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Ethnic Identity among Immigrant and Minority Youth

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Ethnic and racial[1] diversity is a fact of life for many children and adolescents. They go to diverse schools, live in diverse neighbourhoods, and hear and learn about cultural differences through parents, family, friends, and the media. They try to understand how the social world is composed and where they fit in: with whom they belong, what that means, and whether others recognize and value them. They develop an inner sense of their ethnic belonging within the broader sociocultural and historical context they find themselves in: an ethnic self that has implications for their well-being and (school) adjustment (see Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). And, depending on the everyday situation, their ethnic belonging becomes salient in their mind and guides their perception and behavior.

   In this chapter we take a social-developmental perspective that draws on both developmental and social psychological theories to discuss ethnic identity among immigrant and minority adolescents. Adolescence is seen as the critical period for identity development and the great majority of research on ethnic identity has focused on this age period. We first briefly introduce the theoretical framework by discussing the difference between more stable and more variable aspects of ethnic

identity. Subsequently we consider research on ethnic identity development and on ethnic group identification. This is followed by a discussion on dual identities by considering ethnic identity in relation to religious and (host) national identification. The next section examines the role of in-group norms and discrimination for adolescents' minority identity. The more variable aspects of ethnic identity are then discussed in terms of situational salience and identity enactment. The chapter concludes with future directions for theoretical and empirical work.

Theoretical Foundations

In the developmental literature, ethnic identity is typically conceptualized in terms of inner structure. The focus is on the gradual development of a more stable sense of ethnic self. A similar focus on the more enduring aspect of ethnic identity exists in the social psychological literature that examines group identification[2] in terms of trait-like dimensions that are fairly stable across situations. These approaches reflect the fact that there are individual differences in the subjective tendency to view oneself and the social world in ethnic terms. In the same situation some individuals have a stronger tendency to perceive ethnic differences and to think in terms of ethnicity than others. And someone who attaches great importance to their ethnic identity is more ready to use ethnicity in different situations.

Yet, it is equally true that the same individual can feel quite differently about her ethnic background depending on the people whom she is with and other characteristics of the situation (e.g., the presence of ethnic music, food, art). Ethnic identity is also conceptualized as fluid and context-dependent. The relevance, significance, and meaning of ethnic identity vary across time and setting. Most people do not approach the world with only one particular identity in their mind but rather have multiple identities that become salient depending on the situation.

The focus on the more stable aspects of ethnic identity and the examination of situational flexibility and variability have both contributed significantly to our understanding of adolescents' sense of ethnic belonging. However, both approaches have existed largely in parallel and there are only few attempts to integrate them (Yip & Douglass, 2013). For instance, in their multidimensional model of racial identity Sellers and colleagues (1998) argue that the situational salience of racial identity is a function of the interaction between the subjective centrality of racial group membership and characteristics of the immediate setting. A similar interactionist approach is endorsed by the social identity perspective that incorporates social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). According to this perspective, the extent to

which ethnicity is psychologically salient in a particular situation depends on the personal readiness to use ethnicity for self-definition together with situational characteristics. For example, an immigrant boy living in Germany is more likely to define himself as Turkish if he has a strong sense of Turkish belonging and pride and if he sees meaningful situational differences between Turks and Germans. Furthermore, the meaning ascribed to being Turkish and the way in which he enacts his ethnic identity will also differ depending on the situation. What it means to be Turkish can differ when he is with his Turkish or his German peers.

The Development of Ethnic Self[3]

Developmental research has focused on the question of how an inner sense of ethnic self unfolds during adolescence. The focus is on the gradual over-time changes in identity processes, and identity statuses are used to track these changes (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Most of the research has been conducted in the United States and an answer has been sought for in two ways. One approach is to closely examine the specific circumstances and experiences of a particular group and use this information as a basis for a developmental model. This "bottom-up" approach has, among other things, led to the well-known "nigrescence" ("becoming Black") model of Cross (1991) who was interested in racial identity during the heady days of the Civil Rights movement. The fact that the model provides a framework for examining the experiential, political, and cultural influences on African American identity is its strength, but also means that the model does not simply apply to other ethnic minority groups in the United States (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1990), nor to other groups of Blacks outside this country (e.g., Wandert et al., 2009).

   A second, "top-down" approach uses a theoretically derived developmental model to look at common aspects of ethnic identity development that can be compared across ethnic minority groups. The best-known model is that of Phinney (1989) which is used in many studies, among different ethnic groups, and in various countries. Following Erikson's (1968) work on ego-identity and Marcia's (1966) work on identity statuses, Phinney distinguishes between exploration and commitment as the two key processes of ethnic identity formation. Exploration or search indicates the extent to which adolescents consider the various meanings that ethnicity has and can have in their lives. It involves efforts to learn about or gain an understanding of the history, culture, and social position of one's ethnic group and the implications of one's ethnic group membership. Commitment is the degree to which adolescents have made committed choices

regarding the meaning of their ethnicity and the way they will live as an ethnic group member.

Four ethnic identity statuses are derived from the presence or absence of exploration and commitment. The least mature status is *identity diffusion*, which is characterized by little interest or understanding of one's ethnicity (no exploration and no commitments). The status of *foreclosure* indicates commitment without first exploring the meaning of one's ethnic group membership for oneself (commitment without exploration). These adolescents adopt the ethnic attitudes, beliefs, and practices of their parents and family more or less without thought. Yet, with age there can be increasing doubts about what had been taken for granted and increasing expectations about having to make up one's own mind. This can lead to the status of *moratorium* in which the adolescent is in a state of active exploration about the different meanings of being an ethnic group member, but significant commitments are not yet made (exploration and no commitment). For a healthy ethnic identity development, this period of exploration should result in an *achieved* identity, characterized by commitment and a clear and secure sense of ethnic belonging (commitment after exploration).

Research among youth of different ethnic and racial groups has found evidence for the four statuses, although they cannot always be identified (e.g., Yip, 2014; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). Longitudinal research is necessary to know whether, in adolescence, there is a progressive change in the direction of an achieved identity. Several studies in the United States have examined this and shown that there is an increase in identity exploration from early to middle adolescence and that identity search becomes less strong in late adolescence (see Meeus, 2011; Quintana, 2007, for reviews). The identity progression is gradual and subtle and there is no evidence of a dramatic ethnic identity crisis during adolescence.

There is another interesting finding in most studies on ethnic identity development: a positive association between exploration and commitment. Adolescents with strong identity commitments are also involved in a great deal of identity exploration. This raises doubts about the idea that ethnic commitments or an achieved identity occurs *after* a period of exploration. Exploration does not have to be a precursor to commitment, which means that there is no developmental order between the two. This might mean that it is better to see the processes of exploration and commitment as two opposing forces with, on the one hand, attempts to develop and maintain a committed sense of self and, on the other hand, the questioning and rethinking of this sense of self (Meeus, 2011). Adolescents can continue to reflect on their committed choices, look for new information, and talk with others about these choices. Having developed strong ethnic or racial commitments is often not the end of the story but, rather, can stimulate further exploration to maintain these commitments.

Ethnic Group Identification

Social psychological approaches are not concerned with developmental changes but conceptualize ethnic identity in terms of trait-like dimensions of group identification, such as centrality, evaluation, and affect (Verkuyten, 2016). Ethnic identification can be part of a more enduring sense of self. It can be central in how one thinks and feels about oneself and thereby provide an important and accessible mental framework for self-perception and behavior. Numerous studies, also among adolescents, have shown that higher versus lower ethnic identifiers react differently to challenges and threats to their ethnic group (e.g., Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998). For example, because it means a relatively strong and enduring emotional investment in one's ethnic group, high identification tends to make ethnic stigmatization and exclusion more painful.

Social psychological researchers have proposed partly overlapping but different frameworks for conceptualizing and measuring the multidimensional nature of group identification (e.g., Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Leach et al., 2008). Although the terms differ somewhat, some of the proposed dimensions are quite similar and have also been suggested in research on ethnic and racial identity (e.g., Sellers et al., 1998): namely, how central the ethnic group membership is to one's sense of self, how positively one feels towards this group membership, and the sense of ethnic belonging and commitment. These distinctions are based on theory (Leach et al., 2008) or an analysis of the existing research literature (Ashmore et al., 2004), and deal with attitude-like dimensional properties that are relatively easy to assess.

The distinction between dimensions is important because it might not be very adequate to use, for example, the importance that is attached to ethnic identity to draw conclusions about evaluations and emotions. Adolescents might find their ethnic minority identity very important for their sense of self, even when it is liable to evoke social disdain and feelings of shame. Research shows that the various aspects cannot simply be reduced to each other and that sometimes there are obvious connections, but sometimes not. In threatening situations and for stigmatized minority identities, the connection is probably stronger than in more harmonious situations and for majority identities. In the former case it can be quite difficult for adolescents themselves as well as for researchers to draw a meaningful (empirical) distinction between these dimensions because they are experienced as an integrated whole where high importance equals strong emotions, strong feelings of belonging and shared fate. Research among ethnic minority youth demonstrates that the different aspects of ethnic identity tend to be highly correlated (e.g., Casey-Cannon, Coleman, Knudtson, & Velazquez, 2011; Yip, 2014). For stigmatized minority youth, ethnic identification tends to be a rather homogeneous construct that can often be captured by a single measure.

Yet, a sense of ethnic identity implies not only feelings of belonging and pride, but also historical, cultural, and ideological meanings. The question of what it means to be a member of an ethnic group involves self-attributed typical characteristics and group norms, values, and ideological beliefs (Ashmore et al., 2004; Sellers et al., 1998). What it means to be an ethnic or racial group member in the context of intractable conflicts such as in the Middle East or Northern Ireland is likely to be different from the context of the United States with its history of slavery, or the European context with its history of colonialism and labor immigration. A history of colonialism and slavery presents a different background for one's sense of self than having parents who themselves decided to immigrate for economic reasons. Furthermore, the social identity perspective stresses that identity meanings not only depend on the broader societal context but also on situational group comparisons. In a study among Chinese late adolescents in the Netherlands, it was found that they describe themselves more strongly in stereotypical terms when compared to the native Dutch than when compared to other Chinese (Verkuyten & De Wolf, 2002). Thus, they consider themselves more "emotionally controlled," more "reserved" and more "obedient" in the context of the former comparison as opposed to the latter.

Despite the general acceptance that the specific content and meaning of ethnic identity is critically important for understanding how adolescents understand themselves and see the social world, most studies focus on the processes of exploration and commitment or assess the degree to which adolescents identify with their ethnic group.[4] These studies tell us something about the strength of ethnic group belonging and commitment and thereby about how likely it is that minority youth will think and act in terms of their ethnic belonging. But they do not tell us much about what it is that they think of and what they will do. Identification provides the emotional investment or energy to act while identity content gives meaning and behavioral direction.

Multiple Identities

Youngsters have a range of social identities because they belong to many different categories and groups. These identities can coexist in parallel with no particular relationship to one another because they refer to different domains of life (school, home, leisure) or relate to different levels of abstraction (neighbourhood, region, country). However, specific combinations and relationships between various group identities are possible. In a study among Turkish Bulgarian and Muslim Bulgarian adolescents it was found that family, ethnic, and religious group membership were strongly associated (Dimitrova, 2014). And using a multi-ethnic

sample of older adolescents, Kiang, Yip, and Fuligni (2008) examined identity clusters of ethnic, religious, family, and American identifications. In three of the clusters, participants had a high level of identification with at least one of these identities, and youth in the fourth cluster had low identifications for all four (see also Halgunseth, Jensen, Sakuma, & McHale, 2015).

Immigrant and minority youth often struggle with the question of combining their ethnic minority identity with commitments to the nation-state. In addition, there is the important role of religious group identification. Questions of immigration and cultural diversity are increasingly questions of religious diversity. In particular, Islam has emerged as the focus of immigration and diversity debates in Europe (Zolberg & Long, 1999), and is also increasingly discussed in the United States where Muslims have been defined as an "indigestible" minority (Huntington, 2004, p. 188).[5] We will first discuss religious group identification and subsequently national identification.

Religious group identification

In contrast to the extensive work on ethnicity, there is little research on the role of religion in immigrant and minority adolescents' identity development, despite the fact that religion is a strong source of social identity due to the (sacred) values and meaning-making it provides (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). For example, Phinney's identity developmental model has not been systematically investigated in relation to religious identity of minority youth but applied as an interpretative framework in an interview study among Muslim youth in Great Britain (Lewis, 2007). Similarly, findings from qualitative interviews among a sample of university students in the US describe the process of developing a committed Muslim identity. For many students, the transition to college after leaving the parental home was the phase when their religious identity became a "chosen" or even "declared" identity, after being simply an unquestioned or foreclosed identity during childhood and early adolescence (Peek, 2005).

In one three-year longitudinal study among adolescents from different religious groups in the United States it was found that religious group identification remained stable across high school, whereas participation in religious practices declined (Lopez, Huynh, & Fuligni, 2011). In line with this finding, Vertovec and Rogers (1998) report, based on ethnographic work among Muslim youth in various European countries, that religious identity is generally strong despite an acknowledged lack of religious knowledge and practice, which is often postponed to later life-stages when youth plan to live the life of "a good Muslim." Religious group identification has been found to become stronger in a three-year longitudinal

study among Muslim Bulgarian middle adolescents (Dimitrova, 2014). Similarly, in a cross-sectional study among Muslims in the Netherlands it was found that the level of religious group identification increased until the age of 14, while it decreased from age 15 onwards (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Stevens, 2012). In addition, religious identification is often reported to be stronger than other identifications among Muslim adolescents. In her focus groups among 14- to 15- year-old Arab Americans, Ajrouch (2004) found religion to be a more salient identity marker than national origin (e.g., Lebanese, Palestinian). Sirin and Fine (2008), who studied 12- to 18-year-old Muslim Americans in the Greater New York area, found religious identification to be significantly higher than American identification, despite the fact that most adolescents in the sample were born in the US or had spent the largest part of their life there.

Ethnic and religious identity have been found to be closely connected among adolescents from Latin American, Asian, and European backgrounds in the United States (Lopez et al., 2011). The same has been found for Muslim immigrants. Studies among young Muslims in Sweden, Scotland, Denmark, and the United States (Ajrouch, 2004; Saeed, Blain, & Forbes, 1999; Schmidt, 2004) have shown that religious identity predominates, followed by ethnicity—and, as in the country of origin, what it means to be a Turk, Pakistani, or Arab is intimately linked to what it means to be a Muslim. For example, studies among Muslim minority youth in the Netherlands and in various European cities have demonstrated that those who identify more strongly with their religious group also identify more strongly with their ethnic group (Fleischmann, 2011).

National identification

Minority and immigrant youth not only belong to their ethno-religious community but are also involved in developing a sense of belonging to the society they grow up in. In acculturation theory the development of a sense of ethnic minority identity, together with a sense of national belonging, is considered a central aspect of the acculturation process (Berry, 2001; Hutnik, 1991). For example, for many young Turks living in Germany it is often not a question of being Turkish or German but a question of the extent to which they feel Turkish as well as the extent to which they feel German.

The acculturation model assumes two separate dimensions of identification and a combination of both dimensions provides a schematic model of four identity positions (Berry, 2001; Hutnik, 1991). Psychological *assimilation* focuses on identification with the host society. These are ethnic minority members who, following the previous example, define themselves exclusively as German, and their main orientation is towards German society. With *segregation,* one sees oneself

primarily in terms of one's own ethnic community and only feels, say, Turkish. This can be the result of a strong sense of commitment and involvement with one's community, but it might also be due to feelings of rejection by the majority population. Psychological *integration* refers to people identifying with both their own ethnic group and the host society. In this case, dual self-definitions are used, such as Turkish-German, and in the literature terms such as hyphenated and bicultural identity are also used for this. Finally, as opposed to integration, there is *marginalization* and *individualization* in which one does not feel a sense of belonging with either of the two or rejects these group identifications in favour of other social identities or personal characteristics, qualities, and goals (I do not feel Turkish or German, but European or an individual) (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Several studies in different countries have examined self-definitions and group identifications among youth of different ethnic groups and different ages. These studies show that the four forms of identification do exist, but not all to the same extent (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005). Defining oneself in terms of one's own ethnic group or in terms of a dual identity is more frequent, whereas adopting an assimilative and/or marginal position is rather exceptional.

In acculturation research, identity duality is typically examined in terms of two separate identifications: with the country of origin and the host society. Dual identity would exist when both identifications are relatively strong—for example, simultaneously feeling Turkish and feeling German. But it is not fully clear what these two separate feelings actually mean and whether this approach captures the subjective experience of a dual identity. Identity duality in the sense of a so-called blended or fused identity is distinct from either of the original categories: not "I feel Turkish and I feel German," but "I feel Turkish German," or "Indian British," or "French Canadian," and so on. This means that we are not talking about two separate strong identifications but, rather, a different category that is neither one nor the other but a qualitatively different experience. Feeling Canadian French is something other than the combination of feeling French and feeling Canadian. It represents a unique cultural configuration, a set of meanings that cannot simply be deduced from knowledge of both separate identities. Research among youth has shown that the (statistical) combination of separate measures of ethnic and national identification can yield different identity clusters compared to the use of direct questions about dual identity (Ng-Tseung & Verkuyten, 2013). Furthermore, in research among adults measures of dual identity have been found to predict outcomes independently of the combination of separate measures of ethnic and national identification (e.g., Simon & Ruhs, 2008).

There are different ways for conceptualizing dual identity, such as in terms of intersectionality (Cole, 2009) or identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). The latter concept refers to individual differences in how different group memberships are subjectively combined. An inclusive or complex identity structure implies that an

individual accepts and acknowledges the distinctive memberships of his or her various groups. Alternatively, individuals with a relatively simplified structure perceive a strong overlap and interrelation among their identities. In research among Turkish and Moroccan youth in the Netherlands it was found that lower (ethnic and religious) identity complexity was associated with lower national identification (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012, Studies 1 and 2). In other words, national identification was lower when adolescents felt more strongly that it was necessary for a person of their ethnicity to be a Muslim as well. And among an ethnically diverse sample of young adolescents living in the US, lower social identity complexity was associated with higher social distance from ethnic out-groups (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014).

The likelihood of developing dual identities differs between local and national contexts. For example, whereas in Canada and the United States compound labels such as Chinese-Canadian and Mexican-American are accepted and common, these are relatively exceptional in countries like Germany and the Netherlands. Cross-national research among youth has shown that, in Europe, higher ethnic identification often goes together with weaker national identification, whereas in the United States both identifications tend to be separate or positively associated (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Furthermore, whereas in the United States a strong religious minority identity can be a basis for developing a sense of national belonging (Levitt, 2008; Sirin & Fine, 2007), in the European context adolescents who have higher religious minority group identification often tend to have lower national identification (e.g., Fleischmann, 2011; Verkuyten et al., 2012). In countries like the Netherlands and Germany, few Muslims describe themselves as a Dutch or German Muslim. This is quite different in the United States, where practicing Islam is consistent with, and supportive of, the religious diversity of the country. Thus, in settler countries like the United States and Canada, immigrants and minorities typically are attached both to their own minority group and the nation, but, in non-settler European countries, some immigrants and minorities are more likely to put their ethnic or religious identity in contrast to their national belonging. Strong in-group norms and a hostile context of reception are reasons for this.

In-Group Norms and Discrimination

From middle childhood on, children become increasingly sensitive to group differences and group norms. With age, as children gain social-cognitive competencies and experiences with groups, they develop increased understanding of how groups work, they prefer adherence to group norms (see, e.g., Abrams & Rutland, 2008), and often exclude others for group-based reasons (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013).

Being excluded or rejected on the basis of one's ethnic group membership is threatening to a child's sense of self, and minority adolescents often face two kinds of threats. They can feel excluded or rejected by their ethnic in-group and/ or by the majority group and broader society. For example, in a study among Latino immigrant youth in the United States it was found that perceived rejection by White Americans was associated with stronger disidentification with the United States, whereas perceived rejection by Latinos was related to lower ethnic identification and higher national identification (Wiley, 2013). A study of daily acculturative hassles among Vietnamese Canadian youth showed that both majority group rejection (e.g., perceptions of prejudice and discrimination) and ethnic in-group hassles (e.g., feeling isolated from one's ethnic group, being perceived as too White) had a significant negative impact on the acculturation process (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Exclusion by in-group members can be conceptualized as an *acceptance threat* whereby adolescents are uncertain about their position within their ethnic group. *Categorization threat* represents the situation in which adolescents believe that they are the victim of prejudice and discrimination by the majority group.[6] The research literature has focused much more on the latter than the former type of threat.

Acceptance threat

Identification processes have important intragroup implications and the in-group functions as a key reference group in everyday life (Smith & Leach, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005). Within minority communities there are often normative pressures to maintain the ethnic culture and refrain from assimilating, resulting from cultural socialization practices of parents (Hughes et al., 2006) and peer group norms (e.g., Kiang, Harter, & Whitesell, 2007; Syed & Juan, 2012). Individuals have a basic need to feel that they belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and tend to act to secure acceptance as in-group members. Acceptance threat implies uncertainty about belonging and this leads to responses that increase the likelihood of being accepted. Adopting ethnic markers, being involved in ethnic behavior and endorsing in-group norms and beliefs are ways to reduce the uncertainty. Experimental research among minority youth has shown, for example, that ethnic in-group rejection can lead to a stronger endorsement of the minority group's worldview (Schaafsma & Williams, 2012).

Categorization threat

There are many studies that have examined adolescents' ethnic and religious minority identity in relation to perceived exclusion by the majority group. Minority youth often feel that they are second-class citizens who face discrimination and

racism and such a hostile context can influence their identity development and intensify their sense of ethnic and/or religious belonging. According to Cross's (1991) "nigrescence" model, it is the encounter with racism that makes it difficult to ignore or deny that discrimination influences one's life. Such an experience may incite the process of racial identity search and exploration. And longitudinal research finds support for the proposition that experiences with discrimination trigger adolescents' ethnic identity development: discrimination predicts subsequent increases in racial and ethnic identity (see Quintana, 2007; but see also Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012).

Research has convincingly demonstrated that recognizing discrimination against one's ethnic group and oneself as a member of that group has negative consequences for adolescents' well-being (e.g., Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). These consequences are particularly negative when the discrimination is pervasive and systematic. Ethnic group identification is one important means of coping with the pain of exclusion and discrimination. The so-called "rejection-identification" model (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999) is based on the idea that being a target of discrimination leads individuals to identify more strongly with their ethnic minority group and that stronger identification is beneficial for psychological well-being. Research among ethnic minority youth shows that higher perceptions of discrimination indeed predict increased ethnic group identification. This has been found, for example, in cross-sectional research (e.g., Fleischmann, 2011), and in longitudinal studies among immigrants in Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009), Latino students in the United States (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, Van Laar, & Tropp, 2012), and Maori's in New Zealand (Stronge, Sengupta, Barlow, Osborne, Koukamau, & Sibley, 2015). Furthermore, a reason for the increased salience and importance of religious identity for Muslim youth is the often widespread hostility against their religious group (e.g., Sirin & Fine, 2008). Survey research among late adolescent and early adult Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in four European countries showed that perceptions of discrimination were related to higher levels of religious group identification (Fleischmann, Phalet, & Klein, 2011). These studies suggest that, like ethnic identity, religious identification increases in the face of discrimination. There is also experimental evidence supporting this direction of causality among students (Aydin, Fischer, & Frey, 2010).

Discrimination and exclusion can, moreover, lead to a process of forging a reactive ethnicity (Rumbaut, 2008) that not only involves stronger ethnic minority group identification but also a sense of common fate and an oppositional culture in which mainstream norms and values are rejected (Ogbu, 1993). However, the empirical evidence for reactive ethnicity among minority adolescents is not conclusive and the phenomenon might be limited to the U.S. context. In the non-U.S. context it has been argued that minority youth shift away to religious and local

identities as alternatives to their ethnicity. Faced with ethnic discrimination and exclusion, minority youth might emphasize their religious identity as a way of feeling in control and in order to feel a sense of belonging while living in a society in which they are considered outsiders (e.g., Dimitrova, 2014). Similarly, religion has been found to be applied as a coping strategy in the face of identity threat by Canadian late adolescents and early adults affiliated with Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism) and Islam (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2011). Research in Europe has also shown that minority youth tend more than native youth to have a strong sense of local belonging to their city of residence and neighbourhood (Schneider et al., 2012). This local identity can serve as an alternative to ethnic group identification and as an expression of their sense of belonging to the society they grow up in.

However, a hostile context can also instigate an assimilative response. Cross-sectional and longitudinal research has demonstrated that perceptions of ethnic discrimination sometimes lead to lower ethnic affirmation, less positive ethnic self-feelings, and a distancing of one's ethnic group (e.g., Romero & Roberts, 2003; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009). For example, a study among Roma adolescents in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Kosovo, and Romania found a relatively weak Roma identity compared to national identity (Dimitrova, 2014). Maintaining a strong Roma identity and a weak national identity probably is not a viable long-term strategy under conditions of extreme marginalization and disadvantages that are unlikely to change.

Situational Ethnic Salience

One of the limitations of the research discussed is that it does not say much about the dynamics of daily life. The focus is on the development of an inner sense of self or on trait-like differences in group identification. This focus is important for understanding adolescents' well-being and adjustment, and also for their readiness to think in ethnic terms in specific situations. Yet, what happens in these situations depends on many things and attaching importance to one's ethnic background is only one of these. This is illustrated by a Moroccan Dutch girl who said in one of our studies, "It's really crazy. When I say that my Moroccan background is very important to me, then they immediately think that I feel Moroccan all day long." (Verkuyten, 2014, p. 78)

Whether ethnicity is salient and relevant and what it means to be an ethnic group member depends on the situation. There can be more or less fluid movement or alternation between identities depending on the social situation. For example, you feel Moroccan when you are with Moroccan people, and you feel Dutch when the national identity is at stake. Furthermore, feeling Moroccan does not have the

same cultural meanings as possessing Dutch nationality. The former can refer to ancestry, traditions, and heritage, and the latter to citizenship and equal rights.

In everyday life adolescents have some leeway to choose their own contexts and to select and promote different social identities. Experience-sampling methods make it possible to examine these issues. For example, in random sampling adolescents are prompted (by cell phones) to respond at random intervals to specific questions, and in event sampling they respond to these questions when encountering a certain experience such as ethnic discrimination. Several researchers have used these kinds of techniques among White, Hispanic, Chinese, and African American youngsters (Cross & Strauss, 1999; Leach & Smith, 2006; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). The first notable finding is that, on a daily basis, White Americans are generally much less aware of their ethnic background than ethnic minorities. As a member of the dominant majority, being a White American is more "normal" and self-evident, while ethnic minorities are often "the other" who stands out.

The second finding is that the awareness of one's ethnic identity depends on the circumstances (see Yip & Douglass, 2013). Particular contexts make ethnic identity relevant for adolescents' daily lives. For example, White adolescents have been found to be more aware of their ethnic identity in a numerical minority position whereas, for minority students, ethnic salience is higher among co-ethnics (Yip, 2005). Furthermore, situational changes in ethnic identity salience are systematically associated with engagement in ethnic behaviors. Chinese American adolescents are more involved in ethnic behavior on days when they are more self-conscious of their ethnic identity (Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

A third notable finding is that not only the situational context is important but also what adolescents bring to the situation in terms of their ethnic identity developmental status or trait-like ethnic identification. Those who consider their ethnicity as an important or central aspect of their self-concept are more likely to think about their ethnic identity on a daily basis and in a range of situations (Yip, 2005). Additionally, these adolescents feel more positive about being a member of their ethnic group when their ethnic identity is salient (Yip, 2005; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Furthermore, higher levels of identity salience across situations have been found for adolescents with an achieved ethnic identity compared to adolescents in the moratorium stage (Yip, 2014). And adolescents with an achieved or foreclosed ethnic identity who also have high trait-like identity importance tend to feel more positive about their ethnic background when this background is situationally salient. Other research has shown that, for adolescents with a strong sense of ethnic belonging and involvement in their ethnic culture, daily in-group contact is associated with more positive situational feelings about their ethnic background (Yip & Douglass, 2013). Furthermore, these adolescents tend to have fewer daily contacts with majority group members (Schaafsma, Nezlek, Krejtz, & Safron, 2012).

These findings illustrate the interplay between individual characteristics and the situational context. Whether in a particular situation adolescents think about themselves in ethnic terms, how they feel about this, and what it means not only depends on their more stable inner sense of ethnic self but also the situational context. Furthermore, there is a feedback loop: the situational salience and meaning provide input for the (further) development of a sense of ethnic self. For example, ethnic behavior can influence how you understand yourself because it elicits reactions from others. These reactions can make you unsure of what you are and where you belong or, on the contrary, can make you feel strong and confident. It becomes difficult to feel a proper member of your ethnic group if language proficiency is an important ethnic marker and you do not speak the language very well (Bélanger & Verkuyten, 2010).

Identity Enactment

Ethnic, racial and religious identities are not like private beliefs that, in principle, can be sustained without expression and social recognition. Similar to other social identities they require social validation (Verkuyten, 2005). Adolescents can feel that they belong but can face identity denial whereby their claim on an ethnic or national identity is not accepted or recognized by others (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). One's ethnic identity can be very present in one's thoughts, but that identity must be lived up to in concrete circumstances and in relation to other people, both insiders and outsiders. Research has shown how people use particular behaviors to form and negotiate their ethnic identity in everyday interactions, and discourse analysts have shown how social identities are accomplished in the ongoing exchange of talk (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). All this work indicates that social identities are sustainable to the extent that they are expressed and affirmed in acceptable practices.

Various strategies in interaction with others can be employed to create a self-verification context. For example, ethnic minority youth can choose to interact with co-ethnics who confirm their ethnic identity and avoid outsiders who do not. Selective interaction provides the social context for identity validation. They can also lay claim to an identity by displaying identity cues—for example, dressing or acting in a certain way or using a particular speech style. The choice of clothing, behavior, accent, and posture are social prompts or interaction strategies that make others validate and accept one's ethnic group membership (Burke & Stets, 2009).

A study by Clay (2003) showed how African American youth use hip-hop culture, particularly rap music, to form and negotiate their Black identity in everyday interactions with other African Americans. In-group acceptance as authentically Black

depended on hip-hop performance, that is, using the right language, clothes, posture, attitude, and bodily gestures. Another example is that of Muslim females who have been found to give different reasons for their choice to wear a headscarf in discussions with Western females than in discussions with Muslim immigrant females (Roald, 2001). Involvement in religious practices communicates one's religious identity to cobelievers and to outsiders. These practices symbolize group boundaries and identity claims are likely to differ for interactions with these two groups. In-group acceptance, belonging, and identity authenticity (a "real" Muslim) are critical issues in interactions with cobelievers. It might be difficult to be accepted as a true Muslim if one does not participate in Ramadan, does not wear a headscarf, or does drink alcohol and practice premarital sex. One's claim to being a Muslim has to be negotiated in order to be recognized as "true" (Hoekstra & Verkuyten, 2015). In the words of one of Williams and Vashi's (2007, p. 281) female respondents in an interview study of 18- to 25-year-olds: "If I don't wear the *hijab* the Muslim girls will not acknowledge me." People look to cobelievers to verify their religious identity, and they can display other religious behaviors (praying, mosque attendance) that confirm their identity.

Majority group members, however, might react more negatively toward minority adolescents who express their ethnic or religious belonging. As a result, these adolescents may actually face more discrimination and exclusion (see Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). Native Dutch, French, or Belgian people, for example, might discriminate against Muslims more who express and practice their religion more. Religious identification makes youth more vulnerable to social exclusion based on their religious identity (Sirin & Fine, 2008). The "doing of religion" will more often elicit negative and discriminatory reactions from the majority because this is seen as threatening the majority's cultural identity and as rejecting cultural beliefs that legitimize the status hierarchy. New practices, norms, beliefs, and symbols can be considered as opposite to what one values leading to the fear that other cultures will override one's own way of life. Discrimination is one way to deal with this challenge: making it more difficult for high minority identifiers to publicly perform their identity and to enter the social system.

Future Directions

The research on ethnic and racial identity among minority adolescents is extensive and in this chapter we discussed minority group identity from a social-developmental perspective. In the literature a distinction can be made between approaches that focus on the stability or variability of ethnic identity. Stability

does not mean a lack of change but rather an inner commitment or continuing sense of ethnic belonging that gradually develops over time. In the case of variability, the focus is on situational salience of ethnic identity and the ways in which this identity is enacted in everyday life. Both approaches focus on other phenomena and other questions and both contribute significantly to our understanding of adolescents' ethnic identity. Although they have been examined largely in parallel, they are complementary rather than contradictory. A more enduring and developed sense of ethnic self represents a readily available lens that becomes psychologically salient depending on the situation. And the situational salience of ethnicity and ethnic identity enactment influence how youngsters develop an understanding of themselves. In discussing these two approaches we have tried to show that both are useful and that it is important for future theoretical and empirical research to try to integrate them (Sellers et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2016; Yip & Douglass, 2013).

A second recommendation for future work is to systematically consider the multiple groups to which adolescents belong. Despite the reality of having multiple identities, the literature still largely focuses on only one social category (ethnic, or religious, or national) in isolation from other important identities. Yet, there can be important connections that create qualitative differences in experiences and expressions of ethnicity or race. It is often not very realistic to think of adolescents' ethnicity in abstraction from religion, nationality, social class, or gender. For example, Turkish Muslim and Turkish Christian migrant youth can experience discrimination in qualitatively different ways. Various approaches and models have been proposed for conceptualizing multiple identities, including identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), intersectionality (Cole, 2009), and a cognitive developmental model (Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). These models indicate that there are different ways in which the relationships between multiple identities can be subjectively understood and thereby provide theoretical frameworks for empirical research.

Third, research on the identity of minority adolescents tends to focus on the important role of discrimination and exclusion by majority members. The focus is on relations between groups that differ in position, status, or power. However, identification processes have important intragroup implications and the in-group is psychologically and socially meaningful to many minority members. The in-group presents a strong normative framework and individuals have a basic need to feel that they belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Rejection and incomplete recognition by in-group members represents an acceptance threat which is an important factor in minority member's group identifications (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). Future research should consider this form of threat more systematically and in relation to discrimination and exclusion as forms of categorization threat.

A fourth issue is that it is commonly argued that the context is important for examining and understanding adolescents' feelings and expressions of ethnic, religious, and national belonging. However, what is meant by context differs considerably ranging from the historical, economic, and political context (distal) to proximate contexts at school or in the neighbourhood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Theoretically, this raises the question of how these different contexts should be conceptualized and are related. Some scholars have proposed a distinction between the broader societal context and the immediate social situation (Ashmore et al., 2004) and others differentiate between different ecological systems (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Empirically, research has to investigate the role of different contexts in adolescents' identity claims, feelings, and behaviors. For example, although social media and internet fora are highly important for many youngsters, there is relatively little research on how minority adolescents construct an online identity and discuss the criteria for ethnic or religious belonging (Hoekstra & Verkuyten, 2015).

A related issue is that most of the work in developmental and social psychology is not concerned with the dynamics of everyday life in which identities are sites of contestation. Most of the research is rather limited in its practical usefulness because it ignores how students understand their ethnic, religious, and national identities in the actual living with diversity. Qualitative research has indicated that there are diverse ways in which ethnicity is interwoven in students' social life and how macropolitical and local conditions as well as school dynamics play a role in this (e.g., Faas, 2008; Rassool, 1999). This type of research can make an important contribution to a more detailed understanding of the everyday and diverse ways in which adolescents define, challenge, negotiate and manage their multiple identities.

Notes

1   There is no consensus about how the terms ethnic and racial differ and whether they are distinct. Here we do not have the space to discuss this issue and we follow the ethnic and racial identity (ERI) approach (see Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) in the use of these terms.
2   Concepts such as "ethnic identity," "sense of ethnic identity," and "ethnic group identification" are not the same and important distinctions can be made (see Verkuyten, 2005, 2014). However, it is not possible to discuss these issues in the context of this chapter.
3   This section and parts of other sections are based on Verkuyten (2014).
4   Following Ashmore et al. (2004) we make a distinction between attitude-like dimensions of identification (centrality, affect) and content in terms of networks of meanings. Other approaches consider both these dimensions and meanings as part of the content

of ethnic identity, and contrast them with the processes of exploration and search (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

5   Because of the strong research interest in Muslim immigrant and minority youth, the following section focuses on religious group identification among this group.

6   The distinction between acceptance and categorization threat seems clear but is more problematic when considering dual identity in which minority youth consider themselves to belong to the broader society and want to be accepted as such.

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