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"You are too ethnic, you are too national": Dual identity denial and dual identification

Diana Cárdenas [a], Maykel Verkuyten [b], Fenella Fleischmann [c,*]

[a] Australian National University, Building 39, Office 203, Acton, ACT, Australia
[b] Department of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences/ERCOMER, Utrecht University, Padulaan 14, Room B2.11, Utrecht, 3584 CH, the Netherlands
[c] Department of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences/ERCOMER, Utrecht University, Padulaan 14, Room B2.08, Utrecht, 3584 CH, the Netherlands

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic minorities tend to develop dual identities and therefore can face identity denials from two groups. We examine in two studies the relation between dual identity and experiences of dual identity denial as misgivings or a manifested mistrust of one's group membership from both majority and minority group members. Based on identity integration and threat literature, identity denial represents a threat to dual identity which means that stronger dual identity denial can be expected to be associated with lower dual identity (a negative association). In contrast, based on identity enactment literature, stronger expression of one's dual identity can be expected to elicit stronger identity denial (a positive association). These two contrasting hypotheses were examined in two studies (Study 1 = 474; Study 2 = 820) among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. The results from both studies offer greater support for the identity enactment model and illustrate the complexities associated with having a dual identity.

Introduction

Ethnic minority members are often confronted with forms of identity denial (Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2019; Cheryan & Monin, 2005), ranging from having their identity explicitly contested (e.g., being told that one will never be a real national because one is of minority origin) to implicitly questioning their belonging to a group important to their sense of self (e.g., questioning the extent to which one can really understand the majority culture given one's ethnic minority background). Identity denial operates as a threat to acceptance because the way in which others perceive the person does not correspond with how they self-identify. The empirical research on identity denial has focused predominantly on experiences of bicultural and biracial individuals (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019; Tran, Miyake, Martinez-Morales, & Csizmadia, 2016) and to a lesser degree on ethnic minority members (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). With two empirical studies conducted among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, the current research focuses on dual identification and aims to go beyond the existing literature on identity denial in three important ways.

First, it is increasingly acknowledged that understanding ethnic minority identity requires understanding multiple identities within one social domain (Verkuyten, Wiley, Deaux, & Fleischmann, 2019). In particular, the task of developing a dual sense of belonging to one's ethnic group and the national community is almost inevitable for ethnic minority group members. Many of them tend to adopt a dual identity that includes both their ethnic minority belonging and national belonging. This dual identity can be conceptualized and operationalized in different ways (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). Here we focus on two complementary conceptualizations of dual

* Corresponding author.
E-mail addresses: Diana.Cardenas@anu.edu.au (D. Cárdenas), m.verkuyten@uu.nl (M. Verkuyten), f.fleischmann@uu.nl (F. Fleischmann).

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identity that remain understudied in the identity denial literature, namely the relation between ethnic identification and national identification, and the degree of dual identification.

Second, most of the research on identity denial focuses on majority members denying the national identity of biracials and biculturals, and ignores the importance of minority co-ethnics (Abbey, 2002; Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Yet, dual identity can also be challenged by co-ethnics as is illustrated with terms such as banana, bounty bar, and coconut (being 'yellow', 'brown', 'black' on the outside but 'white' on the inside). Research points to the important role of ethnic minority group expectations and acceptance (Leach & Smith, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2005), and denial experiences perpetrated by minority members might be especially threatening and construed as group-level betrayal (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, similar to biracials who may be excluded from both their racial groups (Root, 1996), we examined perceived dual identity denial by both majority and ethnic minority group members.

Third, existing research and theorizing on the relationship between identity denial and the extent to which minority members embrace dual identity is inconclusive. On the one hand, people who experience more identity denial might feel less connected to co-ethnics (Vargas & Stainback, 2016) or to the national society. For example, identity integration theories propose that feelings of threat can inhibit the dual identity integration process (e.g., Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007) and the overlap between the two identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This implies that stronger identity denial goes together with weaker dual identity (a negative association).

However, based on theories and research on identity enactment (Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007), we might expect stronger dual identity to go together with higher dual identity denial. Social identities are not private, subjective beliefs but rather intersubjective realities that require social validation: "A claim to ethnic identity must be validated by an audience of outsiders or Others" (Jenkins, 1997, p. 61). However dual identifiers strongly asserting and behaviorally enacting both their ethnic and national identity might not only face more discrimination (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009) but also greater identity denial. This would imply that there is a positive association between dual identity and identity denial. We will examine whether there is more support for the former or the latter perspective by focusing on the pattern of associations between perceived dual identity denial and dual self-identification.

Dual identity

Dual identity is conceptualized and examined in different ways. The understanding of what people mean when they say that they are both an ethnic minority member and a national is not easy or straightforward (see Verkuyten, 2018). One possible conceptualization is that dual identity relates to the way in which multiple identities are cognitively organized and integrated into the sense of self (Amiot et al., 2007; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Another conceptualization refers to the strength of separate group identifications (i.e., Turkish minority identification and Dutch identification) or the degree of dual identification (i.e., Turkish Dutch). In the current study, we adopt the latter conceptualization and consider two approaches that differ in their underlying assumptions and measurement (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016).

The first approach examines dual identity in terms of the combination of separate group identifications whereby duality indicates identification with both the ethnic minority and the national majority groups (Hutnik, 1991). This conceptualization of dual identity involves a sense of belonging to both communities that is not necessarily equally strong but that is compatible. This approach is an indirect way of assessing dual identity because it is difficult to know whether individuals who identify both with their ethnic community and the national majority subjectively experience this pattern as a dual identity (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Feeling Turkish Dutch or Vietnamese Canadian might mean something different from feeling simultaneously Turkish/Vietnamese and feeling Dutch/Canadian as two separate identities (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). Similar to what is argued in research on intersectionality (Settles & Buchman, 2014) and biracials wanting to be accepted by others as biracials (Remedios & Chasteen, 2013), a dual identity might have a different subjective meaning that is not adequately captured by the two independent component identifications.

Therefore, researchers have proposed to focus on the degree of dual identification (as Turkish Dutch or Vietnamese Canadian) as a more direct conceptualization and measurement of dual identification (see Verkuyten, 2018). However, it is not always clear what dual identification actually implies, especially when there is not an established, socially recognized dual identity category (as is the case of Turkish Dutch, compared to Chinese American or African American). For example, a low dual identity score might indicate a lack of identification with both identities or might reflect a low level of national identification against the backdrop of a strong ethnic minority group identification. Further, a high score might indicate a qualified form of a strong ethnic identification to which a sense of national belonging is added. Therefore, in the current research we consider multiple conceptualizations of dual identification, both as the association between separate ethnic and national identification and identification with the unique "dual" identity.

Dual identity denial

Identity denial involves an acceptance threat whereby one is not fully included in a group that is important to one's sense of self. It can take different forms and research has examined, for example, the questioning of identification (i.e. being asked about your ancestry; Albuja et al., 2019), identification inquiries (i.e. what are you; Tran et al., 2016), and the contestation of identification (i.e. not being allowed to adopt a certain identity; Vargas & Stainback, 2016). In the current research we focus on identity denial as dual identification misgivings: being considered by ethnic minority members as being too national (to be properly ethnic) and by majority members as too ethnic (to be properly national).

Ethnic minorities who hold dual identities often have their national identity questioned. Majority members can view them as less American, German or Dutch because they are considered too ethnic. As a result, ethnic minorities can feel misrecognized, excluded or a

'perpetual foreigner' (Huynh et al., 2011) which can lead them to psychologically distance themselves from society. Additionally, minority members can also experience ethnic identity denial by co-ethnics who consider them as less ethnic because they are 'too white' or 'too national'. In a research among Vietnamese Canadians there was evidence for experiencing ethnic ingroup hassles (being perceived as too Western, pressure to conform to cultural traditions) which had a negative impact on well-being (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Similar evidence for identity denial from the minority was obtained in a study among Muslim minorities in Germany and the Netherlands ('being too German/Dutch'; Cárdenas, 2019). When either national or ethnic group members have misgivings concerning one's membership in that group, they question the extent to which one may give similar importance to both national and ethnic group belongings, or one's dual identity.

Theoretically, there are two possibilities regarding the direction of the relationship between dual identity denial and dual identification which leads to two contrasting hypotheses. On the one hand, given that dual identity denial is a threat to belonging on account of both groups, dual identity denial by the ethnic minority group ('you are too national') and by the national majority ('you are too ethnic') may impede on minority members' capacity to simultaneously experience a sense of belonging to both communities. This is in line with identity integration theories which argue that acceptance threat (threat to the sense of belonging) is detrimental to having strong and integrated dual identities (Albuja et al., 2019; Amiot et al., 2007; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Vargas & Stainback, 2016). Based on these theories, greater perceived dual identity denial by either group should be accompanied by lower dual identification. Furthermore, greater dual identity denial should also mean that the compatibility of separate ethnic and national identifications is lower (a pattern of negative associations: Hypothesis 1a).

On the other hand, individuals want to socially confirm and verify who and what they consider themselves to be (Hogg, 2000; Verkuyten, 2018). They are engaged in actions that mark and implicate their social identities (Klein et al., 2007). For example, cultural minorities with dual identities can employ various interaction strategies for creating a self-verification context (e.g., Wiley & Deaux, 2010). They can lay claim to an identity by displaying identity cues, such as dressing or acting in a certain way or using a particular speech style (Hogg & Giles, 2012; Keblusek, Giles, & Maas, 2017). They perform behaviors relevant to the norms and values that are conventionally associated with their ethnic identity. Furthermore, dual identifiers might also want to assert their national identity by engaging more in typical national practices and demonstrating majority cultural awareness (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; see also Wiley & Deaux, 2010). Thus, individuals with higher dual identification might not only engage in behaviors that demonstrates their ethnic group belonging but also their national belonging. They will be more likely to adopt behaviors that signal their simultaneous membership in the two groups. Yet, this also makes them more vulnerable and susceptible to criticism and hence to dual identity denial from both ethnic minority members and the national majority. Thus, based on this literature, it can be expected that stronger dual identification is accompanied with greater perceived dual identity denial from co-ethnics and the national majority. Additionally, this would imply that compatibility of separate ethnic and national identification is higher when the perceived identity denial is stronger (pattern of positive associations: Hypothesis 1b).

Study 1

Method

Participants and procedure

A sample of 474 participants of the three largest ethnic minority communities in the Netherlands were recruited to participate in this study via GFK polling agency ($n_{Moroccans} = 144$; $n_{Surinamese} = 168$; $n_{Turks} = 162$). Men and women were similarly represented ($n_{women} = 266$) and the mean age of participants was 41.02 years ($SD = 13.40$). Participants' education was classified based on the broad International Standard Classification of Education (or ISCED) levels, (primary education = 21.9 %; secondary education = 53.4 %; tertiary education = 23.6 %; missing = 1.1 %).

Measures

Participants indicated their agreement with the items described below using a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree). Dual identification was operationalized in two ways: indirectly and directly. Indirect dual identification was assessed by separately measuring ethnic and national identification and examining how they covary (e.g., Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). A positive association between ethnic and national identification implies higher dual identification as individuals are able to simultaneously identify with the two groups. Direct dual identification was measured with a scale assessing the extent to which individuals experience combined membership in the two groups.

Ethnic and National inational ndentification. Identification with the ethnic group was measured by asking participants: I feel like a [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turk]; I identify with [Moroccans/Surinamese/Turks] ($r_{ethnic\ identification}(474) = .79$). The same two questions were asked to assess Dutch identification ($r_{national\ identification}(474) = .81$). These kind of short identification measures have been

validated (e.g., Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013) and extensively used (e.g., Cárdenas & Verkuyten, 2020).

Dual identification. Dual identification was measured with four questions based on previous research in the Netherlands (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016): I feel like a [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] Dutch; I feel both [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] and Dutch; I feel a combination of both: [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] and Dutch; Sometimes I feel more [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] and sometimes more Dutch - it depends on the situation (alpha = .93).[1]

Dual identity denial from the national and ethnic groups. To measure dual identity denial we used two questions adapted from Deaux (2006). For dual identity denial from the national group, participants were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement: "For native Dutch, I am often too [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish]". Dual identity denial from the ethnic group was assessed with the same question but from the perspective of the ethnic group: "For [Moroccans/Surinamese/ Turks], I am often too Dutch". We used these rather simple and straightforward questions because this reduces the problem of meaning and interpretation inherent in more complex measures. Further, these sort of single items have been shown to have adequate validity and reliability in measuring perceived discrimination (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999), and constructs such as group identification (Postmes et al., 2013) and personal self-esteem (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001).

Control variables. To ensure that the results held above and beyond the influence of demographic variables, gender, age, education and ethnic group (two dummy variables with Turks as the comparison group) were controlled for.

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis and measurement invariance

Confirmatory factor analysis in Mplus 8.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 2019) was performed to examine whether the three scales used (identification with ethnic group, with national group and dual identification) could be treated as three different latent variables rather than a single variable indicating overall identification. The results show that the three-factor model of identification fits the data better (χ^2 (8) = 82.85, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .087, CFI = .98, SRMR = .038; all standardized loadings > .77[2]) compared to the single-factor model (that did not fit the data, χ^2 (21) = 2475.92, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .50, CFI = .18, SRMR = .399). To ensure that participants from the three ethnic groups also interpreted the questions in a similar way, measurement invariance was evaluated. We tested whether a scalar measurement model (in which we test equivalent factor structure, factor loading, and intercepts across Moroccans, Surinamese and Turks) had an acceptable model fit, which was the case (χ^2 (74) = 172.35, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .09, CFI = .97, SRMR = .071).

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for Study 1 (and Study 2). Participants reported significantly lower dual identity denial from the national group than from the ethnic group (t (473) = 8.90, $p < .001$), and direct dual identification was similar to ethnic identification but lower than national identification.

There was a small but positive correlation between dual identity denial from both groups, indicating that those whose dual identity is being denied tended to report this denial from both the ethnic and national group. Direct dual identification was positively related with the two sources of dual identity denial, giving initial support to Hypothesis 1b rather than 1a. Dual identification was positively and strongly related to ethnic identification and not related to national identification. Thus, in this study, the direct measure of dual (national-ethnic) identity reflected individual differences in ethnic rather than national identification. Ethnic identification and national identification were negatively related to each other. Both identification measures were positively related to dual identity denial from both groups, except for national identification and being considered too ethnic which were negatively related.

Indirect dual identification and dual identity denial

To test whether indirect dual identification, i.e., the relation between ethnic and national identification is more positive (supporting Hypothesis 1a) or negative (supporting Hypothesis 1b) related to perceptions of dual identity denial (i.e., being perceived as too ethnic and too national), two simultaneous moderation analyses were conducted in SPSS (employing PROCESS, model 2, to test the simple slopes and create the figures; Hayes, 2018). Specifically, a stepwise regression, with the interactions added in the second step, tested the interaction between ethnic identification and dual identity denial from the national group (i.e., being "too ethnic") and from the ethnic group (i.e., being "too Dutch") in predicting national identification. This analysis was conducted while entering in the first step age, ethnic group, sex and education, and the centered main variables (see Table 2). We selected national identification as the

[1] The original scale had two other items: "At one moment I feel [Moroccan/Turkish/Surinamese] and at another moment Dutch" and "It is as if I constantly switch between feeling [Moroccan/Turkish/Surinamese] and feeling Dutch". However, confirmatory factor analysis revealed that these two items did not explain as well the underlying factor of dual identity (R^2 = .58 to .66) compared to the other items (R^2 = .70 to .83). Moreover, the model with these two items fit the data less well (Chi-square (33) = 429.12, $p < .001$; CFI = .90; RMSEA = .159). Therefore, the items were removed. It should be noted that the same pattern of results was obtained when these two items were kept in the analyses.

[2] The item "I feel like a Dutch" had a non-significant negative residual variance in Studies 1 and 2, and was therefore constrained to zero in these analyses.

Table 1
Studies 1 and 2: Means and correlations.

	Mean (SD) Study 1	Mean (SD) Study 2	1	2	3	4	5
1. Dual identity denial from ethnic group	4.66 (1.97)	4.40 (1.97)	–	.15**	.36***	.12**	.21***
2. Dual identity denial from national group	3.58 (2.05)	3.00 (1.74)	.19***	–	.50***	.54***	−.25***
3. Direct dual identification	4.58 (1.96)	4.02 (1.67)	.06	.47***	–	.73***	−.04
4. Ethnic identification	4.43 (1.99)	3.85 (1.83)	−.05	.41***	.72***	–	−.29***
5. National identification	5.40 (1.52)	5.28 (1.44)	.05	−.33***	−.28***	−.22***	–

Note. Correlations above the diagonal are for Study 1; the correlations below the diagonal are for Study 2. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 2
Study 1: Regression predicting national identification.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Constant	4.90***	0.33	4.86***	0.33
1. Ethnic identification	−0.17***	0.04	−0.12**	0.04
2. Dual identity denial from ethnic group	0.19***	0.03	0.22***	0.03
3. Ethnic identification X dual identity denial from ethnic group	–	–	0.06***	0.01
4. Dual identity denial from national group	−0.11**	0.04	−0.13*	0.04
5. Ethnic identification X dual identity denial from national group	–	–	0.03	0.02
6. Ethnic group (Comparison group Turkish)				
Moroccan	0.37*	0.16	0.36*	0.16
Surinamese	0.49**	0.16	0.49**	0.15
7. Education	−0.12	0.07	−0.11	0.07
8. Age	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
9. Gender	0.15	0.13	0.11	0.13
Total R^2	.19***		.23***	

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

dependent variable for statistical modelling but do not imply a direction of influence between the two identification variables. The focus in the analyses and interpretation is on how the two group identifications are related, as an indirect measure of dual identification.

Ethnic identification was negatively associated to national identification but this relation was qualified by a significant interaction with dual identity denial from the ethnic group (see Table 3). As illustrated in Fig. 1, the relation between ethnic and national identification was increasingly less negative as individuals reported greater dual identity denial from their ethnic group ($b_{\text{simple slope -1 SD}} = -0.27$, $SE = 0.06$, $p < .001$; $b_{\text{simple slope mean}} = -0.11$, $SE = 0.04$, $p = .012$; $b_{\text{simple slope +1 SD}} = 0.01$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .915$). This pattern supports hypothesis 1b, namely, that those who identify both with their ethnic community and the national group are also more likely to experience more dual identity denial from their ethnic group, probably because they show identity enactments that elicit these misgivings. The interaction with dual identity denial from the national majority was not significant.[3]

Direct dual identification and dual identity denial

To test whether perceived dual identity denial from co-ethnics and from the national group is positively (H1a) or negatively (H1b) related to the direct measure of dual identity, a simple regression was tested (in SPSS), controlling for gender, age, ethnic group and education. The results (Table 3) show that dual identity denial from both groups were independent and relatively strong predictors of higher dual identification. Those reporting greater dual identity denial were thus more likely to explicitly identify as duals. These results offer further support to hypothesis 1b: those with strong dual identities were more likely to report misgivings as a form of dual identity denial.[4] Moreover, relative weight analysis (Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2011) reveal that denial from the national group (rescaled weight = 64.02 %) is significantly more important than the denial from the ethnic group (relative weight analysis = 31.20 %, $p < .05$). Given how dual identification is positively and strongly associated with ethnic identification, these results further support hypothesis 1b, that those who are more likely to demonstrate ethnic behaviors because of their ethnic identity, experience greater identity denial.

[3] To examine whether the same pattern of results was obtained across the different ethnic groups represented in the sample (Turkish, Moroccans and Surinamese), the same analyses were conducted across each group. Overall, the same pattern of results was obtained for Moroccans and Surinamese regarding the moderating role of ethnic dual identity denial and the main effect of national dual identity denial on national identification. For Turkish, only the main effects of ethnic identification and ethnic dual identity denial predicted national identification.

[4] We examined whether the same pattern of results was obtained across the different ethnic groups represented in the sample and observed a consistent pattern of results across the three ethnic groups.

Table 3
Study 1: Regression predicting dual identification.

	B	*SE*
Constant	1.42**	0.44
1. Dual identity denial from ethnic group	0.30***	0.04
2. Dual identity denial from national group	0.45***	0.04
3. Ethnic group (Comparison group Turkish)		
Moroccan	0.1	0.17
Surinamese	0.09	0.17
4. Education	0.09	0.10
5. Age	−0.01	0.01
6. Gender	−0.12	0.14
Total R^2 ($df = 7, 461$)	.39	

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

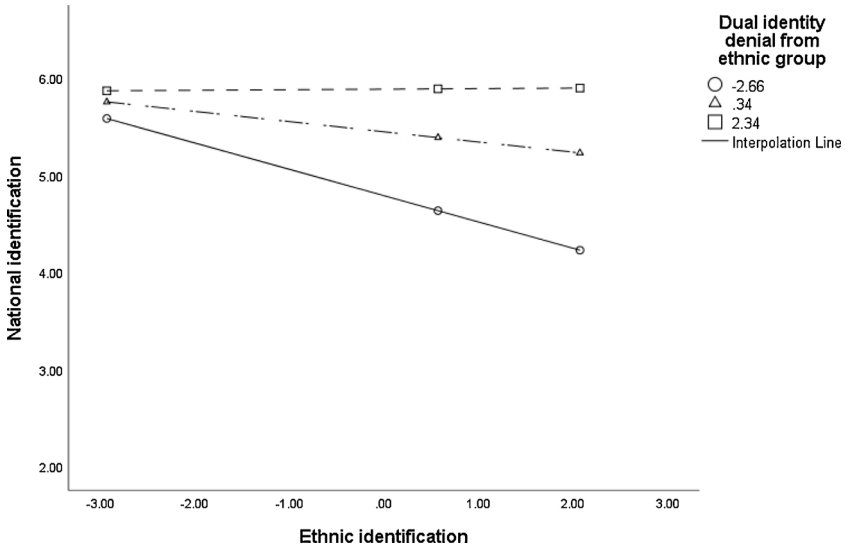

Fig. 1. Predicting national identification from ethnic identification and dual identity denial from ethnic group, Study 1.

Study 2

The goal of Study 2 was to further examine contrasting hypotheses 1a and 1b with a larger sample, an additional prominent ethnic minority group in the Netherlands (Antilleans), and by taking immigration generation into account. The second study also measured direct dual identification with a different scale, trying to offer a conceptual replication of Study 1.

Method

Participants and procedure

A total sample of 820 migrants in the Netherlands were recruited to participate in this study via GFK polling agency ($n_{Moroccans} = 106$; $n_{Surinamese} = 386$; $n_{Turks} = 165$; $n_{Antilleans} = 163$). The majority of the sample were women ($n_{women} = 523$) and the mean age of participants was 44.09 years ($SD = 14.53$). Half of the sample were first generation migrants (not born in the Netherlands, 47.4 %) and the other participants were second generation (born in the Netherlands, 52.6 %). Participants' education was classified based on the broad ISCED levels (primary education = 21.6 %; secondary education = 45.9 %; tertiary education = 32.6 %).

Measures

Participants indicated their agreement to the following scales using a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree).

Ethnic and national identification. Ethnic and national identification was measured with the same four questions (two identification questions for Dutch identification and two for ethnic identification) employed in Study 1 ($r_{ethnic\ identification}$ (820) = .80; $r_{national\ identification}$ (820) = .76).

Dual identification. Dual identification was measures with four questions that asked the extent to which individuals see themselves as Dutch and member of their ethnic group ("I see myself as a [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] Dutch person"; "I feel part of a combined [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] Dutch culture"; "I feel like a person moving between two cultures"; "I am just a [Moroccan/Surinamese/Turkish] person who lives in the Netherlands"). Participants indicated their agreement with these statements (alpha = .82).

Dual identity denial from the national and ethnic groups. The same measures (being too Dutch and being too ethnic) as in Study 1 were employed again in Study 2.

Control variables. As in Study 1, we controlled for gender, age, education, and ethnic group (three dummy variables with Turks as the comparison group). In addition, we also control for generation (0= Not born in the Netherlands; 1 = Born in the Netherlands),

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis and measurement invariance

Similar to Study 1, a confirmatory factor analysis in Mplus was performed to examine the factorial structure of the measures employed. This analysis compares a three-factor model to a single-factor model. The three-factor model fit the data better (χ^2 (18) = 122.65, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .084, CFI = .97, SRMR = .041; all standardized loadings > .63[2]) compared to the single-factor model that had a bad model fit (χ^2 (21) = 2550.73, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .38, CFI = .28, SRMR = .300). Further, measurement invariance tests indicated that a scalar measurement model (in which we can assume equivalent factor structure, factor loading, and intercepts across Antilleans, Moroccans, Surinamese and Turks) had an acceptable model fit (χ^2 (102) = 258.32, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .09, CFI = .96, SRMR = .067). Thus, we can assume that participants from the four ethnic groups interpreted the questions in a similar way.

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of the different measures. Replicating findings from Study 1, participants reported greater dual identity denial from their ethnic community than from the national group (t (819) = 16.95, $p < .001$). The correlations obtained were also similar to those of Study 1. Perceived dual identity denial from the national and ethnic group were again positively related to each other. Dual identification was positively related to dual identity denial but only from the national group, offering initial and partial support to hypothesis 1b rather than 1a. As in Study 1, dual identification was positively and strongly related to ethnic identification, and unlike Study 1, it was negatively related to national identification. Thus, dual identification in Study 2 reflects a sense of ethnic identification as well as a lessened sense of national identification. Ethnic and national identification were negatively related to each other. In line with Study 1, dual identity denial from the national group was negatively related to national identification but positive related to ethnic identification. However, unlike Study 1, dual identity denial from the ethnic group was unrelated to both national and ethnic identification.

Indirect dual identification and dual identity denial

A stepwise regression in SPSS (Hayes, 2018) was used to test whether dual identity denial from the national group and the ethnic community moderated the link between ethnic and national identification, controlling for age, ethnic group, sex, generation and education (see Table 4).

The results (Table 5) show that ethnic identification and dual identity denial from the national group negatively predict national identification while dual identity denial from the ethnic community positively predicts national identification. However, ethnic identification no longer predicts national identification when the interactions are added in the second step. As observed in Table 4 and unlike Study 1, the relation between ethnic and national identification was not qualified by dual identity denial from the ethnic group.

In contrast, ethnic identification negatively interacted with dual identity denial from the national group in predicting greater national identification (see Table 5). Fig. 2 illustrates this interaction. In line with hypothesis 1b, the relation between ethnic and national identification becomes increasingly positive as participants report stronger dual identity denial from the majority group ($b_{\text{simple slope -1 SD}} = -0.20$, $SE = 0.04$, $p < .001$; $b_{\text{simple slope mean}} = -0.04$, $SE = 0.03$, $p = .188$; $b_{\text{simple slope +1 SD}} = 0.12$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .020$).[5]

Direct dual identification and dual identity denial

As in Study 1, a regression analysis tested whether dual identity denial from the national group and the ethnic group predicted lower (H1a) or higher (H1b) direct dual identification (controlling for gender, age, ethnic group, education and generation). The results partially replicate those obtained in Study 1 and partially support H1b, as dual identity denial from the national group positively predicts dual identification, while dual identity denial from the ethnic group does not. In addition, relative weight analysis (Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2011) reveals that denial from the national group (rescaled weight = 85.5%) is significantly more important than the denial from the ethnic group (relative weight analysis = .08, $p < .05$). This is also in line with the correlations between ethnic, national and dual identification: dual identification is positively related to ethnic identification but negatively related to national identification. Thus, those who report greater dual identity denial from the national group are those who have relatively stronger

[5] Similar patterns of results were obtained across the different ethnic groups, particularly for Moroccans, Surinamese, and Turks. For Antilleans, the main variables did not significantly predict national identification.

Table 4
Study 2: Regression predicting national identification.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Constant	4.69***	0.37	4.89***	0.31
1. Ethnic identification	−0.07*	0.03	−0.03	0.03
2. Dual identity denial from ethnic group	0.08**	0.03	.08**	0.03
3. Ethnic identification X dual identity denial from ethnic group	-	-	−0.01	0.01
4. Dual identity denial from national group	−0.26***	0.03	−0.28***	0.03
5. Ethnic identification X dual identity denial from national group	-	-	0.07***	0.02
6. Ethnic group (Comparison group Turkish)				
Moroccan	−0.16	0.17	−0.14	0.17
Surinamese	0.02	0.13	0.03	0.13
Antillean	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.15
7. Education	−0.02	0.03	0.01	0.07
8. Age	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
9. Gender	−0.09	0.10	−0.08	0.09
10. Generation	0.24*	0.11	0.24*	0.11
Total R^2	13***		.16***	

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

Table 5
Study 2: Regression predicting dual identification.

	B	*SE*
Constant	4.11***	0.36
1. Dual identity denial from ethnic group	−0.02	0.03
2. Dual identity denial from national group	0.41***	0.03
3. Ethnic group (Comparison group Turks)		
Moroccan	0.23	0.18
Surinamese	−0.08	0.13
Antillean	−0.53***	0.16
4. Education	−0.03	0.07
5. Age	−0.01**	0.00
6. Gender	0.01	0.10
7. Generation	−0.88***	0.11
Total R^2	.30	

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

ethnic than national identification.[6]

Discussion

In this research, we have gone beyond current literature on identity denial by focusing on dual identity denial of both majority and ethnic minority members, in contrast to the existing research which focuses mostly on the majority group as the source of identity denial. Furthermore, we tested whether the pattern of associations found is supportive of identity integration and threat theories (Hypothesis 1a; e.g., Amiot et al., 2007; Vargas & Stainbeck, 2016) which argue that stronger identity denial leads to lower dual identification (negative association), or whether they support identity enactment theories (Hypothesis 1b; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Klein et al., 2007), which predict that higher dual identification goes together with stronger identity denial (positive association). These contrasting hypotheses were tested with two complementary (yet concurrently understudied) conceptualizations of dual identity (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016).

In two studies, we found more support for the latter than the former theoretical interpretation. Using two different measures of dual identification, we conceptually replicated the positive associations between perceived dual identity denial by the national majority and dual identification across two studies. This is in line with previous research arguing and demonstrating that identity denial from the majority group impacts the way bicultural and biracial individuals experience their duality (Albuja et al., 2019; Tran et al., 2016). Moreover, in the current research, we found a strong association between the direct measure of dual identification and ethnic identification (Studies 1 and 2), while the association with national identification was negative (Study 2) or not significant (Study 1). This indicates that for these ethnic minority members, dual identity seems to imply a qualified form of a strong ethnic identity to which a sense of national belonging is added. Thus, the particular importance attributed to denial from the majority in predicting direct dual

[6] The pattern of results was the same across ethnic groups for dual identity denial from national group. For dual identity denial from ethnic group, Turks, Moroccans and Antilleans had the same pattern as that obtained in the main results. For Surinamese, the relation was negative and significant.

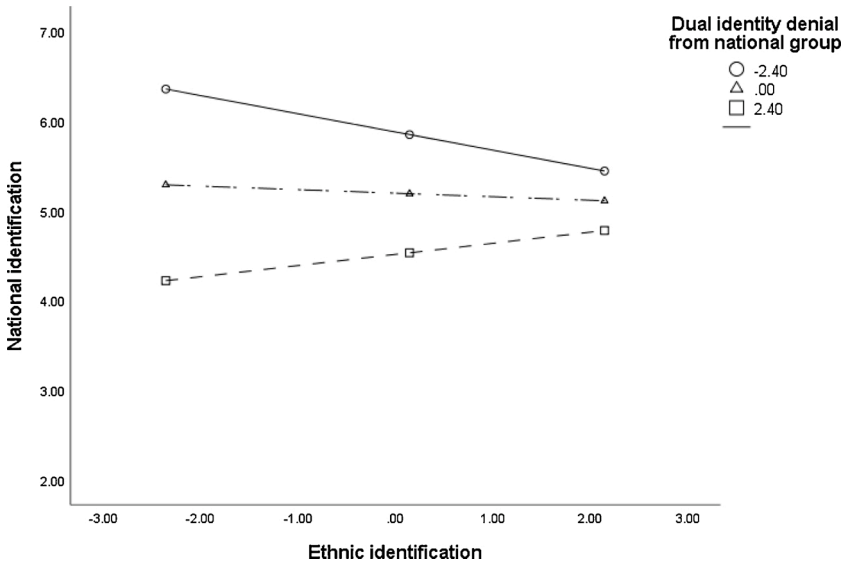

Fig. 2. Predicting national identification from ethnic identification and dual identity denial from ethnic group, Study 2.

identity may result from having a dual identity that reflects an ethnic identity qualified by a majority identity. In other words, being considered as "too ethnic" is strongly and positively associated with a dual identity that reflects feeling very ethnic.

The association between the ethnic and national identifications, i.e., the indirect measure of dual identity, was also more positive among participants who perceived relatively high dual identity denial in both studies. However, the source of this identity denial differed between the studies, with dual identity from the ethnic minority group being important in Study 1 while denial from the national community being relevant in Study 2. Table 1 also shows that even though dual identity denial from the ethnic group was measured in the same way across both studies, this denial was significantly correlated with all the identification measures in Study 1 but not in Study 2. These divergences may be due to differences between the participant pools used in the two studies not measured in the studies (e.g., time spent in the Netherlands, transnational ties). Importantly, the discrepancies also illustrate the complexities associated with measuring and interpreting dual identities. As dual identities are increasingly recognized as valid forms of social self-positioning, so does the recognition of their intricacies and the social situations that give rise, sustain, and constrain these social positions. Our results suggest that individuals with strong dual identities experience greater identity denial from both the ethnic and national community, but the types of situations as well as political and social environment that give rise to either or both forms of dual identity denial remain to be studied.

Overall, the pattern of our results is in line with theoretical notions and research demonstrating that higher identity enactment makes ethnic minority members more vulnerable and susceptible to criticism and misgivings (e.g., dual identifiers "over-enacting" their identities; Wiley & Deaux, 2010). Dual identifiers will perform behaviors relevant to the norms and values of their ethnic community and also want to assert their national identity by engaging in typical national practices and demonstrating majority cultural awareness (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; see also Wiley & Deaux, 2010). However, this signaling of simultaneous membership in the two groups seems to make them more susceptible and vulnerable to criticisms and misgivings from both ethnic minority members and the national majority. This is also reflected in the finding that perceived dual identity denial from one's ethnic community and the national majority are positively associated. Future research should examine this theoretical interpretation in more detail by considering the process of dual identity enactment and by using a longitudinal design for determining the influence of dual identity enactment on dual identity denial. Future research should also consider the role that dual identity denial may play at different stages of dual identity development. For example, according to the cognitive developmental model of identity integration, individuals undergo different developmental stages when creating, managing, and integrating multiple social identities (Amiot et al., 2007). It is possible that dual identity denial may hinder the integration of two social identities into a dual identity during the early stages of the process, but that once a dual identity is developed, identity denial becomes a consequence (rather than a hindering cause) of dual identity enactment. This could mean that identity denial might be associated negatively with dual identity among, for example, adolescents or recent immigrants (unlike our sample which was composed of adults with an immigrant background). In addition, participants in our samples also displayed higher levels of national identification than ethnic identification. The latter is not a common finding in research among immigrant-origin groups in the Netherlands and other European countries and indicates that the participants had a relatively strong national orientation. Future research on people's dual identity should consider the use of multiple types of recruitments (e.g., community samples with snowball recruitment) in addition to using polling agencies to examine whether the findings are observed across the wide diversity of people's experiences.

The broader implication of our findings is that research on ethnic minority identity should not only focus on the perceived reactions and treatments from the majority group but also consider the role of intragroup processes within ethnic minority communities (Cá+ {rdenas, 2019; Verkuyten, 2018). For ethnic minority members their own ethnic community tends to be very important for developing

a sense of (dual) identity as they are socialized within their ethnic community (Hughes et al., 2006), tend to make social comparisons within their minority community (e.g., Franzini & Fernandez-Esquer, 2006), and face normative pressures to conform to and maintain minority group beliefs and traditions (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Future research could also examine the interpretation of dual identity (as a similar combination of majority and minority identity versus a qualified minority identity) in other national contexts in which there are established, socially recognized dual identity categories (e.g. Chinese American, African American) which are not common in the Netherlands and in other European countries (e.g., Germany). This research could elucidate whether denials from majority and minority groups are similarly relevant for dual identity in such contexts.

To conclude, we make a novel contribution to the literature by focusing for the first time on perceived identity denial coming not only from the national majority group but also the ethnic minority community. Understanding ethnic minority's identities requires understanding their multiple identities (Verkuyten et al., 2019) and the results of this research suggest that individuals with strong dual identities might be more susceptible to experiencing dual identity denial, probably because they enact both identities. This stands in contrast to what literature in identity integration and identity threat suggests, namely that low dual identities are the result of greater dual identity denial. Understanding how identity denial can come from having and embodying two important identities, and when it occurs in social interactions requires more systematic attention to intragroup processes within ethnic minority communities in addition to the much examined and important intergroup processes in relation to the majority.

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