Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Faculteit Psychologie en
Pedagogische Wetenschappen

Departement Psychologie



Doctoraatsprojecten

National identification, identity representations and the acceptance of non-EU immigrants

Reijerse, Arjan 24 juni 2009

Promotor: Prof. Dr. N. Vanbeselaere

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Doctorate-project proposal:

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TITLE:

National Identification, Identity Representations and the Acceptance of Non-EU Immigrants: A Comparative Study of Majority Youth in Seven EU-Countries.

INTRODUCTION

The challenge of ethnic and cultural diversity

The general topic of the proposed research project is the challenge constituted by ethnic and cultural diversity and their consequences for social cohesion. Ever since the international community started seeing the protection of political refugees as one of its responsibilities, since inhabitants of former colonies and guestworkers started migrating to Europe, since the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 and with the enlargement of the European Union, European societies have been growing increasingly culturally, religiously and ethnically diverse. In public debates, this growing diversity gave rise to questions pertaining to issues such as cultural identity, social cohesion, citizenship and national unity.

We live in a world which is rapidly globalizing. However, as boundaries fade, cultures mix and new opportunities open up, some people may start to worry more about what they stand to lose instead of focusing on what might be gained. They may be more inclined to see the trend towards globalization and increasing diversity as a threat to what they already had, rather than as a source of tools for creating something new and improved. They may attach great value to their own national identity and cultural traditions and fear that a growing diversity will undermine who they have always been and who they wish to remain. Growing antagonism against Muslims and other immigrants, growing constituencies of populist right-wing politicians, negative outcomes of referanda on the EU constitution in France, The Netherlands and Ireland and widespread resistance against Turkey joining the EU could all be seen as manifestations of that very fear. One of the greatest challenges for 21st-century Europe will be to ensure that globalization and growing diversity do not degrade social cohesion to the point where tensions between groups engender serious socio-political divisions and conflict.

Main research aims

The first aim of our study is to investigate the relationship between majority group national identification and reactions towards immigrants in several EU-countries. More specifically, we focus on the strength of

national identification by young members of the majority group (i.e., local-born youth whose parents do not have a migration background) and their reactions towards the most devalued non-EU immigrant group. We are interested in the reactions towards this most devalued group as a whole, so it also includes second and third generation youth that were born in the host countries. In addition, we aim to investigate when and how national identification is associated with negative reactions towards immigrants. Will majority group youngsters always react more negatively towards immigrants when they identify more strongly with their national ingroup?

National identities come with different ideological packages, which may be inclusive of immigrants to varying degrees. In our study, the main explanatory focus is on the different ways in which national identities may be represented, ranging from representations of the nation that are exclusive of immigrants to those that are more inclusive. We will argue that the specific content of a national identity (i.e., its representation, that which is actually being identified with) affects the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants. More specifically, in each country under study we investigate whether the representation of national identity functions as a moderator or as a mediator of the relationship between national identification and reactions towards non-EU immigrants. This is important to know, because moderation would imply that different identity representations could go together with higher national identification, while mediation would imply that there is only one specific representation that is associated with higher national identification. In order to study the potentially varied effects of national identification in different national contexts and to establish the construct validity and structural equivalence of different identity representations across countries, a comparative approach is necessary in which countries with different patterns of intergroup relations and different citizenship regimes (i.e., different views and legislation regarding citizenship) are studied. Therefore, we include seven EU-countries in our study, which vary considerably on those two criteria (Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden).

A second important aim of our study is to identify predictors of national identification and national identity representation at both the individual and country level. So far, studies have mainly tried to predict immigrant outgroup attitudes, using national identification only as an independent variable. Also, the way national identity is represented has been studied before, but very little to no research attention has focussed on where national identity representations come from. Taking a broad perspective from intergroup relations research, we consider the following possible predictors: First, we consider how people perceive their national intergroup context. What do they think about the number of immigrants entering their country and about cultural diversity? Second, we examine the perceptions of threat posed by immigrants. Do people perceive immigrants to be a threat to their interests, their identity and/or their safety? Third, we consider people's experience with intergroup contact. How do people experience contact with immigrants? Fourth, we examine host acculturation orientations. To what degree do people want immigrants to maintain their own culture and/or adopt aspects of the host

culture? Fifth, we look at social categorization perspectives. How do people categorize different groups in society? Do they perceive different cultural groups as clearly separate groups or do they regard all of them as part of a greater whole? Finally, we assess social dominance orientation as a variable which may explain differences in national identification and identity representation. Do majority group members strive to maintain a dominant social position relative to other groups in society?

In Figure 1, below, an integrative explanatory model is presented. The remainder of this proposal is built up out of two main parts, which discuss the two main aims of our research project, respectively. This means our first focus will be on the relationship between national identification (Box 3 in the model) and reactions towards immigrants (Box 5) and also on the hypothesized role of different national identity representations (Box 4) in this relationship. Our second focus is on the possible individual and country level predictors of national identification and national identity representation (Box 1 and 2). In addition, we will discuss what our research project will add to existing studies, what our main research questions and predictions are and what is the proposed research method.

IDENTIFICATION, REPRESENTATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF IMMIGRANTS

National identification and reactions towards immigrants

According to the ethnocentrism hypothesis of the relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup attitudes (Sumner, 1906), there is an intrinsic relationship between identification and attitudes. It states that higher ingroup identification always goes hand in hand with more negative outgroup attitudes. In the context of national identity and immigrant groups, this means for the national majority group that stronger identification with the national ingroup always goes together with more derogation of immigrant outgroups. However, empirically it has been difficult to find such a straightforward relationship (Billiet, Maddens & Beerten, 2003; Maddens, Billiet & Beerten, 2000; Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001; Thomsen, Green & Sidanius, 2008).

Self categorization theory (SCT) and social identity theory (SIT) also propose a link between ingroup identification and outgroup attitudes, but do not conceptualize this link as an intrinsic one (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). For intergroup relations to commence, an initial process of social categorization is required, wherein people categorize themselves and others into different social groups (Turner et al., 1987). Once social categories have been established, a further simplification takes place by emphasizing intragroup homogeneity and intergroup difference. This process allows people to experience their social environment as consisting of a limited number of internally homogeneous and clearly differentiated social groups, within which the self and others are situated. Perceiving oneself and others as category members helps to make more sense of one's social environment and it reduces uncertainty, not only by structuring the social world, but also

because groups provide guidelines for appropriate behavior, security, predictability and strength. Of course, categorization processes, through their reduction of complexity, may also cause stereotypical views and false beliefs regarding outgroups and ingroup alike.

SIT stresses the importance of social category membership for identity. Social identities, derived from memberships of different social categories, are an important part of a person's overall identity (Brewer, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). People generally strive for a positive sense of identity and because group-level prestige is also rewarding and self-esteem enhancing to individual members, group members strive to distinguish their group positively from outgroups on valued comparison dimensions. In other words, group members want to see their own group as clearly distinct from, but, above all, as better than relevant comparison groups. Tajfel called this "the search for positive distinctiveness", which creates an inherently negative interdependence between groups. Of course, the ensuing competition, to achieve positive distinctiveness, may lead to intergroup conflict and/or negative outgroup attitudes.

However, ingroup-outgroup distinctions do not automatically lead to intergroup competition and negative outgroup attitudes. Sherif (1967) argued and found that intergroup attitudes depend on the functional relationship between groups. When their goals are positively interdependent, cooperation may be benificial to both groups and according to Sherif this cooperation directly leads to more positive outgroup attitudes. Turner (1981) agrees that ingroup-outgroup distinctions do not inevitably lead to negative outgroup attitudes, but disagrees that cooperation directly leads to more positive attitudes. He argues that, at the very least, outgroup attitudes depend on the succes or failure of the cooperation in achieving joint goals. According to Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio (1994) intergroup cooperation first activates a process, during which the ingroup and outgroup are categorized into a superordinate group, which then goes along with to more positive outgroup attitudes.

The search for positive distinctiveness may be especially strong for those people who strongly identify with their ingroup. This is because the self-image of high identifiers is more strongly determined by their group membership, which makes the search for positive distinctiveness more important to them. This would imply that higher ingroup identification is likely to go along with more negative outgroup attitudes, because the search for positive distinctiveness is likely to result in such negative attitudes. There are indications, however, that higher identification does not always go together with more negative outgroup attitudes. For example, Hinkle & Brown (1990) and Hinkle, Brown & Ely (1992) showed that the relationship between higher identification and ingroup bias (i.e., a relatively less positive view of outgroups) is not always strongly positive and in some cases it is even negative. Mummendey et al. (2001) only found a significantly positive relationship between national identification and outgroup derogation under circumstances of explicit intergroup comparison. In a temporal comparison condition and in a control group there was no relationship at all. Finally, SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) stresses the importance of the social context as a determinant of the relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup derogation. Members of a group with a legitimate and secure high-status position, for example,

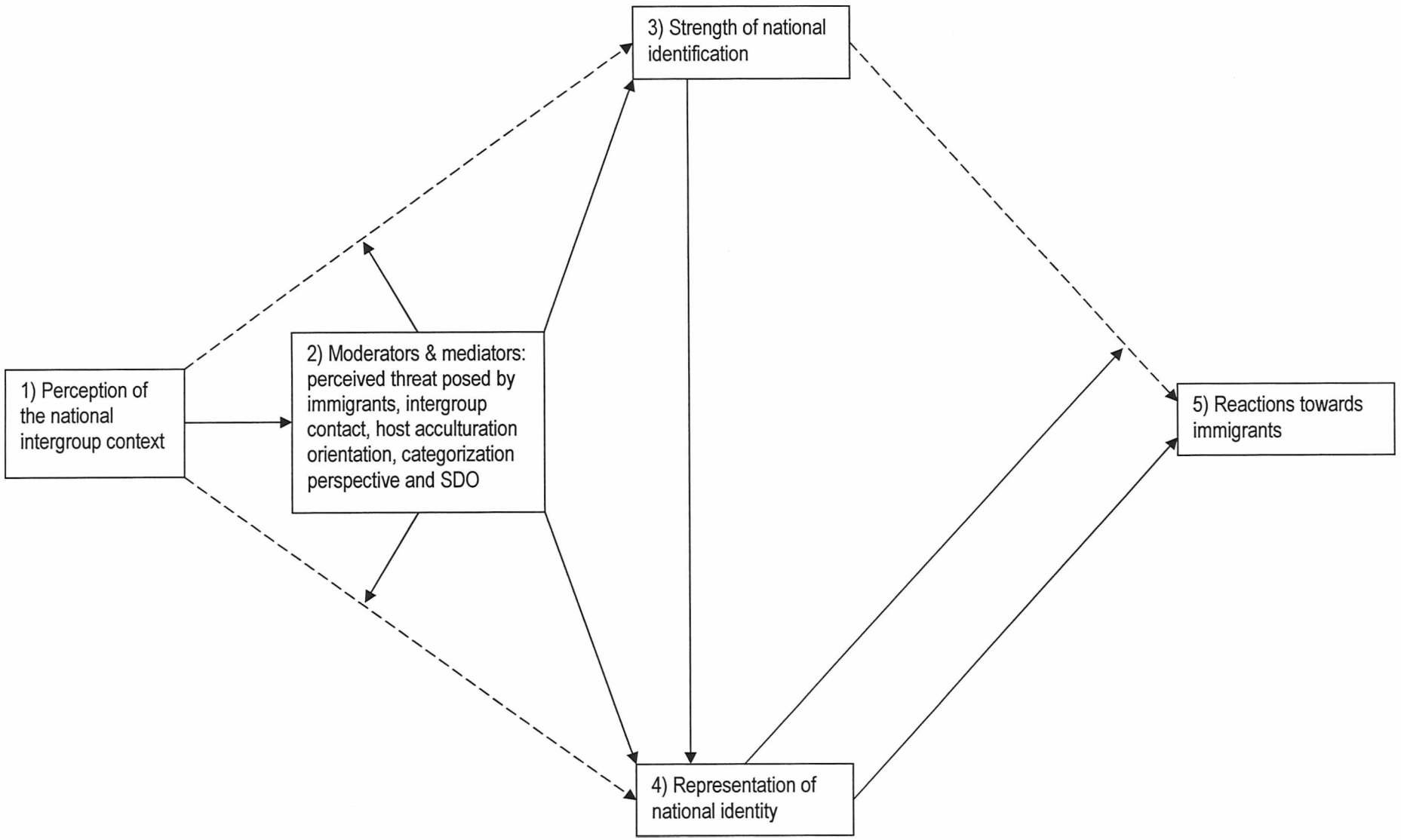

Figure 1. *Explanatory model*

may take a relatively more sympathetic approach to lower status outgroups, even when they identify strongly with their ingroup. Since higher ingroup identification does not automatically lead to negative outgroup attitudes, it is important to know what predicts the outcome of higher ingroup identification. In the following sections we consider the role of identity representation in the relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup attitudes (in the context of national identity and immigrant outgroups).

Representation of national identity and reactions towards immigrants

According to SCT and SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), when someone identifies with a group, the way the group's identity is represented is important in determining the consequences of this identification for outgroup attitudes, because this representation also contains norms for appropriate intergroup behavior (Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere & Boen, in press; Vanbeselaere, Meeus, Boen & Smits, 2006). In other words, the relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup attitudes would be moderated by the representation of identity (Pehrson, Brown & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, in press). Members of a social group also self-stereotype, they create a representation of what defines them as a group (norms, values, customs, etc.) and what characteristics define its members. In small tight-knit groups there may be a large degree of consensus on this representation of the ingroup, but in a much larger national group, for example, there may be different views on what characterizes the ingroup and the typical ingroup member.

The basic idea is that simply looking at the degree of identification with a group (as nothing more than a label) is not enough to get an idea about the meaning and consequences of that identification (or its relationship with other variables). Instead, that which is actually being identified with, the representation of the identity in question, has to be taken into account when considering the effects of ingroup identification. For instance, strong identification with an extreme right group has different consequences for immigrant outgroup attitudes than identification with a center-left political group. When exclusionistic and ingroup-protective norms prevail in a national group, increased national identification may be related to more negative reactions towards immigrants. Conversely, when norms of inclusion and openness prevail, reactions may be more positive with increasing identification. In our explanatory model, the representation of national identity (Box 4) serves as the primary explanatory variable in the relationship between national identification and reactions towards non-EU immigrants.

An ethnic/cultural vs. a civic/republican representation of national identity

In the political science literature, an important distinction is made between an ethnic/cultural and a civic/republican representation of national identity (Brubaker, 1990; Smith, 1991). They came forth from the different principles of nation building "ius sanguinis", whereby national membership is based on ethnic/cultural heritage or blood-ties, and "ius soli", whereby national membership is based on being born and living within the national territory, respectively (Brubaker, 1990). These ethnic/cultural and

civic/republican representations of national identity were found to influence the relationship between national identification and attitudes towards immigrants in different ways (Hjerm, 1998; Meeus et al., in press; Pehrson et al., 2009; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006).

Specifically, an ethnic/cultural representation contains aspects like place of birth, ethnic origin, cultural and religious background (cultural norms, values, traditions and customs passed on from generation to generation), language, lineage, skin color and/or blood-ties. These are the type of characteristics which constitute national identity content and on which national membership is based. Because these characteristics show a strong continuity with the group's past, they make the representation rather static in nature. This does not mean there is no internal change. The specific content of culture and religion, for example, may change over time, but national identity continues to be based on culture and religion all the same (that is what we mean with static). Changes in the content of identity or in the criteria of national membership do not occur because immigrant groups are allowed to influence or co-determine them. This is why it is also relatively exclusive of immigrants. Outgroup influence is not tolerated in negotiations over national identity and national membership. It is also exclusive in the sense that the characteristics on which national identity is based (ethnic origin, culture, which is seen in heriditary terms, skin color, blood-ties, etc.) are very idiosyncratic. Generally, these characteristics apply exclusively to the national majority group. They are very suitable for synthesizing a distinctive and exclusive national identity. For most immigrants, this makes it impossible to ever be regarded as national ingroup members. Finally, outside influences, like those coming from immigrants, are seen as a threat against which one's distinct national identity needs to be protected. As a consequence, solidarity is mostly restricted to national ingroup members.

In contrast, a civic/republican representation of national identity contains more general aspects like inhabiting the national territory, solidarity with fellow citizens, commitment to basic rules and laws in society, acknowledgement of a country's political, economic and social institutions and/or commitment to a common national project. It is dynamic in nature, because the characteristics which constitute identity and the criteria on which national membership is based are negotiated, over time, between the different social groups living within the country, resulting in an ever evolving social contract. In other words, national identity derives from a common national project, aimed at the future, instead of at a shared historical past. Although this representation, of course, remains exclusive towards those who do not want to adhere to the more general requirements summed up above, it is relatively inclusive in nature, because members of all cultural groups are allowed to contribute in shaping national identity and also because it is relatively more easy for people from diverse cultural backgrounds to fulfil the criteria of national membership. Since national membership criteria are relatively easy to fulfil and because national identity is open to negotiation, people holding a civic/republican representation do not necessarily consider outside influence, like that resulting from immigration, as threatening. As a consequence, solidarity towards others is of a much more general kind (the 'other' can also be someone

from a different cultural or ethnic group).

Of course, the reader should keep in mind that the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations of national identity, as described above, are ideal types. Rather than in their pure form, it will be more likely to find them to different degrees in different nations and with varying emphasis on the different characteristics and criteria which contitute them (Hjerm, 1998; Smith, 1991). Also, these representations constitute ideals (which may influence people's behavior towards immigrants) rather than "realities on the ground". For example, letting immigrants co-determine the content of national identity might be an ideal some people strive for, but in reality power differences between social groups may prevent immigrants from having a full stake in the negotiation of national identity.

Part of investigating the role of national identity representation, in the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants, involves considering whether identity representation may function as a moderator or mediator. As mentioned above, this is important to know, because moderation would imply that higher national identification could go together with different identity representations and with more negative as well as more positive reactions towards immigrants (depending on the representation someone adheres to). Moderation, in other words, would imply multiple, qualitatively different, ways of identifying strongly with the nation, none of which is necessarily shared by all members of the nation (and each may have different consequences for the reactions towards immigrants). In contrast, mediation would imply that higher national identification always relates to stronger adherence to one specific representation and, thus, to either more negative or more positive reactions towards immigrants (depending on the type of representation that is related to higher national identification). Mediation, in other words, would imply the existence of a representation with which all members of the nation are more or less familiar, but to which they may adhere to varying degrees, depending on their strength of national identification. It is also possible that this specific representation is not generally familiar, but only starts to develop in individuals once their national identification starts to increase. In addition, other representations may exist within the nation, but they are only adhered to by lower identifiers. In theory, the representation that relates to higher national identification could be any type of representation, so even in the case of mediation higher identification could relate to either more negative or more positive reactions towards immigrants (just not to both, as in the case of moderation).

Another important issue, regarding the representation of national identity, is the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction. It is not yet clear whether ethnic/cultural and civic/republican are on opposite ends of a single dimension of national identity representation or whether they are two separate dimensions of representation (Hjerm, 1998; Meeus et al., in press). Is ethnic/cultural the opposite of civic/republican and are both located at the extremes of a continuum that ranges from representations that set many and very exclusive criteria, to those that set fewer and more inclusive criteria for national membership? In that case, higher scores on one would automatically mean lower scores on the other. Alternatively, ethnic/cultural and civic/republican orientations could be relatively independent ways of

representing national identity (maybe even orthogonal dimensions). In that case, they could exist side by side and scores on one would not say very much about scores on the other. Furthermore, people's use of the two representations might then depend on situational factors, which could be explored.

Previous research on national identity representation

In several studies, an ethnic/cultural representation of national identity was found to be related to negative attitudes towards immigrants (Billiet et al., 2003; Maddens et al., 2000; Pehrson et al., 2009; Tatti, 2007; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006). This is not surprising, as this representation is relatively exclusive of immigrants and the people who endorse it may regard immigrants as a threat to their identity. In contrast, a civic/republican representation was found to be related to more positive attitudes towards immigrants (Billiet et al., 2003; Maddens et al., 2000; Pehrson et al., in press; Tatti, 2007; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006). Below, I will first discuss results from studies that are relevant to the moderation vs. mediation question and then those that are relevant to the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction. Limitations of the studies, that are relevant to these two issues, will also be mentioned and discussed further in the section below.

To start our discussion of the moderation vs. mediation results, two studies in Belgium by Billiet et al. (2003) and Maddens et al. (2000) showed that in Flanders (Dutch speaking part of Belgium) Flemish subjects with a stronger Flemish identification were more negative towards immigrants, while those with a stronger Belgian identification were more positive towards them. In Wallonia (French speaking part of Belgium), Wallonian identification was related to more positive and Belgian identification to more negative attitudes towards immigrants. In both studies it was suggested that these results could be explained by taking the representation of national identity into account. It was assumed that, in Flanders, Flemish identity is represented in an ethnic/cultural way and Belgian identity in a civic/republican way. For Wallonia it was assumed that Wallonian identity is represented in a civic/republican way and the Belgian identity in an ethnic/cultural way. However, the way subjects represented their identity was not measured in either of these studies. Without showing that the studied identities were indeed represented in either an ethnic/cultural or civic/republican way, the only conclusion to be made was that a moderation effect of the representation of identity was a plausible explanation for the data. Furthermore, to draw any conclusions about the role of identity representation, more cases would be required than just the Belgian one, which is rather atypical of most national contexts. Finally, the measures of attitudes towards immigrants were also rather limited.

Several studies did operationalize the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations. They used a variety of different measures and conceptualizations of the ethnic-civic distinction, which may explain some of the differences in their findings. They found evidence for both moderation and mediation effects of identity representation (Meeus et al., in press; Pehrson et al., 2009; Pehrson et al., in press; Tatti, 2007; Vanbeselaere, 2007; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006). For example, Pehrson et al.

(2009) found that, in the South-East of the UK, an ethnic/cultural representation of national identity moderated the relationship between national identification and attitudes towards asylum seekers. Higher identification was only related to negative attitudes for those who endorsed an ethnic/cultural representation. Across thirty one national samples, Pehrson et al. (in press) found similar results for an ethnic/cultural representation and, in addition to that, they also found a civic/republican representation to function as a moderator. Higher identification was related to positive outgroup attitudes only for those who endorsed a civic/republican representation. Although these studies are promising and provide cases other than the Belgian one, their measures of identity representation were very limited. Pehrson et al. (2009) used items that only refered to blood-ties for the ethnic/cultural representation and Pehrson et al. (in press) used single-item measures for both representations.

In contrast to these two studies, Tatti (2007), Vanbeselaere (2007) and Vanbeselaere et al. (2006) found proof, in the Flemish case, of a mediating role for identity representation in the relationship between Flemish identification and reactions towards immigrants. A stronger Flemish identification was positively related to a more ethnic/cultural representation which, in turn, was related to more negative reactions towards immigrants. In contrast, Flemish identification had a small negative correlation with a civic/republican representation which, in turn, was related to more positive reactions towards immigrants. Finally, Meeus et al. (in press), studying the Flemish case, also found mediation by an ethnic/cultural representation from a longitudinal perspective. Over time, stronger Flemish identification was related to an increasingly ethnic/cultural representation of Flemish identity, which in turn led to more negative attitudes towards immigrants. Indications of a bidirectional relationship between the ethnic/cultural representation and negative attitudes towards immigrants were also found. The two seem to mutually reinforce each other over time. In Meeus et al. (in press) and Vanbeselaere et al. (2006) the measurement of the two identity representations was, again, rather limited (only 3 items each). In Tatti (2007) and Vanbeselaere (2007) more elaborate measures were used. However, many of the civic/republican items they used were stated in such general terms that they could also be deemed relevant to national identity by participants with a predominantly ethnic/cultural orientation to identity.

We now come to the results on the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction. In a study of Australia, Germany, Sweden and the UK, Hjerm (1998) found that people who strongly endorsed both the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations of national identity showed most xenophobia, while those who scored low on both showed the least xenophobia. Endorsement of the civic/republican representation, in and of itself, reduced xenophobia and endorsement of the ethnic/cultural representation, in and of itself, increased it. These last two findings imply that for those who scored high on both representations, it was the ethnic/cultural part of identification that was the determinant of xenophobia. This pattern of results suggests that ethnic/cultural and civic/republican are two separate dimensions of identity representation. Afterall, if they were on opposite ends of a single dimension it would be impossible to score high on both at the same time. However, apart from being rather limited,

the measures of identity representation suffered from the same limitation as in Tatti (2007) and Vanbeselaere (2007). The civic/republican items were worded in such general terms that they were relevant to both the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representation (e.g., "To be a true German it is important to respect German political institutions and laws"). This might explain why scoring high on civic/republican, in and of itself, reduced xenophobia, while scoring high on both representations was related to most xenophobia. The participants who truly had a civic/republican orientation did not endorse the ethnic/cultural items and scored high only on the civic/republican ones (leading to lower xenophobia). Those who were most xenophobic (scoring high on both representations) were most probably the participants with a rather strong ethnic/cultural orientation. They wanted to set as many criteria for national membership as possible and may have simply added the civic/republican criteria to the ethnic/cultural ones and scored high on them, because they were so general and easy to agree with.

In contrast to Hjerm (1998), the results of the study by Meeus et al. (in press), mentioned above, suggest that ethnic/cultural and civic/republican constitute a single dimension of national identity representation, because the scree plot of an explanatory factor analysis clearly pointed to a one factor solution for identity representation. Civic/republican items had a minimal loading of .60 on this factor and ethnic/cultural items one of at least -.60.

Limitations and unresolved issues

Reviewing the studies above, it is clear that the measurement of identity representation had certain limitations. These limitations, as well as the limited number of cases assessed in most studies, have caused some important issues to remain unresolved. First, it has been impossible to reliably determine whether and/or when representations function as moderators (Pehrson et al., 2009; Pehrson et al., in press) or mediators (Meeus et al., in press; Tatti, 2007; Vanbeselaere, 2007; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006). And second, the issue of the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction also remains unresolved.

The representation of national identity is usually measured by asking participants how important they think certain criteria/characteristics are for regarding someone as a national ingroup member. In the studies just mentioned, a first problem was that identity representations were often measured in a limited way, using only a few items or even just a single one. This has forced participants in these studies into very narrow definitions of national identity, instead of definitions that sufficiently covered the ethnic/cultural and/or civic/republican aspects of that identity. Since ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations may be found to different degrees in different nations and with varying emphasis on the different identity characteristics and criteria that constitute them (Hjerm, 1998; Smith, 1991), it would have been better to allow participants to express their representation of identity, while having a wider variety of ethnic/cultural and civic/republican items at their disposal. Otherwise, there is a high risk that certain ethnic/cultural or civic/republican aspects, that might be most relevant in a given national context, are missing from the measurement. Without sufficiently covering identity representations in their

measurement, it is impossible to reliably conclude whether they function as moderators or mediators or to say anything about dimensionality. Sufficient coverage of the identity representations and the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction are important to determine the construct validity and structural equivalence of the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican concepts (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). A second limitation was that many items, especially civic/republican ones, were ambiguous and did not clearly represent only one type of identity representation. They were stated in such general terms that they could be deemed relevant to national identity from both an ethnic/cultural and a civic/republican perspective. This led to mixed results on the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction (Hjerm, 1998; Meeus et al., in press).

Besides limitations in measurement, most studies assessed a limited number of cases (and those who assessed more, measured identity representations in a very limited way). So far, mediation has only been found in the Flemish case. Perhaps this is because of limitations in measurement, either in these Flemish studies or in other studies, but it could also mean that the role of identity representation in the relationship between identification with the national ingroup and attitudes towards immigrants depends on the national context. To better investigate the role of identity representations and to assess the dimensionality, construct validity and structural equivalence of the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican concepts, a varied group of cases needs to be studied with the right measurements, using a cross-national comparative approach.

PREDICTORS OF IDENTIFICATION AND REPRESENTATION

Predicting national identification and identity representation

In this second part of our project our aim is to investigate what social factors/processes in intergroup relations (boxes 1 and 2 in our model) predict people's strength of national identification and their representation of national identity (this has received very little research attention). By assessing possible predictors of identity representation we hope to derive socio-psychological profiles of perceptions of intergroup relations, which relate to distinct representations. These profiles will help the understanding of where identity representations come from. Our predictions at the individual level will also be tested at the country level to assess whether varying profiles of intergroup relations perceptions systematically relate to the prevailing identity representations in the countries we study. Below, we explain for each predictor why it was adopted and how we expect it to be related to identification and representation.

The role of perceived threat

The perception of threat is an important factor in intergroup relations. Intergroup competition may lead to tensions between groups and, as a result, outgroups may be perceived as a threat to material interests,

cultural identity and/or physical safety (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Scheepers, Gijsberts & Coenders, 2002; Scheepers, Verberk & Coenders, 2001; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Although a direct relationship between threat and negative outgroup attitudes has been found (Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, Phalet & Kuppens, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2002; Tatti, 2007), our focus here is on how perceived threat may predict national identification and identity representation. According to several studies, the perceived threat posed by immigrants is positively related to strength of national identification (Duckitt, Callaghan & Wagner, 2005; Tatti, 2007; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006). Those people who perceive immigrants as a threat are more likely to identify strongly with their national ingroup.

Threat is also related to national identity representation. As described earlier, the ethnic/cultural representation involves people perceiving immigrant outgroups as a threat to identity (Billiet et al., 2003; Maddens et al., 2000; Smith, 1991). A study by Vanbeselaere et al. (2006), indeed, revealed that perceived threat posed by immigrants was positively related to an ethnic/cultural identity representation.

The role of intergroup contact

Intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997) was adopted as a predictor of national identification and identity representation, because it represents a positive and proactive way of improving intergroup relations. Contact theory (Allport, 1954) describes conditions facilitating intergroup contact that may have positive effects on intergroup attitudes and relations like equal group status, outgroup friendship (Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Paolini, McLernon, Crisp, Niens & Craig, 2005), common goals, cooperation, the degree to which the majority group values diversity (Tropp & Bianchi, 2006) and support for contact by authorities. Positive contact with immigrants is expected to relate negatively to majority group members' strength of national identification. This is because positively experienced intergroup contact and cooperation may induce a social categorization process during which the national ingroup and immigrant outgroups are recategorized into a superordinate group (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman, 1996; Gaertner et al., 1994). This process is expected to reduce identification with the formerly separate national majority and immigrant ingroups.

Intergroup contact is also expected to relate to the representation of national identity. On the one hand, positively experienced intergroup contact is expected to make a civic/republican representation more likely. When contact with immigrants is experienced as positive, it may result in recategorization into a superordinate group. This process of inclusion is likely to reduce perceived threat and to increase solidarity with immigrants. Furthermore, the creation of an inclusive superordinate group, reduced perceptions of threat and increased solidarity all enable national majority group members and immigrants to embark on a common national project. In short, positive intergroup contact enables the adoption of a civic/republican orientation to identity. On the other hand, negatively experienced intergroup contact is expected to make an ethnic/cultural representation more likely. When

intergroup contact is experienced as negative, this may create a tendency to avoid contact in the future and to keep immigrants at a distance through exclusion. It may even cause immigrants to be viewed as threatening to the national majority's interests and identity. One way of excluding immigrants is by adopting an ethnic/cultural representation of identity, because many of the criteria of national membership it contains are impossible for immigrants to fulfil.

The role of host acculturation orientations

In our research project, host acculturation orientations (Berry, 1980; Berry, 1990; Bourhis, Moise, Perrault & Senecal, 1997; Cornu, 2007; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Phinney, Berry, Vedder & Liebkind, 2006; Van Regemortel, 2003; Snauwaert, 2002) are interesting to consider in relation to national identification and identity representation, because these orientations represent ideas about identity and about who belongs to the ingroup, just like identification and representation. Besides that, these orientations are related to the attitudes towards immigrants. In our study, host acculturation orientations, in other words, the acculturation strategies that host community members wish immigrants to adopt (Snauwaert, 2002), are based on two dimensions, 'acceptance of culture maintenance' and 'expected adoption of host community culture'. These dimensions result in four orientations, i.e. integration (high scores on both dimensions), separation/segregation (high on first, low on second), assimilation (low on first, high on second) and marginalization (low on both).

The integration orientation was found to be related to a lower perceived threat posed by immigrants, more positive attitudes towards immigrants, weaker national identification and a civic/republican representation of identity (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker & Obdrzálek, 2000; Van Regemortel, 2003; Snauwaert, 2002). In contrast, assimilation, separation/segregation and marginalization were related to higher perceived threat and to negative attitudes. Above, we discussed that perceived threat is related to stronger national identification and to an ethnic/cultural identity representation. Because, assimilation, separation/segregation and marginalization are positively related to threat, they may also relate to stronger national identification and to an ethnic/cultural representation. However, assimilation may not be related to the latter and here is why: Separation/segregation and marginalization both imply that immigrants remain excluded from the majority's national ingroup and this is why it is plausible for them to relate to an ethnic/cultural representation. In contrast, assimilation implies that immigrants become part of the national ingroup at the cost of losing their own culture and identity and by adopting the host culture. However, people with an ethnic/cultural orientation would not want immigrants to become part of their national ingroup even if they were willing to assimilate. This is because immigrants will never be able to fulfil national membership criteria such as ethnic origin, skin color and blood-ties. Assimilation does not fit the norms or ideals of a civic/republican representation either. That is why we expect no relationship between assimilation and either of the two representations.

The role of categorization perspectives

Another predictor that represents ideas about identity and about who belongs to the ingroup is someone's categorization perspective. Three perspectives, recategorization into one group, recategorization into one group with subgroups and categorization into separate groups, will be considered. Based on the literature, recategorization into one group and into one group with subgroups are expected to decrease people's strength of identification with their national ingroup and make a civic/republican representation of national identity more likely (Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998; Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward & Banker, 1999; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989; Gaertner et al., 1994; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Wolsko, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink, 2000). One way of improving intergroup relations, from a social identity perspective, is to create a superordinate identity. According to the common ingroup identity model or CIIM (recategorization into one group), attitudes towards former outgroup members become more positive when groups merge into a superordinate group with a common identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993). This is because psychological processes at the base of ingroup cohesion and ingroup favoritism start to apply to former outgroup members, who have now come to be considered as fellow ingroup members. In the mutual intergroup differentiation model or MIDM (recategorization into one group with subgroups), retaining some subgroup distinction within the superordinate group is argued as having a further positive effect on intergroup relations (Gaertner et al., 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

Becoming part of a superordinate national group and the subsequent social processes that increase cohesion and favoritism regarding former outgroup members are likely to reduce identification with the formerly separate national ingroups. Besides that, seeing members of other groups as part of a common ingroup fits a civic/republican representation of identity rather than an ethnic/cultural one. By similar reasoning, categorization into separate groups (Gaertner et al., 1999; Gaertner et al., 1989; Gaertner et al., 1994) should be related to higher national identification. It is also more in line with an ethnic/cultural representation of national identity.

The role of social dominance orientation

Social dominance orientation or SDO is a variable with robust effects that is quite central to prejudice and ethnic relations research (Duriez, Vansteenkiste, Soenens & De Witte, 2007; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Meeus et al., 2009; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar & Levin, 2004; Snauwaert, 2002; Thomsen et al., 2008). People high on SDO do not believe in the concept of equality and view society in a hierarchical way (Esses, Dovidio, Semenya & Jackson, 2005). High SDO also comes with a desire for a dominant position for the ingroup in intergroup relations (Bobo, 1999). Tatti (2007) found SDO to be positively related to an ethnic/cultural representation and negatively to a civic/republican representation of national identity. In addition, it was also related to negative outgroup

attitudes. Since people high on SDO attach so much value to their ingroup and to its dominant position in intergroup relations, it is also expected to relate positively to identification with one's national ingroup.

The role of the perception of the national intergroup context

Finally, it is important to consider the possible influence of relevant contextual factors on the variables under study (Pehrson et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Zubrzycki, 2001). Because our project explores majority group members' reactions towards immigrants, it is important to know how they perceive the issue of immigration to their country and the intergroup context that comes with it (Box 1 in our model). How do majority group members experience immigration at the national level? What do they think about the number of immigrants entering their country and how do they perceive the degree of cultural diversity? It is plausible that perceptions of high immigration rates and a high degree of cultural diversity will go together with stronger national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation of national identity. As majority group members become convinced that their country is inundated with immigrants and that cultural diversity is too high, they may perceive more intergroup competition (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne & Solomos, 2007; Scheepers et al., 2002; Scheepers et al., 2001). This, in turn, may motivate them to protect the national ingroup, resulting in stronger national identification and adherence to a more exclusive ethnic/cultural representation of identity. However, these relationships between the perception of the national intergroup context, on the one hand, and national identification and identity representation, on the other, are expected to be moderated or mediated by the predictors discussed in the previous sections.

Perceived threat could either moderate or mediate the relationships between the perception of the national intergroup context and national identification/identity representation. In case of moderation, perceptions of large numbers of immigrants and strong cultural diversity may only go along with stronger national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation of national identity when someone regards immigrants as threatening. In case of mediation, perceptions of a large number of immigrants and strong cultural diversity may lead someone to perceive immigrants as threatening, which, in turn, may go along with stronger national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation.

With respect to intergroup contact, mediation seems unlikely, because it would imply that the perception of the number of immigrants and of cultural diversity would somehow affect the amount of people's intergroup contact. Intergroup contact as a moderator is more plausible. Perceptions of a large number of immigrants and strong cultural diversity may go along with stronger national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation only when someone has little intergroup contact and/or experiences it negatively. The same perceptions may go along with weaker identification and a more civic/republican representation when intergroup contact is more frequent and experienced positively.

The host acculturation orientation could also function as a moderator. Perception of the intergroup context as characterized by high immigration and cultural diversity may go along with higher

national identification only when someone has a separation/segregation, marginalization or assimilation orientation. It may also go along with a more ethnic/cultural representation, but only when someone has a separation/segregation or marginalization orientation. Finally, it may go along with lower identification and a more civic/republican representation when someone has an integration orientation. Mediation by the host acculturation orientation is also a possibility to explore.

Categorization perspectives could function as a moderator as well. Perceptions of a large number of immigrants and strong cultural diversity may go along with stronger national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation when someone holds a separate groups perspective, but not when a categorization into one group (with or without subgroups) is prominent. Mediation by categorization perspectives is also a possibility (Van Acker, 2008b) which will be explored.

Finally, SDO could also function as a moderator. Perception of the intergroup context as characterized by high immigration and cultural diversity may go along with higher national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation only when someone scores high on SDO. In addition, a study by Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov & Duarte (2003) has shown that SDO can be situationally determined, which suggests that it may also function as a mediator. Perceptions of a large number of immigrants and strong cultural diversity may go along with higher SDO, which is then associated with higher national identification and a more ethnic/cultural representation.

As a final caution, the reader should notice that the moderation and mediation effects, discussed in this section, are based on the assumption that higher national identification relates to an ethnic/cultural representation as some studies suggest (Meeus et al., in press; Tatti, 2007; Vanbeselaere, 2007; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006). Theoretically, it is also possible that in some national contexts higher identification relates to a civic/republican representation.

THE PRESENT RESEARCH PROJECT

What the current research project will add

Our review of existing studies on national identity representation made it clear, first of all, that more cases need to be studied in a comparative way. Both Billiet et al. (2003) and Meeus et al. (in press) suggested the necessity of a cross-national comparative study to properly test the role of identity representation in the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants. The current project, for the first time, offers the proposed cross-national comparative approach, studying the effects of identity representation in seven EU-states (Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden).

Second, it is clear that more comprehensive and refined measures of identity representation need to be used. In most studies, the measurement has been very one-sided or limited to only a few

items. In our project we use both established and newly developed, more extensive, measures of identity representation (see Appendix A). For national identity representation we started out from the relatively wide variety of items already used by Vanbeselaere (2007). The problem of the very general wording of some of the items has been dealt with by altering them. Each item now clearly represents only one type of identity representation. We also developed some new items to measure the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations and added some from Meeus et al. (in press) and Reeskens, Hooghe & Meuleman (2008). We also included some items that measure a multicultural representation (Van Acker, 2008a; Berry & Kalin, 1995), to see how they relate to the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican ones. Another addition we have made is to measure some possible predictors of national identification and identity representation. Untill now, the question of where identity representations come from has not been explored.

Third, the measurement of reactions towards immigrants has been made more extensive as well (see Appendix A). In our research they are operationalized using two different types of measures. First, there are attitudes, emotions and behavioral intentions people have towards immigrants. These cognitive, affective and behavioral intention measures all focus on the non-EU immigrant outgroup itself. Measures of the second type assess reactions towards immigrants more indirectly, by focussing on attitudes and behavioral intentions in the political domain. They measure people's political preferences and policy choices regarding immigration, integration and citizenship. At the societal level, negative outgroup attitudes, emotions and behavioral intentions and support for exclusive migration related policies can be seen to undermine the social cohesion of culturally and ethnically diverse societies. The idea of adding measures of migration policy attitudes comes from our cooperation with Marie-Claire Foblets and Zeynep Yanasmayan of the Faculty of Law at K.U.Leuven. They are conducting a comparative analysis of the legal aspects of migration policy in some of the same countries as we study.

Finally, our research project deals with two important unresolved issues that became salient during our review of previous research on national identity representation. The first issue concerned the question whether identity representation moderates or mediates the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants. Pehrson et al. (2009) and Pehrson et al. (in press) found a moderation effect, while Meeus et al. (in press), Tatti (2007), Vanbeselaere (2007) and Vanbeselaere et al. (2006) found a mediation effect. As discussed earlier, we believe that these divergent results could be due to the limited way in which these studies measured identity representations. When the measurement is restricted to only a few items, the question arises whether this constitutes a valid measure of the way people represent their national identity, which is a multi-faceted and complex concept. It also increases the probability that different studies measure different parts of the overall representation of identity, which may then lead to varying results on the role of identity representations. It is important, therefore, to use the same set of extensive measures in a range of different countries, because this may enable us to see whether the varying results on identity

representation in previous research were caused by country differences or measurement differences. We believe that our extensive measurement of identity representation will help to resolve this issue by giving a more complete picture of how people view their national identity.

The second issue concerned the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction. Hjerm's (1998) results suggested that ethnic/cultural and civic/republican are two separate dimensions of identity representation, while findings from Meeus et al. (in press) suggested that they are opposite poles on a single dimension. We believe that these divergent results could also be due to the way in which these studies have measured identity representations. Hjerm's (1998) civic/republican items were stated in such general terms that they could also be deemed relevant to national identity by people with a predominantly ethnic/cultural orientation. In contrast, the measures used by Meeus et al. (in press), although limited in number, distinguished the representations of identity more clearly. To accurately study the consequences of different identity representations, we think it is necessary to create items that clearly measure only one type of representation. If an item is relevant to more than one at the same time, then how would it be possible to study the effects of a certain type of identity representation? Therefore, we have created items in such a way that each of them reflects only one representation. We are confident that this change will help to resolve the question regarding the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction. Covering the identity representations with a sufficient amount of items and investigating the dimensionality of the ethnic-civic distinction are both important for the assessment of the construct validity and structural equivalence of the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican concepts across countries. Finally, using a greater, more varied, number of representation items might result in more than just an ethnic/cultural and a civic/republican representation. A principle component analysis might yield some additional (sub)representations as well. For example, it might be possible to separate a strictly ethnic from a strictly cultural representation or a multicultural from an assimilation sub-orientation within the civic/republican representation (perhaps some of the civic/republican items will load on the same factor as the multicultural items).

Main research questions

For each of the seven countries, there are five main questions to be answered in the research project that we propose. These research questions are summed up below.

1) How is majority group national identification related to reactions towards immigrants?
2) How are majority group national identity representations related to reactions towards immigrants?
3) Is the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants moderated or mediated by the representation of national identity?
4) Are ethnic/cultural and civic/republican two separate dimensions of national identity representation or are they on opposite poles of a single dimension?

5) What social factors/processes predict the strength of national identification and the representation of national identity at the individual and country level?

Main predictions

Based on the discussion of our explanatory model, we can now make predictions regarding the five main research questions. For questions one, two and five we only describe what these predictions are, because the underlying reasoning for them has already been discussed in previous sections.

Regarding question one, it is expected that national identification, in and of itself, does not (strongly) predict reactions towards immigrants (relationship is mediated) or that the nature of the relationship with these reactions is determined by a third variable (relationship is moderated). Regarding question two, an ethnic/cultural representation of national identity is predicted to relate to negative attitudes towards immigrants and support for restrictive migration related policies. A civic/republican representation is predicted to relate to positive attitudes and support for more open migration policies.

Regarding question three, it is difficult to predict whether the representation of identity mediates or moderates the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants and whether this will be the same in each country. As mentioned before, previous studies have measured representations in a limited way. We believe our extensive measurement of identity representations and varied group of cases will make whatever effect(s) we find, moderation and/or mediation, more reliable.

With respect to question four, we predict that ethnic/cultural and civic/republican are on opposite poles of a single dimension. Hjerm (1998) used very general items to measure identity representations. As a result, people could score high on both representations at the same time, which suggested two separate dimensions of representation. The items of Meeus et al. (in press) distinguished the two representations more clearly and they found that they were on opposite poles of a single dimension. Since we also use items that clearly distinguish the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations, we expect to find a result similar to that of Meeus et al. (in press).

With respect to question five, we predict that people are more likely to adopt an ethnic/cultural representation when perceived threat posed by immigrants is high, when they have a marginalization or separation/segregation acculturation orientation and/or a separate group categorization perspective and when they score high on SDO. The same factors (including an assimilation acculturation orientation) are also expected to increase the strength of national identification. In contrast, we predict that people are more likely to adopt a civic/republican representation and to exhibit lower identification with their national ingroup when they experience higher quantities of more positive intergroup contact and when they have an integration acculturation orientation and/or a one group (with or without subgroups) categorization perspective. The relationships between the perception of the intergroup context and national identification/identity representation are expected to be moderated or mediated by the other possible predictors of national identification and identity representation we adopted. These predictions at the

individual level will also be tested at the country level.

Research method

Participants in our study will be high school students of around 16-18 years of age. There are several reasons for choosing this group as our subject population. First, they will soon reach the age at which they will be allowed to vote in local and national elections. This makes it interesting to know their views about migration related issues, especially since it is such an important issue in this time of globalization and increasing cultural diversity. Second, from experience we know that this group is old enough to understand the type of questions in our questionnaire and to fill out the questionnaires in a serious manner. Third, the population of high school students is more heterogeneous than that of first-year psychology/social science students, which is often used in social studies. Fourth, in the event of a follow up session, participants will be easier to reach, since they are all linked to a school. Finally, studying this population makes it easier to have similar participant groups in each country, which facilitates a cross-national comparison of data. In our study, there is a trade-off between comparability of national samples and representing national groups, but comparability has priority. To homogenise our samples, we select students at the level of secondary education that prepares for a university education. This level tends to attract mainly middle class majority group students, which is the target group of our research. Furthermore, in each country we will approach schools in medium-size to large cities with a substantial immigrant population. Because of the possibility that students are selectively recruited into schools across countries, we also control for a number of background characteristics like religion and the socio-economic status of the parents. Besides that, we include questions about the immediate environment of our participants like the ethnic composition of their neighborhood and if they live in a rural or urban area.

Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands and Portugal were chosen on the basis of the clustering of these countries in previous research using representative ESS data on immigration (Hooghe, Billiet, Leman, Reeskens, Meuleman & Trappers, 2006). These clusters were Scandinavian, North-Western European, Southern European and Central and Eastern European countries. They ranged from least to most ethnocentric respectively. Countries from each cluster are represented in our research, because these clusters represent different patterns of intergroup relations. Besides that, the selected countries also vary in their citizenship regimes. These two selection criteria allow us to study the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants in a wide range of different national contexts. This will also enable an analysis of the construct validity and structural equivalence of the national identity representations across countries. France was an exceptional case, because it did not fit into any of the four clusters, and this is what makes it interesting to study France again. Furthermore, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands and Portugal are interesting cases, because each of these countries has recently adopted some type of compulsory citizenship and/or integration course for newly arriving immigrants. This means that immigration is a relevant topic

in these countries, with which they are currently trying to cope, and that makes it interesting to study them. Finally, all selected countries are EU members. EU-countries in particular, are countries with increasing cultural diversity, because the EU is a prime destination for immigrants from around the world. This makes our research particularly relevant for the EU. In each country we have contact with scholars who will collaborate with us on collecting data.

We conclude with some remarks on the design and analysis of our study. The proposed research project amounts to a comparative cross-national survey study, using a standardized questionnaire (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a). In the first part of the analysis, the relationships between national identification ("independent" variable), representation of national identity ("independent"), attitudes towards immigrants ("dependent") and support and preferences regarding immigration, integration and citizenship policies ("dependent") will be investigated and compared across countries. In each country, the most devalued non-EU immigrant group functions as the immigrant target group in the questionnaire. We have chosen this group, because we expect it to engender more clear-cut and outspoken findings. In the second part of the analysis, we will investigate whether the perception of the national intergroup context, perceived threat posed by immigrants, intergroup contact, host acculturation orientation, categorization perspective and SDO ("independent" variables) predict national identification ("dependent") and national identity representation ("dependent") at both the individual and country level.

Finally, the construct validity and structural equivalence of our measures will also be assessed (Berry et al., 2002; Meuleman & Billiet, 2006; Reeskens et al., 2008; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a; Welkenhuysen-Gybels & Billiet, 1999). The data are likely to be analysed using confirmatory factor analysis, regression analyses and structural equation modelling (Bollen & Long, 1993; Byrne, 2006). For this purpose, I have attended a course on multivariate analysis and cross-national survey analysis and I am scheduled to attend a course on confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modelling.

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APPENDIX A: Measures

Measures per box in the explanatory model

Each box of the explanatory model contains concepts which need to be measured. These concepts are presented below, together with some remarks on their measurement. Throughout the questionnaire ESS-items were added where possible, because of their tested reliability and validity. A high correlation with these ESS-items will be an indication of the reliability and validity of our own items. Also, for most questions in the questionnaire a 7-point scale is used (e.g., strongly disagree – strongly agree).

Box 1, Perception of the national intergroup context: We newly constructed a 7-item measure, 4 items of which measure people's perception of the magnitude of immigration to their country (e.g., "We are being overrun by a wave of immigrants", "The number of immigrants entering our country increases year after year"). The other items measure the perception of cultural diversity (e.g., "Immigrants make up only a small part of our country's total population", "There are too many different cultures in our country").

Box 2, Moderators & mediators: Perceived threat posed by immigrants is measured using 12 items that tap into perceived threat towards material interests (e.g., "Immigrants are a threat to our country's economic prospects"), cultural identity (e.g., "Immigrants pose a threat to our cultural identity") and physical safety (e.g., "Immigrants cause an increase in violence and aggression in our society"). Three of them are ESS-items and the rest were self-constructed. In the questionnaire, "immigrants" is substituted by the name of the most devalued non-EU immigrant group in the country.

We use 12 items to probe people's quantity and quality of intergroup contact. Two of them were self constructed and asked about overall quantity and quality ("I...(never to very often)...have contact with people from other cultural groups in Britain" and "In general this contact is...(very unpleasant to very pleasant)..."). Ten items were adopted from Pettigrew (2008), they measure positive and negative types of contact (e.g., "how often has someone from another cultural group helped you?", "how often has someone from another cultural group pestered you?"), positive and negative emotions experienced during/after contact (e.g., "I felt cheerful during/after the contact", "I felt angry during/after the contact") and outgroup friendship (e.g., "How many friends do you have from another cultural group?").

Host community acculturation orientations are measured with 10 items used by Vanbeselaere (2007), which measure maintaining own culture vs. adopting host culture (e.g., "I accept it if immigrants maintain their own cultural traditions and customs", "I expect immigrants to have regular social contact with...(host community)...people"). Again, in the questionnaire, "immigrants" is substituted by the name of the most devalued non-EU immigrant group.

For our first measure of categorization perspective, we constructed 6 items. They are descriptions of intergroup relations in society in terms of recategorization into one group (e.g., "In...(host country)...everyone belongs to a single group, no distinctions are made between people on the basis of

cultural differences"), of recategorization into one group with subgroups (e.g., "Although different groups live in...(host country)...and each of them retains its own culture, they are all part of *one greater whole*, namely...(host country)...society") or of separate groups (e.g., "...(host country)...society consists of a number of clearly separate cultural groups"). Participants are asked to what extent they agree with these descriptions. The second measure has been used by Vanbeselaere a couple of times and asks about differences between national majority group members and members of the most devalued non-EU immigrant group, differences amongst national majority group members themselves and about differences amongst members of the most devalued non-EU immigrant group themselves (e.g., "Regarding norms and values", "Regarding lifestyle"). By showing how large people regard these differences to be, this measure reveals tendencies to either recategorize groups into one group or to categorize them into separate groups. This measure is also suitable to assess perceptions of intragroup homogeneity and intergroup difference.

For SDO we use Pratto et al.'s (1994) 14-item measure, with Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$ (e.g., "Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others", "Some people are just more worthy than others").

Box 3, Strength of national identification: We will use 5 items to measure the degree of national identification (e.g., "I feel like a true...(host country)...person", "I consider being a...(host country)...person as something important"). They were adopted from Meeus et al. (2009).

Box 4, Representation of national identity: We use 31 items to measure the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations. Of those 31, 27 were adopted from Meeus et al. (in press), Reeskens et al. (2008) and Vanbeselaere (2007). Some of these items were altered to better fit either an ethnic/cultural or a civic/republican representation. People are either asked to what extent they consider certain personal characteristics and points of view to be important in order to regard someone as a national ingroup member (e.g., "It is important that, that person has...(host country)...ancestors", "It is important that, that person, irrespective of his/her origin, respects the...(host country)...institutions and laws") or they are asked to what extent they consider it important that a national ingroup member has certain points of view or undertakes certain actions (e.g., "It is important that a...(host country)...person passes on the...(host country)...culture to the next generations", "It is important that a...(host country)...person agrees that the cultural majority group should not be allowed to just force its view upon minority groups"). A second 4-item measure of identity representation was self-constructed. It consisted of statements about what citizenship means, who can claim it and how one can claim it. These were stated in either ethnic, cultural or civic terms (e.g., "For me citizenship is something that only belongs to those who are really...(host country)...by origin. You have to be born with it and no one can ever take it away from you"). We also use Berry & Kalin's (1995) measure of multiculturalism (e.g., "Personally I think that cultural minorities in Britain should be helped to maintain their own culture", "Personally I think that the British can learn a lot from the values of other cultural groups").

Box 5, Reactions towards immigrants: Five measures are used to measure attitudes towards

immigrants. The first one is a 6-item measure of trust that was adopted from the ESS (e.g., "Immigrants mostly look out for themselves", "Most immigrants can be trusted"). The second is a 12-item evaluative measure based on the warmth and competence dimensions of social judgement. The items were adopted from Yzerbyt, Kervyn & Judd (2008), Fiske, Xu, Cuddy & Glick (1999) and Cuddy, Fiske & Glick (2007) and include both positively and negatively valenced items (e.g., "Sociable", "Selfish", "Intelligent", "Negligent"). The third is a feeling-thermometer measure (from very negative to very positive towards certain immigrant groups) adopted from Sani, Bowe, Herrera, Manna, Cossa, Miao & Zhou (2007). The fourth is a measure of emotions towards immigrants, using 25 emotions that are mostly based on the warmth and competence dimensions of social judgement (e.g., "Admiration", "Envy", "Pity", "Contempt"). Some items were self-constructed and the rest were adopted from Cuddy et al. (2007), Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu (2002) and Mackie, Devos & Smith (2000). The fifth is a 12-item measure of behavioral intentions towards immigrants, which is also based on the warmth and competence dimensions of social judgement (e.g., "When I think of immigrants, I feel a tendency to": "Help them", "Exclude them", "Demean them"). The items were adopted from Cuddy et al. (2007) and Mackie et al. (2000). In the questionnaire, "immigrants" is, again, substituted by the most devalued non-EU immigrant group.

The support and preferences regarding immigration, integration and citizenship policies is assessed with an 18-item measure (e.g., "Overall, our country's immigration policy is too open", "Our government should make more of an effort at integrating immigrants into our society", "Generally, it is too easy for immigrants to attain full citizenship in our country"). Three items came from the ESS and the rest were self-constructed.

Demographic and control variables: Finally, a number of demographic and control variables are included in the questionnaire. These variables are age, gender, country of origin, country of origin of the parents, primary identity (national identity of the country concerned or other), religion, education, education of the parents, work of the parents and the prosperity and urbanicity of and number of immigrants in the area where the participant lives.

Summary of Doctorate-project proposal:

By: M.Sc. Arjan Reijerse
Promotor: Prof. Dr. Norbert Vanbeselaere
Co-promotor: Prof. Dr. Karen Phalet

TITLE:
National Identification, Identity Representations and the Acceptance of Non-EU Immigrants: A Comparative Study of Majority Youth in Seven EU-Countries.

SUMMARY:
The general topic of the proposed research project is the challenge that ethnic and cultural diversity constitute for social cohesion. The first aim of our study is to investigate the relationship between majority group national identification and reactions towards immigrants in several EU-countries. More specifically, we focus on the strength of national identification by young members of the majority group (i.e., local-born youth whose parents do not have a migration background) and their reactions towards the most devalued non-EU immigrant group. We are especially interested to investigate when and how national identification is associated with negative reactions towards immigrants.

National identities come with different ideological packages, which may be inclusive of immigrants to varying degrees. In our study, the main explanatory focus is on the different ways in which national identities may be represented, ranging from representations of the nation that are exclusive of immigrants (e.g., an ethnic/cultural representation of national identity) to those that are more inclusive (e.g., a civic/republican representation of national identity). We will argue that the specific content of a national identity (i.e., its representation, that which is actually being identified with) affects the relationship between national identification and reactions towards immigrants.

In order to study the potentially varied effects of national identification in different national contexts and to establish the construct validity and structural equivalence of different identity representations across countries, a cross-national comparative approach is necessary in which countries with different patterns of intergroup relations and different citizenship regimes (i.e., different views and legislation regarding citizenship) are studied. Therefore, we include seven EU-countries in our study, which vary considerably on those two criteria (Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden).

A second important aim of our study is to identify predictors of national identification and national identity representation at both the individual and country level. So far, studies have mainly tried to predict immigrant outgroup attitudes, using national identification only as an independent variable. Also, the way national identity is represented has been studied before, but very little to no research attention has focussed on where national identity representations come from. Taking a broad perspective from intergroup relations research, we consider the following possible predictors of national identification and national identity representation: First, we consider how people perceive their national intergroup context. What do they think about the number of immigrants entering their country and about cultural diversity? Second, we examine the perceptions of threat posed by immigrants. Do people perceive immigrants to be a threat to their interests, their identity and/or their safety? Third, we consider people's experience with intergroup contact. How do people experience contact with immigrants? Fourth, we examine host acculturation orientations. To what degree do people want immigrants to maintain their own culture and/or adopt aspects of the host culture? Fifth, we look at social categorization perspectives. How do people categorize different groups in society? Do they perceive different cultural groups as clearly separate groups or do they regard all of them as part of a greater whole? Finally, we assess social dominance orientation as a variable which may explain differences in national identification and national identity representation. Do majority group members strive to maintain a dominant social position relative to other groups in society?

There are several innovations and new contributions to the literature on national identification and national identity representation in our research project. I will mention the main ones here. For the first time our project offers a thorough cross-national comparative approach to the study of these concepts, which is necessary to establish the construct validity and structural equivalence of different

identity representations across countries. Second, compared to previous studies, in which the measurement of national identity representations was rather limited, we have created more elaborate measures for these representations. A third addition we have made is to measure some possible predictors of national identification and identity representation. Finally, we try to deal with two unresolved issues, namely the question wheather national identity representations function as moderators or mediators and wheather the ethnic/cultural and civic/republican representations constitute a single dimension of identity representation or two separate ones. This last issue is also important in establishing the construct validity and structural equivalence of these identity representations.

Finally, some short remarks on our research method and analysis. Our research amounts to a comparative cross-national survey study, using a standardized questionnaire. Our participants are high school students of around 16-18 years of age. In the first part of our analysis, the relationships between national identification ("independent" variable), representation of national identity ("independent"), attitudes towards immigrants ("dependent") and support and preferences regarding immigration, integration and citizenship policies ("dependent") will be investigated and compared across countries. In the second part of our analysis, we will investigate whether the perception of the national intergroup context, perceived threat posed by immigrants, intergroup contact, host acculturation orientation, categorization perspective and SDO ("independent" variables) predict national identification ("dependent") and national identity representation ("dependent") at both the individual and country level. In the analysis we will assess the construct validity and structural equivalence of our measures and our data-sets are likely to be analysed using confirmatory factor analysis, regression analyses and structural equation modelling.