Samuel Salzborn • Eldad Davidov
Jost Reinecke (Eds.)

Methods, Theories, and Empirical Applications in the Social Sciences

Festschrift for Peter Schmidt

Springer VS

Editors

Samuel Salzborn
Institute of Political Science,
University of Giessen, Germany

Jost Reinecke
Faculty of Sociology,
University of Bielefeld, Germany

Eldad Davidov
Institute of Sociology,
University of Zürich, Switzerland

ISBN 978-3-531-17130-2
DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-18898-0

ISBN 978-3-531-18898-0 (eBook)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Springer VS

© VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften | Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2012

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed. Exempted from this legal reservation are brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis or material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. Duplication of this publication or parts thereof is permitted only under the provisions of the Copyright Law of the Publisher's location, in its current version, and permission for use must always be obtained from Springer. Permissions for use may be obtained through RightsLink at the Copyright Clearance Center. Violations are liable to prosecution under the respective Copyright Law. The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. While the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication, neither the authors nor the editors nor the publisher can accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may be made. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.

Cover design: KunkelLopka GmbH, Heidelberg

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer VS is a brand of Springer DE.
Springer DE is part of Springer Science+Business Media.
www.springer-vs.de

Table of Contents

<i>Samuel Salzborn, Eldad Davidov & Jost Reinecke</i>	
Introduction	9

I. Theoretical Reflections

<i>Uli Wagner et al.</i>	
Politics, evidence, treatment, evaluation, responsibility – The models PETER and PETER-S	13

<i>Karl-Dieter Opp</i>	
The Research Program of the Rational Choice Approach	19

<i>Samuel Salzborn</i>	
Critique as Premise	27

<i>Icek Ajzen</i>	
Values, Attitudes, and Behavior	33

<i>Shalom Schwartz</i>	
Toward Refining the Theory of Basic Human Values	39

II. Methodological Developments

<i>Jörg Blasius & Jürgen Friedrichs</i>	
Faked Interviews	49

<i>Steffi Pohl & Rolf Steyer</i>	
Modeling traits and method effects as latent variables	57

<i>Eleanor Singer</i>	
The Empirical Study of Ethical Issues in Survey Participation	67

<i>Jost Reinecke</i>	
Mixture Models for Longitudinal Analysis	75

<i>Galit Gordoni</i> The Application of the Reasoned Action Approach to Survey Nonresponse	83
<i>Joop J. Hox et al.</i> Multigroup and Multilevel Approaches to Measurement Equivalence	91
<i>Bart Meuleman</i> When are item intercept differences substantively relevant in measurement invariance testing?	97
<i>Dagmar Krebs</i> The impact of response format on attitude measurement	105
III. Discrimination, Nationalism, and Authoritarianism	
<i>Sandra Legge & Wilhelm Heitmeyer</i> Anomia and Discrimination	117
<i>Moshe Semyonov & Anastasia Gorodzeisky</i> Personal Threat, Collective Threat, and Discriminatory Attitudes.....	127
<i>Nonna Mayer</i> "Islamophobia" in France	137
<i>Rebeca Raijman & Oshrat Hochman</i> Minority Views of Competition	145
<i>Daniel Oberski, Wiebke Weber & Mélanie Révilla</i> The effect of individual characteristics on reports of socially desirable attitudes toward immigration	151
<i>Hilde Weiss</i> Anti-Semitism in Austria and Germany	159

<i>Burkhard Brosig</i> Being Jewish in Germany: Fragments from the analysis of a second-generation Holocaust survivor	169
<i>Aribert Heyder, Eldad Davidov & Peter Schmidt</i> 'Ten years after' – authoritarianism and ethnocentrism in Germany, 1996 and 2006	175
<i>Christian Seipel et al.</i> Authoritarianism Research and the Role of Socialization	185
<i>Toni Toharudin et al.</i> Measuring Authoritarianism with Different Sets of Items in a Longitudinal Study	193
<i>Jürgen Leibold & Steffen Kühnel</i> The Relationship of Religious Fundamentalism, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Prejudice Against Homosexuals	203
IV. Identity Research	
<i>Eldad Davidov & Michael Braun</i> What do citizens expect from a democracy?	213
<i>Nathaniel Beck & Athanassios Roussias</i> Turnout in new democracies	221
<i>Horst-Alfred Heinrich</i> Emotions toward the nation	227
<i>Rossalina Latcheva, Georg Datler & Eva Rossbacher</i> The Concept of European Identity: Overused and Underspecified?	235
<i>Bettina Westle</i> European Identity as a Contrast or an Extension of National Identity?	249
<i>Claudia Wiesner</i> Constructions of EU Europe and National EU Concepts	255

<i>Christian Lüdemann & Christina Schlepper</i> The Role of Fear in the Surveillance State in Times of Terrorism	263
<i>Thomas Blank</i> Culture of anxiety or culture of trust?	271
<i>Jaak Billiet, Eva Jaspaert & Marc Swyngedouw</i> Diversity in the Relationship between Perceived Ethnic Threat, Islamophobia, and (sub)national identity in Belgium	279
<i>Elmar Schlüter & Oliver Christ</i> How national identification enhances anti-immigrant prejudice	291
V. Social Structure	
<i>Yve Stöbel-Richter et al.</i> To what extent family planning can be seen as a rational decision making process?	303
<i>Jürgen H.P. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik</i> Theoretical and Empirical Background for the Description of Residential Areas	309
<i>Ingrid Munck</i> Evidenced-based approach to program evaluation for the next generation in Sweden	315
<i>Werner Georg</i> Social inequality in German higher education during the 20 th century .	325
<i>Stefan Weick</i> The Incidence of the Need for Personal Assistance and Care	335
<i>Bettina Langfeldt</i> A Plea for Subject-Oriented and Gender-Sensitive (Quantitative) Research in Industrial Sociology	343
The Authors	347

Introduction

Samuel Salzborn, Eldad Davidov & Jost Reinecke

Peter Schmidt is a leading figure in the fields of sociology, political science and methodology. On the occasion of his 70th birthday, his colleagues collaborated to present him this Festschrift. First and foremost, this is an expression of our deep appreciation of and gratitude to our colleague and friend, Peter Schmidt, for his wide-ranging academic achievements throughout his career, his intellect and expertise he was glad to share with us, his continuous productivity in empirical social research, and the inspiration as well as the many motivating ideas he provided us with. Throughout his extensive career, Peter has been interested (and still is) in many thematic and methodological fields, and we believe that such a volume should reflect this diversity. Not surprisingly, the number of collaborators who expressed their interest to contribute to this festschrift is very large and reflects Peter's productive and rich network of researchers, experts, and practitioners, leading us to consider a new, and in our view, innovative concept for the book. Instead of describing large, comprehensive studies, the contributors present brief research notes that report interesting research topics or questions, or contributions to open new perspectives for such studies. Thus, reflecting this diversity, the list of authors in this volume is composed of both younger and more experienced researchers.

The festschrift is a collection of 40 contributions on theoretical, methodological, and theoretically driven empirical studies about various topics of research in the fields of sociology, political science, and social psychology. The chapters cover up-to-date advances in theory, methods of data collection and analysis, structural equation modeling (SEM), models of rational choice, values, attitudes, and behavior, as well as empirical investigations of discrimination, nationalism, authoritarianism, identity, and social structure, all topics touched upon by Peter Schmidt throughout his extensive teaching and research career.

In this introduction we would also like to share some of our memories from our work with Peter by providing a few anecdotes. We have always experienced Peter as humane, sincere, supportive, motivating, constructive, loyal, helpful, and he has been an encouraging teacher, mentor, collaborator, and friend to so many individuals. He has been a true asset to any team he joined, he has brought many people together, and he has both the intellectual and emotional intelligence to lead teams effectively and to cooperate in easy and difficult situations brilliantly. His advice is always worth its weight in gold, and his optimism contagious. Throughout his career, his research has been original, inspirational

- Kultur – Medien: Facetten der Informationsgesellschaft, eds. Carsten Gansel and Anna-Pia Enslin, 185-203. Berlin: Weidler.
- Iser, Julia and Peter Schmidt. 2003. Gefährliche Werte? Was Konformität und Tradition anrichten können. In *Deutsche Zustände. Folge II*, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, 61-77. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Krampen, Günter. 1982. *Differentialpsychologie der Kontrollüberzeugungen*. Göttingen: Hogrefe.
- Kühnel, Steffen M. and Peter Schmidt. 2002. Orientierungslosigkeit. Ungünstige Effekte für schwache Gruppen. In *Deutsche Zustände. Folge I*, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, 83-95. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Mead, George H. 1959. *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: University Press.
- Merton, Robert K. 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Richter, Horst-Eberhard. 1979. *Der Gotteskomplex. Die Geburt und die Krise des Glaubens an die Allmacht des Menschen*. Reinbeck: Rowohlt.
- Rippl, Susanne and Christian Seipel. 2008. *Methoden kulturvergleichender Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.
- Schmidt, Peter, Philipp Winkelkemper, Elmar Schlüter, and Carina Wolf. 2006. Welche Erklärung für Fremdenfeindlichkeit: relative Deprivation oder Autoritarismus? In *Soziale Gerechtigkeit*, eds. Alexander Grasse, Carmen Ludwig, and Berthold Dietz, 215-224. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.
- Schwartz, Shalom H. 1992. Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 25, ed. Mark P. Zanna, 1-65. New York: Academic Press.
- Tomasello, Michael. 2009. *Why We Cooperate. Based on the 2008 Tanner Lectures on Human Values at Stanford*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- WHO. 2001. *World Health Report 2001: Mental Health: New Understanding, New Hope*. Geneva.

Diversity in the Relationship between Perceived Ethnic Threat, Islamophobia, and (sub)national identity in Belgium: a combination of two approaches

Jaak Billiet, Eva Jaspaert & Marc Swyngedouw

«La France est un pays ouvert, mais ceux que nous accueillons doivent prendre en compte nos valeurs. (...) On ne peut pas parler d'intégration sans dire ce que nous sommes, ce qu'est la France. (...) Ceux qui méprisent la France, ceux qui la haïssent ne sont pas obligés de rester».¹ With these statements, future French president Nicolas Sarkozy had set the tone during an electoral meeting in Caen (March 10th, 2007) for a large debate on national identity that was introduced in November 2009 by Eric Besson, minister of "immigration, integration, national identity, and solidarity development". The question about "what it means to be French" became inseparably linked with the immigration issue in this debate, that was aimed to "strengthen the French national identity, to reconfirm the republican values and the pride to be French".²

In response to the closing seminar of the French national identity debate on February 9th, 2010, former Belgian prime minister and leader of the Alliance of liberals and democrats for Europe (Alde) faction in the European parliament, Guy Verhofstadt, wrote a column in *Le Monde* with the Shakespearean title "Something is rotten in France"³, in which he criticised the debate for being messy, absurd, and fixated on Islamophobia and extreme-right symbolic actions. In the days following Verhofstadt's column, the debate on (national) identity in Belgium flared up and several (political) leaders stepped into the ring. Walloon minister-president Demotte stated the wish to initialise a debate on the Walloon identity⁴. Bart De Wever, leader of the Flemish separatist political party 'New Flemish Alliance',⁵ accused Verhofstadt of being too simplistic in emphasising the link between national identification and xenophobia. De Wever rejected the "post-national cosmopolitanism" of Verhofstadt, by stating that a certain adherence to a collective identity and respect of its core values is indispensable

¹ <http://www.liberation.fr/politiques/0101600818-l-identite-nationale-selon-sarkozy>

² see: <http://www.debatidentitenationale.fr/>

³ G. Verhofstadt, "Il y a quelque chose de pourri en République Française". *Le Monde*, 12/02/2010. See also *De Standaard*, March 12, 2010, p. 78.

⁴ *Knack*, March 2, 2010. <http://knack.nieuws.be/nl/actualiteit/nieuws/belgie/demotte-wil-debat-over-waalse-identiteit/article-1194674479531.htm>

⁵ The *Flemish National Alliance* won the 2010 National Elections in Belgium (June 13th) with 28% of the votes in Flanders (17.4% in Belgium). It became the largest political party in Belgium.

for the successful integration of newcomers into Belgian or Flemish society.⁶ This view on national identity refers to what - in an earlier column - was called "inclusive nationalism" as opposed to "exclusive nationalism".⁷

The research question underlying this chapter is closely related to public debate on the relationship between national identity and xenophobia. Some stress the necessity for an open form of identity that embraces newcomers as long as they participate in society by respecting the law. This refers to a civic concept of the nation (Billiet et al., 2003). Others seem to have a different notion of what it means to adhere to the (sub)national rules of the game. Sharing a (sub)national identity assumes sharing a common history, language, and even common descent. These are the elements of the so-called "primordial autochthony" (Roosens, 1998), and refer to an ethnic concept of national identity.

1 (Sub)national identities in Belgium

Belgium is a telling example of a state whose citizens are faced with two competing projects of nation-building. The most obvious national identity remains the official Belgian one, but the main sub-national entities, Flanders and Wallonia, have acquired a substantial degree of autonomy during the last decades too and both (in particular Flanders) promote a specific 'national' identity. The Flemish identity appears to be associated with the protection of Flemish cultural heritage. Conversely, the Walloon identity is primarily associated with the social-economic emancipation of the Walloon region, and also with anti-racism and openness towards other cultures (Van Dam, 1996). Historically, Flemish nationalism was rooted in the political 'right'. Between the early 1990s and 2007, election after election, an extreme right-wing, xenophobic Flemish national party ('*Vlaams Blok/Belang*') increased its share of votes in the Flemish part of the country (Swyngedouw & Ivaldi, 2001; Dézé, 2004). In the context of early industrialisation which was accompanied by large immigration streams from Southern Europe (and even Flanders), regionalism in Wallonia was politically 'left'. The political extreme right in Wallonia adheres to Belgian nationalism.

Given these differences in political and historical context, one might expect that the collective representations of "what a nation is" to differ according to its referent; Belgium, Wallonia, or Flanders. Consequently, one might expect that in Flanders, citizens who intensely identify with Flanders will tend to have a negative attitude towards foreigners, while those who intensely identify with Belgium will tend to be more positive towards newcomers. The relationship between the

⁶ Bart De Wever, "Xenofobe Romeinen". in: *De Standaard*, February 16, 2010, p. 49.

⁷ Bart De Wever, "Identiteit in tijden van Expeditie Robinson" in: *De Standaard*, March 2, 2010, p. 32.

attitude towards foreigners and the (bipolar) national identity variable is expected to be more diffuse in Wallonia, because the representations of the Belgian and Walloon identities are less distinct. However, assuming that the civic representation of Belgium is somewhat tainted by the ethnic-cultural views of the extreme right, it can be expected that a negative attitude towards foreigners will tend to coincide with an intense Belgian, rather than Walloon, identification (Billiet et al., 2003, pp. 243-244).

We will now test the hypothesis with the data from the 2007 post-election survey and find out how stable the previous findings are. Further, using data from a large number of in-depth interviews on collective identities, we will explore to what extent traces of an intermediate role of civic representations hold, and find out how insights from qualitative analysis can contribute to quantitative analysis.

2 Evidence from large surveys

2.1 Data and Methods

The sample from the 2009 *Belgian General Election Survey* is a regionally stratified, two-step, random sample of the 18-85 year old population of Belgian citizens (from the National Register), with equal selection probabilities of the secondary sampling units. Samples from the Flemish (N = 1,084) and Walloon regions (N = 717) are used in this study. The response rates were 61% and 65%, respectively (Billiet & Swyngedouw, 2009; Baudewyns et al., 2010). Data collection was organised by means of computer assisted personal interviews (CAPI).

This study focuses on three, multiple indicator, latent variables: perceived ethnic threat (THREAT), (sub)national identity (NAT_ID), and Islamophobia (ISLAMPH). The first is based on a quasi-balanced set of eight items. Islamophobia is measured by seven items, of which five are negatively worded towards Islam (see Appendix). It was possible to specify a response style factor (Billiet & McClendon, 2000). Respondents with higher scores on the latent variables feel more threatened by immigrants for cultural and economic reasons (welfare, social security, employment) and feel more negative towards Muslims in Europe.

The measurement of (sub)national identity deserves somewhat more attention. The first identity indicator is a four-point scale measure, based on two-choice questions about the first and second geo-political (subjective) identity: Flemish/Walloon (score 4), Belgium (score 1), and intermediate positions. The second indicator is the so-called '*Moreno question*' about exclusive or dual identity, where low values express exclusive identification with Belgium and high values exclusive identification with Flanders/Wallonia. The next variable

(*Decide*) is an eleven-point scale with scores depending on the degree to which the respondent endorses that the federal level (Belgian state) should decide everything (lower scores), or the degree to which the respondent endorses the opposite view; that Flanders/Wallonia should decide (higher scores). The last item (*Split_B*) is a multiple choice question with ordered categories ranging from the statement that the Unitarian Belgian state must be restored (score 1), to splitting up Belgium into two separate states (score 5). The response scales are shown in the appendix.

2.2 Findings

The measurement models for the two regions are tested using *Multi-Group Structural Equation Modelling* for ordinal scaled variables (Jöreskog, 1990). Special attention is paid to measurement validity and to equivalent measurement (Cheung & Rensvold, 1999). Top-down modelling has been used, starting from a full invariant measurement model over the two groups: invariant slopes (metric equivalence), invariant intercepts (scalar equivalence) in the measurement part, and in the structural part, equality of the variances and co-variances of the latent variables between the two samples.⁸ This model is rejected ($\chi^2 = 1,663.20$; $df = 338$; $RMSEA = 0.075$; $p[\text{close fit}] = 0.00$; $CFI = 0.859$). We then move step by step towards a model that fits well with the data by specifying restrictions: (1) the latent mean of NAT_ID is different in the two samples, it is significantly lower in Wallonia; (2) the latent mean of THREAT is estimated but not significantly different in the two samples; (3) the latent mean of ISLAMPH is significantly different in the two samples and slightly higher in Wallonia; (4) the variance of NAT_ID is different between the regions; (5) the correlation (or co-variance) between ISLAMPH and NAT_ID is significantly different in the two regions; (6) the correlation between THREAT and NAT_ID is also significantly different in the two regions; (7) finally, the indicator *decide* is more weakly related to NAT_ID in Flanders than in Wallonia ($\chi^2 = 772.33$; $df = 331$; $RMSEA = 0.044$; $p[\text{close fit}] = 0.995$; $CFI = 0.954$). As in previous research, in all models, the response style (acquiescence) is significant and not different in the two samples.

⁸ The complete test information for all models can be obtained from the authors.

Items	Ethnic threat (in both samples)	Islamophobia (in both samples)	(Sub)national identity		Response style (in both samples)
			Flemish	Walloon	
Q114_1	0.797				0.112
Q114_2	-0.751				0.112
Q114_3	0.817				0.112
Q114_4	0.873				0.112
Q114_5	-0.781				0.112
Q114_6	0.791				0.112
Q114_7	0.746				0.112
Q114_8	0.829				0.112
D32_1		-0.773			0.112
D32_2		0.627			0.112
D32_3		0.608			0.112
D32_4		0.836			0.112
D32_5		0.813			0.112
D32_6		0.902			0.112
D32_7		-0.705			0.112
First_id				0.793	
Exclus_VW				0.789	
Decide			0.632	0.749	
Split_B				0.750	
Stand. cov.	Ethnic threat	Islamophobia	(Sub)national identity		Response style
Flanders					
Threat	1.000				
Islamophobia	0.790	1.000			
(Sub)national	0.259	0.319		1.000	
Resp. style	--	--			1.000
Stand. cov	Ethnic threat	Islamophobia	(Sub)national identity		Response style
Wallonia					
Threat	1.000				
Islamophobia	0.790	1.000			
(Sub)national	-0.243	-0.240		1.000	
Resp. style	--	--			1.000

Table 1: Full equivalent measurement model (scalar and metric invariance) in the Flemish and Walloon samples (Within-group completely standardised factor loadings and correlations between latent variables).

The estimated parameters of Model 7 are in Table 1. It is clear that the measurement quality of the measured concepts is very good. There are no cross-loadings, the relationships between the latent variables and appropriate indicators are rather strong, a response style factor is controlled for among all agree-disagree items, and the parameters are all invariant, except one. The level of threat does not differ between Flanders and Wallonia, but the correlations between THREAT and NAT_ID are reversed. The correlation is positive (+0.26; $t = 7.461$) in Flanders and negative (-0.24; $t = -6.372$) in Wallonia, which means that a higher score for ethnic threat is somewhat more likely to correspond to a higher score for Flemish sub-national identity. The opposite is true in the Walloon sample.

Walloons are more likely to have lower scores for Walloon identity when they score higher for threat. The relationship is identical in Wallonia for ISLAMPH and NAT_ID (-0.24 ; $t = -6.350$). The relationship between ISLAMPH and NAT_ID in Flanders is in the opposite direction, and stronger ($+0.32$; $t = 8.920$), than was the case with THREAT. This means that Flemish respondents who score higher for (sub)national identity are more likely to feel threatened by the presence of Muslims.

We may conclude that the hypotheses are not rejected. However, does this mean that the mediating effect of civic representation on the relationship between (sub)national identity and ethnic threat or Islamophobia is confirmed? Not at all, since there is no direct measurement of civic representation at individual level in the general election surveys. Can we find a better grounding for the role of civic or ethnic conceptions of the nation in the large number of in-depth interviews about collective identities that were held in 2009?

3 Further evidence using a qualitative approach?

The qualitative approach is based on a more explicit theoretical perspective than the survey approach; namely, identity theory and the concept of "symbolic boundaries" (Hall, 1996). The sample is also in two stages. The primary units are a selection of municipalities from the ISPO sample ($n = 31$), and the secondary units were collected by means of a carefully set up system of random walk ($N = 255$). In some specific cases, where the likelihood of finding a Dutch-speaking respondent was low, a "snowball" sample ($N = 25$) was used. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews⁹ were conducted. The analysis in this study is still preliminary and is based on a selection of 20 interviews selected from both samples. The findings are restricted to the geo-political identities of Flemish respondents, since data has not yet been collected in Wallonia.

3.1 Theoretical perspective and methodology

The semi-structured interviews ensued from previous findings about the relationship between (sub)national identity and perceived ethnic threat, and were guided by the view that identities are constructions related to the "symbolic boundaries" that are used during interactions with others in a dynamic and diverging social context (Hall, 1996, pp. 3-4). Throughout the interviews, respondents were asked open questions concerning different topics: their own identity, their feelings about multicultural Belgian society and the various groups in it, and their opinions about the political aspect of the federal Belgian state.

⁹ The interviewers were students during their training in a course in qualitative methodology.

After skim reading all 280 interviews, 20 in-depth, information-rich interviews were selected and submitted to a preliminary analysis using the software *Atlas-ti*. Half of the interviews were with respondents living in a predominantly Dutch-speaking area. The other 10 cases were selected within Flemish municipalities where facilities for the Francophone 'minority' (near Brussels) have been established. Francophone citizens are actually a large fraction or even a majority of the population in these municipalities. These two minority/majority contexts were selected in order to fully grasp the variation in symbolic boundaries in the identity construction process.

3.2 Findings

The two main symbolic boundaries that are found during discussions in the open interviews when talking about (sub)national identification are 'language' and 'religion'. However, it is mostly the language boundary that is used, variably depending on different contexts. For respondents from municipalities with language facilities for linguistic (Francophone) minorities¹⁰, the presence, and 'threat', of the other in their communities is most visible through daily language use (French vs. Dutch). There, we find a clear negative perception of Francophone inhabitants (sometimes named 'Walloons') in the respondents' discourses.

The way in which these respondents talk about the Francophone inhabitants in their municipality is highly comparable to the discourse concerning the integration of foreigners into society (mainly Moroccans and Turks). The Francophone inhabitants are considered the outsiders, and they need to adhere to the rules made up by the original (*established*) inhabitants of the Flemish territory – yet they seem characterised as unwilling to do so. This finding illustrates the use of a mechanism called '*primordial autochthony*' (Roosens, 1998) by our respondents. This concept emphasises the importance of '*origin*' and '*descent*' in the notion of ethnic identity. The origin of a people is connected with a territory: those who were first to set foot on a specific territory, and were the first to live there, become the 'owners' of the land. Newcomers are foreign and, therefore, considered inferior.

The discourses of respondents from the rest of Flanders give a slightly different and more diffuse picture of the use of language as a symbolic boundary. On the one hand, when talking about the Francophone inhabitants from municipalities with language facilities (near Brussels), language is pointed out as a difference between the two groups of residents, but this diversity is rarely perceived as an ethnic threat. Even respondents that strongly identify with the Flemish identity do not necessarily seem to have a negative perception of

¹⁰ For reading purposes, we will simplify this description in what follows to 'the respondents near Brussels' vs. 'the respondents in Flanders' although the former also live in the Flemish region.

Francophone inhabitants (or Walloons). On the other hand, the topic of language is mostly associated with the presence of ethnic minorities in Belgian society as a whole – in which case, language is seen as an ethnic aspect of the Flemish identity that foreigners (or immigrants) need to learn if they want to integrate into, or be part of, the community. Foreigners that do not know the Dutch language are considered as the same form of threat to the Flemish identity and community by these respondents, as are Francophone residents to respondents near Brussels.

When talking about religion, however, the influence of different contexts on the discourses of respondents is less apparent. The majority of respondents consider religion as a clear boundary between the self and the other, yet they use this boundary in contradictory ways. Irrespective of whether they consider themselves to be religious, almost all respondents seem to have respect for people that are religious. Nonetheless, when the topic of multicultural society is discussed further on in the interviews, many respondents spontaneously mention Islam as a problem in today's society. The word 'respect' is never mentioned in the discourse of Muslims as 'the other', and it becomes clear that – independent of whether a respondent strongly identifies with the Flemish identity or not – the presence of Muslims in Belgian or Flemish society is seen as an ethnic threat.

The negative perception of Islam and the emphasis on religion as a boundary marker in the Flemish and Belgian identity construction is in line with findings from earlier research (Roosens, 1998; Billiet & Swyngedouw, 2009; Clycq, 2009; Jaspaert, 2009). It is also in line with the relatively strong relationship that was found between (sub)national identity and Islamophobia in Flanders. The meaning of 'language' as a marker is less clear. This symbolic boundary operates differently according to the context and to whom the 'other' is – and it is not univocally 'ethnic'. Learning the Dutch language is an opportunity and a condition for integration into the local community, but is also often seen as an indication of 'not belonging'.

4 To conclude ...

For the third time in a row, we have found a stable inverse relationship between (sub)national identity and perceived ethnic threat, by means of standardised survey interviews in the Walloon and Flemish samples of the Belgian General Election surveys. For the first time in 2007, an even stronger inverse relationship was found between (sub)national identity and Islamophobia. It was our aim to assess the plausibility of the national representations hypothesis by means of less standardised open interviews.

When explicitly asked in open interviews, and thus somewhat 'triggered', most respondents do identify with Flanders, with Belgium, or with both, but this identification is less salient than the more spontaneous identification with the neighbourhood or municipality in which they live. In the in-depth interviews, the respondents' discourses refer implicitly to some elements of the so-called ethnic or civic representations of the nation. Elements of what is called '*primordial autochthony*' are often used, and in some cases, depending on the context, language is seen as an instrument for integration, as is the case with religion in all contexts. The reference to primordial autochthony is clearly related to negative feelings towards newcomers. This is in line with the hypothesis of the role of civic or ethnic conceptions of the nation in the relationship between ethnic threat and (sub)national identity, but it is not a strict confirmation of the intermediate effect, since only a small fraction of the interviews in Flanders were analysed, and the study must be completed by in-depth interviews in Wallonia.

Finally, the qualitative analysis suggests the relevance of the context and shows much more variation than the standardised survey tried to make. This finding might be useful for quantitative analysis of survey data.

5 References

- Billiet, Jaak and McKee J. McClendon. 2000. Modeling Acquiescence in Measurement Models for Two Balanced Sets of Items. *Structural Equation Modeling* 7: 608-628.
- Billiet, Jaak, Bart Maddens, and Roeland Beerten. 2003. National Identity and Attitude toward Foreigners in a Multinational State: A Replication. *Political Psychology* 24: 241-257.
- Billiet, Jaak and Marc Swyngedouw. 2009. Etnische minderheden en de Vlaamse kiezers. Een analyse op basis van de postelektorale verkiezingsonderzoeken 1991 – 1995 – 1999 – 2003 – 2007. Research Report of the Centre of Sociological Research. Leuven: CeSO/ISPO/2009-10.
- Baudewyns, Pierre, Jaak Billiet, Damien Bol, Marc Swyngedouw, and André Frogner. 2010. Une analyse d-sur la base de l'enquête post-électorale de 2007. Bulletin de recherche de PIOP. Louvain la Neuve: UCL/PIOP.
- Cheung, Gordon W. and Roger B. Rensvold. 1999. Testing Factorial Invariance across Groups: A Reconceptualization and Proposed New Method. *Journal of Management* 25: 1-27.
- Clycq, Noël. 2009. Van keukentafel tot 'God'. Belgische, Italiaanse en Marokkaanse ouders over identiteit en opvoeding. Antwerpen: Garant.
- Dézé, Alexandre. 2004. Between Adaptation, Differentiation and Distinction. Extreme Right-Wing Parties within Democratic Political Systems. In *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*, eds. Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde, 19-40. London: Routledge.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? Questions of Cultural Identity, eds. Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, 1-17. London: Sage.

- Jaspaert, Eva. 2009. Representatie van de Ander. Een kwalitatief onderzoek naar alterisering door niet-islamitische jongeren in het Mechelse ASO en BSO bij de beeldvorming over moslims. *Tijdschrift voor Sociologie* 30: 285-313.
- Jöreskog, G. Karl. 1990. New Developments in LISREL: Analysis of Ordinal Variables Using Polychoric Correlations and Weighted Least Squares. *Quality and Quantity* 24: 387-404.
- Roosens, Eugène. 1998. Eigen grond eerst? Primordiale autochtonie: dilemma van de multiculturele samenleving. Leuven: Acco.
- Swyngedouw, Marc and Gilles Ivaldi. 2001. The Extreme Right Utopia in Belgium and France: The Ideology of the Flemish Vlaams Blok and the French Front National. *West European Politics* 24: 1-22.

Item	Ethnic threat
Q114_1	In general, immigrants are not to be trusted (-)
Q114_2	Immigrants contribute to the country's welfare (+)
Q114_3	Guest workers come here to take advantage of our social security system (-)
Q114_4	Immigrants are a threat to our culture and customs (-)
Q114_5	The presence of different cultures enriches our society (+)
Q114_6	Most immigrants are lazy, who try to avoid hard work (-)
Q114_7	Guest workers are a threat to the employment of Belgians (-)
Q114_8	Immigrants' way of life is irreconcilable with Western Europeans' way of life (-)
Item	Islamophobia
D32_1	The Islam can contribute to the European culture (+)
D32_2	Muslim men dominate their wives (-)
D32_3	Muslims do attach great importance to their children's education (-)
D32_4	If it really matters Muslims turn against Europe (-)
D32_5	The Islamic culture and history are more violent than others (-)
D32_6	Islamic values are a threat to the European culture (-)
D32_7	Most Muslims have respect for our culture and our way of living (+)
Item	(Sub)national identity
First_id	4-point scale (0 = first identification with Belgium — 3 = first identification with Flanders/Wallonia)
Exclus_VW	5-point scale (1 = exclusive Belgium — 5 = exclusive Flemish/Walloon)
Decide	11-point scale (0 = Belgium must decide — 10 = Flanders must decide)
Split_B	5-point scale (1 = Unitarian Belgium state — 5 = split the state)

Appendix 1: Observed indicators for perceived ethnic threat, Islamophobia, and (sub)national identity.

Model	Chi-sq	df	RMSEA	p[close fit]	CFI
M0: Complete btw. Group invariance of κ_i , Φ_{ij} , and λ_{ij}	1663.20	338	0.075	0.000	0.859
M1: M0 and $\kappa_3^V \neq \kappa_3^W$	1024.95	337	0.054	0.034	0.927
M2: M1 and $\kappa_1^V \neq \kappa_1^W$	1022.66	336	0.054	0.033	0.927
M3: M2 and $\kappa_2^V \neq \kappa_2^W$	1004.92	335	0.054	0.057	0.929
M4: M3 and $\Phi_{33}^V \neq \Phi_{33}^W$	931.30	334	0.051	0.372	0.937
M5: M4 and $\Phi_{23}^V \neq \Phi_{23}^W$	900.67	333	0.049	0.573	0.940
M6: M5 and $\Phi_{13}^V \neq \Phi_{13}^W$	815.73	332	0.046	0.959	0.949
M7: M6 and λ_{18-3}^W free	772.33	331	0.044	0.995	0.954

Appendix 2: Equivalence test of the measurement models and identity tests of the structural parameters.