

Identity Conflict or Compatibility: A Comparison of Muslim Minorities in Five European Cities

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Drawing on large-scale comparative surveys across nine sociopolitical contexts, we address the question when and why ethno-religious and city or national identities of European-born Muslims are in conflict. We argue that the sociopolitical context makes the difference between identity compatibility or conflict and that conflict arises from perceived discrimination and related negative feelings towards the national majority. Using multigroup structural equation modelling, we examine how Turkish and Moroccan Muslims in five European cities combine their civic membership of the city and country of residence—as common identities shared with the national majority—with distinct ethnic and religious identities. In all sociopolitical contexts, participants combined significant city and national identities with strong ethnic and religious identifications. Yet, identification patterns varied between contexts from conflict (negatively correlated minority and civic identities) over compartmentalization (zero correlations) to compatibility (positive correlations). Muslims who perceived more personal discrimination were more committed to their ethnic and religious identities while simultaneously dis-identifying from their country and city. Across cities, discrimination experiences and negative majority-group evaluations explained away identity conflict.

KEY WORDS: identity conflict, identity compatibility, sociopolitical context, identity threat

In the aftermath of 9/11, public debates in European societies often represent Islam as threatening and incompatible with national values such as gender equality and liberal democracy. Against this backdrop, we ask the question how European-born Muslims combine their identities as ethnic and religious minority members and as citizens of their countries and cities of residence. Second-generation Muslims most often preserve a strong commitment to their ethnic and religious minority identities (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Being born and raised in European societies, they also develop a sense of belonging to their country and city of residence (De Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Maxwell, 2006; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2002). While ethnicity and religion refer to distinctive minority identities which set them apart from the majority population, the second generation have their identifications with the country and city in common with the majority. Significant levels of national identification among immigrant minorities across Europe (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012) suggest that these common identities are self-relevant against the background of generally strong minority identities. Therefore, this study addresses the question of how ethnic and religious minority

identities are related with national and city identities. We argue that identity conflict—a negative relation between minority and common identities—or compatibility—a positive relation—crucially depend on the sociopolitical context. Specifically, we examine the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in five cities in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden. We focus on identity threat as a general explanatory mechanism connecting minority experiences of exclusion with identity conflict.

Our study extends previous research in three ways: first, it includes religious as well as ethnic identity categories as overlapping yet different minority identities, and it distinguishes between identifications with the country and city of residence as identities shared with the majority population. Second, we apply a comparative approach to establish different identification patterns across nine sociopolitical contexts. Third, we replicate the same underlying process of identity threat to account for identity conflict across sociopolitical contexts.

Contextualizing Identity Conflict and Compatibility

Our first research aim is to show that identity conflict and compatibility depend on the sociopolitical context (cf. Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2010; Wiley & Deaux, 2010). Looking beyond average levels of identification, we aim to examine the associations between ethnic, religious, national, and city identities. Identification patterns are defined as compatible when ethnic or religious identification are positively correlated with city or country identification. Conversely, negative correlations indicate a conflicting pattern. Taking a comparative approach, we argue that identity conflict is not inherent in the multiple identifications of second-generation Muslims, as is commonly assumed by the majority population, despite evidence to the contrary from Muslim minorities in Europe (Maxwell, 2006). Instead, we aim to show that identity conflict or compatibility arise from the way sociopolitical contexts define intergroup relations along ethnic and religious lines (e.g., Smeeke, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2011). Hornsey and Hogg (1999, 2000) posit that a common identity can be combined with distinctive minority identities in intergroup contexts where minority identities are included under the umbrella of a common identity. The current public opinion climate across Europe, however, complicates the compatibility of ethnic, and especially religious, minority identities with a common national identity. In particular, public perceptions of Islam as a bright boundary marker in Europe and increasingly restrictive public policies towards Muslim minorities undermine the possibility of “being both” (Alba, 2005).

First of all, the European sociopolitical context implies varying degrees of conflict or compatibility for different identity categories. In order to put our contextual approach of identity conflict to a test, the present research adds less well-studied religious and city identities to more commonly researched ethnic and national identities. Second-generation Muslims, though formally citizens of their countries of residence, are the prime targets of increased public hostility against Islam (Alba, 2005). This public opinion climate has also affected the research agenda on Muslim identities in the West, with many studies portraying Muslim women as victims of a patriarchal religious culture. Challenging this stereotype, qualitative studies show that many young Muslim women who choose to express their Muslim identity by donning a headscarf consider their religious identity as a source of personal agency which is compatible with their national identity (Williams & Vashi, 2007). To express their religious and national belonging simultaneously, these women deploy various strategies of identity performance (Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013). Yet they have to contend with an often hostile public opinion climate, where a religious dimension of cultural diversity is increasingly problematized and where Muslim minorities can be denied public acceptance as fellow citizens on account of their distinctive religious creed (Blackwood, Hopkins, & Reicher, 2013). Against this background, we expect that in the European contexts under study, Muslims’ religious identity will be more strongly rejected by majority populations than their ethnic minority identities per se. Accordingly, identity

conflict with civic identification should be (even) more likely for religious minority identity than for ethnic identity.

Simultaneously, European national identities are historically connoted with (White) ethnic and (Christian) religious traditions, which exclude European-born Muslims as fellow citizens (Kunovich, 2006; Storm, 2011). In contrast, because European cities are sites of enhanced diversity, city identities are less exclusively tied to the national majority population than the national identity (Schneider et al., 2012). This is not only due to their more diverse demographics, but also to the fact that city identities tend to be less clearly defined unlike national identities that figure prominently in historical writings and public discourses (e.g., about a “Leitkultur”). Therefore, city identities may leave more room for their diverse residents to define them in a way that is inclusive of them, regardless of their ethnic background. Along those lines, city identities should be more compatible with the minority identities of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation than national identities.

In addition, identity conflict or compatibility may vary between different sociopolitical contexts. To establish contextual variation, our research compares the identification patterns of Turkish and Moroccan minorities across five European cities. The sociopolitical contexts under study have in common a significant presence of local-born Muslims and a generally hostile public opinion climate towards Islam and Muslims (Pew Forum, 2011). Yet they also differ in their institutional arrangements and public policies with regard to ethno-religious diversity and in the levels of social disadvantage and segregation along ethnic and religious lines.

We will exploit the comparative scope of the data to examine contextual variation in identity conflict or compatibility across five cities in three countries: Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Among the three comparison countries, the formal accommodation of Islam is most advanced in the Netherlands. Due to the history of “pillarization” (Lijphart, 1968) and despite increasing secularization among the majority population, pluralist church-state relations created opportunities for Muslims to develop their own institutions (Rath, Penninx, Groenendijk, & Meijer, 1996). Thus, Dutch Muslims have established numerous local mosque associations, as well as state-funded Islamic broadcasting networks and Islamic schools (Doomernik, 1995). From an institutional perspective, Dutch Muslims were granted formal equality with Christian and other religious groups from the early 1980s onwards, and they made the most of the opportunities offered by the Dutch system.

In Belgium, the status of Islam has been formally equal to that of the historically dominant Catholic Church since 1974. Yet, in order to receive the state funding for religious services to which they are legally entitled as a consequence of this recognition, Muslim communities were required to set up a nationally representative Islamic council as a partner for the Belgian state (Foblets & Overbeeke, 2002). Such a council has been established decades later upon the initiative of the Belgian authorities (Kanmaz, 2002; Manço, 2000). Because of the delayed implementation of the recognition of Islam, Islamic organizational structures are less fully developed in Belgium than they are in the Netherlands.

Finally, in Sweden Islam enjoys the same legal status as other religions, and Islamic organizations are entitled to state funding proportionally to the size of their membership. However, Sweden has historically known a state church, which still counts more than 80% of the Swedish population as its members (Alwall, 2000). Although the privileged position of the Swedish Lutheran Church has been dismantled in the second half of the twentieth century, the legacy of the state church system implies that Islam occupies a relatively marginal position as the Swedish religious landscape continues to be marked by a quasi-monopoly of the Swedish Lutheran Church.

Moreover, evidence from comparative surveys of the second generation in the three countries shows that social mobility is most restricted and segregation levels are highest in Belgium; there is most significant upward mobility and least segregation for the second generation in Sweden; and Dutch cities are in between with moderate levels of segregation and social mobility (Phalet, Fleischmann, & Stojcic, 2012). Among the three countries under study, ethnic inequality in education and labor market attainment has been shown to be least severe in Sweden, which resembles the classic

immigration countries in that respect, and most outspoken in Belgium, where there are larger ethnic discrepancies in educational achievement, unemployment, and access to professional jobs (Heath, 2007). The Netherlands occupy a middle position with considerable levels of ethnic inequality but more intergenerational social mobility than in Belgium (Heath, 2007). Looking beyond country differences, the intersection of specific cities with specific minority communities makes up the local sociopolitical context. As specific sociopolitical contexts are multilayered and multifaceted, our primary comparative aim is to establish and document significant contextual variation in the patterns of identification.

The Role of Identity Threat

Our second research aim is to test the role of identity threat as an explanation of identity conflict versus compatibility. In particular, we aim to replicate threat effects as a general underlying process across sociopolitical contexts. From a social identity perspective, individuals will experience identity threat when their social identity is devalued in a particular intergroup context (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Experiences of discrimination on ethnic or religious grounds cause identity threat, because they signal that the majority group devalues one's ethnic or religious minority identity (Maliepaard, Phalet, & Gijsberts, 2014). Similarly, the recurrent experience of having one's multifaceted identities misrecognized or of being denied one's civic identity based on ethnic phenotype or religious attire (cf. Cheryan & Monin, 2005) threatens minorities' perceptions of compatibility of their multiple social identities (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011). Yet previous research on minority experiences of discrimination has not directly addressed the issue of identity conflict or compatibility.

Research on the rejection-identification hypothesis shows that perceived discrimination increases minority members' identification with the rejected ethnic ingroup (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). More recently, the rejection-identification model has been successfully extended to the religious identity of Muslims in Europe (Fleischmann, Phalet, & Klein, 2011; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Moreover, recent findings also relate perceived discrimination to less national identification, or even dis-identification (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). When minority members experience discrimination from the majority group, they may protect their minority identity by disengaging from the national identity, which is dominated by the majority. Disengagement is evident from lower levels of national identification, as well as more negative evaluations of the threatening majority group (Jackson, 2002; Ten Teije, Coenders, & Verkuyten, 2013).

Previous research on the rejection-identification hypothesis has focused mainly on explaining the levels of ethnic (or religious) and national identification. It has not explicitly addressed the relation between these identities, however. Our study is the first to directly test effects of discrimination on the associations between identities. Taking together previous findings, we expect that minority members who experience more discrimination will experience more identity conflict, i.e., negative associations of ethnic and religious minority identities with city and national identities. In contrast, in the absence of discrimination, we expect more compatible patterns of identification (i.e., zero or positive associations). Thus, rather than positing that ethnic and religious minority identities are inherently conflicting with national and city identities, we argue that their compatibility—which is implied by evidence of identity multiplicity in Muslim minorities in the West—is limited by exclusionist majority definitions of national belonging and by the lack of public recognition of these multiple identities (Hopkins, 2011).

To summarize, the twofold aim of our study is to document variation in identity conflict and compatibility between sociopolitical contexts and to test identity threat as a general process that underlies identity conflict across contexts. The study adds to previous research in several ways: it includes less researched religious and city identities along with ethnic and national identities; it compares

identification patterns across a broad range of different sociopolitical contexts in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden; and it replicates the role of minority experiences of identity threat across contexts.

Method

Participants

Our analysis draws on survey data from the TIES-project (“The Integration of the European Second Generation”; cf. Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2012). This project aims to investigate acculturation among comparison samples of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in 15 major cities in eight European countries. All participants were born in the countries where they were interviewed, and their age ranged between 18 and 35 years. We use the TIES-surveys from Belgium (Antwerp and Brussels; CESO-CSCP, 2008, TIES07-08-Belgium), the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam; IMES-NIDI, 2007, TIES06-07-Netherlands, 2007) and Sweden (Stockholm; CEIFO, 2008, TIES08-Sweden) in our analysis. Detailed information on sampling and fieldwork can be found in the technical reports (for the Netherlands, Groenewold, 2008; for Sweden, Renstrand & Lundström, 2008; for Belgium, Swyngedouw, Phaet, Baysu, Vandezande, & Fleischmann, 2008). The Turkish second generation was sampled in all five cities, but no Moroccan sample is available in the Swedish data.¹

Measures

Identification. The four types of identification—national, city, ethnic, and religious identification—were measured with the question: “How strongly do you feel you belong to the following groups? To what extent do you feel. . .?” (1) Belgian/Dutch/Swedish, (2) Amsterdammer/Stockholmare/etc., (3) Turkish/Moroccan, (4) Muslim. Respondents could indicate their degree of identification on a 5-point scale ranging (after recoding) from 1 (*very weakly*) to 5 (*very strongly*). Participants who indicated that the target category of identification did not apply to them or who rejected a category were assigned a score of 0 on the relevant category.

Perceived discrimination. Experiences of personal discrimination were rated on a 5-point frequency scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*frequently*). The question runs “Have you ever experienced hostility or unfair treatment towards you because of your origin or background, either as a child or later in life?”

Group evaluations. Group evaluations were assessed using a feeling thermometer. Participants indicated the “warmth” of their feelings towards Turks/Moroccans and towards nationals of the survey country (Belgians, Dutch, Swedes) on a scale between 0 (*cold*) and 100 (*warm*). We opted for two separate measures instead of one combined indicator of evaluative bias as this allows us to examine whether perceived discrimination affects feelings towards nationals, towards co-ethnics or towards both, which cannot be disentangled when using a bias score. Using the bias score, however, yields substantively similar results (available from the first author).

Controls. Gender (female dummy), age (in years), and education are included as control variables. Education refers to the highest level completed or currently attended if participants are still in full-time education and it is measured with three categories: less than full secondary, full secondary or postsecondary, and any tertiary. Two dummies were created with full secondary as a reference

¹ Within the Swedish data, a subsample of participants of ethnic Turkish background is selected based on information about both parents’ ethnicity (i.e., Turkish, Kurdish, Assyrian, Armenian, Other) provided by the respondent. This is necessary as 25% of the Turkish-origin sample in Stockholm consists of Assyrians, a Christian Orthodox minority group in Turkey that came to Sweden as refugees. As they are not Muslims and many do not identify as Turkish, including these cases would bias our Swedish results.

category. Two measures are used to assess participants' local environment: living in a working-class neighborhood and the presence of co-ethnics in the neighborhood. Thus, we capture individual differences in socioeconomic deprivation as well as opportunities for intergroup contact. Respondents were asked to rate the neighborhood they currently live in; a dummy variable is computed distinguishing working-class (1) from middle- and upper-class neighborhoods (0). Moreover, respondents estimated the share of their ethnic ingroup (Turkish or Moroccan) of the total population of the neighborhood on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*almost nobody is of the same ethnic origin*) to 7 (*almost everyone is of the same ethnic origin*). Table 1 provides descriptive information about all included variables.

Analyses

Multigroup structural equation modelling in AMOS is used to estimate parallel models for nine groups: the Turkish second generation in all five cities and the Moroccan second generation in all cities except Stockholm. The advantage of this method is that we can test whether correlations and regression coefficients are the same or statistically different across groups by imposing equality constraints. Moreover, our research interest concerns the correlations between four categories of identification and how they are affected by our measures of perceived discrimination and group evaluations as explanatory variables. These correlations are computed in structural equation models by correlating the residual variances of the four identification measures. Since the correlations are estimated simultaneously, we thus control for the levels of, for instance, ethnic identification, when estimating the correlation between religious and national identity. Subsequently, explanatory variables and controls are included by drawing paths from each predictor to each of the four identification variables, and it is assessed whether adding predictors affects the magnitude, sign, and significance of the correlations between categories of identification. While using a structural equation modelling approach, the set-up of the analytical model thus follows the logic of graphical chain modelling (Cox & Wermuth, 1993) where the aim is to "explain away" associations on the dependent side by including predictors on the independent side. We should emphasize, however, that the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow us to determine the direction of causality connecting perceived discrimination, group evaluations, and identification patterns. Most likely, causality is bidirectional as group identification feeds back into one's perception of intergroup relations. For instance, perceived discrimination can affect identification which in turn affects the perception of discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Rather, the strength of our study is the comparative analysis as a powerful tool to uncover real contextual variation in identification patterns. In other words, we investigate where and why ethnic and religious minority identities are conflicting or compatible with national and city identities.

RESULTS

Contextual Variation in Identification Patterns

Before analyzing the relations between ethnic, religious, national, and city identification, we briefly describe (differences in) the mean levels of identification per group and city. The upper part of Table 1 shows that, in general, ethnic and religious identifications are significantly higher than national and city identifications (all p 's < .05). This is to be qualified for Turks in Brussels, where only the ethnic identification is higher than all three other (religious, national, and city) identities, and for Turks in Stockholm, where ethnic and religious identifications are only higher than the national, but not the city, identity. In all cases (except for Turks in Brussels), city identification is significantly higher than national identification. Comparing levels of identities between groups (using ANOVA with post hoc Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons), we find little or no significant group

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables Included in the Analysis: Means (standard deviations) or Percentages per Group and City

	Range	Turks in Antwerp	Moroccans in Antwerp	Turks in Brussels	250	Moroccans in Brussels	257	Turks in Amsterdam	237	Moroccans in Amsterdam	242	Turks in Rotterdam	263	Moroccans in Rotterdam	251	Turks in Stockholm	151
<i>Identification</i>																	
Ethnic	0/5	4.15 (1.26) ^a	3.87 (1.46) ^a	3.91 (1.44) ^a	3.99 (1.36) ^a	4.05 (1.14) ^a	4.14 (0.95) ^a	4.19 (0.97) ^a	4.03 (0.97) ^a	4.27 (1.04) ^b	4.32 (1.01) ^a	4.19 (0.97) ^a	4.03 (0.97) ^a	4.27 (1.04) ^b	4.32 (1.01) ^a	3.93 (1.01) ^a	3.75 (1.46) ^b
Religious	0/5	4.06 (1.39) ^a	4.18 (1.33) ^b	3.16 (1.92) ^b	4.12 (1.46) ^a	4.02 (1.23) ^a	4.18 (1.15) ^a	4.22 (1.17) ^a	4.02 (1.23) ^a	4.27 (1.04) ^b	4.32 (1.01) ^a	4.19 (0.97) ^a	4.03 (0.97) ^a	4.27 (1.04) ^b	4.32 (1.01) ^a	3.93 (1.01) ^a	3.75 (1.46) ^b
National	0/5	2.37 (1.90) ^b	2.80 (1.84) ^c	2.98 (1.71) ^b	2.94 (1.78) ^b	3.19 (1.17) ^b	3.27 (1.23) ^b	3.02 (1.21) ^b	3.19 (1.17) ^b	3.24 (1.14) ^c	3.39 (1.00) ^c	3.69 (1.21) ^c	3.96 (1.07) ^a	3.70 (1.34) ^{a,b}	3.01 (1.36) ^c	3.70 (1.34) ^{a,b}	3.01 (1.36) ^c
City	0/5	2.95 (1.79) ^c	3.17 (1.73) ^d	2.91 (1.88) ^b	3.28 (1.63) ^c	3.74 (1.17) ^c	3.90 (1.00) ^c	3.69 (1.21) ^c	3.74 (1.17) ^c	3.90 (1.00) ^c	3.90 (1.00) ^c	3.69 (1.21) ^c	3.96 (1.07) ^a	3.70 (1.34) ^{a,b}	3.01 (1.36) ^c	3.70 (1.34) ^{a,b}	3.01 (1.36) ^c
<i>Explanatory Variables</i>																	
Perceived personal discrimination	1/5	2.01 (1.05)	2.29 (1.13)	1.98 (0.98)	2.22 (1.10)	1.88 (1.10)	1.77 (1.04)	1.88 (1.12)	1.97 (1.06)	1.88 (1.12)	1.97 (1.06)	1.88 (1.12)	1.97 (1.06)	1.88 (1.12)	1.97 (1.06)	1.88 (1.12)	1.88 (1.12)
Feelings toward Turks/Moroccans	0/100	78.94 (19.52)	73.65 (20.07)	77.89 (23.78)	69.10 (24.64)	74.69 (24.64)	74.65 (22.93)	70.56 (21.32)	71.70 (22.16)	70.56 (21.32)	71.70 (22.16)	70.56 (21.32)	71.70 (22.16)	70.56 (21.32)	71.70 (22.16)	74.49 (21.97)	74.49 (21.97)
Feelings toward country nationals	0/100	72.53 (19.31)	69.73 (17.91)	73.45 (23.21)	65.95 (20.94)	66.17 (25.12)	67.98 (23.69)	63.64 (20.65)	67.67 (20.55)	63.64 (20.65)	67.67 (20.55)	63.64 (20.65)	67.67 (20.55)	63.64 (20.65)	67.67 (20.55)	71.87 (23.03)	71.87 (23.03)
<i>Controls</i>																	
Female	0/1	50.28%	62.18%	35.60%	49.42%	54.01%	50.83%	49.43%	49.40%	49.43%	49.40%	49.43%	49.40%	49.43%	49.40%	46.36%	46.36%
Age	18/35	25.9 (4.67)	26.3 (4.81)	25.7 (5.20)	26.1 (5.20)	24.5 (4.31)	23.9 (4.33)	24.8 (4.45)	22.9 (4.09)	24.8 (4.45)	22.9 (4.09)	24.8 (4.45)	22.9 (4.09)	24.8 (4.45)	22.9 (4.09)	26.0 (4.71)	26.0 (4.71)
Education: low	0/1	33.71%	20.97%	37.19%	22.71%	27.59%	24.58%	30.89%	25.40%	30.89%	25.40%	30.89%	25.40%	30.89%	25.40%	8.26%	8.26%
Education: middle	0/1	48.88%	62.26%	39.26%	43.03%	43.10%	44.07%	41.70%	47.98%	41.70%	47.98%	41.70%	47.98%	41.70%	47.98%	56.20%	56.20%
Education: high	0/1	17.42%	16.77%	23.55%	34.26%	29.31%	31.36%	27.41%	26.61%	27.41%	26.61%	27.41%	26.61%	27.41%	26.61%	35.54%	35.54%
Living in working-class neighborhood	0/1	40.63%	41.83%	33.74%	28.17%	36.84%	42.19%	50.22%	63.72%	50.22%	63.72%	50.22%	63.72%	50.22%	63.72%	18.00%	18.00%
% Ingroup in the neighborhood	1/7	3.07 (1.39)	3.52 (1.37)	3.82 (1.47)	4.18 (1.41)	2.96 (1.19)	3.59 (1.43)	3.22 (1.32)	3.18 (1.11)	3.22 (1.32)	3.18 (1.11)	3.22 (1.32)	3.18 (1.11)	3.22 (1.32)	3.18 (1.11)	2.34 (1.45)	2.34 (1.45)

Note. Superscripts indicate differences between the means of identification within the same group in the same city based on paired sample t-tests; same letters (a, a) indicate that two means do not differ significantly, different letters (a, b) indicate significant differences.

Table 2. Correlations between Four Categories of Identification per Group and City before Inclusion of Explanatory Variables

	<i>National- City</i>	<i>National- Ethnic</i>	<i>National- Muslim</i>	<i>City- Ethnic</i>	<i>City- Muslim</i>	<i>Ethnic- Muslim</i>
Turks in Antwerp	0.307 ***	0	0	0	0	0.550 ***
Moroccans in Antwerp	0.348 ***	0.105 ***	0	0.199 ***	0.199 ***	0.497 ***
Turks in Brussels	0.302 ***	0.114 ***	0	0.181 ***	0.131 ***	0.452 ***
Moroccans in Brussels	0.385 ***	0.115 ***	0	0.216 ***	0.187 ***	0.527 ***
Turks in Amsterdam	0.323 ***	−0.185 ***	−0.210 ***	0	0	0.533 ***
Moroccans in Amsterdam	0.521 ***	−0.217 ***	−0.219 ***	0	0	0.549 ***
Turks in Rotterdam	0.317 ***	0	0	0	0	0.645 ***
Moroccans in Rotterdam	0.440 ***	0	0	0	0	0.441 ***
Turks in Stockholm	0.304 ***	−0.186 ***	−0.154 ***	0	0	0.383 ***

Note. Partial correlations are estimated while controlling for all four identities, gender, age, and education.

*** $p < .001$.

differences in ethnic and religious identities across the cities (except between Turks in Brussels and Stockholm who are least religious and Moroccans in Amsterdam who are most religious). There are significant group differences, however, between weaker civic identities in Belgium and moderate-to-strong civic identities in the Dutch and Swedish cities. Thus, national identification is lowest among Turks and Moroccans in Antwerp and highest among Moroccans in Amsterdam. Only for Turks in Antwerp, the mean is not significantly different from the midpoint of the scale (2.5); in all other samples, national identification is significantly above the midpoint. Finally, identification with the city shows a clear division between cities, with the minorities in Stockholm, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam scoring significantly higher than the minorities in both Belgian cities.²

Mean levels of ethnic, religious, national, and city identity leave unanswered the question of how these identity categories are associated. Also at high levels of country and city identification, minority identities can be conflicting (i.e., negatively correlated), compatible (i.e., positive correlated), or unrelated (i.e., zero correlations). To distinguish conflicting and compatible patterns of identification, we calculated partial correlations between the four categories of identification, controlling for all four identities at the same time as well as gender, age, and education. Table 2 shows the six resulting partial correlations per group and city. Since both the sign and the magnitude of the correlations vary between identity categories and contexts, we formally tested for each correlation whether it is significantly different from 0; nonsignificant correlations were set to 0 if this did not decrease model fit. Despite the modest magnitude of some correlations shown in Table 2 (ranging from $r = .10$ to $r = .60$), they are significantly different from 0 and hence cannot be discounted as “random noise.”

Across all groups, we observe that national and city identifications are positively and significantly correlated as partly overlapping common identities (r 's between .30 and .53). So are ethnic and religious identifications as distinct yet related minority identities (r 's between .38 and .65). Our research interest, however, is more specifically in the correlations connecting ethnic and religious minority identities to national and city identities shared with the majority. The latter correlations vary considerably between contexts, showing negative, positive, as well as nonsignificant associations (r 's between −.22 and .12). These correlations suggest three distinct patterns of identification, which can be

² Table 1 also shows relatively low levels of perceived discrimination (below the neutral midpoint on the 1–5 scale), which might be surprising given our description of the research context. We believe that these relatively low scores reflect the commonly found discrepancy between experiences of personal and of group discrimination, where the latter tend to be higher than the former (Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994). Indeed, our survey participants indicated higher level of perceived group discrimination. However, we have chosen personal discrimination as crucial indicator of identity threat to better capture individual differences in the perception of the local intergroup context, and, despite the low mean, there is sufficient variation on this indicator to use it meaningfully in the analysis.

characterized as conflicting, compatible, and compartmentalized. Since this threefold typology glosses over minor differences between groups that are assigned to the same pattern, we formally tested whether correlations are different between patterns and similar within patterns. To this end, we set equal the four theoretical correlations connecting both minority identities with both common categories within each pattern. Compared to an unconstrained model where the correlations are estimated separately for all nine groups, the model with three patterns fits the data equally well ($\Delta\chi^2$ (24, 2321) = 28.856, $p = .226$). In contrast, a model that imposes one common pattern (i.e., the four correlations are constrained to be equal across all nine groups) has a significantly worse fit ($\Delta\chi^2$ (48, 2321) = 142.31, $p < .001$ compared to the unconstrained model; $\Delta\chi^2$ (24, 2321) = 113.37, $p < .001$ compared to the model with three patterns). This finding supports our main argument that identity conflict is not inherent in the nature of religious or national identities. Rather, conflict or compatibility depends on the sociopolitical context. Below, we describe the three identification patterns in some more detail.

A first conflicting pattern combines negative correlations between national identification and religious (and sometimes ethnic) identifications, with nonsignificant correlations between city and minority identities. This conflict pattern occurs among Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam and Turks in Stockholm. These groups show some degree of tension between their minority identities and the national identity of their country of residence: the more they feel Muslim (and Turkish/Moroccan), the less they self-identify as Dutch or Swedish.

A second compatible pattern is found among Moroccans in Antwerp and Brussels, as well as Turks in Brussels. Here we find positive correlations between city, and less frequently national, identities on the one hand and religious or ethnic minority identities on the other. For members of these groups, their minority identities as Turkish or Moroccan Muslims and the common city or national identities mutually reinforce one another. Thus, the more they feel Muslim and Turkish/Moroccan, the more they also feel a sense of belonging to the city and country where they live.

The third and last identification pattern can be described as compartmentalization. It is found among the Turks in Antwerp as well as the Turks and Moroccans in Rotterdam. Here we find no significant correlations connecting minority identities with national or city identities. Among members of these groups, variation in ethnic or religious identities is dissociated from variation in national or city identities. In other words, their ethnic and religious commitments as minority members are decoupled from their civic identifications with the city and country of residence.

In addition, we can compare identity conflict or compatibility between ethnic and religious identities on the one hand, and between national and city identities on the other. Comparing country and city identifications, we see that negative correlations with minority identities always refer to the national identity, while positive correlations are always with the city identity. This observation supports our argument that city identities are more multicultural, hence more compatible with ethnic and religious diversity, than national identities in Europe. At the same time, we never find negative correlations with national identity and positive correlations with city identity within the same context; in three cases, neither correlation is significant. Hence, enhanced identity compatibility at the city level is qualified by real contextual variation. At best, our results indicate a trend towards more compatibility of ethnic and religious minority identities with city rather than with national identities.

Similarly, when we compare religious and ethnic minority identities, we see that religious identity is never compatible with national identification, even in groups where ethnic and national identities are positively correlated. At the same time, negative correlations of religious identity with the national identity carry over to the ethnic minority identity. Again, the findings indicate at most a trend towards less identity compatibility along religious rather than ethnic lines.

Finally, it is noteworthy that a conflicting pattern of identification does *not* typically entail lower levels of country and city identification. To the contrary, identity conflict becomes significant only in those sociopolitical contexts where mean levels of national and city identification are relatively high.

This last finding highlights the importance of studying the associations between minority and national or city identities as distinct from and in addition to the levels of identification.

Explaining Identity Conflict or Compatibility

In order to explain varying identification patterns among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation, we tested whether the experience of identity threat can make the difference between conflict and compatibility. To this end, we added perceived discrimination as an individual-level predictor of identification in all nine groups, while controlling for gender, age, education, and neighborhood composition. Initially, coefficients are estimated separately within each group. As the coefficients in the final model did not significantly differ between groups (in spite of minor variations in magnitude and significance levels of separate estimates), a second model was estimated where all coefficients were constrained to be equal across all groups. This model has a good fit ($\chi^2(697, 2321) = 1704.497$, $\chi^2/df = 2.44$, RMSEA = 0.025, AIC = 2740.497).³ In terms of explained variance (squared multiple correlations), the model performs somewhat differently across contexts and identities, with usually around 10% and in each case at least 5% of the variance in each of the four identities accounted for in each city and with maximal explained variance at 23% for ethnic identity among Turks in Stockholm. The results we present below are based on this most parsimonious constrained model.

In line with the expected role of identity threat, higher levels of perceived discrimination predict higher levels of Muslim identification on the one hand, and lower levels of national identification on the other hand. By implication, the minority identities of the second generation are more opposed to their civic identities at higher levels of perceived discrimination. Conversely, minority and common identities are more compatible where perceived discrimination is low. Despite these significant associations, the inclusion of this explanatory variable leads to a significant change in the identification pattern of only one group: After taking into account perceived discrimination, Turks in Stockholm shift from identity conflict to compartmentalization, as the previously negative correlation between national and Muslim identification is no longer significant.

When we add group evaluations of Turks/Moroccans and of the majority as proximal predictors of identification, more positive feelings towards Turks or Moroccans are associated with higher levels of ethnic and religious minority identification on the one hand, and with lower levels of national and city identification on the other hand. In parallel, holding the majority in higher esteem is associated with higher levels of national and city identification and with lower levels of minority identification. Moreover, feelings towards the majority, but not feelings towards Turks/Moroccans, are also related to perceived discrimination. Thus, minority members who experience more discrimination, harbor more negative feelings towards the majority group, which in turn relate to weaker national and city identifications and to stronger religious and ethnic identification. The indirect effects of perceived discrimination on identification, via feelings towards natives, account for 18% of the total effect of discrimination on religious identification and 39% in the case of national identification. In the case of ethnic and city identification, which are not significantly directly related to perceived discrimination, the indirect effects are not significant either. Thus, when personal experiences of discrimination are related to generalized negative feelings towards the majority group, this amplifies the negative associations of these experiences with national and city identifications, as well as their positive associations

³ As a rule of thumb, χ^2/df ratios around 1 and RMSEA values smaller than .05 are regarded as indicators of good model fit. AIC measures comparative fit with smaller values representing better model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2005). Therefore, the model fit can be considered as good in absolute terms. Also in relative terms, the model we present is our preferred model because the alternative unconstrained model has a worse fit with $\chi^2(441, 2321) = 1324.635$, $\chi^2/df = 3.004$, RMSEA = 0.029, AIC = 2872.635. This difference in model fit is significant according to a Chi² test of model comparison: $\Delta\chi^2 = 397.862$ (256 df), $p < .001$. Since the unconstrained model is less parsimonious as well as showing lower absolute fit, the constrained model is our preferred model.

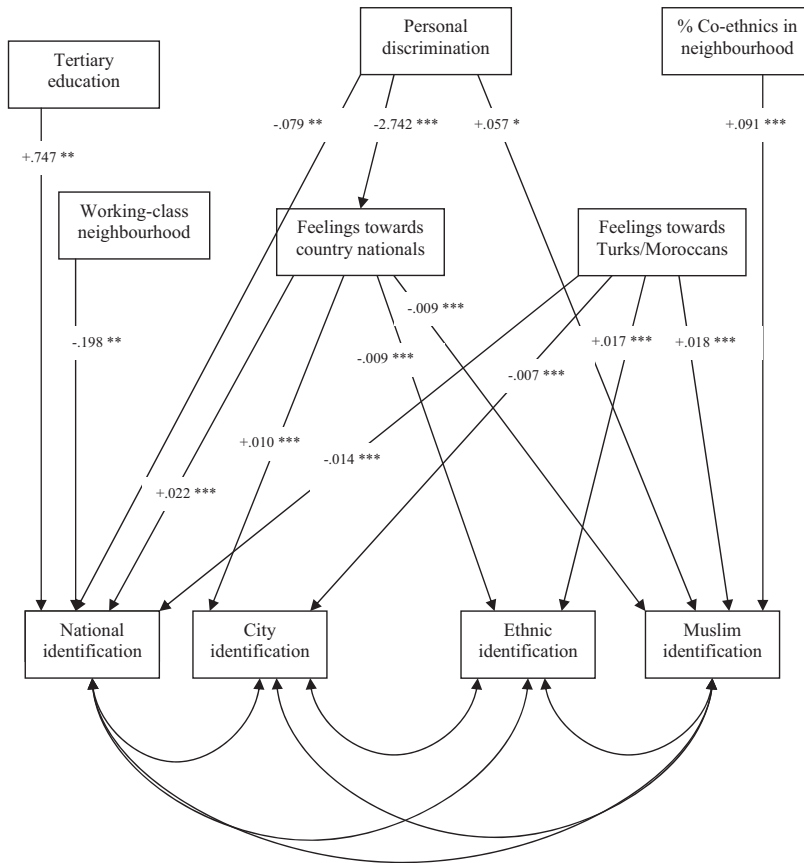


Figure 1. Path model of identification patterns including the effects of explanatory and control variables (unstandardized coefficients).

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

with ethnic and religious identifications.⁴ Figure 1 shows the path model including explanatory and control variables and the four correlated categories of identification. Only significant paths are shown.

Once feelings towards the majority are introduced into the model, several shifts in the identification patterns of the second generation are observed. Table 3 shows the correlations between the four identity categories after the inclusion of all explanatory variables. Again, we set nonsignificant correlations to 0 if this did not result in a significantly worse model fit. In spite of the modest sizes of some correlations, therefore, all correlations shown in Table 3 are significantly different from zero. The most dramatic shift occurs for Turks in Amsterdam, where the previously negative correlations between national and ethnic as well as religious identifications become nonsignificant; moreover, a positive correlation between city and ethnic identification is now found. This group thus shifts from a

⁴ Because most studies use bias as an outcome and identification as a predictor, we also examined a model with reversed paths from identification to group evaluations. This model had a worse fit ($AIC = 2760.266$) compared to the model with paths from group evaluation to identification ($AIC = 2740.497$). The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) is used to compare models that are not nested and that have equal degrees of freedom. Smaller values of AIC indicate better fit. AIC thus suggests that our model fits the data better than a model with identification as a predictor of group evaluation. However, the difference in model fit is not large, and the fit of the model with reversed paths is still good in an absolute sense, showing that both models are supported by the data.

Table 3. Correlations between Four Categories of Identification per Group and City after Including Explanatory Variables

	<i>National-City</i>	<i>National-Ethnic</i>	<i>National-Muslim</i>	<i>City-Ethnic</i>	<i>City-Muslim</i>	<i>Ethnic-Muslim</i>
Turks in Antwerp	0.286 ***	0	0	0	0	0.485 ***
Moroccans in Antwerp	0.328 ***	0.133 **	0	0.270 ***	0.176 **	0.457 ***
Turks in Brussels	0.281 ***	0.172 **	0.145 *	0.179 **	0.308 ***	0.474 ***
Moroccans in Brussels	0.384 ***	0.128 *	0	0.214 ***	0.177 **	0.514 ***
Turks in Amsterdam	0.274 ***	0	0	0.172 **	0	0.469 ***
Moroccans in Amsterdam	0.500 ***	−0.242 ***	−0.202 **	0	0	0.562 ***
Turks in Rotterdam	0.279 ***	0	0	0.110 *	0.126 *	0.600 ***
Moroccans in Rotterdam	0.397 ***	0	0	0.137 *	0	0.377 ***
Turks in Stockholm	0.307 ***	0	0	0	0	0.301 ***

Note. The partial correlations are controlled for gender, age, and education and the explanatory variables shown in the path model of Figure 1.

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

conflict pattern to a compatibility pattern. Among Turks and Moroccans in Rotterdam, where we previously found a compartmentalization pattern, positive correlations between national and ethnic identifications and between city and ethnic as well as religious identifications are found, such that these groups also shift to a compatibility pattern. Among Moroccans in Antwerp and Brussels and Turks in Brussels, a compatibility pattern was observed from the start. In these groups, we find that compatibility is further enhanced. After taking into account perceived discrimination and related negative feelings towards the majority, we see more significant or increased positive correlations between minority identities on the one hand and national and city identities on the other. Among Turks in Antwerp, we still observe compartmentalization after including all predictors, i.e., zero correlations between minority and common identities, as is the case among Turks in Stockholm. Only for Moroccans in Amsterdam, negative correlations between national and ethnic as well as religious identity are still significant after including all explanatory variables. Hence, with this one exception, the explanatory model “explains away” conflict between ethnic and religious minority identities and national and city identities, and it successfully identifies factors which increase their compatibility.

Regarding our control variables, we find that living in a working-class neighborhood is associated with lower national identification, whereas having completed or currently attending higher education goes together with higher national identification. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the neighborhood is also related to identification such that religious identification is higher in neighborhoods with more co-ethnics. In short, social disadvantage and ethnic segregation—which entails few opportunities for intergroup contact—are consistently related to stronger minority and weaker national identification, thus rendering national and Muslim identities less compatible. Taking these control variables into account does not affect the identification patterns, however, since the sizes and signs of the correlations between the four identity categories remain the same. Gender and age were not significantly related to any of the four identities.

Discussion

This study asked the question how immigrant minorities combine their distinct ethnic and religious minority identities and the national and city identities they share with the majority. Against the backdrop of increased public hostility towards Muslim minorities in European societies (Pew Forum, 2011), our research examined identity conflict or compatibility among the second generation of European-born Muslims. We argued that identity conflict is not inherent in the nature of religious or

national identities. Instead, conflict or compatibility arise from the way group categories are defined by the sociopolitical context in which minority and majority groups are embedded. Taking a comparative approach of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in five cities as sociopolitical contexts, our research put this argument to a test. Its twofold aim was, first, to establish significant contextual variation between conflicting and more compatible identification patterns, and second, to replicate the role of identity threat as a general underlying process explaining identity conflict or compatibility across the different contexts.

To address the first research aim, we compared the identification patterns of the second generation in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden. As we described, these countries differ considerably in the public accommodation and structural integration of Muslim minorities, with important consequences for intergroup relations. Using the TIES surveys of Turkish and Moroccan immigrant minorities in five cities, we established three distinct patterns of identification, which differed in degrees of identity conflict or compatibility between the different sociopolitical contexts. In a first conflicting pattern, ethnic and religious minority identities were negatively associated with national and city identifications. In contrast, in a compatible pattern, the same minority identities were positively related with the identities shared with the majority. In a third compartmentalized pattern, minority identities were dissociated from national and city identities.

In addition, distinct identity categories also differed in degrees of conflict or compatibility, in line with different sociopolitical implications of ethnicity, religion, and nationality in European migration contexts. Specifically, we reasoned that city identities would be more inclusive of minority identities than more strongly ethnically and religiously defined national identities (Kunovich, 2006; Storm, 2011). Accordingly, we found that negative associations between minority identities on the one hand and identities shared with the majority on the other occurred with national, but not city, identity. More inclusive city identities were also more strongly endorsed by our minority participants than national identities (cf. Schneider et al., 2012), with one exception. In addition, and in line with the notion of Islam as a bright boundary marker (Alba, 2005), national identification was more often significantly negatively related to Muslim identity than to Turkish or Moroccan ethnic identities. At the same time, moderate to strong positive correlations between ethnic and religious identities on the one hand, and between national and city identities on the other, indicated considerable overlap between these respective categories. They were also related to the explanatory variables in our model in similar ways. In other words, our finding of most conflict between religious and national identity categories was qualified by the spillover of conflict into ethnic and city identities respectively.

These comparative findings add to existing research on minority identities in a number of ways. First, the study foregrounds the sociopolitical context of minority identification. In particular, we compare the second generation of European-born Muslims between nine local Turkish and Moroccan immigrant communities in different cities across three countries as proximal sociopolitical contexts of identification. Multigroup structural equation models confirm distinct conflicting, compatible, and compartmentalized patterns of association between minority and common identities in different sociopolitical contexts. Second, the same models also show some meaningful similarities across contexts, which shed new light on the fault lines that divide minority and majority populations in Europe. Specifically, the study supplemented ethnic and national identifications with less well researched religious and city identifications. The findings reveal different implications of the four categories for identity conflict or compatibility, which reflect their distinctive sociopolitical meanings in European migration contexts. Thus, identity conflict was most pronounced with a highly politicized Muslim minority identity. At the same time, European city identities appeared more compatible with ethno-religious diversity *and* more attractive to minorities than related national identities. Third, few empirical studies to date have directly assessed and explicated identity conflict or compatibility, i.e., the associations between different minority and common identities. In particular, our comparative findings reveal that high levels of civic identification with the country of residence may come at the psychological price

of increased identity conflict for minorities. Thus, most identity conflict was found in sociopolitical contexts, such as Amsterdam and Stockholm, where Muslim minorities were more committed to the national and city identity; and compatibility was most common in Belgium against the background of relatively low levels of civic identification. This high-identification, high-conflict pattern of national belonging resonates with recent evidence of a so-called “integration paradox,” which shows increased civic disengagement among most socially “integrated” Muslims of the second generation (Ten Teije et al., 2013). Interestingly, “integrated” Muslims were also found to be most vulnerable to identity threat in the face of prejudice or discrimination (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011).

Our second research aim was to extend a social identity approach to the explanation of compatible or conflicting identification patterns. To this end, we replicated the role of identity threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999) as a generic process that underlies conflict or compatibility across contexts. Perceived identity threat was assessed at the individual level by our measure of personal discrimination experiences. Multigroup structural equation models confirm that personal experiences of discrimination, and the ensuing hostility towards the majority population, significantly predict levels of identification. As expected, Turkish and Moroccan minority members who experienced more discrimination, not only evaluated the majority group more negatively, but they also reported more divergent (higher) minority identifications and (lower) country or city identifications (cf. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Moreover, perceived discrimination and negative feelings towards the national majority jointly explained away identity conflict (with one exception only). In other words, when Turkish and Moroccan minorities experience less discrimination, and hence evaluate the majority more positively, their ethnic and religious minority identities are more compatible (i.e., more positively associated) with the national and city identities they share with the majority. Building on a social identity approach of minority identity, the comparative findings highlight perceived identity threat as a general individual-level process that underpins more conflicting and less compatible identifications across different sociopolitical contexts. They add to existing research on identity threat by their novel focus on identity conflict or compatibility as explanandum. Looking beyond separate identification levels, the models establish in a rigorous way the theoretical relationship of minority identification patterns with perceived identity threat and related hostility, across a broad range of real-life intergroup settings. Moreover, they point to the important role of the majority society which can either acknowledge and value minorities’ multiple identities (Hopkins, 2011) or else misrecognize their joint membership of ethnic, religious, and civic categories and thus deny their civic identity (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Along those lines, our findings highlight the contextual variability of minorities’ identification patterns and their responsiveness to the national and local intergroup contexts in which they are embedded. By implication, the findings challenge a simplistic and misguided assumption of inherent conflict opposing ethnic and religious minority identities to (European) civic identities.

There are also limitations, however, which suggest directions for future research on identity conflict or compatibility. While a strong side of the data is its external validity and the broad comparative range, the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow us to empirically decide the causal direction of the observed relationships. In order to strengthen the internal validity of our findings, longitudinal analyses relating prior experiences of discrimination to minority patterns of identification would complement the cross-national analyses in this study. Furthermore, single indicators as measures of identification do not allow finer distinctions between various aspects of identification. Therefore, more extensive composite measures should further disentangle conflict or compatibility for different cognitive, affective, or behavioral components of identification (cf. Wiley & Deaux, 2010). Finally, while we were able to take a broad range of sociopolitical contexts into account, we cannot simply generalize our findings to other second-generation groups in other contexts. Though our explanatory model worked the same way in nine contexts that differ substantially in terms of religious group relations, social mobility, and social segregation, different dynamics connecting specific minority identities with civic identities might be at work in different contexts and among different (non-Muslim)

groups. Keeping in mind real data constraints, we conclude first, that specific sociopolitical contexts make the difference between identity conflict or compatibility among Muslim minorities and second, that ethno-religious minority identities are compatible with a common national or city identity in the absence of perceived identity threat and related negative feelings towards the majority.

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