counterframes that can change people's perceptions of undocumented migrants for this purpose. In this way, the study's goal is achieved. Recommendations for additional research are also made.

6.1 Discussion

The bill criminalising illegal stay in the Netherlands has been reviewed several times. There are supporters and opponents, but the purpose of this study is to determine why people agree or disagree with this bill. What sentiments motivate them? To do so, this research looks at theories that could explain why people support such a bill. These theories were used to generate a number of hypotheses. In addition, three distinct counterframes were examined. These narratives have the potential to influence people's feelings. An online survey was created and distributed based on these theoretical foundations. The information was used in a logistic regression. Some hypotheses were tested as a result of this. This was only done for the variables that were statistically significant.

This research has several limitations. The first limitation of this research is that despite the fact that 196 people completed the survey, not all of them answered all of the questions, leaving only 110 respondents from whom data could be gathered. This means 86 people dropped out, which is a significant number. It is unclear why there were so many missed answers that so many respondents had to be removed. However, it is unavoidable that a large amount of data, most likely useful data, was lost in this manner. It is impossible to say, but the missing respondents may have made the survey more representative. In any case, their opinion, and thus their approval sentiment, has been lost. This is certainly a limitation of this research.

If more people completed the survey, this limitation could be overcome. This is also consistent with the study's generalizability. The fact that the respondents are not representative of the Dutch population jeopardizes this. In general, the survey was mostly filled out by young, well-educated women. A larger number of respondents would almost certainly solve this problem.

Another limitation is that nearly all variables are insignificant. This means that the hypothesis relating to that variable is rejected. As a result, a large number of hypotheses are rejected. This does not imply that the hypothesis is wrong, but rather that the relationship does not hold in this context. More research with a larger research group will be required to put this to the test. This would also aid in the creation of crosstabs. A large number of cells had an expected count less than 5. A much larger respondent group could solve this problem. Unfortunately, this was not possible for this study due to time constraints.

The small size of the respondent group has already been mentioned as a potential area for improvement. The issue could also reside in the dichotomous Y. Because of the linearity assumption, a logistic regression had to be performed. For this, the approval question was made binary, with options "yes" and "no". There would have been more room for variation if this variable had remained

a scale. This may have provided a more accurate picture of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables.

6.2 Conclusion

That leaves us with the study's conclusion, recommendations based on the findings, and recommendations for future research.

The goal of this research was to look into the factors that influence the approval of the criminalisation of illegal stay in the Netherlands and to provide tools for organizations that want to improve the overall perception of migration. Therefore, the following research question was formulated:

To what extend is the legislative proposal criminalising illegal stay in the Netherlands crimmigration and how do feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization, moral foundations and basic human values influence the legislative proposal's approval?

Only four variables were found to be significant, influencing the legislative proposal's approval. These are feelings of nationalism, prioritizing the fairness foundation and prioritizing the conformity value. Finally, there was a significant relationship for education level 3, which means that if HBO as highest completed education also influences the approval. This was not a hypothesis that was investigated, but rather an extra outcome of the research. This leads to the model in figure 7.

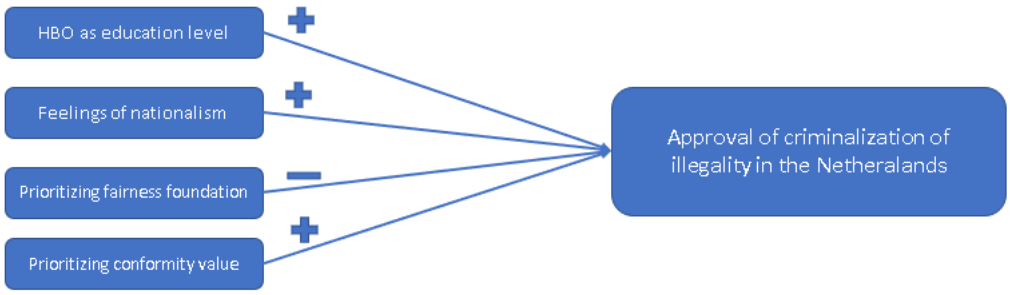


Figure 7 Variables that have an impact on approval

These four variables have a significant association with the approval of criminalisation of illegality in the Netherlands. With 95% certainty it can be said that people are 8.5 times more likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if their highest level of education is HBO. With a certainty of 90% it can be said that people are 3.4 times more likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if they have feelings of nationalism. Prioritizing the fairness foundation shows with a certainty of 95% an odds ratio of .09 which means a decrease. So people are less likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if they prioritize the fairness foundation over the loyalty foundation, authority foundation and sanctity foundation. And with a certainty of 95% people are 5.2 times more likely to approve of the bill criminalising illegal stay if they prioritize the value conformity. Three of the four statistical associations with approval confirm a hypothesis.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, a few recommendations can be made. When organizations want to reduce the acceptance of criminalisation of illegal stay, they can focus on feelings of nationalism, the conformity value and the fairness foundation.

People are more likely to approve of the bill if they have feelings of nationalism. As a result, it is crucial to obtain this. However, rather than simply obtaining these feelings of nationalism, organizations may be able to use nationalism to reduce public support for the criminalization of illegal immigration to the Netherlands. The following is an idea to use feelings of nationalism to change people's negative attitudes toward undocumented migrants. In my opinion, feelings of nationalism are concerned with the things that you are proud of your country doing. People are often proud to be Dutch because we are seen as a tolerant country, such as the first country to legalize gay marriage. Why can it not be a nationalistic idea that we are proud to be Dutch because nobody is illegal in the Netherlands for their being, only for their crimes? It would be consistent with the tolerant personality we ascribe to ourselves. And it can be compared to the LGBTQI+ rights that we have in the Netherlands, such as the right to marry. Being LGBTQI+ in the Netherlands is not illegal, whereas it is in other countries. We despise the fact that LBTQI+people are illegal in these other countries simply because of their sexual orientation, simply because of who they are. The same may apply to undocumented migrants, but they are illegal in the Netherlands precisely because of who they are. Can we not extend the same tolerance and call for freedom to undocumented migrants? They cannot be considered illegal simply because they are undocumented, any more than people can be considered illegal because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. The criminalization of illegal stay will rob them of their liberty and falsely label them as criminals. What if we connect these examples and spread the message that no one in this country, including undocumented migrants, is illegal because of who they are. This immediately brings to mind that the idea of criminalizing illegal stay is despicable. Let us be proud of a nation where no one is illegal and use this positive nationalistic feeling. As a result, organizations could approach people in this "I am proud of my country, because..." manner. People may gain new insights by connecting this to previously acquired freedoms and looking for comparisons between them. Then they can be proud that they live in a country where no one is illegal and where people are punished for their actions rather than their identities. This could be accomplished through the use of posters or other visual materials that draw the comparison. Or material in which people express their pride in the Netherlands because no one is illegal here. Instead of emphasizing the inequality, it is linked to people's sense of national pride, and they will hopefully adopt the idea.

The second conclusion of this research is that people are more likely to approve of the bill if they value conformity. As a result, it is also crucial to obtain this. However, having these values is not necessarily bad and appears to be difficult to unlearn. The conformity value is concerned with social norms and expectations. Will this issue be resolved if undocumented migrants could conform to these social norms and expectations? A good integration course would solve the problem in that case. Because people had not previously had the opportunity to master social norms and thus conform to the social expectations that Dutch people have. This means that every migrant, including undocumented migrants, must take the integration course, which must adhere to Dutch social norms and expectations. If this is not the case, the integration course is at fault. This absolves the undocumented migrant of responsibility. Better civic integration courses that are easily accessible to undocumented migrants can help achieve this. They can connect with Dutch society in this way. However, the ball is in the court of the institutions in charge of the courses, as well as the government, which is in charge of the legislation. Undocumented migrants who become illegal do not leave the country, but they do

drop off the radar. The likelihood that they will be able to integrate properly is decreasing. This does not achieve the desired result because conformity necessitates an integration process. The Dutch citizen should shift the focus from the undocumented migrant who does not meet social standards to the institution that can handle this. The emphasis on the civic integration course must be emphasized.

The third conclusion of this research is that people who prioritize the fairness foundation become less willing to support the bill. As a result, the fairness foundation should be given special attention, so that more people will value it. The fairness foundation requests a two-way collaboration. This appears to be the win-win counterframe used in this study. Unfortunately, due to its small sample size, this study cannot demonstrate the effectiveness of the win-win counterframe. This may necessitate additional research because if additional research can demonstrate the effectiveness of the win-win counterframe, then using the win-win counterframe can help improve the prioritization of the fairness foundation. However, this fairness foundation is also concerned with justice, fairness, and trustworthiness. It is difficult to gain someone's trust, especially if you have never met them. Unknown results in unloved. From my opinion, building a trusting relationship within a two-way cooperative necessitates some form of collaboration. This can happen at work, in the neighborhood, or while volunteering. However, the issue here is that undocumented migrants are undocumented and thus excluded from many aspects of society. For example, they are unable to legally work and thus miss out on numerous opportunities to interact and collaborate with Dutch people. The fairness foundation is important for people and has a positive impact because it lowers the likelihood of approval. Allowing more people to interact with undocumented migrants allows them to engage in two-way cooperation.

Future research is definitely needed. The results show that a lot of variables were not significant and as already discussed this may be due to a too small respondent group. Future research could use the same research objective and theoretical foundation but with a much larger respondent group. This would definitely be useful. It would also be beneficial to investigate and test the variable education level as a standalone variable. Then it would be clear whether the significant relationship between HBO as the highest level of education and approval is true, or if it is limited to this small study.

Aside from that, there is no mention of racism in this study. This is because racism, in whatever form or degree it manifests itself, is always a negative trait. This is not always the case with nationalistic feelings or the value of conformity. It is not inherently harmful. A nationalist does not necessarily have an opinion about the skin colour or origin of another person. Racism has no redeeming characteristics. People are less likely to call themselves racists or answer questions honestly if they believe they will be labelled as such. However, racism is a reality that affects our emotions. In order to include racism in the approval process, more extensive research is required. Research that is sensitive to the subject and large enough to provide insights that organizations can use. Just because this study did not focus on racist sentiments does not mean that they do not exist.

6.4 Afterword

I am curious if the legislation making illegal stay a crime will be passed. In my conversations with the OnMigration team, I noticed that their dedication is unwavering and their argumentation is powerful. According to my research, the majority of respondents were opposed to the bill criminalizing illegal stay. However, it remains a political issue that reappears repeatedly. When will it be adopted; is a thousand times the charm? The bill criminalizing illegal stay is clearly an example of crimmigration, but the idea appears to appeal to some, driven by feelings of nationalism and a preference for conformity.

In this case, does the head triumph over the heart, or do we allow underlying thoughts to guide us? In any case, we lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with people, and no one is illegal simply because of who they are.

This research has provided me with a lot of insights. On several occasions, I found myself as living proof of a particular sentiment. It was fascinating to discover the motivations for the approval of criminalisation of illegal stay among the respondent group while also dissecting my own opinion and discovering that I, too, am frequently led by certain ideas and preferences. Knowledge is power, and after conducting this research, I can no longer see this legislation in black and white terms. In that regard, the study was a success, at least for me.

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Appendix 1 Survey

Introduction

Dear reader,

For my Master's thesis, I am conducting research on the adoption of the "criminalisation of illegal stay" bill. Could you please help me and fill in this short questionnaire?

Before you start with the questionnaire, it is important to know:

- That the information you share will be kept strictly confidential
- That the purpose of this survey is to gain an understanding of the approval surrounding this bill
- That participation in this study means that you consent to the questionnaire data being made available for research purposes. Your data will only be analyzed at the group level
- That you can stop completing the questionnaire at any time

Thank you very much!

Kind regards,

Wieke Berger

Do you agree to participate in this study?

0 Yes 0 No

Questions about the respondents background

Question 1

What is your gender?

0 Woman 0 Man 0 Other

Question 2

What is your age?

Question 3

What is your highest level of education?

0 Primary education 0 Secondary education 0 MBO 0 HBO 0 WO(+)

Question about the legislative proposal

Question 4

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

I think it is a good idea to make undocumented stay in the Netherlands punishable by law. This would mean that someone who does not have a stay permit would be punishable by law and could therefore be imprisoned or receive a fine.

Proponents say that this will make it less likely that people will come to the Netherlands undocumented. In their view, this idea has a deterrent effect.

Opponents believe that you cannot be punished by being in a country. They find the idea inhumane and discriminatory.

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

Question about feelings of insecurity

Question 5

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

I feel secure in the Netherlands

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

Questions about othering

Question 6

To what extent do Dutch citizens and undocumented migrants value their traditions differently?

0 Not 0 Very little 0 Few 0 A little 0 Much 0 Very much 0 No opinion

This survey question was made by Conzo et al. (2021)

Question 7

To what extent do Dutch and undocumented migrants differ in the type of goals they try to achieve?

0 Not 0 Very little 0 Few 0 A little 0 Much 0 Very much 0 No opinion

This survey question was made by Conzo et al. (2021)

Question 8

To what extent do Dutch citizens and undocumented migrants differ with regard to the values they pass on to their children?

0 Not 0 Very little 0Few 0 A little 0 Much 0 Very much 0 No opinion

This survey question was made by Conzo et al. (2021)

Question 9

To what extent do Dutch and undocumented migrants differ with regard to the value attached to personal satisfaction at work?

0 Not 0 Very little 0Few 0 A little 0 Much 0 Very much 0 No opinion

This survey question was made by Conzo et al. (2021)

Question 10

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

I would rather be a citizen of the Netherlands than of any other country in the world

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Coenders (2001)

Question 11

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

There are some things about the Netherlands today that make me feel ashamed of the Netherlands

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Coenders (2001)

Question 12

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Dutch people

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Coenders (2001)

Question 13

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

Generally speaking, the Netherlands is a better country than most other countries

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Coenders (2001)

Question 14

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

People should support their country even if the country is wrong

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Coenders (2001)

Question 15

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

Undocumented migrants are legal

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Rowe and O'Brien (2014)

Question 16

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

Undocumented migrants are genuine

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Rowe and O'Brien (2014)

Question 17

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

Undocumented migrants are refugees

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

This survey question was made by Rowe and O'Brien (2014)

Questions about securitization

Question 18

On a scale from 0 to 10. How important is safety to you?

0 0 0 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 05 0 6 0 7 0 8 0 9 0 10

Question 19

On a scale from 0 to 10. How important is freedom to you?

0 0 0 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 05 0 6 0 7 0 8 0 9 0 10

Question 20

On a scale from 0 to 10. How important is privacy to you?

0 0 0 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 05 0 6 0 7 0 8 0 9 0 10

Questions about moral foundations

Question 21 – 36

When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Please rate each statement using this scale:

[0] = not at all relevant (This consideration has nothing to do with my judgments of right and wrong)

[1] = not very relevant

[2] = slightly relevant

[3] = somewhat relevant

[4] = very relevant

[5] = extremely relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong)

21. Whether or not someone suffered emotionally

22. Whether or not some people were treated differently than others

23. Whether or not someone's action showed love for his or her country

24. Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority

25. Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency

26. Whether or not someone was good at math

27. Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable

28. Whether or not someone acted unfairly

29. Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group

30. Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society

31. Whether or not someone did something disgusting

32. Whether or not someone was cruel

33. Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights

34. Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty

35. Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder

36. Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of

Question 37 – 52

Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement:

[0]	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

37. Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.

38. When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.

39. I am proud of my country's history.

40. Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.

41. People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.

42. It is better to do good than to do bad.

43. One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.

44. Justice is the most important requirement for a society.

45. People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.

46. Men and women each have different roles to play in society.

47. I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.

48. It can never be right to kill a human being.

49. I think it's morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.

50. It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.

51. If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer's orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.

52. Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.

These survey questions were made by Graham, Haidt and Nosek (2008)

Questions about basic human values

Question 53 – 62

Please, rate the importance of the following values as a life-guiding principle for you. Use the 8-point scale in which 0 indicates that the value is opposed to your principles, 1 indicates that the values is not important for you, 4 indicates that the values is important, and 8 indicates that the value is of supreme importance for you.

	Opposed to my principles	Not important			Important				Of supreme importance
Power (social power, authority, wealth)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Achievement (success, capability, ambition, influence on people and events)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hedonism (gratification of desires, enjoyment in life, self-indulgence)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Stimulation (daring, a varied and challenging life, an exciting life)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Self-direction (creativity, freedom, curiosity, independence, choosing one's own goals)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Universalism (broad-mindedness, beauty of nature and arts, social justice, a world at peace,	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

equality, wisdom, unity with nature, environmental protection)									
Benevolence (helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Tradition (respect for tradition, humbleness, accepting one's portion in life, devotion, modesty)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Conformity (obedience, honoring parents and elders, self-discipline, politeness)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Security (national security, family security, social order, cleanliness, reciprocation of favors)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

These survey questions were made by Lindeman and Verkasalo (2005)

Questions about counterframes

Question 63

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

Migration is a problem because it is no longer under control. In the Netherlands, we must ensure that we can get everything back on track. This is accomplished through effective collaboration and improved legislation.

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

Question 64

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

When migrants work in the Netherlands, they can solve the labor shortages in our country. For example, they can work in healthcare, where workers are still needed.

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

Question 65

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?:

Migrants flee a terrible situation over which they have no control. It is up to us to accept and assist them.

0 Totally disagree 0 Disagree 0 Neutral 0 Agree 0 Totally agree

End

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey.

Your answer has been registered.

Appendix 2 Correlations and PCA Factor Analysis

Othering

Correlations

		In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	Pearson Correlation	1	,528	,442	,348
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001	<,001	<,001
	N	110	110	110	110
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	Pearson Correlation	,528	1	,479	,488
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001		<,001	<,001
	N	110	110	110	110
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	Pearson Correlation	,442	,479	1	,547
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	<,001		<,001
	N	110	110	110	110
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?	Pearson Correlation	,348	,488	,547	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	<,001	<,001	
	N	110	110	110	110

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	1,000	,544
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	1,000	,652
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	1,000	,636
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?	1,000	,587

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,418	60,456	60,456	2,418	60,456	60,456
2	,686	17,158	77,615			
3	,489	12,224	89,839			
4	,406	10,161	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	110	100,0
	Excluded[a]	0	,0
	Total	110	100,0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
,780	,781	4

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	1,000	,528	,442	,348
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	,528	1,000	,479	,488
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	,442	,479	1,000	,547
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?	,348	,488	,547	1,000

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	10,95	18,172	,532	,326	,752
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	11,16	16,780	,626	,403	,705
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	11,17	17,025	,617	,390	,710
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?	11,05	15,979	,570	,366	,737

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
14,78	28,135	5,304	4

Feelings of nationalism

Correlations

		In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	REC_NationalismShame	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	Pearson Correlation	1	,233	,413	,329	,319
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,014	<,001	<,001	<,001
	N	110	110	110	110	110
REC_NationalismShame	Pearson Correlation	,233	1	,108	,144	,241
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,014		,261	,133	,011
	N	110	110	110	110	110
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	Pearson Correlation	,413	,108	1	,532	,218
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	,261		<,001	,022
	N	110	110	110	110	110
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	Pearson Correlation	,329	,144	,532	1	,184
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	,133	<,001		,054
	N	110	110	110	110	110
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i	Pearson Correlation	,319	,241	,218	,184	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001	,011	,022	,054	
	N	110	110	110	110	110

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	1,000	,542
REC_NationalismShame	1,000	,652
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	1,000	,746
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	1,000	,684
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i	1,000	,543

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,130	42,603	42,603	2,130	42,603	42,603	1,788	35,763	35,763
2	1,037	20,742	63,345	1,037	20,742	63,345	1,379	27,582	63,345
3	,759	15,170	78,516						
4	,625	12,504	91,019						
5	,449	8,981	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	,734	,065
REC_NationalismShame	,436	,680
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	,756	-,418
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	,717	-,413
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i	,563	,476

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 2 components extracted.

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	,572	,464
REC_NationalismShame	-,019	,807
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	,860	,077
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	,825	,059
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i	,201	,709

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Component Transformation Matrix

Component	1	2
1	,829	,559
2	-,559	,829

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Component Matrix[a]

	Component 1
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het belang dat men hecht aan zijn tradities?	,737
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft het soort doelen dat ze proberen te bereiken?	,807
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten met betrekking tot de waarden die ze doorgeven aan hun kinderen?	,797
In hoeverre verschillen Nederlanders en ongedocumenteerde migranten wat betreft de waarde die gehecht wordt aan persoonlijke voldoening op het werk?	,766

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

a. Only one component was extracted. The solution cannot be rotated.

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	110	100,0
	Excluded[a]	0	,0
	Total	110	100,0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
,655	,652	5

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	REC_NationalismShame	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	1,000	,233	,413	,329	,319
REC_NationalismShame	,233	1,000	,108	,144	,241
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	,413	,108	1,000	,532	,218
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	,329	,144	,532	1,000	,184
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i	,319	,241	,218	,184	1,000

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik zou liever inwoner van Nederland zijn dan van enig ander land ter werel	9,4182	5,640	,494	,255	,559
REC_NationalismShame	10,7455	7,347	,247	,090	,672
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: De wereld zou beter zijn als mensen uit andere landen meer op Nederlanders zouden lijke	10,4455	5,809	,502	,351	,555
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Over het algemeen is Nederland een beter land dan de meeste andere lande	9,4091	6,171	,467	,303	,575
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Mensen moeten hun land steunen, zelfs als het land verkeerd i	11,1818	7,545	,351	,141	,631

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
12,8000	9,354	3,05845	5

Rhetoric

Correlations

		In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn lega	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprec	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchteling
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn legaa	Pearson Correlation	1	,460	,079
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<,001	,413
	N	110	110	110
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprech	Pearson Correlation	,460	1	,298
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<,001		,002
	N	110	110	110
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchtelinge	Pearson Correlation	,079	,298	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,413	,002	
	N	110	110	110

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn legaa	1,000	,558
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprech	1,000	,739
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchtelinge	1,000	,289

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1,586	52,878	52,878	1,586	52,878	52,878
2	,928	30,943	83,821			
3	,485	16,179	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix[a]

	Component 1
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn legaa	,747
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprech	,860
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchtelinge	,538

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

a. Only one component was extracted. The solution cannot be rotated.

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	110	100,0
	Excluded[a]	0	,0
	Total	110	100,0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
,514	,537	3

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn lega	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprec	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchteling
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn legaa	1,000	,460	,079
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprech	,460	1,000	,298
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchtelinge	,079	,298	1,000

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn legaa	6,13	1,782	,321	,216	,457
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn oprech	5,75	2,150	,526	,281	,142
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten zijn vluchtelinge	6,12	2,637	,197	,093	,604

Scale Statistics

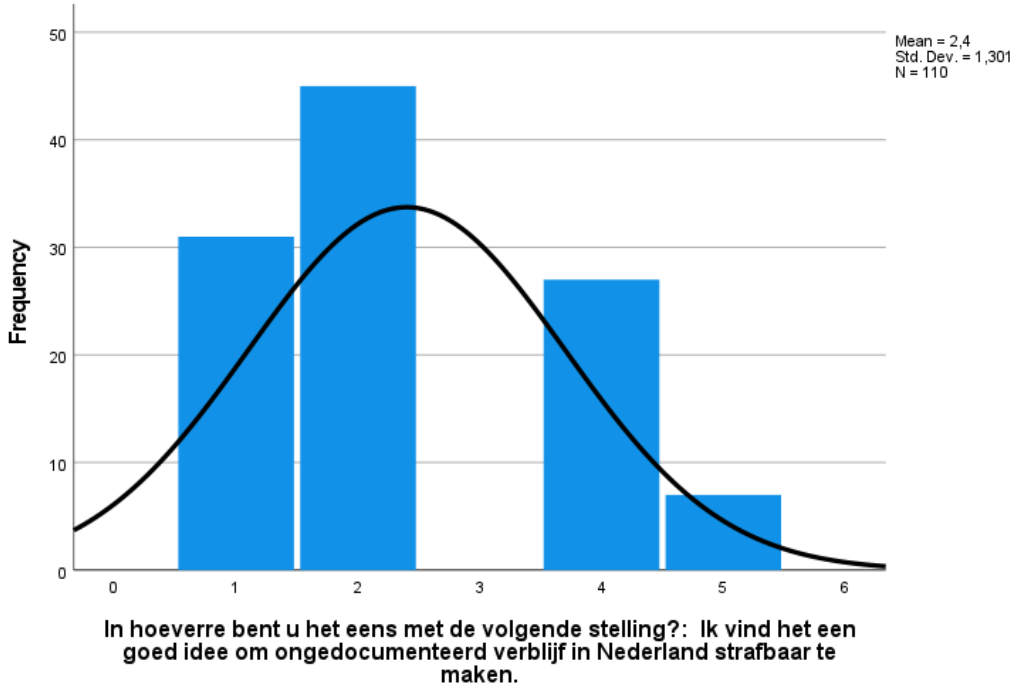
Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
9,00	3,963	1,991	3

Harm foundation

Correlations

		Wanneer je besluit of iets goed of slecht is, in welke mate zijn de volgende overwegingen dan van belang voor jouw oordeel. - 1) Of iemand emotioneel heeft geleden	Wanneer je besluit of iets goed of slecht is, in welke mate zijn de volgende overwegingen dan van belang voor jouw oordeel. - 7) Of iemand zorgde voor een zwak of kwetsbaar iemand	Wanneer je besluit of iets goed of slecht is, in welke mate zijn de volgende overwegingen dan van belang voor jouw oordeel. - 12) Of iemand wreed was	Zou je voor de volgende stellingen aan willen geven in welke mate je het ermee eens of oneens bent. - 17) Medeleven met degenen die lijden, is de belangrijkste deugd.	Zou je voor de volgende stellingen aan willen geven in welke mate je het ermee eens of oneens bent. - 23) Een van de ergste dingen die een mens kan doen is een weerloos dier pijn doen.	Zou je voor de volgende stellingen aan willen geven in welke mate je het ermee eens of oneens bent. - 28) Het kan nooit goed zijn om een mens te doden.
Wanneer je besluit of iets goed of slecht is, in welke mate zijn de volgende overwegingen dan van belang voor jouw oordeel. - 1) Of iemand emotioneel heeft geleden	Pearson Correlation	1	,123	,108	,251	,125	,260
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,201	,263	,008	,192	,006
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110
Wanneer je besluit of iets goed of slecht is, in welke mate zijn de volgende overwegingen dan van belang voor jouw oordeel. - 7) Of iemand zorgde voor een zwak of kwetsbaar iemand	Pearson Correlation	,123	1	,252	,262	,283	,242
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,201		,008	,006	,003	,011
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110
Wanneer je besluit of iets goed of slecht is, in welke mate zijn de volgende overwegingen dan van belang voor jouw oordeel. - 12) Of iemand wreed was	Pearson Correlation	,108	,252	1	,153	,196	,094
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,263	,008		,111	,040	,329
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110
Zou je voor de volgende stellingen aan willen geven in welke mate je het ermee eens of oneens bent. - 17) Medeleven met degenen die lijden, is de belangrijkste deugd.	Pearson Correlation	,251	,262	,153	1	,272	,415
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,008	,006	,111		,004	<,001
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110
Zou je voor de volgende stellingen aan willen geven in welke mate je het ermee eens of oneens bent. - 23) Een van de ergste dingen die een mens kan doen is een weerloos dier pijn doen.	Pearson Correlation	,125	,283	,196	,272	1	,197
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,192	,003	,040	,004		,039
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110
Zou je voor de volgende stellingen aan willen geven in welke mate je het ermee eens of oneens bent. - 28) Het kan nooit goed zijn om een mens te doden.	Pearson Correlation	,260	,242	,094	,415	,197	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,006	,011	,329	<,001	,039	
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110

Appendix 3 Assumptions for linear regression



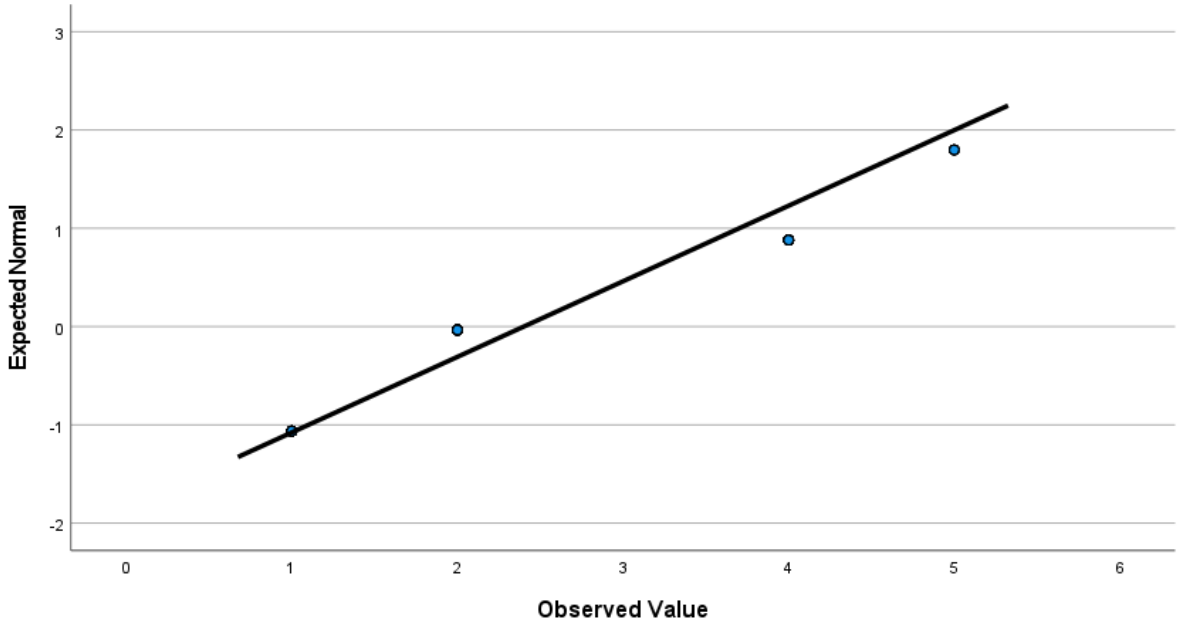
Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik vind het een goed idee om ongedocumenteerd verblijf in Nederland strafbaar te maken.	,312	110	<,001	,812	110	<,001

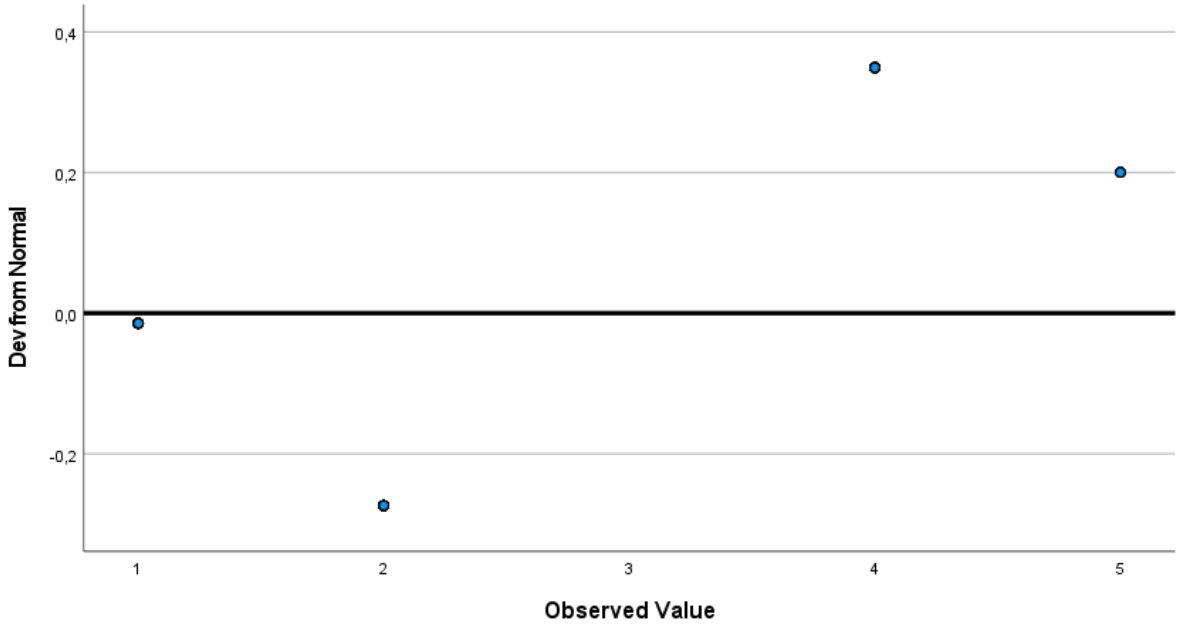
a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

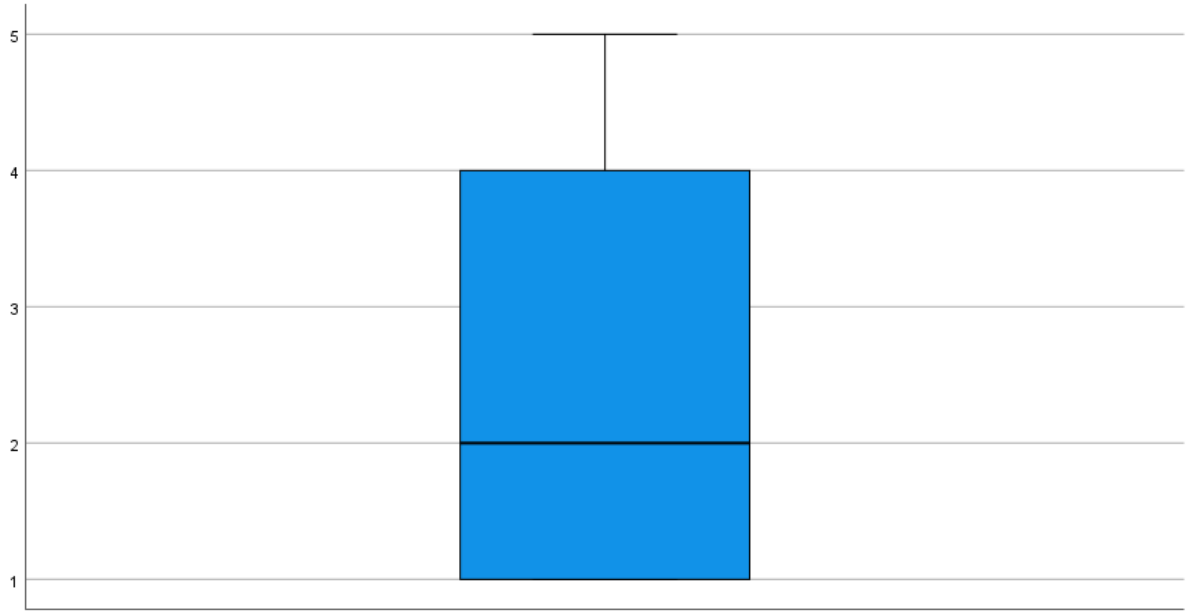
Test of whether a distribution of scores is significantly different from a normal distribution. A significant value indicates a deviation from normality

Normal Q-Q Plot of In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik vind het een goed idee om ongedocumenteerd verblijf in Nederland strafbaar te maken.

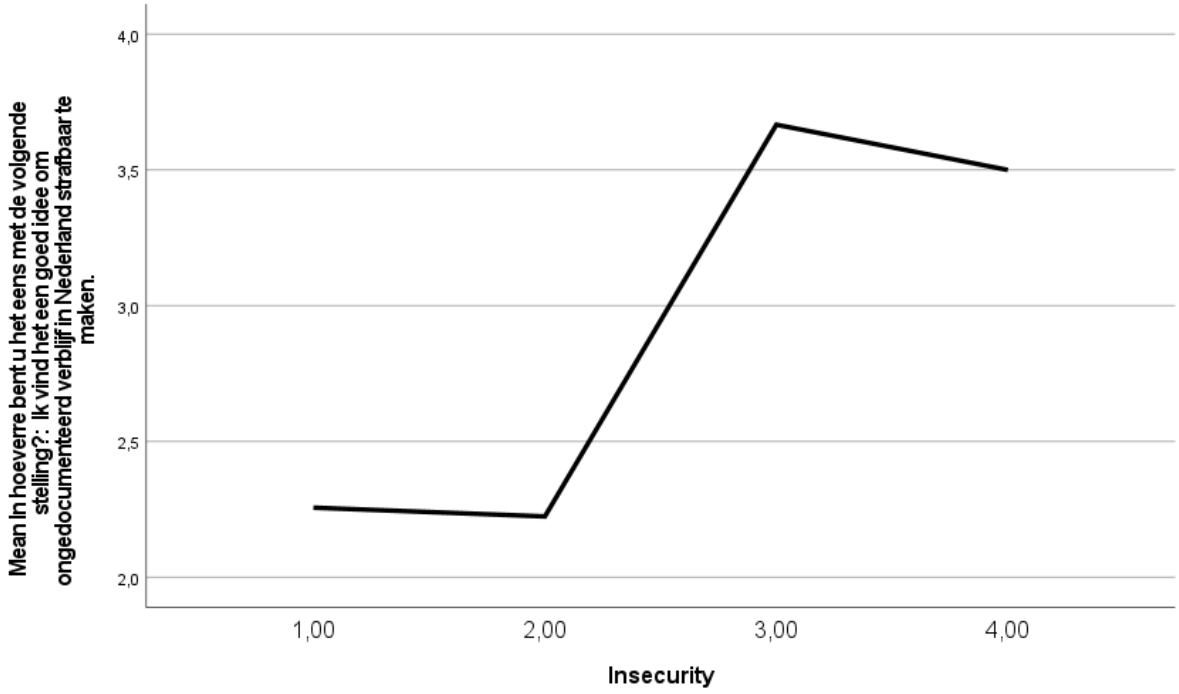


Detrended Normal Q-Q Plot of In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik vind het een goed idee om ongedocumenteerd verblijf in Nederland strafbaar te maken.





In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ik vind het een goed idee om ongedocumenteerd verblijf in Nederland strafbaar te maken.



Appendix 4 Assumptions for logistic regression

	SignificantOther by LN_SignificantOther	-,954	1,444	,437	1	,509	,385
	Nationalism by LN_Nationalism	-2,194	4,317	,258	1	,611	,111
	Rhetoric by LN_Rhetoric	-4,504	3,814	1,395	1	,238	,011
	...)	-,135	1,961	,005	1	,945	,874
	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Wanneer ongedocumenteerde migranten in Nederland werken kunnen zij de arbeidstekorten in ons land oplossen. Zo kunnen zij bijvoorbeeld in de zorg werken, waar nog altijd arbeidskrachten nodig zijn...	3,217	1,942	2,745	1	,098	24,950
	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten komen uit een verschrikkelijke situatie waar zijzelf niks aan kunnen doen. Het is aan ons om hen op te vangen en te helpen. by LN_Innocentfram	1,535	1,760	,760	1	,383	4,642
	Wat is uw leeftijd? by LN_Age	,097	,178	,294	1	,588	1,101
	Constant	-4,503	18,769	,058	1	,810	,011

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: SignificantOther, Nationalism, Rhetoric, REC_SafetyAboveAll, HarmTop2, FairTop2, TradTop3, ConTop3, , In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migratie is een probleem omdat het nu ongecontroleerd is. We moeten in

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,951	,527		1,805	,074		
	Insecurity	,088	,058	,139	1,515	,133	,782	1,278
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,002	,003	-,085	-,809	,420	,598	1,673
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?	-,059	,050	-,106	-1,167	,246	,798	1,253
	SignificantOther	,007	,037	,019	,183	,855	,586	1,706
	Nationalism	,154	,077	,204	2,001	,048	,641	1,560
	Rhetoric	-,142	,066	-,248	-2,154	,034	,502	1,993
	REC_SafetyAboveAll	-,078	,112	-,063	-,701	,485	,829	1,206
	HarmTop2	,095	,119	,074	,799	,426	,769	1,301
	FairTop2	-,320	,126	-,244	-2,540	,013	,717	1,394
	TradTop3	,003	,090	,003	,031	,976	,766	1,306
	ConTop3	,159	,103	,138	1,552	,124	,839	1,191
	SecTop3	-,116	,092	-,112	-1,269	,208	,848	1,179
	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migratie is een probleem omdat het nu ongecontroleerd is. We moeten in Nederland ervoor zorgen dat we alles weer in goede banen kunnen leiden. Dit gebeurt met een goede samenwerking en betere wetgeving	,009	,046	,018	,202	,841	,870	1,149
	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Wanneer	-,033	,044	-,077	-,750	,455	,632	1,581

Appendix 5 Crosstabulations

Feelings of insecurity

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Insecurity * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

Insecurity * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
Insecurity	1,00	Count	30	9	39
		Expected Count	26,9	12,1	39,0
		% within Insecurity	76,9%	23,1%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	39,5%	26,5%	35,5%
		% of Total	27,3%	8,2%	35,5%
		Standardized Residual	,6	-,9	
	2,00	Count	43	15	58
		Expected Count	40,1	17,9	58,0
		% within Insecurity	74,1%	25,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	56,6%	44,1%	52,7%
		% of Total	39,1%	13,6%	52,7%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,7	
	3,00	Count	2	7	9
		Expected Count	6,2	2,8	9,0
		% within Insecurity	22,2%	77,8%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	20,6%	8,2%
		% of Total	1,8%	6,4%	8,2%
		Standardized Residual	-1,7	2,5	
	4,00	Count	1	3	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within Insecurity	25,0%	75,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	1,3%	8,8%	3,6%
		% of Total	0,9%	2,7%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,6	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within Insecurity	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14,711[a]	3	,002
Likelihood Ratio	13,566	3	,004
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,081	1	,003
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 3 cells (37,5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,24.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error[a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,081	,039	1,976	,048
		Insecurity Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,206	,095	1,976	,048
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Insecurity Dependent	,026	,016		,039[d]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,134	,064		,002[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,366	,002
	Cramer's V	,366	,002
	Contingency Coefficient	,343	,002
N of Valid Cases		110	

Feelings of insecurity*gender

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Insecurity * REC_Approval * Vrouw	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

Insecurity * REC_Approval * Vrouw Crosstabulation

Vrouw				REC_Approval tegen	REC_Approval voor	Total
man	Insecurity	1,00	Count	20	4	24
			Expected Count	17,5	6,5	24,0
			% within Insecurity	83,3%	16,7%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	39,2%	21,1%	34,3%
			% of Total	28,6%	5,7%	34,3%
			Standardized Residual	,6	-1,0	
		2,00	Count	29	9	38
			Expected Count	27,7	10,3	38,0
			% within Insecurity	76,3%	23,7%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	56,9%	47,4%	54,3%
			% of Total	41,4%	12,9%	54,3%
			Standardized Residual	,2	-,4	
		3,00	Count	1	3	4
			Expected Count	2,9	1,1	4,0
			% within Insecurity	25,0%	75,0%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	2,0%	15,8%	5,7%
			% of Total	1,4%	4,3%	5,7%
			Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,8	
		4,00	Count	1	3	4
			Expected Count	2,9	1,1	4,0
			% within Insecurity	25,0%	75,0%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	2,0%	15,8%	5,7%
			% of Total	1,4%	4,3%	5,7%
			Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,8	
	Total		Count	51	19	70
			Expected Count	51,0	19,0	70,0
			% within Insecurity	72,9%	27,1%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
			% of Total	72,9%	27,1%	100,0%
vrouw	Insecurity	1,00	Count	10	5	15
			Expected Count	9,4	5,6	15,0
			% within Insecurity	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	40,0%	33,3%	37,5%
			% of Total	25,0%	12,5%	37,5%
			Standardized Residual	,2	-,3	
		2,00	Count	14	6	20
			Expected Count	12,5	7,5	20,0
			% within Insecurity	70,0%	30,0%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	56,0%	40,0%	50,0%
			% of Total	35,0%	15,0%	50,0%
			Standardized Residual	,4	-,5	
		3,00	Count	1	4	5
			Expected Count	3,1	1,9	5,0
			% within Insecurity	20,0%	80,0%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	4,0%	26,7%	12,5%
			% of Total	2,5%	10,0%	12,5%
			Standardized Residual	-1,2	1,6	
	Total		Count	25	15	40
			Expected Count	25,0	15,0	40,0
			% within Insecurity	62,5%	37,5%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
			% of Total	62,5%	37,5%	100,0%
Total	Insecurity	1,00	Count	30	9	39
			Expected Count	26,9	12,1	39,0
			% within Insecurity	76,9%	23,1%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	39,5%	26,5%	35,5%
			% of Total	27,3%	8,2%	35,5%
			Standardized Residual	,6	-,9	
		2,00	Count	43	15	58
			Expected Count	40,1	17,9	58,0
			% within Insecurity	74,1%	25,9%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	56,6%	44,1%	52,7%
			% of Total	39,1%	13,6%	52,7%
			Standardized Residual	,5	-,7	
		3,00	Count	2	7	9
			Expected Count	6,2	2,8	9,0
			% within Insecurity	22,2%	77,8%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	2,6%	20,6%	8,2%
			% of Total	1,8%	6,4%	8,2%
			Standardized Residual	-1,7	2,5	
		4,00	Count	1	3	4
			Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
			% within Insecurity	25,0%	75,0%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	1,3%	8,8%	3,6%
			% of Total	0,9%	2,7%	3,6%
			Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,6	
	Total		Count	76	34	110
			Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
			% within Insecurity	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
			% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
			% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

Vrouw		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
man	Pearson Chi-Square	10,827[b]	3	,013
	Likelihood Ratio	9,627	3	,022
	Linear-by-Linear Association	8,103	1	,004
	N of Valid Cases	70		
vrouw	Pearson Chi-Square	4,444[c]	2	,108
	Likelihood Ratio	4,391	2	,111
	Linear-by-Linear Association	1,798	1	,180
	N of Valid Cases	40		
Total	Pearson Chi-Square	14,711[a]	3	,002
	Likelihood Ratio	13,566	3	,004
	Linear-by-Linear Association	9,081	1	,003
	N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 3 cells (37,5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,24.

b. 4 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,09.

c. 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,88.

Directional Measures

Vrouw				Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
man	Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,078	,051	1,435	,151
			Insecurity Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
			REC_Approval Dependent	,211	,132	1,435	,151
		Goodman and Kruskal tau	Insecurity Dependent	,027	,020		,130[d]
			REC_Approval Dependent	,155	,091		,014[d]
vrouw	Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,086	,058	1,373	,170
			Insecurity Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
			REC_Approval Dependent	,200	,133	1,373	,170
		Goodman and Kruskal tau	Insecurity Dependent	,032	,034		,286[d]
			REC_Approval Dependent	,111	,090		,115[d]
Total	Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,081	,039	1,976	,048
			Insecurity Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
			REC_Approval Dependent	,206	,095	1,976	,048
		Goodman and Kruskal tau	Insecurity Dependent	,026	,016		,039[d]
			REC_Approval Dependent	,134	,064		,002[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

Vrouw			Value	Approximate Significance
man	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,393	,013
		Cramer's V	,393	,013
		Contingency Coefficient	,366	,013
	N of Valid Cases		70	
vrouw	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,333	,108
		Cramer's V	,333	,108
		Contingency Coefficient	,316	,108
	N of Valid Cases		40	
Total	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,366	,002
		Cramer's V	,366	,002
		Contingency Coefficient	,343	,002
	N of Valid Cases		110	

Significant other

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
SignificantOther * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

SignificantOther * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
SignificantOther	1,00	Count	6	0	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	7,9%	0,0%	5,5%
		% of Total	5,5%	0,0%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	,9	-1,4	
	1,50	Count	2	0	2
		Expected Count	1,4	,6	2,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	0,0%	1,8%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,0%	1,8%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	1,75	Count	4	2	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within SignificantOther	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	5,3%	5,9%	5,5%
		% of Total	3,6%	1,8%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	,1	
	2,00	Count	2	0	2
		Expected Count	1,4	,6	2,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	0,0%	1,8%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,0%	1,8%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	2,25	Count	2	0	2
		Expected Count	1,4	,6	2,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	0,0%	1,8%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,0%	1,8%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	2,50	Count	2	1	3
		Expected Count	2,1	,9	3,0
		% within SignificantOther	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	2,9%	2,7%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,9%	2,7%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	,1	
	2,75	Count	5	0	5
		Expected Count	3,5	1,5	5,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	6,6%	0,0%	4,5%
		% of Total	4,5%	0,0%	4,5%
		Standardized Residual	,8	-1,2	
	3,00	Count	6	0	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	7,9%	0,0%	5,5%
		% of Total	5,5%	0,0%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	,9	-1,4	
	3,25	Count	10	2	12
		Expected Count	8,3	3,7	12,0
		% within SignificantOther	83,3%	16,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	13,2%	5,9%	10,9%
		% of Total	9,1%	1,8%	10,9%
		Standardized Residual	,6	-,9	
	3,50	Count	5	4	9
		Expected Count	6,2	2,8	9,0
		% within SignificantOther	55,6%	44,4%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	6,6%	11,8%	8,2%
		% of Total	4,5%	3,6%	8,2%
		Standardized Residual	-,5	,7	
	3,75	Count	3	2	5
		Expected Count	3,5	1,5	5,0
		% within SignificantOther	60,0%	40,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	5,9%	4,5%
		% of Total	2,7%	1,8%	4,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,2	,4	
	4,00	Count	8	2	10
		Expected Count	6,9	3,1	10,0
		% within SignificantOther	80,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	10,5%	5,9%	9,1%
		% of Total	7,3%	1,8%	9,1%
		Standardized Residual	,4	-,6	
	4,25	Count	3	5	8
		Expected Count	5,5	2,5	8,0
		% within SignificantOther	37,5%	62,5%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	14,7%	7,3%
		% of Total	2,7%	4,5%	7,3%
		Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,6	
	4,50	Count	6	3	9
		Expected Count	6,2	2,8	9,0
		% within SignificantOther	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	7,9%	8,8%	8,2%
		% of Total	5,5%	2,7%	8,2%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	,1	
	4,75	Count	3	1	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within SignificantOther	75,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	2,9%	3,6%
		% of Total	2,7%	0,9%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	,1	-,2	
	5,00	Count	3	3	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within SignificantOther	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	8,8%	5,5%
		% of Total	2,7%	2,7%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,6	,8	
	5,25	Count	1	2	3
		Expected Count	2,1	,9	3,0
		% within SignificantOther	33,3%	66,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	1,3%	5,9%	2,7%
		% of Total	0,9%	1,8%	2,7%
		Standardized Residual	-,7	1,1	
	5,50	Count	1	3	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within SignificantOther	25,0%	75,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	1,3%	8,8%	3,6%
		% of Total	0,9%	2,7%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,6	
	5,75	Count	0	3	3
		Expected Count	2,1	,9	3,0
		% within SignificantOther	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	8,8%	2,7%
		% of Total	0,0%	2,7%	2,7%
		Standardized Residual	-1,4	2,2	
	6,00	Count	1	1	2
		Expected Count	1,4	,6	2,0
		% within SignificantOther	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	1,3%	2,9%	1,8%
		% of Total	0,9%	0,9%	1,8%
		Standardized Residual	-,3	,5	
	6,25	Count	2	0	2
		Expected Count	1,4	,6	2,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	0,0%	1,8%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,0%	1,8%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	7,00	Count	1	0	1
		Expected Count	,7	,3	1,0
		% within SignificantOther	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	1,3%	0,0%	0,9%
		% of Total	0,9%	0,0%	0,9%
		Standardized Residual	,4	-,6	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within SignificantOther	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	31,656[a]	21	,063
Likelihood Ratio	38,718	21	,011
Linear-by-Linear Association	10,782	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 39 cells (88,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,31.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,083	,043	1,889	,059
		SignificantOther Dependent	,031	,027	1,141	,254
		REC_Approval Dependent	,235	,109	1,917	,055
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	SignificantOther Dependent	,014	,005		,068[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,288	,059		,068[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,536	,063
	Cramer's V	,536	,063
	Contingency Coefficient	,473	,063
N of Valid Cases		110	

Feelings of nationalism

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Nationalism * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

Nationalism * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
Nationalism	1,40	Count	2	1	3
		Expected Count	2,1	,9	3,0
		% within Nationalism	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	2,9%	2,7%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,9%	2,7%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	,1	
	1,60	Count	5	1	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within Nationalism	83,3%	16,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	6,6%	2,9%	5,5%
		% of Total	4,5%	0,9%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	,4	-,6	
	1,80	Count	7	0	7
		Expected Count	4,8	2,2	7,0
		% within Nationalism	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	9,2%	0,0%	6,4%
		% of Total	6,4%	0,0%	6,4%
		Standardized Residual	1,0	-1,5	
	2,00	Count	11	0	11
		Expected Count	7,6	3,4	11,0
		% within Nationalism	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	14,5%	0,0%	10,0%
		% of Total	10,0%	0,0%	10,0%
		Standardized Residual	1,2	-1,8	
	2,20	Count	9	2	11
		Expected Count	7,6	3,4	11,0
		% within Nationalism	81,8%	18,2%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	11,8%	5,9%	10,0%
		% of Total	8,2%	1,8%	10,0%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	2,40	Count	12	3	15
		Expected Count	10,4	4,6	15,0
		% within Nationalism	80,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	15,8%	8,8%	13,6%
		% of Total	10,9%	2,7%	13,6%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	2,60	Count	7	5	12
		Expected Count	8,3	3,7	12,0
		% within Nationalism	58,3%	41,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	9,2%	14,7%	10,9%
		% of Total	6,4%	4,5%	10,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,4	,7	
	2,80	Count	7	5	12
		Expected Count	8,3	3,7	12,0
		% within Nationalism	58,3%	41,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	9,2%	14,7%	10,9%
		% of Total	6,4%	4,5%	10,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,4	,7	
	3,00	Count	6	6	12
		Expected Count	8,3	3,7	12,0
		% within Nationalism	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	7,9%	17,6%	10,9%
		% of Total	5,5%	5,5%	10,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,8	1,2	
	3,20	Count	4	6	10
		Expected Count	6,9	3,1	10,0
		% within Nationalism	40,0%	60,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	5,3%	17,6%	9,1%
		% of Total	3,6%	5,5%	9,1%
		Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,7	
	3,40	Count	3	3	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within Nationalism	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	8,8%	5,5%
		% of Total	2,7%	2,7%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,6	,8	
	3,60	Count	2	0	2
		Expected Count	1,4	,6	2,0
		% within Nationalism	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	2,6%	0,0%	1,8%
		% of Total	1,8%	0,0%	1,8%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	3,80	Count	1	0	1
		Expected Count	,7	,3	1,0
		% within Nationalism	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	1,3%	0,0%	0,9%
		% of Total	0,9%	0,0%	0,9%
		Standardized Residual	,4	-,6	
	4,20	Count	0	1	1
		Expected Count	,7	,3	1,0
		% within Nationalism	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	2,9%	0,9%
		% of Total	0,0%	0,9%	0,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,8	1,2	
	4,60	Count	0	1	1
		Expected Count	,7	,3	1,0
		% within Nationalism	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	2,9%	0,9%
		% of Total	0,0%	0,9%	0,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,8	1,2	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within Nationalism	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24,449[a]	14	,040
Likelihood Ratio	30,358	14	,007
Linear-by-Linear Association	13,172	1	<,001
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 23 cells (76,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,31.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error[a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,054	,034	1,544	,123
		Nationalism Dependent	,032	,031	1,005	,315
		REC_Approval Dependent	,118	,096	1,162	,245
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Nationalism Dependent	,018	,007		,019[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,222	,054		,043[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,471	,040
	Cramer's V	,471	,040
	Contingency Coefficient	,426	,040
N of Valid Cases		110	

Rhetoric of migrants

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Rhetoric * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

Rhetoric * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
Rhetoric	1,00	Count	0	1	1
		Expected Count	,7	,3	1,0
		% within Rhetoric	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	2,9%	0,9%
		% of Total	0,0%	0,9%	0,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,8	1,2	
	1,50	Count	0	4	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within Rhetoric	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	11,8%	3,6%
		% of Total	0,0%	3,6%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	-1,7	2,5	
	2,00	Count	5	6	11
		Expected Count	7,6	3,4	11,0
		% within Rhetoric	45,5%	54,5%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	6,6%	17,6%	10,0%
		% of Total	4,5%	5,5%	10,0%
		Standardized Residual	-,9	1,4	
	2,50	Count	13	10	23
		Expected Count	15,9	7,1	23,0
		% within Rhetoric	56,5%	43,5%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	17,1%	29,4%	20,9%
		% of Total	11,8%	9,1%	20,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,7	1,1	
	3,00	Count	21	8	29
		Expected Count	20,0	9,0	29,0
		% within Rhetoric	72,4%	27,6%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	27,6%	23,5%	26,4%
		% of Total	19,1%	7,3%	26,4%
		Standardized Residual	,2	-,3	
	3,50	Count	18	4	22
		Expected Count	15,2	6,8	22,0
		% within Rhetoric	81,8%	18,2%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	23,7%	11,8%	20,0%
		% of Total	16,4%	3,6%	20,0%
		Standardized Residual	,7	-1,1	
	4,00	Count	12	0	12
		Expected Count	8,3	3,7	12,0
		% within Rhetoric	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	15,8%	0,0%	10,9%
		% of Total	10,9%	0,0%	10,9%
		Standardized Residual	1,3	-1,9	
	4,50	Count	3	1	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within Rhetoric	75,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	2,9%	3,6%
		% of Total	2,7%	0,9%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	,1	-,2	
	5,00	Count	4	0	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within Rhetoric	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	5,3%	0,0%	3,6%
		% of Total	3,6%	0,0%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	,7	-1,1	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within Rhetoric	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24,798[a]	8	,002
Likelihood Ratio	29,868	8	<,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	19,794	1	<,001
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 10 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,31.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,070	,048	1,384	,166
		Rhetoric Dependent	,025	,052	,472	,637
		REC_Approval Dependent	,176	,107	1,516	,130
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Rhetoric Dependent	,022	,010		,013[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,225	,045		,002[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,475	,002
	Cramer's V	,475	,002
	Contingency Coefficient	,429	,002
N of Valid Cases		110	

Safety above all

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
SafetyAboveAll * REC_Approval	18	16,4%	92	83,6%	110	100,0%

SafetyAboveAll * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
SafetyAboveAll	8,00	Count	4	3	7
		Expected Count	5,1	1,9	7,0
		% within SafetyAboveAll	57,1%	42,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	30,8%	60,0%	38,9%
		% of Total	22,2%	16,7%	38,9%
		Standardized Residual	-,5	,8	
	9,00	Count	5	1	6
		Expected Count	4,3	1,7	6,0
		% within SafetyAboveAll	83,3%	16,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	38,5%	20,0%	33,3%
		% of Total	27,8%	5,6%	33,3%
		Standardized Residual	,3	-,5	
	10,00	Count	4	1	5
		Expected Count	3,6	1,4	5,0
		% within SafetyAboveAll	80,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	30,8%	20,0%	27,8%
		% of Total	22,2%	5,6%	27,8%
		Standardized Residual	,2	-,3	
Total		Count	13	5	18
		Expected Count	13,0	5,0	18,0
		% within SafetyAboveAll	72,2%	27,8%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	72,2%	27,8%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,313[a]	2	,519
Likelihood Ratio	1,299	2	,522
Linear-by-Linear Association	,834	1	,361
N of Valid Cases	18		

a. 5 cells (83,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,39.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,063	,182	,334	,738
		SafetyAboveAll Dependent	,091	,260	,334	,738
		REC_Approval Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	SafetyAboveAll Dependent	,040	,068		,508[d]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,073	,126		,538[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,270	,519
	Cramer's V	,270	,519
	Contingency Coefficient	,261	,519
N of Valid Cases		18	

Prioritizing harm foundation

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
HarmTop2 * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

HarmTop2 * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
HarmTop2	,00	Count	9	8	17
		Expected Count	11,7	5,3	17,0
		% within HarmTop2	52,9%	47,1%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	11,8%	23,5%	15,5%
		% of Total	8,2%	7,3%	15,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,8	1,2	
	1,00	Count	67	26	93
		Expected Count	64,3	28,7	93,0
		% within HarmTop2	72,0%	28,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	88,2%	76,5%	84,5%
		% of Total	60,9%	23,6%	84,5%
		Standardized Residual	,3	-,5	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within HarmTop2	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,456[a]	1	,117		
Continuity Correction[b]	1,643	1	,200		
Likelihood Ratio	2,320	1	,128		
Fisher's Exact Test				,154	,102
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,433	1	,119		
N of Valid Cases	110				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,25.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		HarmTop2 Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	HarmTop2 Dependent	,022	,030		,119[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,022	,030		,119[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-,149	,117
	Cramer's V	,149	,117
	Contingency Coefficient	,148	,117
N of Valid Cases		110	

Prioritizing fairness foundation

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
FairTop2 * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

FairTop2 * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
FairTop2	,00	Count	3	13	16
		Expected Count	11,1	4,9	16,0
		% within FairTop2	18,8%	81,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	38,2%	14,5%
		% of Total	2,7%	11,8%	14,5%
		Standardized Residual	-2,4	3,6	
	1,00	Count	73	21	94
		Expected Count	64,9	29,1	94,0
		% within FairTop2	77,7%	22,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	96,1%	61,8%	85,5%
		% of Total	66,4%	19,1%	85,5%
		Standardized Residual	1,0	-1,5	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within FairTop2	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22,219[a]	1	<,001		
Continuity Correction[b]	19,546	1	<,001		
Likelihood Ratio	20,737	1	<,001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<,001	<,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	22,017	1	<,001		
N of Valid Cases	110				

a. 1 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,95.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T [b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,200	,063	2,574	,010
		FairTop2 Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,294	,099	2,574	,010
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	FairTop2 Dependent	,202	,081		<,001[d]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,202	,075		<,001[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-,449	<,001
	Cramer's V	,449	<,001
	Contingency Coefficient	,410	<,001
N of Valid Cases		110	

Prioritizing security value

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
SecTop3 * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

SecTop3 * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
SecTop3	,00	Count	19	11	30
		Expected Count	20,7	9,3	30,0
		% within SecTop3	63,3%	36,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	25,0%	32,4%	27,3%
		% of Total	17,3%	10,0%	27,3%
		Standardized Residual	-,4	,6	
	1,00	Count	57	23	80
		Expected Count	55,3	24,7	80,0
		% within SecTop3	71,3%	28,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	75,0%	67,6%	72,7%
		% of Total	51,8%	20,9%	72,7%
		Standardized Residual	,2	-,3	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within SecTop3	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,640[a]	1	,424		
Continuity Correction[b]	,323	1	,570		
Likelihood Ratio	,629	1	,428		
Fisher's Exact Test				,489	,282
Linear-by-Linear Association	,634	1	,426		
N of Valid Cases	110				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,27.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error[a]	Approximate T	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		SecTop3 Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	SecTop3 Dependent	,006	,015		,426[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,006	,015		,426[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-,076	,424
	Cramer's V	,076	,424
	Contingency Coefficient	,076	,424
N of Valid Cases		110	

Prioritizing conformity value

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
ConTop3 * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

ConTop3 * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
ConTop3	,00	Count	62	26	88
		Expected Count	60,8	27,2	88,0
		% within ConTop3	70,5%	29,5%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	81,6%	76,5%	80,0%
		% of Total	56,4%	23,6%	80,0%
		Standardized Residual	,2	-,2	
	1,00	Count	14	8	22
		Expected Count	15,2	6,8	22,0
		% within ConTop3	63,6%	36,4%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	18,4%	23,5%	20,0%
		% of Total	12,7%	7,3%	20,0%
		Standardized Residual	-,3	,5	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within ConTop3	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,383[a]	1	,536		
Continuity Correction[b]	,130	1	,718		
Likelihood Ratio	,375	1	,540		
Fisher's Exact Test				,608	,353
Linear-by-Linear Association	,380	1	,538		
N of Valid Cases	110				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,80.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		ConTop3 Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	ConTop3 Dependent	,003	,012		,538[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,003	,012		,538[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,059	,536
	Cramer's V	,059	,536
	Contingency Coefficient	,059	,536
N of Valid Cases		110	

Prioritizing tradition value

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
TradTop3 * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

TradTop3 * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
TradTop3	,00	Count	49	23	72
		Expected Count	49,7	22,3	72,0
		% within TradTop3	68,1%	31,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	64,5%	67,6%	65,5%
		% of Total	44,5%	20,9%	65,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	,2	
	1,00	Count	27	11	38
		Expected Count	26,3	11,7	38,0
		% within TradTop3	71,1%	28,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	35,5%	32,4%	34,5%
		% of Total	24,5%	10,0%	34,5%
		Standardized Residual	,1	-,2	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within TradTop3	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,105[a]	1	,746		
Continuity Correction[b]	,011	1	,915		
Likelihood Ratio	,105	1	,746		
Fisher's Exact Test				,830	,461
Linear-by-Linear Association	,104	1	,747		
N of Valid Cases	110				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11,75.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error[a]	Approximate T	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		TradTop3 Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	TradTop3 Dependent	,001	,006		,747[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,001	,006		,747[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-,031	,746
	Cramer's V	,031	,746
	Contingency Coefficient	,031	,746
N of Valid Cases		110	

Control frame

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Control frame * Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

*** REC_Approval Crosstabulation**

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
Control frame	Helemaal oneens	Count	3	0	3
		Expected Count	2,1	,9	3,0
		% Control frame	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	3,9%	0,0%	2,7%
		% of Total	2,7%	0,0%	2,7%
		Standardized Residual	,6	-1,0	
	Oneens	Count	4	2	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% Control frame	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	5,3%	5,9%	5,5%
		% of Total	3,6%	1,8%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,1	,1	
	Neutraal	Count	18	5	23
		Expected Count	15,9	7,1	23,0
		% Control frame	78,3%	21,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	23,7%	14,7%	20,9%
		% of Total	16,4%	4,5%	20,9%
		Standardized Residual	,5	-,8	
	Eens	Count	43	19	62
		Expected Count	42,8	19,2	62,0
		% Control frame	69,4%	30,6%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	56,6%	55,9%	56,4%
		% of Total	39,1%	17,3%	56,4%
		Standardized Residual	,0	,0	
	Helemaal eens	Count	8	8	16
		Expected Count	11,1	4,9	16,0
		% Control frame	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	10,5%	23,5%	14,5%
		% of Total	7,3%	7,3%	14,5%
		Standardized Residual	-,9	1,4	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% Control frame	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,997[a]	4	,288
Likelihood Ratio	5,725	4	,221
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,281	1	,070
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 5 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,93.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error[a]	Approximate T	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		Control frame	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,000	,000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Control frame	,009	,010		,401[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,045	,036		,292[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,213	,288
	Cramer's V	,213	,288
	Contingency Coefficient	,208	,288
N of Valid Cases		110	

Win-win frame

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Win win frame	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

Win win frame* REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
Win win frame	Helemaal oneens	Count	0	4	4
		Expected Count	2,8	1,2	4,0
		% within Win win frame	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	11,8%	3,6%
		% of Total	0,0%	3,6%	3,6%
		Standardized Residual	-1,7	2,5	
	Oneens	Count	10	11	21
		Expected Count	14,5	6,5	21,0
		% within Win win frame	47,6%	52,4%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	13,2%	32,4%	19,1%
		% of Total	9,1%	10,0%	19,1%
		Standardized Residual	-1,2	1,8	
	Neutraal	Count	14	1	15
		Expected Count	10,4	4,6	15,0
		% within Win win frame	93,3%	6,7%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	18,4%	2,9%	13,6%
		% of Total	12,7%	0,9%	13,6%
		Standardized Residual	1,1	-1,7	
	Eens	Count	38	15	53
		Expected Count	36,6	16,4	53,0
		% within Win win frame	71,7%	28,3%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	50,0%	44,1%	48,2%
		% of Total	34,5%	13,6%	48,2%
		Standardized Residual	,2	-,3	
	Helemaal eens	Count	14	3	17
		Expected Count	11,7	5,3	17,0
		% within Win win frame	82,4%	17,6%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	18,4%	8,8%	15,5%
		% of Total	12,7%	2,7%	15,5%
		Standardized Residual	,7	-1,0	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within Win win frame	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19,172[a]	4	<,001
Likelihood Ratio	20,632	4	<,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,238	1	,002
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 3 cells (30,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,24.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error [a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,055	,053	1,005	,315
		Win win Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,147	,136	1,005	,315
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Win win Dependent	,027	,015		,019[d]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,174	,050		<,001[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,417	<,001
	Cramer's V	,417	<,001
	Contingency Coefficient	,385	<,001
N of Valid Cases		110	

Innocent frame

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Innocent frame * REC_Approval	110	100,0%	0	0,0%	110	100,0%

Innocent frame * REC_Approval Crosstabulation

			REC_Approval		
			tegen	voor	Total
Innocent frame	Helemaal oneens	Count	0	6	6
		Expected Count	4,1	1,9	6,0
		% within Innocent frame	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	0,0%	17,6%	5,5%
		% of Total	0,0%	5,5%	5,5%
		Standardized Residual	-2,0	3,0	
	Oneens	Count	8	9	17
		Expected Count	11,7	5,3	17,0
		% within Innocent frame	47,1%	52,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	10,5%	26,5%	15,5%
		% of Total	7,3%	8,2%	15,5%
		Standardized Residual	-1,1	1,6	
	Neutraal	Count	25	6	31
		Expected Count	21,4	9,6	31,0
		% within Innocent frame	80,6%	19,4%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	32,9%	17,6%	28,2%
		% of Total	22,7%	5,5%	28,2%
		Standardized Residual	,8	-1,2	
	Eens	Count	28	11	39
		Expected Count	26,9	12,1	39,0
		% within Innocent frame	71,8%	28,2%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	36,8%	32,4%	35,5%
		% of Total	25,5%	10,0%	35,5%
		Standardized Residual	,2	-,3	
	Helemaal eens	Count	15	2	17
		Expected Count	11,7	5,3	17,0
		% within Innocent frame	88,2%	11,8%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	19,7%	5,9%	15,5%
		% of Total	13,6%	1,8%	15,5%
		Standardized Residual	,9	-1,4	
Total		Count	76	34	110
		Expected Count	76,0	34,0	110,0
		% within Innocent frame	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%
		% within REC_Approval	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	69,1%	30,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22,265[a]	4	<,001
Likelihood Ratio	23,355	4	<,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	13,670	1	<,001
N of Valid Cases	110		

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,85.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymptotic Standard Error[a]	Approximate T[b]	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	,067	,043	1,474	,140
		Innocent frame Dependent	,000	,000	.[c]	.[c]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,206	,126	1,474	,140
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Innocent frame Dependent	,029	,014		,013[d]
		REC_Approval Dependent	,202	,053		<,001[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,450	<,001
	Cramer's V	,450	<,001
	Contingency Coefficient	,410	<,001
N of Valid Cases		110	

Appendix 6 Logistic regression analysis

Logistic regression analysis with feelings of insecurity

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	17,853	7	,013
	Block	17,853	7	,013
	Model	17,853	7	,013

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	118,189[a]	,150	,211

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Vrouw(1)	1,860	1,387	1,800	1	,180	6,426
	Insecurity by Vrouw(1)	-,609	,697	,764	1	,382	,544
	Insecurity	1,103	,431	6,557	1	,010	3,014
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?			5,890	3	,117	
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(1)	-,049	1,186	,002	1	,967	,952
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(2)	,924	,987	,875	1	,350	2,518
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(3)	1,534	,643	5,696	1	,017	4,636
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,015	,017	,842	1	,359	,985
	Constant	-3,155	,948	11,071	1	,001	,043

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Vrouw, Insecurity * Vrouw , Insecurity, Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?, Wat is uw leeftijd?.

Logistic regression analysis with feelings of insecurity and othering

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	38,915	10	<,001
	Block	38,915	10	<,001
	Model	38,915	10	<,001

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	97,126[a]	,298	,420

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Vrouw(1)	,697	1,537	,206	1	,650	2,008
	Insecurity by Vrouw(1)	-,489	,791	,382	1	,536	,613
	Insecurity	,826	,474	3,033	1	,082	2,285
	SignificantOther	,267	,235	1,297	1	,255	1,306
	Nationalism	1,108	,499	4,924	1	,026	3,029
	Rhetoric	-1,019	,454	5,036	1	,025	,361
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?			3,644	3	,303	
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(1)	,130	1,277	,010	1	,919	1,138
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(2)	,760	1,111	,468	1	,494	2,138
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(3)	1,410	,749	3,541	1	,060	4,096
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,026	,019	1,881	1	,170	,974
	Constant	-2,733	2,600	1,105	1	,293	,065

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Vrouw, Insecurity * Vrouw , Insecurity, SignificantOther, Nationalism, Rhetoric, Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?, Wat is uw leeftijd?.

Logistic regression analysis with feelings of insecurity, othering and securitization

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	39,424	11	<,001
	Block	39,424	11	<,001
	Model	39,424	11	<,001

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	96,618[a]	,301	,424

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Vrouw(1)	,697	1,537	,206	1	,650	2,008
	Insecurity by Vrouw(1)	-,489	,791	,382	1	,536	,613
	Insecurity	,826	,474	3,033	1	,082	2,285
	SignificantOther	,267	,235	1,297	1	,255	1,306
	Nationalism	1,108	,499	4,924	1	,026	3,029
	Rhetoric	-1,019	,454	5,036	1	,025	,361
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?			3,644	3	,303	
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(1)	,130	1,277	,010	1	,919	1,138
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(2)	,760	1,111	,468	1	,494	2,138
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(3)	1,410	,749	3,541	1	,060	4,096
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,026	,019	1,881	1	,170	,974
	Constant	-2,733	2,600	1,105	1	,293	,065

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Vrouw, Insecurity * Vrouw , Insecurity, SignificantOther, Nationalism, Rhetoric, Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?, Wat is uw leeftijd?.

Logistic regression analysis with feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization and moral foundations

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	46,529	13	<,001
	Block	46,529	13	<,001
	Model	46,529	13	<,001

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	89,513[a]	,345	,486

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Vrouw(1)	,632	1,596	,157	1	,692	1,881
	Insecurity by Vrouw(1)	-,357	,857	,173	1	,677	,700
	Insecurity	,681	,485	1,970	1	,160	1,976
	SignificantOther	,167	,253	,432	1	,511	1,181
	Nationalism	,904	,526	2,956	1	,086	2,469
	Rhetoric	-,872	,488	3,193	1	,074	,418
	REC_SafetyAboveAll(1)	-,748	,956	,611	1	,434	,474
	HarmTop2(1)	,093	,855	,012	1	,913	1,097
	FairTop2(1)	-2,229	,908	6,021	1	,014	,108
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?			4,550	3	,208	
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(1)	,548	1,282	,183	1	,669	1,730
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(2)	,581	1,266	,211	1	,646	1,788
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(3)	1,687	,797	4,481	1	,034	5,405
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,029	,021	1,968	1	,161	,971
	Constant	-,081	2,920	,001	1	,978	,922

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Vrouw, Insecurity * Vrouw , Insecurity, SignificantOther, Nationalism, Rhetoric, REC_SafetyAboveAll, HarmTop2, FairTop2, Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?, Wat is uw leeftijd?.

Logistic regression analysis with feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization, moral foundations and basic human values

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	51,232	16	<,001
	Block	51,232	16	<,001
	Model	51,232	16	<,001

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	84,810[a]	,372	,525

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	SignificantOther	,107	,288	,138	1	,710	1,113
	Nationalism	1,178	,605	3,786	1	,052	3,248
	Rhetoric	-,989	,499	3,928	1	,047	,372
	REC_SafetyAboveAll(1)	-,716	,960	,557	1	,455	,489
	HarmTop2(1)	,264	,909	,084	1	,772	1,301
	FairTop2(1)	-2,537	1,018	6,213	1	,013	,079
	TradTop3(1)	-,469	,762	,379	1	,538	,625
	ConTop3(1)	1,675	,812	4,262	1	,039	5,341
	SecTop3(1)	-,636	,703	,819	1	,365	,529
	Vrouw(1)	,443	1,644	,072	1	,788	1,557
	Insecurity by Vrouw(1)	-,414	,886	,218	1	,641	,661
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?			4,856	3	,183	
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(1)	,037	1,436	,001	1	,980	1,037
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(2)	,546	1,356	,162	1	,687	1,726
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(3)	1,862	,872	4,554	1	,033	6,435
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,030	,023	1,801	1	,180	,970
	Insecurity	,685	,519	1,743	1	,187	1,984
	Constant	,208	3,038	,005	1	,946	1,231

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: SignificantOther, Nationalism, Rhetoric, REC_SafetyAboveAll, HarmTop2, FairTop2, TradTop3, ConTop3, SecTop3, Vrouw, Insecurity * Vrouw , Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?, Wat is uw leeftijd?, Insecurity.

Logistic regression analysis with feelings of insecurity, othering, securitization, moral foundations, basic human values and narratives

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	52,853	19	<,001
	Block	52,853	19	<,001
	Model	52,853	19	<,001

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	83,188[a]	,382	,538

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	SignificantOther	,175	,300	,341	1	,559	1,192
	Nationalism	1,209	,622	3,776	1	,052	3,351
	Rhetoric	-,840	,534	2,478	1	,115	,432
	REC_SafetyAboveAll(1)	-,871	,989	,776	1	,378	,418
	HarmTop2(1)	,313	,922	,115	1	,734	1,368
	FairTop2(1)	-2,378	1,061	5,025	1	,025	,093
	TradTop3(1)	-,396	,770	,265	1	,607	,673
	ConTop3(1)	1,654	,821	4,054	1	,044	5,226
	SecTop3(1)	-,635	,717	,783	1	,376	,530
	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migratie is een probleem omdat het nu ongecontroleerd is. We moeten in Nederland ervoor zorgen dat we alles weer in goede banen kunnen leiden. Dit gebeurt met een goede samenwerking	-,098	,379	,067	1	,796	,907

	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Wanneer ongedocumenteerde migranten in Nederland werken kunnen zij de arbeidstekorten in ons land oplossen. Zo kunnen zij bijvoorbeeld in de zorg werken, waar nog altijd arbeidskrachten nodig zijn.	-,400	,363	1,220	1	,269	,670
	In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: Ongedocumenteerde migranten komen uit een verschrikkelijke situatie waar zijzelf niks aan kunnen doen. Het is aan ons om hen op te vangen en te helpen.	-,018	,352	,003	1	,958	,982
	Vrouw(1)	1,012	1,737	,340	1	,560	2,752
	Insecurity by Vrouw(1)	-,810	,976	,688	1	,407	,445
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?			5,097	3	,165	
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(1)	,361	1,398	,067	1	,796	1,434
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(2)	,792	1,460	,294	1	,587	2,207
	Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?(3)	2,136	,962	4,924	1	,026	8,464
	Wat is uw leeftijd?	-,041	,025	2,600	1	,107	,960
	Insecurity	,813	,552	2,171	1	,141	2,255
	Constant	1,133	3,532	,103	1	,748	3,105

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: SignificantOther, Nationalism, Rhetoric, REC_SafetyAboveAll, HarmTop2, FairTop2, TradTop3, ConTop3, SecTop3, In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling?: