

Identity security:

A quantitative approach for explaining the integration of receiving populations, immigrants, and ethnic minorities in Europe

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To my children, husband, and parents



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Abbreviations

(1) Countries included in the analysis

AT	Austria	HU	Hungary
BE	Belgium	IE	Ireland
CH	Switzerland	IT	Italy
CZ	Czech Republic	LU	Luxemburg
DE	Germany	NL	The Netherlands
DK	Denmark	NO	Norway
ES	Spain	PL	Poland
FI	Finland	PT	Portugal
FR	France	SE	Sweden
GB	United Kingdom	SI	Slovenia
GR	Greece		

(2) Statistical terms

ANOVA	analysis of variance
B	non-standardized regression coefficient
β	Beta, standardized regression coefficient
CFA	confirmatory factor analysis
CI	confidence interval
df	degrees of freedom
Δ	difference
F	test statistic (with F -distribution)
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy
M	mean
Max.	maximum
Min.	minimum
MSA	measure of sampling adequacy
N	number of cases
n. s.	not significant (at the $p < .05$ level)
p	measure of statistical significance
PCA	principle component analysis
r	Pearson's correlation coefficient
R	correlation coefficient
R^2	coefficient of determination

SD	standard deviation
SE	standard error of the mean
VIF	variance inflation factor
t	test statistic (with t-distribution)
χ and (χ^2)	Chi (Chi Square), test statistic (with chi-distribution)
ω and (ω^2)	Omega (Omega Squared), effect size measure associated with ANOVA
η and (η^2)	Eta (Eta Squared), effect size measure associated with ANOVA

(3) Terms concerning theory and model tests

BN	bi-nationals
FG	first generation immigrants
H	hypothesis
IG	ingroup
IM	migrant = immigrant or ethnic minority group member
INT	integration
IPT	interpersonal trust
IST	institutional trust
IR	identity resources
IT	identity theory
OG	outgroup
PT	performance trust
MA	majority population
SG	second generation immigrants
TG	third generation = third generation immigrants or member of ethnic minority
TH	identity threats
SIT	social identity theory
UF	unclassified foreigners

Abstract in English

Migration phenomena are not only relevant in today's global economy but also in the political and cultural self-definition of countries. Growing integration problems from the first to the third generation of migrants in many countries question existing beliefs about integration as an automatic adjustment over time. In the context of heated emotional and highly symbolic debates on migration and integration, this work proposes an alternative theoretical approach to the understanding of integration beyond the widespread structural theories, which have been criticized for overemphasizing indicators of social deprivation such as education and income that have so far produced rather unsatisfactory empirical results.

Thus, social psychological and micro sociological approaches to integration developed in recent years that appear to be more promising but are often limited to qualitative and experimental designs. This work sought to combine two very influential schools of thought from social psychology – *Social Identity Theory* – and from micro sociology – role based *Identity Theory* in the construction of a more comprehensive concept of a person's secure self-perception. The emerging concept of identity security states that secure self-perceptions – understood as the knowledge and certainty about who one is and what one does – support people to adjust to the experience of migration. From the perspective of the migrant, this means adjustments to a new social, economic, and cultural environment. From the perspective of the receiving society this means living with larger migrant communities that are often more assertive concerning their own cultures and ways of life than immigrants who came a generation or two ago. Thus, integration is understood as a two-way process demanding adjustments from both migrants and members of the receiving societies.

In this paper, integration has been defined as an attitudinal concept modeling ties to one's country through interpersonal trust, institutional and performance trust. Identity security was conceptualized through identity resources and identity threats derived from favorable and unfavorable conditions in a person's social environment.

Quantitative analysis utilizing data from 21 countries of the first round of the European Social Survey 2002/2003 was conducted to test the hypothesized relationships between identity security, threat responses, and integration.

The ESS variables allowed addressing some aspects of identity relevant to people's security of self-perception. Of the identity motives driving identity construction, self-efficacy could be represented well, but none of the others, which should also be considered important, such as continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem, or belonging. Identity processes of assimilation-adaptation and evaluation can be positively influenced by cognitive abilities, which were related to education. Identity enactment in terms of self-verification strongly depends on social support – a dimension that was also available from the ESS variables. The most interesting expression of identity security in this paper was the availability of

many sources of identity to a person. This was linked to the possession of many highly valued areas of life such as work, family, religion, or leisure as well as the person's engagement in diverse voluntary organizations and activities. This latter notion of identity security was reasoned to be strongly linked to the concept of balanced identity, which could not be related to the ESS data satisfactorily. Identity threats could be covered rather well through circumstances discussed at length by the research literature on undesirable life events including unemployment, divorce, or death of a spouse, social isolation, low income etc. As indirect expression of identity threat, three possible response reaction were discussed: 1) the strengthening of group boundaries resulting in ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation here covered as ethnic closure, 2) identity denial of a threatened component of identity leading to a narrowed identity structure and hence smaller flexibility in identity construction, and 3) making religion as an unthreatened component of a person's identity more salient to counteract the loss or depreciation of other identity components.

The analysis of the ESS data supported the hypothesis that identity security as the possession of identity resources and the absence of identity threats strengthened a person's ability to get along with others and increased its ties to the social and political system of one's present country of residence. Thereby, identity threats proved to be more damaging to integration than the possession of identity resources supported integration. Interestingly, the impact of identity threats on integration was not as severe for migrants as for members of the majority population. For both the majority population and migrants, multiple strong identities were by far the most important of the four presented identity resources in the development of trust and also as a buffer to the negative impact of various threats to identity to integration. Interestingly, education which is treated as the most important factor in integrating migrants from municipal to national authorities in most European countries, only reached the $p < .01$ level of significance for migrants in a multivariate linear regression of all four identity resources. For the majority, no relationship between integration and education was found in the data.

Identity threats affected members of the majority and immigrants or members of ethnic minorities somewhat differently. Whereas low income was the strongest threat to the majority members' integration, migrants were most affected by discrimination. Nevertheless, low income was also of importance there.

Ethnic closure (xenophobia), narrowed identity, and the salience of religious identity as non-adaptive response mechanisms and indirect measures of threatened identity related negatively to integration. However, the salience of religious identity was by far stronger related to identity threat than to a lack of trust, meaning that it in fact did contribute to the stabilization of a personality. This could not be said of ethnic closure. Being a clear expression of threat, it tended to make things for the individual worse by deteriorating intergroup relations – thus making it harder for migrants to develop trust in other people and in the institutions and socio-economic system of the majority group. Similarly, the

majority group also showed over proportional negative effects on trust than immigrants and ethnic minorities did when the inclination towards ethnic closure increased.

Treating integration as an interaction process between the majority and its immigrants and ethnic minorities, the analysis also showed that high trust in the majority population strongly influenced the level of trust in the migrant population, whereas high degrees of ethnic closure and outright xenophobia of the majority group also contributed to an ingroup orientation of migrants.

Supplementary analysis contained descriptions of the distribution of identity resources and identity threats among majority and migrant populations, the impact of this distribution on integration and thus the definition of potential target groups for integration policy. Additionally, the impact of group identity devaluation on threat response and integration was discussed adopting a gender sensitive approach as men and women generally identify themselves differently even apart from their gender identity.

From the distribution of identity resources and the probability to experience threats to one's identity, members of the third generation migrants fared particularly poor and should therefore be considered as a special target group in integration policy making.

The background of migration by itself posed no threat to a person's integration. Instead, having a dual national or cultural identity – as usually is the case for people who have parents from different countries – all of the four discussed identity resources were higher for the group of bi-nationals than for members of the majority. Potential difficulties in the development of trust should be considered for migrant women who had lower integration scores than men, exhibited greater perceptivity to identity threats, found themselves at a higher risk to experience low income, anticipated difficulties to being able to borrow money in an emergency situation, were more afraid to walk alone in their residential area after dark, and were more prone to lose their spouse. Migrant women also had considerably lower levels of self-efficacy – the identity motive argued to relate to the propensity to overcome such threats successfully.

In terms of policy recommendations, it was concluded that integration in a country is served best, when people are encouraged to live their many identities. Relating to Social Identity Theory, this enables people to cross-categorize more frequently and makes intergroup contacts and social engagement more likely. Letting people live their many identities also takes away attention from dividing categories such as nationality or ethnicity. As the negative impact of ethnic closure on integration is quite considerable, softening group boundaries by any other means should be welcomed. Policies that help people to balance identities and live up to the different demands they have from the different social roles they hold, such as work-life-balance models, will also be very useful in strengthening people's multiple identities. Nevertheless, the reduction of identity threats should also be paid proper respect, as trust is easier and faster to destroy than to develop. As such, anti-discrimination policies and the reduction of crime in disadvantaged residential areas are suitable approaches just as the attention to people suffering from social isolation from the adolescent to the old.

Abstract in German

Identitätssicherheit:

Ein quantitatives Model für die Erklärung der Integration von aufnehmenden Gesellschaften und Zuwanderern bzw. ethnischen Minderheiten in Europa

(Zusammenfassung)

Zuwanderungs- und Asylpolitik sind gegenwärtig kontrovers diskutierte Themen in Europa. Damit zusammenhängende Fragen der Integration bereits ansässiger Zuwanderer und ethnischer Minderheiten sind dabei kaum weniger umstritten. Beide Debatten sind stark polarisiert, ideologisiert und von sozialen Konflikten überlagert. Spätestens seit dem 11. September 2001 werden zusätzlich an sich berechnigte Ängste bezüglich der nationalen und persönlichen Sicherheit mit diesen Debatten vermischt, was insbesondere in Nordamerika und Westeuropa die Beziehungen zwischen der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft und diversen kulturellen, ethnischen und religiösen Minderheiten, vor allem den Muslimen, belastet. Seit die Terroranschläge von London und Madrid in den Folgejahren auch europäischen Metropolen ihre Verwundbarkeit vor Augen führten, hat zusätzlich der Aspekt der symbolischen Sicherheit an Bedeutung gewonnen. Die kulturelle, wirtschaftliche und politische Selbstidentität der Bevölkerungsmehrheiten scheint durch Zuwanderung in ähnlicher Weise in Frage gestellt, wie die Identität der Migranten, die mit einer für sie fremden kulturellen, sozialen und politischen Umwelt konfrontiert wird.

Als solches erscheint es sinnvoll, die Integration von Zuwanderern und ethnischen Minderheiten in Zusammenhang mit der Integration der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft zu betrachten. Für dieses Vorgehen spricht auch, dass eventuelle Abschließungsprozesse der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft und deren Fremdenfeindlichkeit sich auf die Integration sowohl der Mehrheitsgesellschaft als auch der Zuwanderer und der Minderheiten auswirkt, wie auch eine übermäßig starke Orientierung von ethnischen Gemeinschaften auf die eigene Gruppe den Kontakt mit Mitgliedern der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft und deren Institutionen erschwert und das Vertrauen der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft in die eigenen Institutionen untergräbt, die diese als nicht gewollt erscheinende Zuwanderung und ethnische Abschließung von Minderheitengruppen nicht unterbindet.

Forschungsziel und Einordnung des Vorhabens

Im Mittelpunkt dieser Dissertation stehen die Herausarbeitung eines Konzepts persönlicher Sicherheit basierend auf der Sicherheit des Selbstbilds der Person und die empirische Analyse, wie sich diese Sicherheit auf die Integration von Aufnahmegesellschaften und ihren Zuwanderern und ethnischen Minderheiten in Europa auswirkt.

Der Begriff Integration bedeutet in seinem lateinischen Ursprung, Teile zu einem Ganzen zusammenzufügen. Im politischen Kontext bedeutet er, Schulen, Wohnungen und öffentliche Einrichtungen allen Bevölkerungsgruppen in gleicher Weise zugänglich zu machen bzw. existierende Zugangsbarrieren zu entfernen. Aus individueller Perspektive bedeutet Integration, an der Gesellschaft teilzuhaben, Zeit mit anderen Mitgliedern dieser Gesellschaft zu verbringen, mit ihnen zurechtzukommen und dabei ihre Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen zu übernehmen.

Wenn in der Politik von Integration die Rede ist, geht es meist um eine Anpassung im Sinne von Angleichung von Bevölkerungsteilen in einer Reihe von Bereichen – begonnen mit der politisch-rechtlichen Situation vom Aufenthaltsstatus bis zum Wahlrecht. In der öffentlichen Diskussion um Integration und Chancengleichheit steht häufig der sozio-ökonomische Bereich im Vordergrund. Hier werden unter anderem eine höhere Arbeitslosigkeit von Migranten beklagt, niedrigere Einkommen, eine schlechtere Absicherung im Alter, schlechtere Wohnbedingungen und höhere Schulabbrecherquoten. Im Bereich der soziokulturellen Integration geht es um die Anpassung von Werten und Einstellungen von Bevölkerungsminderheiten an die Bevölkerungsmehrheit soweit dies in europäischen pluralistischen Gesellschaften überhaupt eine Rolle spielt bzw. messbar ist, beziehungsweise den Erwerb bestimmten kulturellen Wissens, zu dem die Sprachfähigkeit gehört. In den Bereich der soziokulturellen Integration gehören auch Intergruppenbeziehungen, unter anderem interethnische Kontakte oder die Wahrnehmung von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund durch die Mehrheitsgesellschaft sowie die Wahrnehmung der Aufnahmegesellschaften von Zuwanderern und ethnischen Minderheiten.¹

Dieser vorwiegend strukturell definierte Integrationsbegriff wird in letzter Zeit von Sozialwissenschaftlern kritisiert, die argumentieren, dass Integration häufig unabhängig von quantifizierbarem Erfolg im Bildungssystem und auf dem Arbeitsmarkt ist und sich stattdessen viel stärker mit individuellen Einstellungen und Motivationen verbindet. Daher sollten vielmehr die Einstellungen gegenüber dem Aufnahmeland betrachtet werden.²

¹ Siehe Alfons Fermin und Sara Kjellstrand, Study on Immigration, Integration, and Social Cohesion, Final Report (Rotterdam: Erasmus Universität, 2005). Ähnliche Modelle finden sich in Rinus Penninx, "Integration policies for Europe's immigrants: Performance, conditions, and challenges", Expertise für den Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration (2004), online, <http://www.bamf.de/template/zuwanderungsrat/expertisen/expertise_penninx.pdf>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008; Han Entzinger und Renske Biezeveld, Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration, Bericht für die Europäische Kommission (2003), online, <<http://publishing.eur.nl/ir/repub/asset/1180/SOC-2003-011.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008 sowie Friedrich Heckmann, Integration Policies in Europe: National differences or convergence? European Forum for Migration Studies Paper 33 (Bamberg: EFMS, 1999).

² Douglas S. Massey und Ilana Redstone Akresh, "Immigrant intentions and mobility in a global economy: the attitudes and behavior of recently arrived U.S. immigrants" Social Science Quarterly 87.5 (2006): 954-971.

Nesdale und Mak kamen zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Identifikation mit dem Aufnahmeland nicht mit persönlichem Erfolg in Beziehung zu setzen ist, sondern damit, ob sie sich als Bürger dieses Landes betrachten, stolz darauf sind, ein Teil von ihm zu sein, und diese Zugehörigkeit von Personen der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft bestätigt wird.³

Doerschler zeigte drüber hinaus, dass die Einwanderungsmotivation ein überraschend starker Faktor für die Identifikation mit dem Aufnahmeland und für die politische Partizipation von Zuwanderern ist. Bestimmte Erwartungen und eine von vorn herein bestehende positive Einschätzung des Landes trügen demzufolge entscheidend zu integrativem Verhalten bei.⁴

Dieser Argumentation folgend, soll Integration hier als einstellungsbasierte Größe erfasst und sowohl politisch und als auch sozial als Bindung an das jeweilige (Aufnahme-)Land, seine Menschen und Institutionen verstanden werden – im Sinne von interpersonellem Vertrauen, Institutionenvertrauen und Performanzvertrauen. Auf eine Unterscheidung in soziale und politische Integration wird hier bewusst verzichtet, weil gerade das politische Vertrauen ein wichtiger Indikator für die Bindung an das jeweilige (Aufnahme-)Land ist.

Integration scheint darüber hinaus in hohem Maße mit der individuellen Identität und der Wahrnehmung persönlicher Sicherheit verbunden zu sein. Viele Integrationsstudien beschäftigten sich bereits mit Veränderungen im nationalen und ethnischen Selbstverständnis von Zuwanderern.⁵ Für die Bereitschaft sich Neuem zu öffnen, ist aber die Wahrnehmung persönlicher Sicherheit ausschlaggebend. Begreift man Immigration als eine Erfahrung extrem schnellen und umfassenden sozialen Wandels, so ist persönliche Sicherheit eine Grundbedingung für erfolgreiche Anpassungsprozesse im Aufnahmeland. Aus der Sicht der Aufnahmegesellschaft ist die Wahrnehmung persönliche Sicherheit eine ebenso notwendige Voraussetzung für die Interaktion mit Zuwanderern und Angehörigen ethnischer Minderheiten sowie die Auseinandersetzung mit zwar wesentlich langsameren, dafür aber als aufgezwungen empfundenen sozialen Veränderungsprozessen, die nur teilweise mit Zuwanderung in Verbindung stehen. In der Identitätsforschung wurde in den letzten Jahren auch die Forderung laut, den Menschen stärker als Gesamtheit seiner verschiedenen Selbstdefinitionen zu begreifen anstatt ihn auf einzelne – wie seine nationale oder kulturelle – einzuschränken.⁶ Dieses Forschungsdesiderat wird nach und nach von Studien ausgefüllt, die sich mit mehreren Identitäten bzw. dem Ineinandergreifen verschiedener Identitäten befassen – viele davon haben bereits einen Bezug zur

³ Drew Nesdale und Anita S. Mak, "Immigrant acculturation attitudes and host country identification" Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 10 (2000): 493.

⁴ Peter Doerschler, "Push-pull factors and immigrant political integration in Germany" Social Science Quarterly 87.5 (2006): 1100-1116.

⁵ Zum Beispiel Regine Penitsch, Migration und Identität: Eine Mikrostudie unter marokkanischen Studenten und Studentinnen in Berlin. Berliner Beiträge zur Ethnologie 2. (Berlin: Weißensee Verlag, 2003); Kofler, Angelika, Migration, Emotion, Identities: The Subjective Meaning of Difference, Diss. Universität Wien (Wien: Braumüller, 2002); Gaby Voigt, Selbstbilder im Dazwischen. Wie afghanische Migranten ihre Identität konstruieren (Frankfurt a. M.: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2002).

⁶ Unter anderem Deborah E. S. Frable, "Gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, and class identities" Annual Review of Psychology 48 (1997): 139-162 oder Beatrice Rammstedt, "Welche Vorhersagekraft hat die individuelle Persönlichkeit für inhaltliche sozialwissenschaftliche Variablen?" ZUMA-Arbeitsbericht 1 (2007): 1.

Integrationsproblematik.⁷ Außerdem wurde auch der förderliche Charakter von vielfältigen sozialen Rollen und die Ausgewogenheit dieser verschiedenen Rollen auf das Wohlbefinden – einem wichtigen Ausdruck psychischer Sicherheit – herausgestellt.⁸

Diese Arbeit legt ebenfalls Wert auf die Vielfalt von Identitäten und untersucht verschiedene weitere Aspekte, von denen angenommen werden darf, dass sie die Sicherheit von Selbstwahrnehmung unterstützen, denn persönliche Sicherheit beginnt mit einem gesicherten, positiven Selbstbild. Dabei folgt diese Untersuchung der Empfehlung von Stets und Burke sowie Hogg, Terry und White, die beiden großen Strömungen in der Identitätsforschung – Soziale Identitätstheorie und Identitätstheorie – zu verknüpfen.⁹

Soziale Identitätstheorie ist ein sozialpsychologischer Ansatz, der sich auf Gruppenprozesse konzentriert und die Auswirkungen von Gruppenmitgliedschaften und den damit verbundenen Identitäten für das Individuum untersucht. Identitätstheorie ist ein mikrosoziologischer Ansatz, der sich mit Rollenidentitäten und Rollenverhalten befasst. Beide untersuchen Prozesse und Bedingungen, die zur Sicherheit der Gesamtidentität eines Menschen beitragen. Dies sind insbesondere die von der Sozialen Identitätstheorie beschriebenen Mechanismen der Identitätskonstruktion sowie deren Motive, auch Identitätsprinzipien genannt. Zu ihnen gehören insbesondere das Bedürfnis, sich von anderen positiv zu unterscheiden (Einzigartigkeit), 2) das Bedürfnis, bei allen Veränderungen, das Gefühl zu bewahren, immer noch ein- und dieselbe Person zu sein (Kontinuität), 3) das Bedürfnis, durch sein Handeln etwas bewirken zu können (Selbstwirksamkeit) und 4) Selbstwert.¹⁰ Weitere Identitätsprinzipien wurden untersucht, fanden aber in der Literatur weniger starke Resonanz. Aus der Perspektive der Identitätstheorie ist das Motiv der Selbstverifizierung bei der Übersetzung von Identität in Verhalten von besonderem Interesse. Individuelle Bedingungen, die zur Befriedigung dieser Motive beitragen, werden als Identitätsressourcen betrachtet, während diejenigen, die ein potentiell Hindernis für die Befriedigung eines oder mehrerer dieser Motive darstellen, als Identitätsbedrohungen angesehen werden. Demzufolge besteht das hier vorgeschlagene Modell der Identitätssicherheit aus dem Vorhandensein von Identitätsressourcen und der Abwesenheit von Identitätsbedrohungen. Beide Größen sind zusätzlich

⁷ Zum Beispiel Elisabeth Allès, "The Chinese-speaking Muslims (Dungans) of Central Asia: A case of multiple identities in a changing context" *Asian Ethnicity* 6.2 (2005): 121-134; Carmen Braun Williams, "Counseling African American women: multiple identities – multiple constraints" *Journal of Counseling & Development* 83 (2005): 278-283; Henry T. Trueba, "Multiple ethnic, racial and cultural identities in action: from marginality to a new cultural capital in modern society" *Journal of Latinos and Education* 1.1 (2002): 7-28 oder Mark A. Freeman, "Mapping multiple identities within the self-concept: psychological constructions of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict" *Self & Identity* 2.1 (2003): 61-83.

⁸ Peggy A. Thoits "Multiple identities and psychological well-being: A reformulation and test of the social isolation hypothesis" *American Sociological Review* 48.2 (1983): 174-187; Stephen R. Marks und Shelley M. MacDermid, "Multiple roles and the self: A theory of role balance" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 58.2 (1996): 417-432.

⁹ Jan E. Stets und Peter J. Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63.3 (2000): 224-237 sowie Michael A. Hogg, Deborah J. Terry und Katherine M. White, "A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58.4 (1995): 255-269.

¹⁰ Dora Capozza und Rupert Brown, Hrsg., *Social Identity Processes* (London: Sage, 2000) und Glynis M. Breakwell, "Social representational constraints upon identity processes" *Representations of the Social*, hrsg. v. Kay Deaux und Gina Philogène (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001) 271-285.

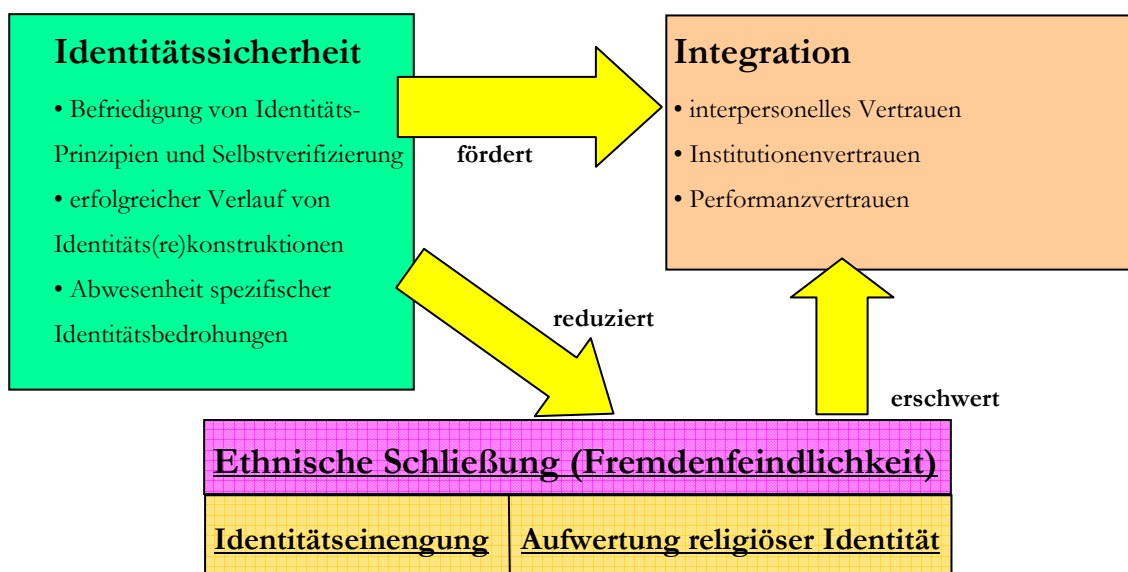
miteinander verbunden. Es wird angenommen, dass Identitätsressourcen den Einfluss von Identitätsbedrohungen abschwächen können. Für den Schutz bedrohter Identität stehen dem Individuum verschiedene Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung. Darunter findet sich die Aufwertung der eigenen Gruppe auf Kosten einer oder mehrerer Außengruppen – ein grundlegender Prozess, der unter anderem der Fremdenfeindlichkeit zugrunde liegt. Zu beobachten ist auch die Verstärkung einer als positiv betrachteten Identität auf Kosten anderer, einschließlich der ursprünglich bedrohten. Letzterer Prozess kann auch als eine Einengung der Gesamtidentität im Sinne einer Begrenzung dauerhaft und situativ verfügbarer Wahlmöglichkeiten von Teilidentitäten betrachtet werden.

Das Erklärungsmodell

Es wird behauptet, dass Identitätssicherheit Menschen dabei hilft, sich in die Gesellschaft zu integrieren und Bindungen zu anderen Menschen und zu Institutionen aufzubauen sowie Vertrauen in die Leistungsfähigkeit der gesellschaftlichen Systeme zu entwickeln. Fremdenfeindlichkeit und eine eingengte Gesamtidentität werden als Folge unsicherer oder verletzter Identität betrachtet, welche die Gesamtidentität stabilisieren helfen, dies jedoch häufig nur kurzfristig.

Da die Bedingung unsicherer Identität Integration beeinträchtigt, müssen Fremdenfeindlichkeit und eine verengte Identität als Ausdruck von Unsicherheit die Integration ebenfalls negativ beeinflussen. Dabei können Fremdenfeindlichkeit und Identitätseinengung bzw. die Aufwertung religiöser Identität durchaus als alternative oder einander ergänzende Schutzmechanismen fungieren.

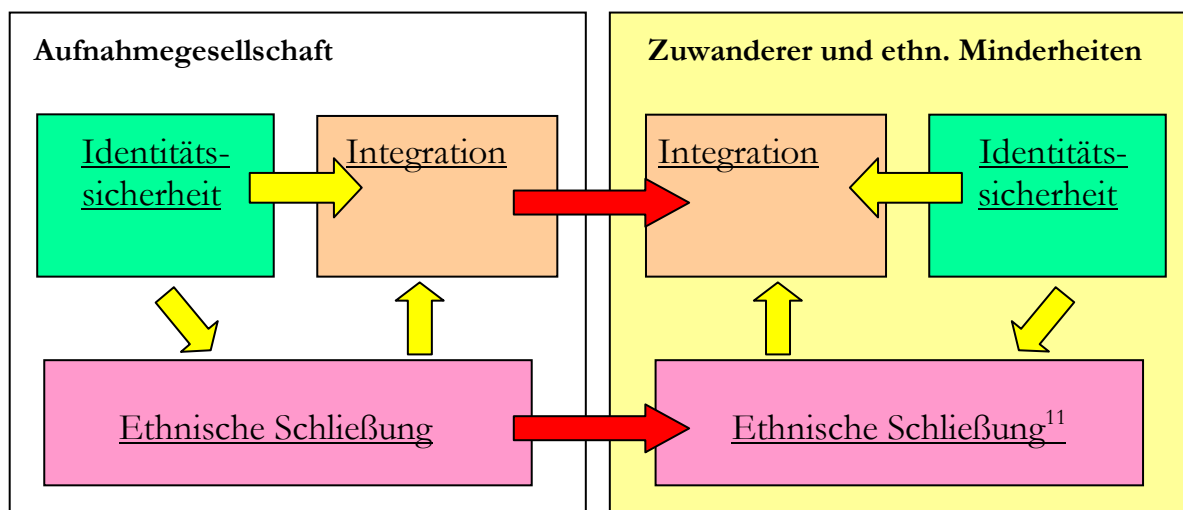
Abbildung 1: Einfaches Modell



Quelle: eigenes Modell.

Zieht man nun die beiden Teilpopulationen von Mehrheitsgesellschaft und Zuwanderern bzw. ethnischen Minderheiten in Betracht, kann darüber hinaus auch noch von einer sich gegenseitig verstärkenden oder abschwächenden Beziehung von Außengruppenabwertung (Fremdenfeindlichkeit) einerseits und von Integration andererseits ausgegangen werden. Im Fall der Integration sind einander verstärkende Effekte zu erwarten, da Menschen in Bezug auf interpersonelles Vertrauen in der Regel positiv auf entgegengebrachtes Vertrauen und Offenheit anderer reagieren. Sie entwickeln auch Vertrauen in Institutionen und in die Leistungsfähigkeit gesellschaftlicher Systeme durch das Vorbild anderer. Es ist zu erwarten, dass die Wahrnehmung von Fremdenfeindlichkeit der jeweils anderen Gruppe bestehende Konflikte zwischen den Gruppen verstärkt, da die Außengruppenabwertung der einen Gruppe eine Bedrohung der Identität der anderen Gruppe darstellt und wiederum eine Aufwertung der eigenen auf Kosten der anderen Gruppe verlangt. Sowohl in Bezug auf Integration als auch in Bezug auf Fremdenfeindlichkeit kann angenommen werden, dass der Einfluss der Aufnahmegesellschaft auf Zuwanderer und ethnische Minderheiten größer ist als der Einfluss der Minderheiten auf die Mehrheitsgesellschaft aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Größe der beiden Teilpopulationen. Identitätssicherheit und Identitätseinengungen sind dagegen ihrem Charakter nach zu stark auf das einzelne Individuum bezogen, um sie direkt mit Intergruppenprozessen in Beziehung zu setzen.

Abbildung 2: Erweitertes Modell



Quelle: eigenes Modell.

¹¹ Dieser Begriff bezieht sich für die Zuwanderer und ethnischen Minderheiten ebenfalls auf die Abwertung von Mitgliedern anderer Gruppen (nicht der eigenen) – das heißt, von Mitgliedern der Aufnahmegesellschaft und von diversen Minderheiten bzw. von Neuzuwanderern im Sinne der Unterscheidung zwischen etablierten und neuen Zuwanderern.

Ergebnisse der empirischen Untersuchung

Für die empirische Analyse wurde die erste Runde des *European Social Survey* (ESS) 2002/2003 ausgewählt. Dieser Datensatz enthält zahlreiche Variablen, mit deren Hilfe die Einstellungen betreffende Dimension von Integration sowie Aspekte von Identität abgebildet werden können. Er enthält zudem ein spezielles Modul zu zuwanderungsbezogenen Einstellungen. Bei der Länderauswahl wurde Israel ausgeschlossen, da die Besonderheiten des Nahen Ostens in dieser Untersuchung nicht diskutiert werden sollten. Auf der anderen Seite wurden sämtliche 21 europäischen Länder beibehalten, um den Vorteil einer komfortabel großen Fallzahl nutzen zu können.

Für die Makroanalysen wurden die länderspezifischen Mittelwertaggregate der benötigten Variablen gebildet und mit Hilfe von linearen und quadratischen Regressionen zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt. Diese Regressionsmodelle produzierten ansehnliche Effektgrößen. Die Regression von Identitätsressourcen und Identitätsbedrohungen auf Integration erklärte 79,6 Prozent der Gesamtvarianz für die Bevölkerungsmehrheit, $F(2, 18) = 35.0$, $p < .001$, $R = .892$, und 57,1 Prozent für Migranten, $F(2, 18) = 12.0$, $p < .001$, $R = .756$. Dabei übertraf der standardisierte Beta-Koeffizient der Identitätsbedrohungen für beide Gruppen deutlich den der Identitätsressourcen.

Wie im Modell vorgesehen, ließ sich ethnische Schließung als Reaktion auf bedrohte Identität sowohl für die Aufnahmegesellschaft, $F(1, 19) = 36.7$, $p < .001$, $R = .812$, als auch für die Migranten, $F(1, 19) = 23.5$, $p < .001$, $R = .743$, darstellen. Der negative Einfluss von Fremdenfeindlichkeit auf Integration ließ sich ebenfalls durch eine Regression abbilden. Er enthielt für beide Gruppen noch eine schwache quadratische Komponente, d.h. eine stärkere Akzentuierung von Gruppengrenzen und Ingroup-Orientierung für zu einem leicht überproportionalen Abfall von interpersonalem und politischem Vertrauen, $F_{MA}(2, 18) = 7.04$, $p < .01$, $R = .663$ und $F_{IM}(2, 18) = 3.42$, $p < .05$, $R = .525$.

Eine sehr starke direkte Verbindung ergab sich auch zwischen dem Integrationsniveau der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft mit dem ihrer Zuwanderer und ethnischen Minderheiten. Diese konnte ebenfalls durch ein lineares Regressionsmodell bestätigt werden, $F(1, 19) = 283.8$, $p < .001$, $R = .968$. Das Gleiche war der Fall bei der Beziehung zwischen der ethnischen Schließung bzw. Ingroup-Orientierung beider Gruppen, wenngleich in etwas geringerem Ausmaß als beim Integrationsniveau, $F(1, 19) = 60.6$, $p < .001$, $R = .873$.

Erwartungsgemäß waren die Effekte bei den Mikroanalysen deutlich geringer, aufgrund der großen Variation zwischen den einzelnen Individuen und verschiedener länderspezifischer Einflussgrößen, die bei den Analysen nicht kontrolliert wurden. Die prognostizierten Zusammenhänge konnten jedoch auch in den Mikroanalysen bestätigt werden. Im Großen und Ganzen blieb das Verhältnis von Identitätsressourcen und Identitätsbedrohungen als Erklärungsfaktoren für Integration für beide Bevölkerungsgruppen stabil.

Multiple Identitäten waren die wichtigste Identitätsressource für die Ausbildung von interpersonalem und politischen Vertrauen sowohl für Migranten als auch für Mitglieder der Mehrheitsgesellschaften. In einer multivariaten Regressionsanalyse, die neben den Identitätsressourcen auch Identitätsbedrohungen und nicht-adaptive Responsemechanismen einschloss, zeigte sich zudem ein sehr starker negativer Einfluss der Effekte ethnischer Schließung auf die Integration beider Gruppen, der deutlich stärker war als der positive Zusammenhang mit multiplen Identitäten. Die weiter abgebildeten Responsemechanismen, verengte Identitätsstruktur und die Salienz religiöser Identität, spielten dagegen bei beiden Gruppen eine eher untergeordnete Rolle. Für Zuwanderer und ethnische Minderheiten war Diskriminierungserfahrung ebenfalls ein sehr starker negativer Integrationsfaktor, während für die Mehrheitsgesellschaft sozioökonomische Bedingungen – wie die Einschätzung des eigenen Haushaltseinkommens und die Angst, sich nachts allein im eigenen Wohngegend zu bewegen – eine wichtigere Rolle spielten als für Migranten.

Zusätzliche geschlechts- und migrationsspezifische Vergleiche zeigten Unterschiede bei den Identitätsressourcen von Frauen und Männern sowie von Personen mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund und deren Betroffenheit von identitätsbeeinträchtigenden Bedingungen. Frauen verfügten generell über ein geringeres Niveau an Selbstwirksamkeit als Männer und Migrantinnen hatten niedrigere Werte als Frauen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Frauen und Migranten nahmen potentielle Identitätsbedrohungen und Benachteiligungen stärker wahr als Männer der Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Migrantinnen hatten noch einmal eine stärkere Bedrohungswahrnehmung als Migrantenmänner und Mitglieder der Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Eine genauere Betrachtung der Migrantengruppen zeigte eine deutliche Schlechterstellung von Zuwanderern der dritten Generation bzw. ethnischen Minderheiten hinsichtlich der Betroffenheit und der Wahrnehmung von Identitätsbedrohungen. Statt der erfolgreichen Integration von Zuwanderern über drei Generationen, die die früheren Integrationstheoretiker beobachteten, stellten die ESS-Daten einen stufenweisen Abstieg von der ersten zur dritten Generation insbesondere bei der Ausbildung von politischem Vertrauen fest. Faktorielle Varianzanalysen verdeutlichten weiterhin, dass Frauen auf Identitätsbeeinträchtigungen im Vergleich zu Männern mit einem stärkeren Anstieg fremdenfeindlicher Einstellungen und der Aufwertung religiöser Identität reagierten und Männer stärker durch eine Abwertung oder Verneinung beeinträchtigter Identitäten.

Das hier vorgeschlagene Erklärungsmodell erreichte auf der Individualdatenebene eine mittlere Erklärungskraft. Bei der Integration der Migranten konnte dabei etwas mehr Varianz (insgesamt 16,3%, $F(10, 2550) = 50.8, p < .001, R = .407$) als bei der Integration von Mitgliedern der Mehrheitsgesellschaft (15,4%, $F(10, 15813) = 289.4, p < .001, R = .393$) gebunden werden.

Schlussfolgerungen

Entsprechend der präsentierten empirischen Analyse, kann Integration am besten durch die Reduzierung von Fremdenfeindlichkeit und die Unterstützung der Menschen in ihren

vielfältigen Identitäten gefördert werden, wobei der Reduzierung häufiger Identitätsbedrohungen im sozialstrukturellen Umfeld von Menschen ebenfalls große Aufmerksamkeit gebührt. Obwohl Integration und Fremdenfeindlichkeit miteinander verbundene Konzepte sind, müssen sich die Förderung ersterer und die Bekämpfung letzterer an unterschiedlichen Bedingungsbeziehungen orientieren. Die der Arbeit zugrunde liegende Identitätsperspektive verbindet sich mit der Empfehlung, die integrationspolitische Rolle der lokalen Ebene zu stärken, da diese den Einwohnern, ihren Lebenssituationen und Bedürfnissen am nächsten ist. Eine identitätsbasierte Integrationspolitik bezieht sich vorrangig auf Quartiersplanung und -entwicklung, die darauf abzielt, die Kriminalität benachteiligter Viertel zu bekämpfen, die Wohnqualität zu verbessern und eine funktionierende öffentliche Infrastruktur einschließlich öffentlicher Räume, Einkaufsmöglichkeiten, Wohltätigkeitsorganisationen, bezahlbarem öffentlichen Nahverkehr zu schaffen. Auch die Unterstützung nachbarschaftlicher Solidarität und Zivilcourage sowie die institutionelle Unterstützung für gemeinnützige Vereine und Organisationen und Freiwilligenengagement kann aus der Perspektive dieser Arbeit empfohlen werden. Ein weiteres Ziel sollte die Bekämpfung sozialer Exklusion sowie die öffentliche Unterstützung des Gleichheitspostulats und des regen Austausches zwischen allen Bevölkerungsgruppen vor Ort darstellen, so dass Brücken zwischen Generationen, Geschlechtern, Kulturen und Religionen, aber auch zwischen Behinderten und Nichtbehinderten und diversen Interessengruppen entstehen können.

Diese Politikansätze sind auch geeignet, Fremdenfeindlichkeit zu reduzieren, insbesondere die Bekämpfung sozialer Exklusion und die Verhinderung von Diskriminierung und Stigmatisierung einzelner Bevölkerungsgruppen durch lokale Behörden. Zusätzlich kommt vor allem der Bildung im Sinne der Entwicklung und des Trainings kognitiver Fähigkeiten eine Schlüsselrolle zu, die Menschen dazu in die Lage versetzt, auf andere als die nichtadaptiven Reaktionsmechanismen zur Bewältigung von Identitätskrisen zuzugreifen und sich für neue Ideen und Perspektiven zu öffnen. Soziale Beziehungen im Sinne von sozialen Interaktionen sind ebenfalls hilfreich für die Reduzierung von Fremdenfeindlichkeit. Daher sollte Risikogruppen für soziale Isolation – von schlecht integrierten Jugendlichen bis hin zu älteren, kranken und behinderten Menschen, die allein leben – genügend Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden.

1. Introduction

Migration and asylum policy is an extremely contested political issue in contemporary Western Europe and North America. It is often a central theme in local and national elections, and it has become the key campaigning issue for increasingly powerful parties on the far right in many countries. Public and scholarly debates on immigration are now about as polarized as they possibly could be and the available arguments are “most frequently used to attain political goals.”¹² Defenders of immigration claim that newcomers renew our countries both economically and socially.¹³ Opponents argue that immigrants overstretch the welfare systems of receiving countries, harm national and local economies, and affect the receiving countries cultures adversely.¹⁴

Interestingly, when most Western countries recruited large numbers of foreign workers in the 1950s and 1960s, the public paid little attention to immigration issues, as immigration policies back then were almost exclusively determined by the political elites and their social partners; satisfying the Western economies’ demand for labor and following these countries’ interests in international relations. In the 1970s and 1980s, migration and asylum policy became increasingly politicized, when this form of elite policy-making could no longer be sustained:

Immigration began to be perceived as impacting on a range of critical social questions: unemployment, the welfare state, cultural identity, and even public order. Increasing concerns about the impact of immigration were partly a function of changes in the scale and composition of flows. This period saw larger numbers of immigrants and asylum-seekers arriving from developing countries, as well as an increased proportion of women, children, and old people, who required more extensive state engagement in providing welfare and social assistance. Patterns of flows were also changing, generating concerns about controlling illegal flows and limiting abuse of asylum systems and possibilities for family reunion. Yet this growing anxiety about immigration was also a function of broader socio-economic changes linked to globalization and the changing role of the state. Insecurities about employment, welfare state reform, and collective identity were readily channeled into concerns about immigration. In this context, political parties found they had high incentives to compete to mobilize support through promises to control and restrict migration and asylum.¹⁵

These identity and security concerns prevail and strongly influence current debates on immigration and integration in Europe.

¹² David M. Reimers, Unwelcome Strangers: American Identity and the Turn Against Immigration (New York: Columbia UP, 1998) 88.

¹³ See e.g. Joel Millman, The Other Americans: How Immigrants Renew Our Country, Our Economy, and Our Values (New York: Viking, 1997) 316-317.

¹⁴ See e.g. Peter Brimelow, Alien Nation: Common Sense About America’s Immigration Disaster (New York: Harper, 1996) 146-151.

¹⁵ Christina Boswell, European Migration Policies in Flux: Changing Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion, Chatham House Papers, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) 9f.

1.1 Identity and security aspects in current immigration debates

Boswell observed a growing tendency in a number of Western European countries to question various assumptions made about the integration of foreigners in the second half of the past century and the policies based on them.¹⁶ Doubts about the success of integration policies have also been fed by a number of specific events – the riots in the north of England, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on the United States, the murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, the repeated uproar of third-generation immigrant youth in the French *banlieus*, terrorist attacks in Madrid, and rising concerns of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism in virtually all major European cities.

The perceived ineffectiveness of integration policies also nourish highly sensitive debates about multiculturalism and self-identity in countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands, or the United Kingdom as people perceive a link between the level of immigration, a failure to integrate immigrants, and terrorism.¹⁷

Accordingly, this feeds on already existing fears from various sources, brings them into the arena of public immigration and integration debate, and by doing so often distorts the subject. The debate is also full of symbolic threats and identity issues readily flowing together:

The West is dying. Its nations have ceased to reproduce, and their populations have stopped growing and begun to shrink. Not since the Black Death carried off a third of Europe in the fourteenth century has there been a graver threat to the survival of Western civilization. Today, in seventeen European countries, there are more burials than births, more coffins than cradles. The countries are Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Russia. Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox – all the Christian faiths are represented in the great death march of the West. (...) Since *The Death of the West* was published in January 2002, the four threats to the survival of Western civilization that it identified – Third World immigrant invasions, the dying out of European peoples, the menace of multiculturalism, the rise of a world socialist superstate – have become the headline issues from Melbourne to Moscow. These mega-issues will dominate our lives as totally as did the Cold War, and how we manage them will determine whether America and the West survive.¹⁸

As another example, the debate about headscarves in classrooms revealed that the core of the debate was not a question of defending democratic values against Islamic extremism, but rather a reflection of social closure and an attempt for cultural exclusion of a minority culture in the name of identity:

Die Tatsache, dass in der Debatte kaum oder gar nicht geprüft wurde, ob ein Kopftuchverbot wirklich ein unverzichtbares Instrument zur Abwehr der durchaus vorhandenen und sehr ernst zu nehmenden Bedrohung der bundesdeutschen

¹⁶ Boswell 86.

¹⁷ Boswell 1.

¹⁸ Patrick J. Buchanan, *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2002) 9, 269.

Demokratie durch den islamischen Extremismus ist, zeigt, dass im Konflikt um das Kopftuch nicht die Abwehr des Islamismus im Zentrum stand, sondern in dieser Kontroverse je länger desto mehr indirekt die Frage der kulturellen Identität und der sozialen Abschließung der überkommenen deutschen Mehrheitsgesellschaft politisch zugespitzt worden ist.¹⁹

The observed new forms of anxiety could also be linked to the decline of traditional bonds of solidarity and related collective identities such as class, church, ideology, or the nation-state. Other (collective) identities are sought instead, and may lead to “solidarity from anxiety”²⁰ as Beck termed it. Solidarity from anxiety is less coherent or rational than previous forms of collective identity and solidarity such as in the case of class commitment aimed at rather concrete material objects. Through the lack of clear material goals, a new solidarity or identity tends to project diffuse and rather ill-defined insecurity onto merely symbolic targets – immigrants or ethnic minorities for example.²¹ Thus, vague concerns about employment, schooling, social security, crime, or identity are transferred onto the immigration ‘problem’.²²

Infusing these fears into integration concerns is not without risks. Moreover, when immigrants and ethnic minorities are characterized as problematic, they will hardly be motivated to develop a sense of identification or loyalty to their host societies. However, effective integration relies on the sense of belonging and affinity easily undermined by incidences of racism and discrimination.²³ According to Castles, the integration of immigrants into host societies would progress far more smoothly if immigrants would not experience exclusion. That is why emphasizing the individual responsibility of immigrants for their integration may be counterproductive. Putting immigrants and ethnic minorities in a defensive position causes a more hostile and charged debate.²⁴

In European countries, costs of migration have largely been focused on the abuse of asylum, irregular employment, and illegal entry.²⁵ These and other threat perceptions have triggered doubts about the suitability of current integration policy and the general ability of states to protect their citizens against threats posed by “outsiders.” These fears have already been nurtured by a persistent anti-asylum, anti-illegal immigration discourse in the public media over the past decades. Right-wing parties seeking to mobilize support for anti-immigration issues also exploited threat perceptions and fears. The success of right-wing populist parties in elections in Austria, Denmark, France, Italy, and the Netherlands show the effectiveness of these policies in generating public support.²⁶ Of course, this

¹⁹ Antonius Liedhegener, “Streit um das Kopftuch. Staat, Religion und Religionspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland” *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 15.4 (2005) 1197.

²⁰ Beck, Ulrich, *Risikogesellschaft: Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1992) 49.

²¹ Ibid. 75.

²² Etienne Balibar, “Racism and crisis” *Race, Nation and Class*, eds. Etienne Balibar, and Immanuel Wallerstein (London and New York: Verso, 1991) 219.

²³ Stephen Castles, “Migrations and minorities in Europe – Perspectives for the 1990s: Eleven hypotheses” *Racism and Migration in Western Europe*, eds. John Solomos, and Jon Wrench (Oxford: Berg, 1993) 28.

²⁴ Boswell 92f.

²⁵ Boswell 2.

²⁶ Boswell 1f.

instrumentalization is only possible because fears are not properly addressed by the other parties, sometimes due to a well-minded “political correctness”. However, the electoral success of right-wing populist parties across Europe with right-wing party votes sometimes reaching heights of more than 20 percent²⁷ – is also fuelled by a different development – the anti-establishment populism.²⁸ This populism becomes more related with migration and identity issues – the disapproval of governments unable to deal with increasing unemployment, protest against welfare and pension reforms in a number of Western European countries further contribute to perceptions of increased economic competition and fear for one’s personal well-being, which in turn increases safety concerns and reduces levels of tolerance.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 were not just physical attacks on the United States. People in the US suddenly felt vulnerable in a way unknown ever before in American history. 9/11 revealed that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans no longer guaranteed homeland security. In addition, the Cold War threat of Soviet missiles having the capability to reach targets in the United States was quickly forgotten after the collapse and breakup of the Soviet Union. Terrorism is not so much a physical military threat – nobody can deny the overwhelming superiority of the US armed forces over any possible opponent in the contemporary world system. However, it is to a much larger extent a threat to American and Western identity. The new threat of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism can be seen as a logic extension of the fault line wars between civilizations Huntington described for the 1990s: Many conflicts with multiple and complex causes start out locally and later become focused and hardened increasingly deserving to be called identity wars. The increase in violence leads the conflicting sides to redefine themselves more exclusively as “us” against “them” thus enhancing group cohesion and commitment. Political leaders appeal to ethnic and religious loyalties and a hate dynamics develops comparable to the “security dilemma” in international relations, described by Posen, in which mutual distrust, fears, and hatred feed on each other.²⁹ Both sides magnify the distinction claiming to be the forces of virtue whereas the others are demonized as forces of evil. The fault line wars follow a similar pattern as revolutions – over time the moderates lose out to radicals.³⁰

In one way or another, diasporas and kin countries have been involved in every fault line war in the 1990s. Given the extensive primary role of Muslim groups in such wars, Muslim governments and associations are the most frequent secondary and tertiary participants. The most active have been the governments of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and Libya, who together, at times with other Muslim states, have contributed varying degrees of support to Muslims fighting non-Muslims in

²⁷ John Veugelers, and André Magnan, “Conditions of far-right strength in contemporary Western Europe: an application of Kitschelt’s theory” *European Journal of Political Research* 44.6 (2005): 839.

²⁸ Jens Rydgren, “Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family” *European Journal of Political Research* 44.3 (2005): 413.

²⁹ Barry R. Posen, “The security dilemma and ethnic conflict” *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, ed. Michael E. Brown (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 103-124.

³⁰ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 2nd edition (New York: Touchstone, 1997) 266.

Palestine, Lebanon, Bosnia, Chechnya, the Transcaucasus, Tajikistan, Kashmir, Sudan, and the Philippines. In addition to governmental support, many primary level Muslim groups have been bolstered by the floating Islamist international of fighters from the Afghanistan war, who have joined in conflicts ranging from the civil war in Algeria to Chechnya to the Philippines. This Islamic international was involved, one analyst noted, in the ‘dispatch of volunteers in order to establish Islamist rule in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Bosnia; joint propaganda wars against governments opposing Islamists in one country or another; the establishment of Islamic centers in the diaspora that serve jointly as political headquarters for all those parties.’³¹ The Arab League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have also provided support for and attempted to coordinate the efforts of their members in reinforcing Muslim groups in intercivilizational conflicts.³²

This diaspora phenomenon has also been acknowledged by others. Under the headline “Trennt der Glaube die Kulturen? Holland: Wir haben den Dihad im Land” (Does religion separate the cultures? Holland: We have jihad in our country), the journal of the German union of the police *Deutsche Polizei* quoted from a speech delivered by Emmanuel Sivan of Hebrew University Jerusalem at a 2002 conference on Islam:

The Islamic terrorism is an exile phenomenon. Pay attention to what is happening here in Europe. Forget about Al-Quaida. The group has had 14 out of its 15 minutes of glory (...) the next Bin Ladens will come from the suburbs of France, London and Cologne. Germany is a center of Islamic exile. Not only Bin Laden’s suicide bombers were recruited here, but also numerous others wait here for their call. They are young men principally who have given up life – Dead Men Walking – convinced to take those who they perceive as enemies into death with them.³³

Even though public perception strongly links terrorism and immigrants – particularly those of Muslim faith, terrorism is not exclusively an immigration phenomenon. Instead, terrorism dwells in the midst of our societies. Many bombers are neither immigrants nor of immigrant descent whereas 99 percent of immigrants are not even leaning towards any susceptible organizations. Fear and general suspicion from the side of the majority population spoil intergroup relations and inhibit the development of mutual trust. Even though common perceptions prove rather “faulty,” they have the same effects as if they were “true”.

These examples related first to Islam and Muslim minorities in Western societies. However, the phenomenon is larger and stands for cultural differences and cultural distance in general that readily serves as a marker of group boundary and important symbolic divide through which a whole variety of social, economic and political troubles is interpreted. When integration processes are then regarded from a perspective of intergroup relations, identity aspects and threat perceptions are equally important. The effects of immigration on

³¹ Khalid Duran, qtd. by Richard H. Shultz, Jr. and William J. Olson, *Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Emerging Threat to U.S. Security* (Washington, D.C.: National Strategy Information Center, [1994?]) 25.

³² Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 2nd edition (New York: Touchstone, 1997) 273.

³³ Berndt Georg Tamm, “Trennt der Glaube die Kulturen? Holland: Wir haben den Dihad im Land” *Deutsche Polizei* 2 (2005): 6.

receiving countries' cultures are widely feared by many members of the dominant culture group as they worry about the maintenance of their own values and status. Despite political correctness and rhetoric about tolerance and acceptance, immigration continues to be seen as posing fundamental threats to vulnerable groups and individuals.³⁴ These threats can be material referring to one's own well-being, or rather symbolic referring to social identity. Religions other than those practiced by the majority are equally threatening as they threaten its cultural self-perception. Debates over the construction of a mosque in the center of a city are an expression of competing identities.

From an intergroup competition perspective, poorer immigrants or members of minorities can always be perceived as threatening in two ways: either as a burden on the already strained welfare system or as competitors for low skill, low wage jobs,³⁵ affordable housing, and other resources.³⁶ Even labor unions see themselves only as the representatives of the native-borns and those immigrants who are already in the system. New arrivals are perceived as competitors. The "Green Card" is thus seen as a "Red Card" for the unemployed.³⁷ This reaction of the labor unions is even more surprising as the "Green Card" was only granted to very highly qualified professionals, not those competing in the segments of most union members.

Attending to common fears, there is a corresponding public conviction that the outcome of "failing integration" in terms of social, political, and economic problems has to be prevented. At least partly caused by the lack of consensus on integration preferences within the receiving societies, there is a widespread uncertainty about which political measures to take. Even though there is strong evidence that integration is not at all about structural equality and personal achievement, at least in Germany politicians display little vision of considering alternative supporting measures than language courses and education in general. Therefore, for many observers the German integration summit in summer 2006 has been rather disappointing: Hartmut Esser called the outcome "politically motivated placebos which were easily agreed upon."³⁸ If the courses sponsored by the federal

³⁴ John W. Berry, "Understanding and Managing Multiculturalism: Some Possible Implications of Research in Canada" *Psychology and Developing Societies* 3 (1991): 17-49; Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan, "An Integrated Theory of Prejudice" *Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology*, ed. S. Oskamp (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 2000) 23-46.

³⁵ Borjas showed that immigration substantially lowers wages of low skilled native-born workers as immigration increases the supply of these workers. See George J. Borjas, *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy*, 2nd edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2001) 66-67 and Power, Jonathan, "Immigration: It's the Working Class that Bears the Burden" *International Herald Tribune* 1 Apr. 2005.

³⁶ James S. Jackson, Kendrick T. Brown, Tony N. Brown, and Bryant Marks, "Contemporary Immigration Policy Orientations Among Dominant-Group Members in Western Europe" *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001) 431-456.

³⁷ Janine Cremer, "Zuwanderung bzw. Zuwanderungspolitik im Spiegel der Arbeitgeber- und der Gewerkschaftspresse" *Themen der Rechten - Themen der Mitte: Zuwanderung, demographischer Wandel und Nationalbewusstsein*, eds. Christoph Butterwege et al. (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2002) 43-66.

³⁸ Hartmut Esser called the outcome of the German integration summit "politically motivated placebos which were easily agreed upon." (qtd. in Johanna Eberhardt, "Streit um Deutschkurse für erwachsene Migranten: Mannheimer Professor hält nur Angebote an Kinder für sinnvoll - Bundesamt widerspricht - Programm ein voller Erfolg" *Stuttgarter Zeitung* 17 Jul. 2006: 7.

government benefit someone other than the language schools earning money with them, then it is those people “who have already well adjusted to living here.”³⁹

The same uncertainty surfaced in the highly emotional German debate on a *Leitkultur*⁴⁰ – a cultural model which acceptance by all population groups should be the basis for social interaction for and between all national, religious, cultural, and ethnic groups – displays the uncertainty how integration should be handled in a suitable, professional manner. Immigrants are asked to adjust to more than the existing laws – they are supposed to accept and to support the dominant culture’s value system. Both discussions displayed public and political helplessness of the national elites in dealing with immigration and cultural diversity as the entire debate ignored that it would be unfeasible in a pluralist society to define certain features of the receiving culture as “core values, symbols, objects, narratives etc.” all inhabitants would have to internalize. The debates also show the lack of a broader consensus on how the country should adjust to immigration. Thus, it is not surprising that the term *Leitkultur* is used in a variety of meanings and connotations of those who defend it: The original meanings as intended by Sternberger and Habermas’ “constitutional patriotism”⁴¹ and Bassam Tibi’s “cultural model”⁴² supposed to build a value consensus between Germans and migrants in Germany are mainly concerned with the support for the principles of individualism and liberalism.⁴³ More conservative politicians ask for everyone’s emotional identification with the majority culture and argue that integration in modern societies is not only based on performance of the economic and political system but also depends on emotional bonds of their citizens. Constitutions and laws do not provide those emotional bonds, they do not create belonging – therefore they cannot serve as the sole foundation of social interaction between members of majority and minority groups. Instead, consciousness of belonging requires a shared cultural foundation.⁴⁴ Proponents of multiculturalism often oppose the term of a *Leitkultur* altogether.

On top of this contested understanding, there is a widespread belief in the reach of politics being far greater for the subject of integration than any other areas, which is at least true for the German case.⁴⁵ Studies however, often show how limited the impact of policies in this area actually is. To give an example, second-generation immigrant youth in France and in the UK have equally high levels of identification with their ethnic community and as

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Hartmut Esser, “Was ist denn dran am Begriff der ‘Leitkultur?’” *Angewandte Soziologie*, eds. Robert Keeskes, Michael Wagner, and Christof Wolf (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004) 199-200.

⁴¹ Dolf Sternberger, *Verfassungspatriotismus* (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1990) and Jürgen Habermas, “Staatsbürgerschaft und nationale Identität” *Faktizität und Geltung*, by Jürgen Habermas (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1992) 642.

⁴² Tibi Bassam, “Leitkultur als Wertekonsens” *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 1-2 (2001) 23-26.

⁴³ Hartmut Esser, “Was ist denn dran am Begriff der ‘Leitkultur?’” *Angewandte Soziologie*, eds. Robert Keeskes, Michael Wagner, and Christof Wolf (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004) 206-207.

⁴⁴ Bertold Löffler, “‘Leitkultur’ im Fokus: Was der umstrittene Begriff meint, und wozu er gut sein soll” *Die Politische Meinung* 435 (2006): 18.

⁴⁵ Michael Bommers, “Integration – gesellschaftliches Risiko und politisches Symbol” *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 22-23 (2007): 4.

nationals of their countries of origin even though both countries display large differences in views and traditions of cultural diversity and resulting integration policies. These official policy orientations apparently have no impact on ethnic group identification and thus – individual integration strategy (see section 2.1.2).⁴⁶ Of course, the belief in the reach of politics in Germany may be simply due to the dominance of the professional group of social pedagogues and social workers⁴⁷ who often hold leftist state paternalistic views constantly reinforced by the fact that their own jobs mostly depend on public funding as well as the wish to assign the meaning of importance to their day-to-day work in order to satisfy their own efficacy and positive distinctiveness needs.

The evidence that integration, its process, and success is first of all the result of the efforts of the immigrants themselves and the statement that integration cannot be politically effected⁴⁸ may appear quite threatening to these professionals. It is also of little relieve that municipal policy even though it cannot regulate the relations between the established and newcomers, together with civil society, can influence the framing conditions under which the self-regulation of society is stimulated and unavoidable intergroup group competition for resources and recognition are channeled into civil modes.⁴⁹

The unrealistic hope for the reach of politics is also present in the emotionally charged debate on “*nachholende Integration*” (later integration) based on the belief that the social costs of failed integration is the result on not having provided enough resources to new arrivals in the era of massive labor immigration when Germany did to perceive itself as an immigration country.⁵⁰ The high emotional charge on integration policy automatically produces disappointment as not all measures will actually work and some may even pose unintended barriers to integration.⁵¹ Failing integration thus not only poses a threat to the identity of immigrants who have difficulties adjusting, but also to those members of the receiving society who are professionally engaged in integration policy or its implementation. The blame of political opponents who are perceived to have failed to provide the necessary resources is also an expression of coping with one’s own injured identity. Ongoing denial of limitations of municipal integration approaches⁵² and the backward orientation in blaming others for failures in the past, inhibit progressive policy changes.

⁴⁶ See University of Bamberg, Final Report from Project “Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies Towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective” (Bamberg: U of Bamberg, 2001) 63-69.

⁴⁷ Tatjana Baraulina, “Integration und interkulturelle Konzepte in Kommunen” Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 22-23 (2007): 27.

⁴⁸ Michael Bommes, “Integration – gesellschaftliches Risiko und politisches Symbol” Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 22-23 (2007): 4.

⁴⁹ Dieter Filsinger, “Introductory address at the Conference on the Integration and Participation of Foreigners in European Cities,” Stuttgart, 15 Sept. 2003.

⁵⁰ Klaus J. Bade, “Integration: versäumte Chance und nachholende Politik” Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 22-23 (2007): 35.

⁵¹ Bommes 5.

⁵² For example, several German municipalities inappropriately claim isolated school projects as a full success to local integration even though school affairs lay in the authority of the federal states that often show little inclination to extend the model to all schools and even though no meaningful long-term results – such as lower drop out rates or an increase in school success by disadvantaged groups – have been achieved. The side

In order to bring in some less acknowledged but nevertheless important aspects into the integration debate, the focus of attention should shift towards the individual level. So far, individual personality has been an underestimated factor in the analysis of social phenomena even though the research interest has increased over the past few years.⁵³ Individual experiences are often far removed from the simplicity and the polarization of public debate surrounding migration. There, one will find a more differentiated and even biased picture, for example, regarding the effect immigration experience may have on individuals: It “sometimes enhances one’s life chances and mental health and sometimes virtually destroys one’s ability to carry on.”⁵⁴ As perhaps this is because people are different from each other, the individual personality would be a good starting point to discover why this may be the case.

Social identity theory (SIT) and identity theory (IT) are well equipped to explain integration as individual adjustment process and both integration and ethnic closure as intergroup relations. Reasoning along the lines of SIT, experiencing identity threat based on group membership will lead people to exit a devalued group for a new one, either whose status is perceived higher or which offers better perspectives and thus appears to benefit the person and its self-perception. Alternatively, cognitive resources are available, through which an individual may stay within a group of lower status and accentuate the boundaries between groups along alternative dimensions to which the devalued group status does not apply. On an intergroup level, people restore their perception of personal security by interacting within their own group and by devaluing outgroups. Thus, the withdrawal into one’s ethnic community and the voicing of prejudice or resentment against other ethnic groups are very similar responses. The argument also operates in the reverse direction: Once a person feels secure in terms of actualizing high levels of self-verification, self-efficiency or self-esteem – it is prepared to encounter something new, to cross borders, and to engage with the “other”. Identity security will also enhance processes of transition and adaptation to a new environment through this readiness to face it.

It is the perspective of social identity theory that seems to open up a new path for integration policy that places the individual at the center of attention and recognizes the dynamics of intra- and intergroup processes: “By avoiding the reduction of groups to individuals, it allows us to conceptualize the relationship between individual and society, and to place theoretically the group within the individual.”⁵⁵

It is important to pay respect to the wholeness of people also in the sense Deaux argued to acknowledge permeability and interconnectedness of social and personal identity and

effect of such “model projects” is to take away attention and resources for potentially more effective measures in neglected areas within the authority of the municipality.

⁵³ See Beatrice Rammstedt, “Welche Vorhersagekraft hat die individuelle Persönlichkeit für inhaltliche sozialwissenschaftliche Variablen?” *ZUMA-Arbeitsbericht* 1 (2007) 1.

⁵⁴ John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall H. Segal, and Pierre R. Dasen, *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2002) 285.

⁵⁵ Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (1988; London, New York: Routledge, 2001) 218.

therefore warned against their dichotomization.⁵⁶ Politicizing cultural, religious or ethnical difference is such an unwanted dichotomization. Also specific “well-meaning” integration measures for target groups based on nationality highlight singularized identities and prejudice and do not address specific life situations and the wholeness of people. Chase too, asked for a more personalized view of identity and a more social view of the self.⁵⁷ In addition, this is of particular relevance in political contexts. Thus, this work seeks to contribute to strengthen personalized views of identity and a more social perspective of the self in the present political discussion.

Additionally, a gender perspective should be adopted, not as an attribution to the time spirit of “political correctness” but rather because gender creates a category of identity gratification or deprivation that can be expected to interact with immigration experience and intergroup perception.

1.2 Object and purpose of this study

As the presented examples demonstrated, integration seems to be related to identity and perceptions of security. The prominence of immigration and integration issues in the media and political discourse also “appears to be linked to less tangible anxieties about identity and membership. These concerns have lent a more emotive quality to the debate on integration and citizenship, often obscuring the complexity of the causes of failed integration or exaggerating their impact on host societies.”⁵⁸ Esser’s four stage model of integration contains the identification of the immigrant with the receiving society at the highest of the four defined stages.⁵⁹ Hupka suggested to relate immigrants’ and ethnic minorities’ identification with the receiving society to social and political participation.⁶⁰ Likewise, this dissertation attempts to assess the impact of identity on integration from an individual perspective. Self-perceptions have long been known to play a central role in the actual behavior of people and are prominent in present research.⁶¹

Action is the social expression of identity. The only route of access to the identity of another is through his or her action, whether verbal or not. Since identity comprises emotions, beliefs, and attitudes it is a prime motivator of action. Identity directs action. This is not to deny the importance of situational constraints and stimuli in

⁵⁶ Karl Deaux, “Personalized identity and social self” Social Psychology of Identity and the Self Concept, ed. Glynis M. Breakwell (London: Surrey UP, 1992) 9-35.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Chase, “The self and collective action: dilemmatic identities” Social Psychology of Identity and the Self Concept, ed. Glynis M. Breakwell (London: Surrey UP, 1992) 101-129.

⁵⁸ Boswell 87.

⁵⁹ Hartmut Esser, Soziologie. Spezielle Grundlagen, vol. 1, Situationslogik und Handeln (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1999). For more details see page 36ff. of this work.

⁶⁰ Sandra Hupka, Individuation und soziale Identität türkischer Jugendlicher in Berlin im Kontext von Freundschaftsbeziehungen. Zur Integration türkischer Jugendlicher, diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 2002, online, <http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000000950>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008. 78.

⁶¹ E.g., Catherine E. Seta, Steven Schmidt, and Catherine M. Bookhout, “Social identity orientation and social role attributions: explaining behavior through the lens of the self” Self and Identity 5.4 (2006): 355-364.

determining behavior. It is simply to reaffirm that these situational determinants gain their meaning only through interpretation within the individual's system of beliefs and values; their implications for purposive action rather than unintended behavior are, therefore, mediated by identity. Thus, the content and value dimensions of identity specify appropriate action. Moreover, the identity processes, guided by the principles which dominate their operation, will also direct action. In search for continuity, distinctiveness and self-esteem, the individual seeks to move across positions within the social matrix. In this way, action is precipitated by the requirements of identity.⁶²

This dissertation will be especially concerned with the impact of the security of self-perceptions on integration thereby combining the security concept used in international relations and the psychological conceptualization of a person's mental stability and flexibility, the capability of coping with identity crises, and subjective well-being. It treats immigration experience in terms of the many adjustments to be made by the individual as a result from the experience of massive societal change⁶³ which may be more appropriate than just discussing favorable conditions bringing about identity change in terms of national or cultural belonging.⁶⁴ Using identity and identification beyond the meaning of adjustment in one single category even though it may be a "master" identity⁶⁵ – such as ethnicity or nationality – creates the chance to adopt a more complete and more dynamic model of the self and to recognize the multidimensionality of integration. Hupka's idea – even though straight forward at first glance – disregarded the possibility that political and social participation are stronger affected by other categories than national identification. While nationality or ethnicity might yet deliver the material for very powerful identities "because in many contexts they override all other characteristics of the person"⁶⁶ – they are still only two among others. Landes noted, "Culture does not stand alone."⁶⁷ Analyzing the identity structure behind integration may actually be of greater relevance than more or less incidental meanings of collective, group or personal identities and allegiances, whose significance for individuals cannot easily be assessed and may vary. Looking at identity security is also much different from the factors widely believed to facilitate integration, but often provide only unsatisfactory explanations for minority underachievement – such as education and mastery of the immigration country's language.⁶⁸

⁶² Glynis M. Breakwell, Coping with Threatened Identities (London: Methuen, 1986) 43.

⁶³ Lada Timotijevic, and Glynis M. Breakwell, "Migration and threat to identity" Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 10 (2000): 355.

⁶⁴ Examples for research on national or ethnic identity transformation in the context of migration see Gaby Voigt, Selbstbilder im Dazwischen. Wie afghanische Migranten ihre Identität konstruieren, diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2001 (Frankfurt a. M.: IKO-UP für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2002); Regine Penitsch, Migration und Identität: Eine Mikrostudie unter marokkanischen Studenten und Studentinnen in Berlin, Berliner Beiträge zur Ethnologie, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weißensee Verlag, 2003).

⁶⁵ Sheldon Stryker, "Identity theory: developments and extensions" Self and Identity, eds. Krysia Yardley, and Terry Honess (New York: Wiley, 1987) 89-104.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ David Landes, "Culture makes almost all the difference" Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress, eds. Lawrence E. Harrison, and Samuel P. Huntington (New York: Basic Books 2000) 3.

⁶⁸ See Lawrence E. Harrison, "Why culture matters" Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress, eds. Lawrence E. Harrison, and Samuel P. Huntington (New York: Basic, 2000) XXI.

As groups play an important role in both one's self-perception and coping with identity crisis, intergroup relations will be given room in this analysis, even though the main unit of analysis will be the individual. It will be reasoned that identity security not only affects integrative attitudes directly but also indirectly via ingroup-outgroup perceptions. In this context, identity security will be expected to relate to ethnic closure in the case of the receiving society and strong exclusive ethnic ingroup orientation in the case of the immigrant and ethnic minority population. There will also be a positive relationship between the degree of ethnic orientation of the immigrants and members of ethnic minorities and the perceived xenophobic attitudes and behaviors of the receiving society. On the other hand, ethnic ingroup orientation of immigrants and ethnic minorities may also trigger higher levels of ethnic closure.

The perspective of social identity theory seems to provide a new path for understanding integration and formulating policy for placing the individual at the core of analysis (the immigrant as well as the neighbor as a member of the receiving society) and for recognizing the dynamics of intra- and intergroup processes. "By avoiding the reduction of groups to individuals, it allows us to conceptualize the relationship between individual and society, and to place theoretically the group within the individual."⁶⁹ In terms of majority-minority relations with an emphasis on immigrants or national and ethnic minorities, integration can either mean to cross group boundaries by moving from a minority group to the majority group which is generally associated with the term of assimilation. Alternatively, the accentuation of a new – inclusive category can be meant with which both groups then identify and each group still maintains its original group identity as an expression of dual or even multiple identities. Instead of emphasizing a strict assimilation pattern in reality, one has to take into account that certain conditions allow immigrants today to maintain identification with their country of origin and to develop a strong sense of belonging to the host country. Nevertheless, ethnic community orientation may still create barriers to integration.

To sum it up, this work seeks to explore the meaningfulness of a concept of identity security for understanding integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities including attitudes of the receiving society towards immigrants and thus intergroup relations. The individual will serve as the unit of analysis focusing on what integration actually means to and may require of an individual human being. In doing so, this dissertation will start out at the core of the person – its identity by specifically looking at aspects of identity that increase an individual's feelings and perceptions of identity security via the security of this person's identity and will work with a "generous" definition of integration to accommodate different interpretations and individual preferences.

⁶⁹ Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes (1988; London, New York: Routledge, 2001) 218.

1.3 Research approach and methodology

Wanting to cover the aspect of multiplicity of identity – a quantitative research approach will be adopted. Much is already known from qualitative research in sociology, anthropology, and political science about the meanings of master identities such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, culture or gender in the context of migration situations.⁷⁰

A quantitative approach can better address the more complex structure of the self which simultaneously consists of many identities and their possible interplay with the other identities has often been ignored in research on migration, integration, and ethnic minorities. Not only are empirical tests with real world data quite unusual in identity research, the application of identity theory to political phenomena also fits in a desideratum in empirical political research: Hill et al. found prevalent identity theories to be hardly applicable to empirical research.⁷¹ However, as I do not agree with this point of view, I believe that quantitative research is indeed a feasible option once sufficient answers are found to the existing problems⁷² for the application of a theory primarily built by means of laboratory experimentation to “normal” survey data. I will attempt this with a limitation of the identity concept to security concerns and a merger of different research branches offsetting the deficiencies of one another and allowing for greater applicability.

A quantitative study of social identity in a real world setting (using *survey data* instead of narrow experimental designs or for that matter a small number of qualitative interviews and using a *large data set representing a great social diversity* versus focusing on strictly limited social groups presented through rather small case numbers) will increase the meaningfulness of results and promises not only to shed some light on answering the question how

⁷⁰ The rich literature on singular identities and their effects on social and political phenomena from recent years includes for example: Stanley Feldman, and Leonie Huddy, “Racial resentment and White opposition to race-conscious programs: principle or prejudice?” *American Journal of Political Science* 49.1 (2005): 168-183; Catarina Kinnvall, “Globalization and religious nationalism: self, identity, and the search for ontological security” *Political Psychology* 25.5 (2004): 741-767; Daniel N. Posner, “The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi” *American Political Science Review* 98.4 (2004): 529-546; Claudine Gay, “Putting race in context: Identifying the environmental determinants of Black racial attitudes” *American Political Science Review* 98.4 (2004): 547-562; Christopher M. Frederico, “When do welfare attitudes become racialized? The paradoxical effects of education” *American Journal of Political Science* 48.2 (2004): 374-391; Astrid Wonneberger, “The invention of history in the Irish-American diaspora: Myth of the great famine” *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research*, eds. Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan, and Carolin Alfonso (London: Routledge, 2004) 117-129; Donald R. Kinder, and Nicolas Winter, “Exploring the racial divide: Blacks, Whites, and opinion on national policy” *American Journal of Political Science* 45.2 (2001): 439-453; Konstantinos Goutovos, *Psychologie der Migration: Über die Bewältigung von Migration in der Nationalgesellschaft* (Hamburg: Argument-Verlag, 2000). For a good review of the identity literature before 1997 see Deborah E. S. Frable, “Gender, Racial, Ethnic, Sexual, and Class Identities” *Annual Review of Psychology* 48 (1997): 139-162.

⁷¹ Paul B. Hill, “Kulturelle Inkonsistenz und Stress bei der zweiten Generation” *Generation und Identität: Theoretische und empirische Beiträge zur Migrationssoziologie*, eds. Hartmut Esser, and Paul B. Hill. *Studien zur Sozialwissenschaft* 97 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990).

⁷² Huddy identified the following problems for the application of SIT and IT on quantitative empirical research: 1) Existence of identity choice; 2) Subjective meaning of identities; 3) Gradations in identity strength; and 4) Considerable stability of many identities. See Leonie Huddy, “From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity theory” *Political Psychology* 22.1 (2001): 127-156.

integration works, but it may therefore produce findings better positioned to impact decisions on policies or policy adjustments in the future.

A cross country analysis will be performed on European countries where immigration related threats and anxieties have become more prominent in public discourse and political agendas within the past few decades. Particularly for European countries, migration and asylum policy has increasing relevance for national security considerations. Several national immigration and integration policies in Europe are currently under construction – and so are immigration regulations and programs for social integration by the European Union. In the light of demographic and economic challenges, it is often argued that the future of these societies depends on how immigrants' integration progresses. Proposing an alternative model to explaining integration and ethnic closure also intends to influence current debates on the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities into European societies and the counteracting of ethnic closure, but also holds some additional potential for the integration of other disadvantaged or socially marginalized groups from single mothers to physically handicapped, unemployed, or the elderly.

The research approach appears also interesting in terms of a potential theoretical contribution: a merger of SIT and IT proposed by Stets, Burke, Hogg, Terry, and White⁷³ to the concept of identity security. The term of “identity security” also brings findings from research in different but yet related theoretical fields together, such as role accumulation theory, role balance theory, identity accumulation theory, and not least stress research.

Data choice

With the European Social Survey, a useful tool of excellent data quality is at hand for cross country analysis.⁷⁴ The European Social Survey, round one from 2002/2003, was found particularly useful as it contains numerous items for the construction of identity and integration scales. Due to being one of the most comprehensive surveys covering a large variety of social issues, attitudes, and perceptions one can expect to draw valuable conclusions about underlying identity structures in terms of both cross national transferability of results and a remarkably large number of cases on which the analysis is based upon. In addition, the data have been gained by real world research instead of classic identity research rooted primarily in experimental and qualitative research. Additionally, the ESS round one includes a specific module on immigration/ethnic minority perception allowing for a parallel analysis of integration and ethnic closure. That is why, data from 2002/2003 have been chosen, even though newer data are already available.

⁷³ Jan E. Stets, and Peter J. Burke, “Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63.3 (2000): 224-237 and Michael A. Hogg, Deborah J. Terry, and Katherine M. White, “A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58.4 (1995): 255-269.

⁷⁴ See Katja Neller, “Der European Social Survey (ESS). Neue Analyseöglichkeiten für die international vergleichende empirische Sozialforschung (Mitteilung)” *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 45.2 (2004): 259-261.

High quality quantitative data in migration research are particularly difficult to come by when one seeks to analyze in depth and trying to shed some light at more complex conditions of ethnic closure. Indeed, the choice is limited to three studies ISSP, ESS, and Eurobarometer.⁷⁵ However, the ISSP does not allow for cross country comparisons and may therefore produce country-specific results not meaningful in the international context. The Eurobarometer data are inferior to the ESS in terms of data quality and the range of issues for the research purpose at hand.⁷⁶

When drawing conclusions from the data analysis, it is crucial to recognize that some response bias exists in the ESS. As Billiet and Philippens note, we can expect substantial differences of the answers between respondents and non-respondents.⁷⁷ A number of variables covered in the 2002/2003 survey, such as social participation, political interest and engagement, have previously been found to correlate with survey participation.⁷⁸ Among others, socio-demographic variables, social integration, political engagement and ethnocentrism can be expected to differ between respondents and non-respondents: Non-respondents that are usually less integrated into society and participate less in politics, and that oppose stronger to immigration and immigrants, are also less likely to participate in surveys.⁷⁹

About half of the participating countries reached response rates close to the target of 70% or higher. However, there are large differences between the surveyed countries: While a number of countries obtained the targeted response rates above 70%, such as Greece (79,6%), Finland (73,3%), or Poland (72,2%), there were countries with a response of just 50% and lower, for example Germany (53,7%), the Czech Republic 43,0%), and Switzerland (33,0%). According to Billiet and Philippens, these large non-response differences – particular the refusal – obviously raise questions concerning the validity of cross-national comparisons.⁸⁰

Billiet, Philippens, Fitzgerald, and Stoop also found “traces of bias”⁸¹ in some of the demographic variables: education, urbanization, social participation, and age. According to

⁷⁵ For an overview of available data on “integration” see e.g., Sonja Haug, Die Datenlage im Bereich der Migrations- und Integrationsforschung: Ein Überblick über wesentliche Migrations- und Integrationsindikatoren und die Datenquellen (Nürnberg: BAMF, 2005) and Manuel Siebert, Integrationsmonitoring - State of the Art in internationaler Perspektive, revised ed. Feb. 2006 (Bamberg: BAMF, 2006): 9-52.

⁷⁶ See Jaak Billiet, and Michel Philippens, “Data Quality Assessment in ESS Round one: Between Wishes and Reality” Recent Developments and Applications in Social Research Methodology, Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Social Science Methodology, eds. Cor van Dijkum, Jörg Blasius, and Claire Durand (Amsterdam: Budrich, 2004) [1].

⁷⁷ Billiet and Philippens [13].

⁷⁸ Robert William Voogt, and Willem Saris, “Political interest, the key for correcting to correction methods for non-response bias in election studies” Paper presented at the 14th international workshop on household non-response (Leuven, Belgium, September 2003); Robert M. Groves, and Mick P. Couper, Non-response in household interview surveys (New York: Wiley, 1998).

⁷⁹ Groves and Couper; Voogt and Saris; Jaak Billiet, “Church Involvement, individualism and ethnic prejudice among Flemish Roman Catholics: New evidence of a moderating effect” Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion 34.2 (1995): 224-233.

⁸⁰ Billiet and Philippens [5].

⁸¹ Jaak Billiet, Michel Philippens, Rory Fitzgerald, and Ineke Stoop, “Estimation of Non-response Bias in the European Social Survey: Using Information from Reluctant Respondents” Journal of Official Statistics 23.2 (2007): 152.

theories about non-response, a greater proportion of lower education levels can be expected among the converted respondents. Even though both Germany and the Netherlands show differences in the expected direction, it is only statistically significant in the Netherlands. Although a higher share of people living in big cities and suburbs could be expected among converted refusals, it was only in the case of Germany that this was statistically significant – in the Netherlands, the proposed tendency was almost non-existent. In terms of participation, response bias was evident only for Germany and only on the $p < 0.1$ significance level. The difference on the mean age of cooperative and initially reluctant respondents was a bit clearer: For Germany, the difference of three years was highly significant; while for the Netherlands, the difference of one and a half years was in the expected direction, but non-significant.⁸²

Analysis of the ESS data will further tend to slightly overestimate integration but underestimate the level of ethnic closure – particularly in countries with lower response rates – due to the link between social isolation, xenophobia and non-response.

Country selection

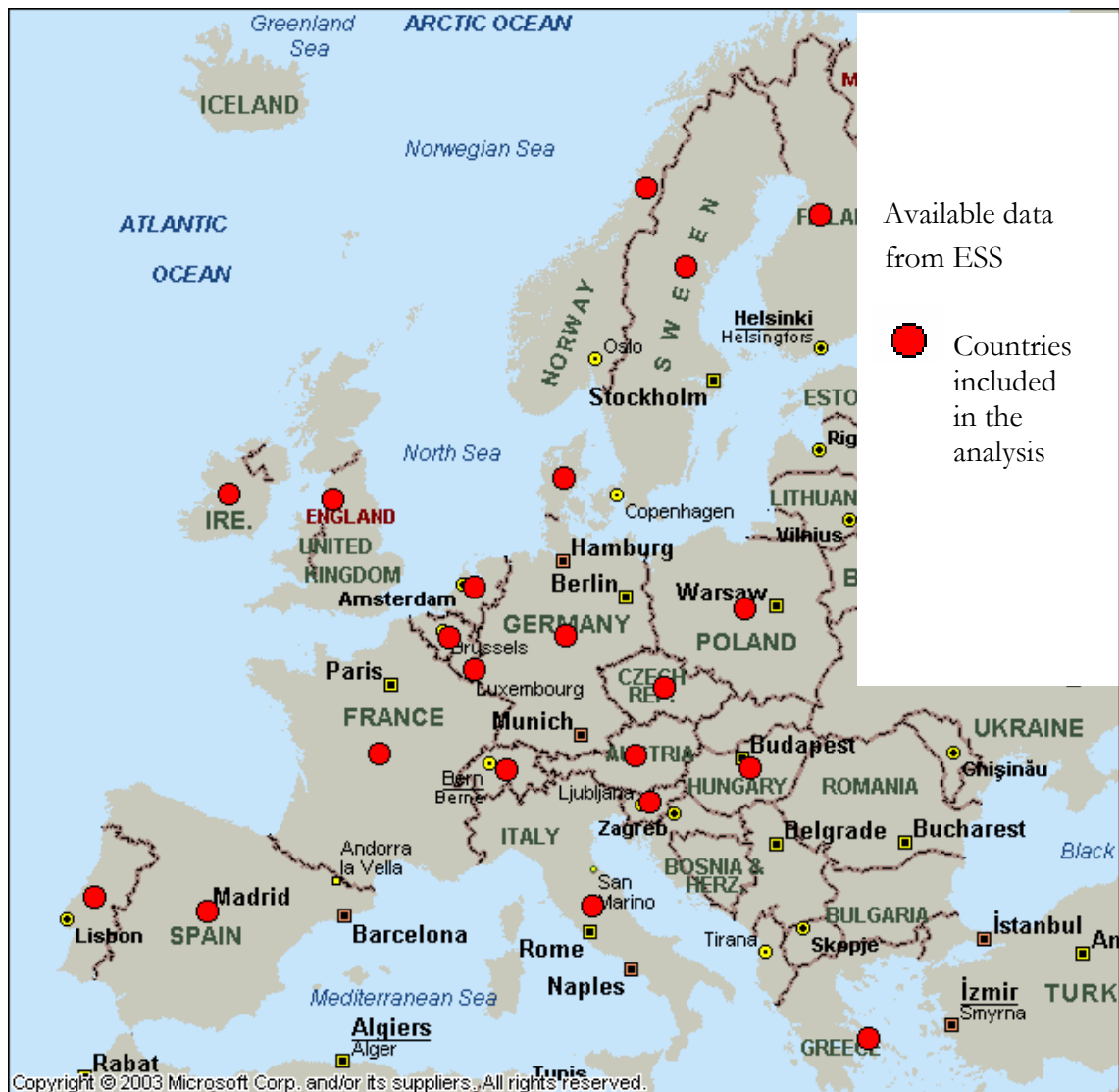
Within the ESS setting, also data from Israel were available, however, this research will be confined to the geographical borders of Europe. Further, the nature and scope of current conflicts in Israel and the extremely high percentage of immigrants and ethnic minority members make it a special case and very difficult to compare with the other countries in the survey. Data from Israel have therefore been omitted.

Looking at countries, however, may be a means of testing the model across a variety of conditions. The ESS data set offers very interesting perspectives for this as it contains countries of diverse migration histories and approaches. There are European countries with a meaningful colonial history which still impacts their present day immigration and minority representation in terms of residents of those former colonies, for example the United Kingdom, France, or the Netherlands. These countries are at the same time places with a long tradition of immigration. Other countries encountered immigration of a larger scale after the Second World War in terms of own national and labor migrants – the so called “guest workers” – Germany and Austria for example. There are also the countries that have become immigration countries only recently and that were still emigration countries in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, or Poland.

It is also of interest to consider different levels of personal wealth and the framework of welfare systems in evaluating its potential for social integration. In doing so, a geographical divide can be seen between northern and southern Europe with east-European countries being close to countries of the South.

⁸² Ibid.

Figure 1: Map of countries participating in the ESS 2002/2003



Source: European Social Survey data 2002/2003 plotted with Microsoft MapPoint Europe 2004.

It is very interesting to include countries in the analysis that widely differ in their compound nature of state facing sub-national claims, such as Belgium and Spain where multiculturalism appeared as a core value only in Belgium, but not in Spain. Separatist ambitions and the definition of the nation can influence how immigrants and ethnic minorities develop national and regional identities.

Integration policy preferences have developed independent of immigration traditions. While the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have adopted multicultural policies with a great degree of tolerance for the different cultures and lifestyles of minorities, Germany and France followed a rather assimilationist path. Recent citizenship reforms in Germany and France allowed political actors to “redefine integration in a manner that continues to

serve exclusionary ends”⁸³ even though they publicly expressed their support for integration as political necessity.

Next to political climate and elite preferences, there are also purely economic factors setting the framework for integration such as economic strength in terms of providing opportunities of labor market integration or in terms of providing for extended government expenditures for welfare systems. It is no coincidence that income disparity is smaller in countries with high government expenditure for social services and transfers. In some countries it is easier to integrate into the labor market and in others the welfare systems are more accessible. Countries can be distinguished in terms of strong and weak welfare states – for example Denmark and Germany versus Spain and Italy respectively.

As many European countries are facing high immigration rates and their societies become culturally more diverse, populist anti-immigrant parties are on the rise in a number of countries (Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Netherlands), but not in others (United Kingdom).

Also, the transformation of political systems might have an impact on the migration-integration framework. As such, the inclusion of Eastern European countries is of great value. The new EU member Poland further perceives itself as an “ethnic nation”⁸⁴ which distinguishes it from many older EU member states.

Using the ESS 2002/2003 data, all countries are retained for the general analysis (except Israel for the reasons already stated) as this provides the comfort of a large enough data set to account for numerous identity threats and specific identity security parameters in otherwise very small samples. Comparisons between groups based on countries will be rather difficult because of the overlap of political and social conditions making each country a very individual case in itself, just as socio-demographic differences in identification and integration may be due to events and factors that are more characteristic of one group’s experience than another’s.

⁸³ Randall Hansen and Jobst Koehler, “Issue definition, political discourse and the politics of nationality reform in France and Germany” *European Journal of Political Research* 44.5 (2005): 623.

⁸⁴ Frederika Björklund, “The East European ‘ethnic nation’ - Myth or Reality?” *European Journal of Political Research* 45.1 (2006): 93-121.

2. The explanatory model and its theoretical background

2.1 Integration

The Latin *integratio* refers to the bringing together of parts into a whole. In a social context, *integration* has two meanings: a) to make (schools, housing, public facilities etc.) available to people of all races and ethnic groups on an equal basis and b) to remove any barrier imposing segregation upon (religious, racial, or other groups).⁸⁵ The Longman dictionary further suggests *to integrate* to mean to “join into society as a whole, spend time with members of other groups and develop habits like theirs,” following this logic, *integrated* means “well adjusted” whereas a *poorly integrated person* “is not calm or happy and gets on badly with other people.”⁸⁶

More elaborated, integration refers to the stability of relations among parts of a system with clearly separable borders to its environment. This concerns three dimensions:

- 1) relating single elements to one another and thus forming a new structure,
- 2) incorporating single elements or partial structures into an existing structure, and
- 3) maintaining and improving relations within a structure or system.

Integration in a social or political context refers to stable relations within a clearly defined social or political system and can thus be seen as a state. Equally important, however, is the notion of integration as a process which can be pictured as the strengthening of relationships within a given system or as the introduction of new actors and groups into it. Integrating immigrants or ethnic minorities mainly follows the meaning of integration as a process – when successful, a community or a country could be called “integrated” as the desirable end state of this process.⁸⁷

As Heckmann points out, migration changes the demographic composition of the receiving country and the newcomers must interact with the people and the institutions already there.⁸⁸ Additionally, one should note, it is not only the new arrivals that have to interact with the people and institutions at that place but also those who have lived there for quite some time already as well as the descendents of immigrants.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, ed. Allen Walker Read et al., Encyclopedic ed. (Köln: Bellavista, 2003) 660.

⁸⁶ Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture, ed. Della Summers et al., 2nd ed. (Essex: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998) 685.

⁸⁷ Maren Borkert, Wolfgang Bosswick, Friedrich Heckmann, and Hubert Krieger, Integration of Migrants: The Role of Local and Regional Authorities, concept report (Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006), online, <<http://www.eurofound.eu.int>>, retrieved on 17 Jun. 2007, [3].

⁸⁸ Friedrich Heckmann, “Integrationsforschung aus europäischer Perspektive” Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft 26.3-4 (2001): 342.

⁸⁹ Manuel Siegert, Integrationsmonitoring - State of the Art in internationaler Perspektive, revised ed. Feb. 2006 (Bamberg: BAMF, 2006): 59.

According to Lockwood, sociological theory of social systems has introduced the concepts “system integration” and “social integration.” System integration has been understood as the result of de-personalized functioning of institutions, organizations, and mechanisms – from the state and the legal system to markets, corporate actors or finance. Social integration, by contrast, means including individuals in a system, creating relationships among individuals and also refers to their attitudes towards the society. Social integration is the result of the interaction and cooperation between individuals and groups.⁹⁰

When talking about the integration of immigrants or ethnic minorities one has to bear in mind that a successful integration of newcomers will heavily depend on the state of integration of the receiving society. It will do so in several important ways:

Pride in a country (or for that matter a local community), its symbols, traditions, and values on the part of the receiving society will offer a positive entity newcomers readily identify with.

A high level of integration in terms of established far reaching social networks among members of the receiving society will enrich newcomers who are allowed to link to such networks with a vast supply of useful contacts, information and other resources.

The classical study by Elias and Scotson⁹¹ revealed an interesting link between strong internal integration in a rather small community and social closure and the resulting relationship between the established and the outsiders. In terms of immigration, established-outsider relationships are also feasible for long term residents of foreign origin and new arrivals. Therefore, many foreign borns will not automatically develop diversity embracing value orientations that could facilitate the absorption of new immigrants.

Disintegrating neighborhoods and communities displaying high levels of unemployment, welfare dependency, and crime, will provide neither a warm welcome to immigrants nor the material and social means for their integration starting with the fact that living in such a place is rather undesirable to all. Fierce competition for the remaining resources such as decent apartments or even low paid jobs will be unavoidable. Language, nationality, culture, religion, or ethnicity will readily supply symbolic boundaries for rather material based competition. Conflicts will then tend to become ethnicized or culturalized.

Taking this into account, it becomes quite obvious that a research perspective on individual integration will have to consider not only individual based determinants but also intergroup relations. The following brief review on to current integration research will include individual determinants of integration centering around different aspects of integration, and adaptation strategies at the one hand and intergroup relations at the other.

⁹⁰ David Lockwood, “Social integration and system integration” *Explorations in Social Change*, eds. George K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1964) 244-251.

⁹¹ Norbert Elias, and John L. Scotson, *Etablierte und Außenseiter*, 1965, *The Established and the Outsiders. A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*, trans. Michael Schröter (Baden-Baden: Suhrkamp, 1993).

2.1.1 Adaptation process to a new social environment

Elaborated overviews on concepts of integration may be found in Münch⁹² and Treibel⁹³. I will only consider a few models with a strong impact on recent empirical integration research and integration policy practice.

The first model for consideration is the one proposed by Esser for its reception by politicians and practitioners:

Table 1: Esser's four level hierarchy of integration

First level	Acculturation (also referred to as socialization, re-socialization, or second socialization by other authors) is the process through which an individual acquires the knowledge, cultural standards and the necessary abilities to interact successfully in a society.
Second level	Placement is understood as an individual taking a position society – in education, the economy, in a profession, or simply as a citizen. Placement also refers to acquiring rights associated with particular positions and also includes the opportunity to establish social relations and to gain cultural, social, and economic capital.
Third level	Interaction refers to establishing relationships and networks. These may include friendships, romantic relationships, marriages, as well as memberships in social groups.
Fourth level	Identification expresses an individual's perception to be part of a social system: the person "identifies" him- or herself with a collective body.

Source: Hartmut Esser, *Soziologie: Spezielle Grundlagen, vol. 2: Die Konstruktion der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2000) 272-275.

These four aspects are part of a ladder in which acculturation precedes placement which is in turn a precondition for interaction which finally makes identification possible.⁹⁴

The strict hierarchical order proposed here appears questionable for the very strong interaction between these levels. For example, Doerschler⁹⁵ has found immigration motivation to be a surprisingly strong predictor for host country identification and political participation – certain expectations and up front identification facilitate the efforts and achievements on the other three dimensions. Kelek shows that social integration plays a key role in the person's attitudes towards acculturation.⁹⁶

⁹² Richard Münch, "Elemente einer Theorie der Integration moderner Gesellschaften. Eine Bestandsaufnahme" *Was halt die Gesellschaft zusammen? Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Auf dem Weg von der Konsens zur Konfliktgesellschaft*, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, vol. 2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997): 66-109.

⁹³ Annette Treibel, *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften: Soziale Folgen von Einwanderung, Gastarbeit und Flucht*, *Grundlagentexte Soziologie*, ed. Klaus Hurrelmann, 3rd ed. (Weinheim: Juventa, 2003).

⁹⁴ Hartmut Esser, *Soziologie: Spezielle Grundlagen, vol. 2: Die Konstruktion der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2000) 272-275.

⁹⁵ Peter Doerschler, "Push-pull factors and immigrant political integration in Germany" *Social Science Quarterly* 87.5 (2006): 1100-1116.

⁹⁶ Necla Kelek, *Die fremde Braut: Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2005).

Disintegration and its repercussions cannot be captured satisfactorily. In terms of fundamentalist converters originating in the majority population, alignment with extremist organization is accompanied by withdrawing loyalty and trust from the country's institutions. A "re-socialization" takes place to fit into the organization and its particular culture, changing social interaction pattern, but does not necessarily have to affect the structural dimension (job, housing etc.) at all which is situated right between the socialization and social interaction dimensions. Or, to choose another example, impacts at the structural level – for example, the loss of one's job – may or may not result in weakening loyalties towards the country's institutions. Nesdale and Mak found that "host country identification is simply not about personal success and achievements. Instead, whether or not immigrants feel themselves to be members of a new country, and take pride in that membership depends upon attitudinal sorts of things – in particular, how much they want to be part of the new country and the extent to which they feel accepted by other members of the new country."⁹⁷

Esser's model has been slightly refined by Heckmann emphasizing the different dimensions but not their strict hierarchical order. This refined model serves as the basis for various monitoring systems regarding immigrants – for example in the City of Wiesbaden⁹⁸, which was the first German city to develop such a monitoring system, the Dutch Immigrant Integration Monitor, or the German Federal Department of Statistics' *Strukturdaten und Integrationsindikatoren über die ausländische Bevölkerung in Deutschland*.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, other German cities such as Frankfurt, Berlin, and Stuttgart now rely on this model in benchmarking the situation of migrants in their municipalities.¹⁰⁰

The European network Cities for Local Integration Policy (CLIP) uses this concept: Integration is defined by the CLIP network as the process of becoming an accepted part of society. This process is pictured as two way based on mutual rights and obligations of legal resident foreign nationals and the host society that provides for the full participation of immigrants. Through this process, over time, newcomers and hosts form an integral whole. The network focuses on four basic mechanisms of integration through placement in the structure of the receiving society; socialization into the receiving society; interaction with the receiving society; and identification with the receiving society.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Drew Nesdale, and Anita S. Mak, "Immigrant acculturation attitudes and host country identification" *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 10 (2000): 493.

⁹⁸ Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden, Amt für Wahlen, Statistik und Stadtforschung, ed., *Monitoringsystem zur Ausländerintegration in Wiesbaden*, Statistische Berichte 2/2003 (Wiesbaden: LHS Wiesbaden, 2003) and Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden, Amt für Wahlen, Statistik und Stadtforschung, ed., *Wiesbadener Monitoringsystem zur Ausländerintegration*, Bericht 2004 (Wiesbaden: Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden, 2005).

⁹⁹ Statistisches Bundesamt, ed., *Strukturdaten und Integrationsindikatoren über die ausländische Bevölkerung in Deutschland 2003* (Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Alfred Reichwein, Yvonne Hapke, Jörg Härle, Utz Lindemann, Gari Pavkovic, and Anke Schöb, *Integrationsmonitoring*, KGSt Materialien 2/2006 (Köln: KGSt, 2006).

¹⁰¹ Jorma Karppinen, "Program of the European Foundation on integration of migrants with the CLIP network", speech delivered by the Director of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions at the Founding Meeting of Cities for Local Integration Policy (CLIP), Stuttgart 2 May 2006.

It thus contains the following important elements:

- (1) *Structural integration*: rights, access to positions and status in the core institutions of the receiving society for migrants and their descendents – economy and the labor market, education, housing, citizenship;
- (2) *Cultural integration*: cognitive, cultural, behavioral and attitudinal adaptation of individuals;
- (3) *Social integration*: private relationships (social interactions, friendships, marriages), group memberships (voluntary organizations, social clubs);
- (4) *Identification*: feelings of identification and belonging with the receiving society.¹⁰²

Cultural integration and acculturation have been the subject of many empirical studies across various ethnic communities in many countries. Among the quantitative approaches, some authors have distinguished between cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty whereby cultural awareness represented the implicit cultural knowledge of their cultures of origin and of their host cultures. This cultural knowledge included the proficiency of the languages of each culture, historic events crucial to the understanding of the cultures, the appreciation of art and music, as well as standards of behavior and values typical for each culture. Ethnic loyalty was framed based on the self-ascribed ethnicity of the individual and ethnic group membership of friends as well as the preference for community specific spare time activities.¹⁰³

Padilla and Keefe showed that cultural awareness of one's culture of origin declined from the first generation – the immigrants – to the fourth generation of Mexicans in the United States, whereby the steepest decline occurred between the first and second generation. However, ethnic loyalty to one's culture of origin remained constantly high for an individual over time and from generation to generation.¹⁰⁴

The tendencies of the decline of cultural knowledge and consistently high ethnic loyalty concerning one's heritage culture have been reported for other ethnic communities as well.¹⁰⁵

From the perspective of acculturation, Padilla and Perez argue for the strong interaction of the different dimensions of integration:

¹⁰² Heckmann 2001, 343-344.

¹⁰³ Amado M. Padilla and William Perez, "Acculturation, social identity, and social cognition: A new perspective" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25.1 (2003): 38.

¹⁰⁴ Susan E. Keefe and Amado M. Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1987); Amado M. Padilla, "The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in acculturation" *Acculturation: Theory, Models and some New Findings*, ed. Amado M. Padilla (Boulder: Westview, 1980) 47-84; and Amado M. Padilla, "Acculturation and stress among immigrants and later generation individuals" *The Quality of Urban Life: Social, Psychological, and Physical Conditions*, ed. Dieter Frick (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987) 101-120.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Larissa Remennick, "Language acquisition, ethnicity and social integration among former Soviet immigrants of the 1990s in Israel" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27.3 (2004): 431-454; Jonathan Fox, "Ethnic minorities and the clash of civilizations: A quantitative analysis of Huntington's thesis" *British Journal of Political Science* 32.3 (2002): 415-434; Andreas Wimmer, "Does ethnicity matter? Everyday group formation in three Swiss immigrant neighborhoods" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27.1 (2004): 1-36.

There are a variety of factors that influence the different ways in which people acculturate. These include family structure and function, adherence to certain religious beliefs and practices, gender, power relationships between the majority and minority groups, personality characteristics, and age of onset of intergroup contact. Moreover, some immigrants experience more social discrimination because of their minority status. Ethnicity, race, religion, language, and/or dress often distinguish many immigrants from the host country's culture. Immigrants from various groups differ on these characteristics. Thus, members of some newcomer groups are likely to be targeted for greater discrimination than others. Some newcomers may be more inclined to undergo cultural changes not because of personal interest or inclination but due to political, social, and/or economic circumstances that may make certain types of cultural adaptation preferable or beneficial or even to a condition of survival. Therefore, acculturation is more complicated and not merely the outcome of two cultural groups being in contact with each other as earlier models hold. In fact, many social and environmental conditions or constraints exist that can largely determine the strategies available to individuals or groups in the process of accommodating to newcomers.¹⁰⁶

Similar to the concepts above is the one proposed by Fermin and Kjellstrand¹⁰⁷ which heavily draws from the works of Penninx 2004¹⁰⁸, Entzinger and Biezeveld 2004¹⁰⁹, and Heckmann 1999¹¹⁰. In this concept, Esser and Heckmann's latter dimension are merged:

Table 2: Integration indicators by field

Field of Integration	Opportunity and position indicators	Risks indicators
Legal-political (civic)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - acquisition of citizenship (eligibility, requirements, numbers) - dual citizenship (policy/rules, numbers) - secure residence status (eligibility, requirements, numbers) and rights attached to status - participation in politics: formal and informal - participation in civil society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - low level of acquisition of citizenship - temporary status - low levels of participation in formal and informal politics, not represented - low level of civic participation, only in ethnic organizations - exclusion (general), racism
Socio-economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - employment: a paid job, working as an entrepreneur - income level and poverty - social security: rights - education: level of education, educational attainment, attending mixed schools - housing: quality, living in mixed neighborhoods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - unemployment - unemployment benefit and welfare dependency - inability to work/disablement - low educational attainment, attending mono-ethnic schools - bad quality of housing, living in a mono-ethnic neighborhood - discrimination (incidence) in employment, education, and housing

¹⁰⁶ Padilla and Perez 39.

¹⁰⁷ Alfons Fermin and Sara Kjellstrand, Study on Immigration, Integration, and Social Cohesion, Final Report (Rotterdam: Erasmus U, 2005) Annex I: 1-2.

¹⁰⁸ Penninx, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Han Entzinger and Renske Biezeveld, Benchmarking on Immigrant Integration, Report for the European Commission (2003).

¹¹⁰ Friedrich Heckmann, Integration Policies in Europe: National differences or convergence? European Forum for Migration Studies Paper no. 33 (Bamberg: EFMS, 1999).

Socio-cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - attitude towards basic rules and norms of the host country - frequency of contacts with host country and country of origin: having inter-ethnic contacts - choice of spouse: intermarriage - language skills - perception of migrants by host society; role media - incidence and effects of diversity policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - having mono-ethnic contacts - mono-ethnic marriages and marriages with partners from country of origin - delinquency - reported cases of discrimination and racially-motivated offences
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Source: Alfons Fermin and Sara Kjellstrand, *Study on Immigration, Integration, and Social Cohesion, Final Report* (Rotterdam: Erasmus U, 2005) Annex I: 1-2.

Ager and Strang propose yet another model bearing some similarity with those already mentioned here. They distinguish between *means and markers* (employment, housing, education, and health) as an expression of successful integration but also as means to participate fully in society, *social connectors* (social bridges, social bonds, and, social links), *facilitators* (language and cultural knowledge as well as safety and stability), and *foundation* (rights and citizenship).¹¹¹

Even though Ager and Strang's model refers to the integration of refugees, it seems rational to transfer the safety and stability aspect to immigrants in general, as migration – from the individual perspective – is usually followed by massive societal change which is associated with undesired disruptions substantially threatening people's identities.¹¹² Insecure self-perceptions often trigger similar behavioral responses as threats to material well-being or physical survival.¹¹³ Forced migration is often linked to previous traumatic experiences and the lack of a prior decision to move lined to the perception of not having a choice and thus the feeling of having no control over life events.¹¹⁴ Many refugees additionally suffer from post traumatic stress syndrome including anxiety, depression, and difficulty in adaptation accordingly.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, there is strong evidence that refugees are usually able to integrate well in the long-term.¹¹⁶ Instead, it is not so clear whether those who have made a conscious decision to leave their country experience fewer psychological and socio-cultural problems.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Alastair Ager and Alison Strang, *Indicators of Integration: Final Report*. Home Office Development and Practice Report 28 (2004), online, <<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/dpr28.pdf>>, retrieved on 14 Feb. 2008. 13.

¹¹² Lada Timotijevic, and Glynis M. Breakwell, "Migration and threat to identity" *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 10 (2000): 355-372.

¹¹³ Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1976): 15ff.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 358.

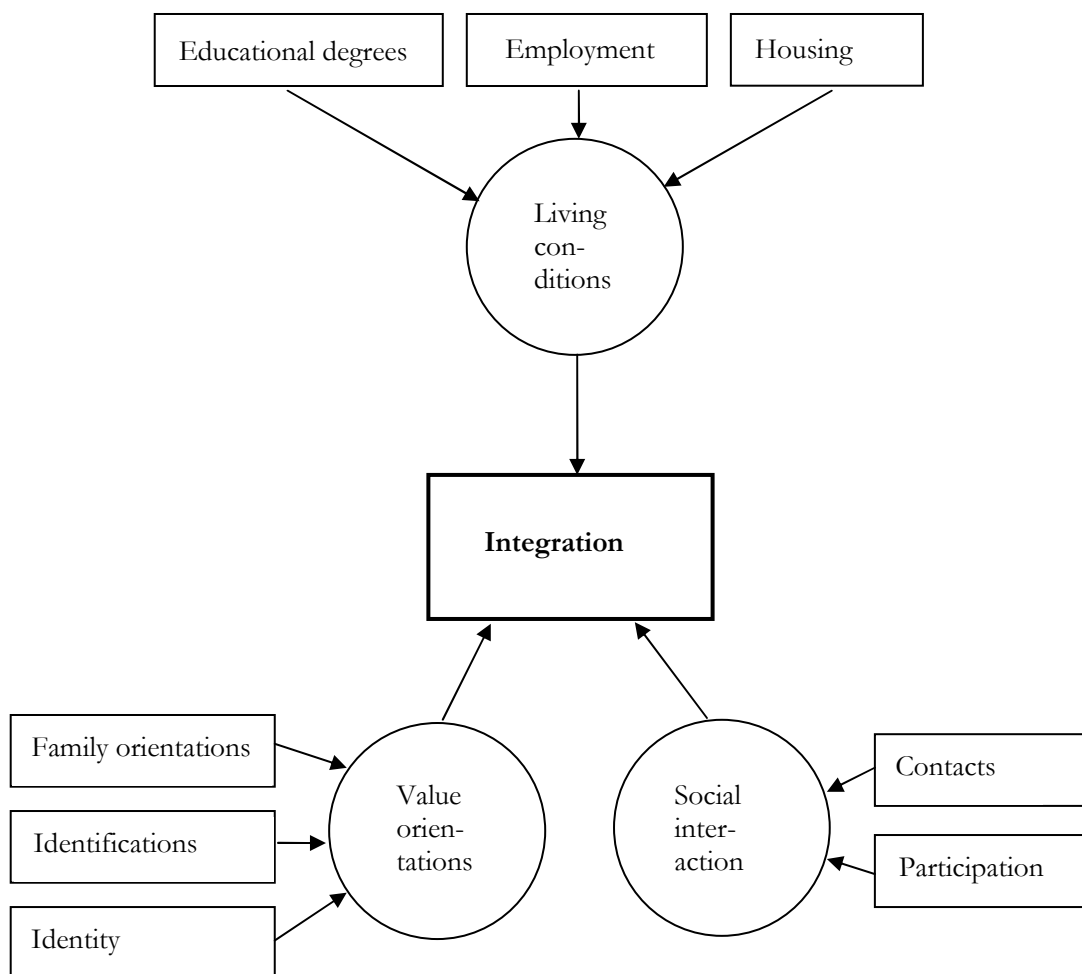
¹¹⁵ For a comprehensive review see John W. Berry, "Acculturation and health: theory and research" *Cultural Clinical Psychology: Theory, Research and Practice*, eds. Shahé S. Kazarian and David R. Evans (New York: Oxford UP, 1998).

¹¹⁶ Morton Beiser, *Longitudinal Study of Vietnamese Refugee Adaptation* (Toronto: Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, 1994).

¹¹⁷ Young Yun Kim, *Communication and Cross-cultural Adaptation: An Integrative Theory* (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1988) and Young Yun Kim and William B. Gudykunst, *Cross-cultural Adaptation: Current Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1988).

A slightly different approach was taken by Hinrichs¹¹⁸ that is based upon the so-called consensus concept in which integration functions on the basis of universal values and aims. These universal values and aims construct the common roof for all social groups of a society under which integrative distributions of roles and status take place in many different ways: assimilation, conflict resolution, consensus, or mutual tolerance and acceptance of cultural and other differences. Even though the approach distinguishes itself from the other two by the conceptual frame, the indicators looked at are quite similar.

Figure 2: Hinrich's life situation & attitudinal model of integration



Source: Wilhelm Hinrichs, *Ausländische Bevölkerungsgruppen in Deutschland* (Berlin: WZB, 2003), online, <<http://Skylia.wz-berlin.de/pdf/2003/i03-202.pdf>>, retrieved on 7 Oct. 2007: 14.

¹¹⁸ Wilhelm Hinrichs, *Ausländische Bevölkerungsgruppen in Deutschland* (Berlin: WZB, 2003), online, <<http://Skylia.wz-berlin.de/pdf/2003/i03-202.pdf>>, retrieved on 7 Oct. 2007, 14-17.

2.1.2 Interaction between immigrants and the receiving society

Integration is unquestionably a multi-actor process involving the individual immigrant, their respective group, members of the receiving society, the institutions of the receiving society and the interactions between all these. The previous models have already addressed this fact to some extent or have at least hinted at it: Hinrichs acknowledged that different kinds of interaction between various population groups occur under the common roof of universal values and aims. Fermin and Kjellstrand explicitly included discrimination and racism in all three dimensions of integration, Ager and Strang did so in terms of access and belonging, Esser and Heckmann have even included identification with the host society as a separate dimension. The way, members and institutions of the receiving society perceive and judge immigration and immigrants, is definitely an important component of a more elaborate model of integration and should be treated accordingly. The level of integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities and the willingness of the dominant culture to further accept and include newcomers into their society is strongly related. A perceived lack of integration on the part of the immigrants in terms of residential segregation, parallel economy, and the unwillingness or inability to learn the language and to adjust to specific local customs, but also perceived competition for limited resources such as employment opportunities or the “destabilization” of welfare systems may lead to more negative attitudes of members of the receiving society towards newcomers. On the other hand, higher degrees of social exclusion and xenophobia will lead to more actual and perceived discrimination that in turn will inhibit integration. However, as van Ooyen argues, the much demanded integration of immigrants into European societies in the meaning of social and cultural assimilation is a totally unsuitable concept for reducing xenophobia as it seems to be an instrument of constituting anti-pluralist societies and thus downright being a xenophobic concept itself as an expression of its causes.¹¹⁹

Or, as Penninx points out, religion, together with language, is often “tightly bound up with notions of national identity”¹²⁰ As a result, diversity policy is often perceived as posing a threat to national identity.¹²¹ Therefore, anti-diversity orientations are part of the defense mechanism to protect and stabilize injured or insecure identities.

The interaction between ethnic groups and receiving society is also reflected at the individual level. Objectively existing and subjectively perceived barriers may limit a person’s access to core institutions of the host country to a certain degree. Other particular circumstances provide specific opportunity structures with an impact on people’s attitudes towards the host society and the own ethnic group in which there is still some choice in

¹¹⁹ Robert Christian van Ooyen, “Demokratische Partizipation statt ‘Integration’: Normativ-staatstheoretische Begründung eines generellen Ausländerwahlrechts. Zugleich eine Kritik an der Integrationslehre von Smend” *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 13.2 (2003): 601-628.

¹²⁰ Rinus Penninx, “Integration policies for Europe’s immigrants: performance, conditions, and challenges”, expert paper for the Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration (2004): 11.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

integration strategies people can adopt. These attitudes are primarily defining individual strategic choices.

Berry proposed a simple matrix for these choices by asking the following questions:
 1) Is it considered to be of value to maintain one’s cultural identity and characteristics?
 2) It is considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups and the receiving society?¹²²

Table 3: Strategic integration choice matrix

		Maintain own cultural identity?	
		Yes	No
Maintain relationships with receiving society?	Yes	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
	No	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

Source: John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall H. Segal, and Pierre R. Dasen, Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications (New York: Cambridge UP, 2002) 278.

When a person appreciates its own cultural identity and seeks to relate to members from the host society, this person will most likely adopt an integration strategy trying to balance the identity linked to one’s country of origin and the identity developed through interactions with the host society. Even though most of the literature uses integration and assimilation as synonyms, in particular the North American literature, Berry clearly distinguishes between the terms. According to him, assimilation is the strategy being adopted when an individual favors contact and belonging with the host society but does not appreciate one’s identity tying it to its cultural, ethnic, religious, or national origins. Separation is just the opposite choice: One’s ethnic belongingness is regarded important whereas ties to the host society are not. The fourth option refers to the “sitting between the chairs” situation where one does neither associate with his/her roots nor with the host society.¹²³

Of the four strategies, assimilation requires most psychological and behavioral changes, separation least. Marginalization and integration fall in between, however, integration requires more efforts to sustain and to balance identities that are sometimes in conflict with each other. As a tradeoff, integration provides more resources through dual identity, social relations, and wider opportunity structures. Ongoing marginalization on the other hand may lead to severe psychological consequences as social ties are cut off and the need to belong is frustrated.¹²⁴

Strategic choices requiring more resources in terms of psychological and behavioral change particularly benefit from the perception of personal security. An insecure person is much

¹²² John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall H. Segal, and Pierre R. Dasen, Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications (New York: Cambridge UP, 2002) 278 and John W. Berry, “Acculturation as varieties of adaptation” Acculturation: Theory, Models and some New Findings, ed. Amado M. Padilla (Boulder: Westview, 1980) 9-25.

¹²³ Berry, Poortinga, Segal, and Dasen, 278f.

¹²⁴ Ibid. 282ff.

less likely to engage with others that are perceived to be much different from him. But taken to the extreme, the most insecure person might withdraw into himself and thus more or less consciously opt for the marginalization choice.

Berry found that individuals within any ethnic group vary in their preferences for assimilation, integration or rejecting. The strategy choice or the experience of marginalization inhibits one's mental health.¹²⁵

2.1.2.1 The ambivalent role of ethnic communities

In terms of social costs, integration and assimilation are preferable choices over separation and marginalization. However, ethnic communities play a crucial role in adopting integration strategies and sometimes cause individuals to decide for separation instead. Public and scholarly debates reflect the ambivalent character of ethnic communities for the integration of their members.¹²⁶ From Berry's model it seems quite convincing that ethnic group orientation safeguards against the experience of marginalization. The immigration city in the early 20th century was pictured by the Chicago school as a mosaic of small worlds each being ethnically and socially quite homogeneous and separate from one another.¹²⁷ Immigrants were observed settling in quarters where they found fellow compatriots and lived by the traditions and costumes they were used to. However, the new arrivals receive essential information and instructions for life at the new place. The ethnic communities supported new arrivals socially, economically, and psychologically. In exchange, new immigrants were required to embrace the values and norms of the ethnic community. Strong social control by the ethnic community protected the individual against insecurities posed by the big unknown city. Therefore, these segregated ethnic areas were also called the city's "moral regions."¹²⁸

Ethnic communities acted as bridges to the receiving society, as "warm nests"¹²⁹ facilitating immigrants transition from one society into another by means of providing information and instruction but also psychological security and economic protection while inside the community from which individuals distance themselves over time through employment, more diverse contacts and finally better housing outside the ethnic community.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ John W. Berry, Uichol Kim, and Pawel Boski, "Acculturation and psychological adaptation" Current Studies in Cross Cultural Adaptation, eds. Young Yun Kim and William B. Gudykunst (London: Sage, 1987) 29-44.

¹²⁶ For a summary of arguments see Hartmut Häußermann, and Walter Siebel, Soziale Integration und ethnische Schichtung: Zusammenhänge zwischen räumlicher und sozialer Integration, Gutachten im Auftrag der Unabhängigen Kommission Zuwanderung, 2001, online, <http://www.schader-stiftung.de/docs/haeussermann_siebel_gutachten.pdf>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008.

¹²⁷ Robert E. Park, and Ernest W. Burgess, The City (Chicago: UP, 1925).

¹²⁸ Ernest W. Burgess, On community, family, and delinquency: selected writings, eds. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Albert Hunter and James F. Short (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1973).

¹²⁹ Robert E. Park, "Human migration and the marginal man" American Journal of Sociology 33 (1928): 881-893.

¹³⁰ Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford UP, 1964).

This, however, is no automatism in today's social reality¹³¹ where immigration is less final. A century ago – when it took a fortune and several weeks to cross the Atlantic – people perceived immigration as a way of no return. Nowadays, people are much less restricted in their movements and may even choose to switch back and forth from one place to another taking advantage of both and attending to transnational identities. Larger minority groups are more assertive concerning their claims to rights and resources, and resistance to cultural assimilation. They may even call for quotas and measures of 'negative discrimination' to offset decades of discrimination. Group competition and related social change strategies spoil individual beliefs and efforts of mobility.

When people leave their ethnic communities which usually is the starting point for structural assimilation into the receiving society, the immigrants realize an unavoidable surplus of disorientation, growing expectations, and wishes which are not satisfied because of their steady growth. The "system" pays with unavoidable confrontation concerning equality claims in terms of legitimately claimed services formerly exclusively at the disposal of the majority population.¹³²

When integration is regarded as individual process of adjustment to the conditions in the receiving society, it definitely contains a certain degree of acculturation and assimilation – regardless, whether integration or assimilation is the paramount strategy an individual prefers. In this process Esser describes the ambivalence of the ethnic community for the process of integration in terms of providing orientation and protection against anomic tension and unmanageable strain that first provides a basic condition for ongoing assimilation. However, each integration means stabilization and the relief of strain for a person and thus a weakening of motivational tensions by inducing situational change, seeking information, and learning new skills for solving one's problems. Reaching a first basic orientation at the new place often ends all attempts to assimilate further.¹³³

In this context, interethnic marriages and family bonds as well as ethnic community groups play a biased role in an individual's integration.¹³⁴ Even though they very often help the individual to establish or to regain positive self-views¹³⁵, they also restrict people's group

¹³¹ And it seems not to have been entirely back then. While the Chicago school regarded complete assimilation as a matter of fact within three generations [see Charles A. Price, "The Study of Assimilation" *Migration*, Sociological Studies 2, ed. J. A. Jackson (Cambridge: UP, 1969) 181-237], others observed notable difficulties in some members of the second and third generation. See e.g. Irvin L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1943); William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of Italian Slums* (Chicago: UP, 1943); Talcott Parsons, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Nature and Trends of Change in Ethnicity" *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, eds. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1975); Marcus Lee. Hansen, *The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant* (Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society Publications, 1938).

¹³² Hartmut Esser, *Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie: Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse* (Darmstadt, Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1980) 82.

¹³³ Ibid. 80f.

¹³⁴ Miriam Geoghegan, "Türken in Deutschland: endogene Integrationsbarrieren, ihre Ursachen und Folgen", revised MA thesis, Hagen: Fernuniversität Hagen, 2007, online, <http://www.wannseeforum.de/download/MG_Magister_19Apr07_1.pdf>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008.

¹³⁵ W. Keith Campbell and Roy F. Baumeister, "Is loving the self necessary for loving another? An examination of identity and intimacy" *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) 78-98; Arthur Aron, Elaine N. Aron, and Christina Norman, "Self-

choices for enforcing group boundaries resulting in an only partial inclusion in the societal systems of the receiving population which often leads to the collective fate of being part of the lower class.¹³⁶ Further, families and ethnic communities often act as greedy institutions¹³⁷ requiring unwavering loyalty of their members to their group in terms of worldview, role identifications, attitudes, and value orientations that may often conflict from those of the majority culture and therefore make it more difficult to develop bonds with it and trust in it.

Despite its strong presence in public discourse and in the literature, national and ethnic identity should not be treated as constant factors in integration processes. This is not least due to the fact noted by Heckmann¹³⁸ that the importance of the country of origin lessens with the length of stay in the host country and the conditions in the host country gain in importance. Immigrants do not really bring “their” culture along with them through immigration but rather relate to the new ethnic orientations and group structures of local ethnic communities. This said, these ethnic communities replace the country of origin as the source of ethnic identity while the actual bonds with the place of origin become weaker and weaker and turn into nothing more than just “symbolic belonging.”¹³⁹

Of course, the host society orientation of the local ethnic communities will strongly depend on the particularities of the group itself and the interaction with the host community. Penninx¹⁴⁰ argues that national approaches towards Islam and Islamic organizations influence the attitudes of second generation of Muslim youth towards the receiving country and integration. While Turkish youth in Germany are more likely to have inward-oriented and even fundamentalist attitudes¹⁴¹, their counterparts in the Netherlands are much more outward-looking and directed towards integration and participation.¹⁴²

This shows that cultural and religious integration results from the interaction between migrants and the receiving society.¹⁴³ The strength and effects of ethnic identity are increased by labeling from the receiving society. It is precisely this process of attributing an

expansion model of motivation and cognition in close relationships and beyond” *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) 99-123.

¹³⁶ Hartmut Esser, *Integration und ethnische Schichtung*, Gutachten im Auftrag der Unabhängigen Kommission Zuwanderung, Mannheim 2001, online, <<http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publications/wp/wp-40.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008.

¹³⁷ The use of the term “greedy institutions” refers to Sally Johnson and Colin Robson, “Threatened identities: The experiences of women in transition to programs of professional higher education” *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 9 (1999): 273-288.

¹³⁸ Friedrich Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik: Ein Einwanderungsland? Zur Soziologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwanderungsminorität* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1981).

¹³⁹ Herbert Gans, “Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2.1 (1979): 2-20.

¹⁴⁰ Penninx 15-16.

¹⁴¹ Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Joachim Müller, and Helmut Schröder, *Verlockender Fundamentalismus* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1997): 16-21.

¹⁴² Karen Phaet, Claudia van Lotharingen, and Han Entzinger, *Islam in de multiculturele samenleving: opvattingen van jongeren in Rotterdam* (Utrecht: Ercomer, 2000).

¹⁴³ Fermin and Kjellstrand 33.

identity to immigrants and ethnic minorities as well as the denial of belonging to the host society rendering cultural differences more meaningful.¹⁴⁴

Immigrants and members of ethnic minorities “re-ethnicize” not because of actual cultural differences, but for the sake of securing and stabilizing their identity. Ethnic identity and labeling play a central role in the relations between the established and newcomers: For the host society, they serve to deny access to scarce resources (better jobs or housing) and to assign lower status positions. For the minorities, they provide orientation and a sense of positive distinctiveness.¹⁴⁵

2.1.2.2 Ethnic closure (xenophobia)

Whether conflict between different ethnic groups is immanent depends on the salience of cultural, national, ethnic, or religious identities. As long as the differences are not accentuated, there is no ground for identity conflicts. For example, moderate Muslim groups within Western societies are not genuinely subject to the described identity conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims. Nevertheless, they might be drawn into the conflict at the same token as members of the majority may not clearly differentiate between different Muslim groups and treat them with distrust and prejudice which accompanies the perceived threat to their cultural (national, religious, and ethnic) identity.

Many conflicts between minority groups and the host society cannot be understood on the basis of ethnicity alone. Also, the sociological age of competing groups has to be considered.¹⁴⁶ The established tend to close their ranks against newcomers regardless of their ethnicity or any other categories.¹⁴⁷ That is why this tendency of exclusion sometimes occurs even when the established and the newcomers belong to the same ethnic group. Treibel suggested that the closure of ethnic communities vis-à-vis other ethnic communities occurs in an attempt to show the closeness of one’s own community to the majority.¹⁴⁸

Die Zuwanderinnen und Zuwanderer werden unabhängig davon, ob sie gleicher oder fremder ethnischer Herkunft sind, ob sie Russlanddeutsche, Asylsuchende oder nachziehende Familienangehörige der früheren Gastarbeiternationen sind, von den Längeransässigen – unabhängig davon, ob diese die deutsche oder eine ausländische Staatsangehörigkeit haben – als beunruhigend empfunden. Dies ist umso mehr der Fall, je ungesicherter der eigene Status und der Platz in der jeweiligen Gesellschaft sind und je weniger mit Zuwanderung auf politischer Ebene menschlich und konstruktiv umgegangen wird.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Wolf-Dieter Bukow, and Roberto Llaryora, Mitbürger aus der Fremde: Soziogenese ethnischer Minderheiten (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988).

¹⁴⁵ Claus Leggewie, “Ethnische Spaltungen in demokratischen Gesellschaften” Was hält die Gesellschaft zusammen? Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Auf dem Weg von der Konsens- zur Konfliktgesellschaft, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, vol. 2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997): 233-254.

¹⁴⁶ Elias and Scotson 238-246.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 144.

¹⁴⁸ Treibel 222.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 223.

This established-outsider relationship is strongly tied to the local context.¹⁵⁰ Alexander suggests a typology of integration policy as an expression of host-stranger relations.¹⁵¹ Paradoxically, he found cities that pride themselves for their multiculturalism often to be the breeding ground for anti-immigrant parties and racial riots.¹⁵² This paradox mainly reveals that cultural tolerance and diversity affirmation requires material and symbolic security.¹⁵³

From the presented evidence, it seems rather likely that ethnic closure of members of the receiving society – and also the ethnic closure of established immigrants or for that matter the degree of closure of their own ethnic communities – is a mechanism to restore the ingroup member's positive distinctiveness at the expense of degrading various outgroups.

In the research literature, ethnocentrism in terms of ethnic closure and ethnic group identification are treated as both a dependent and an independent variable to integration. Ethnic closure of the receiving society and ethnic group orientation of immigrants and ethnic minorities are rarely considered twins. Too strong is the notion that discrimination and the denial of access for immigrants to the core institutions of their host society (ethnic closure) force them into the parallel structures of ethnic communities and thus ethnic closure and ethnic ingroup orientation rise together.

Nevertheless, Anhut and Heitmeyer's disintegration paradigm¹⁵⁴ acknowledges that the lack of structural and related social opportunities for integration will cause insecurity and anxiety in individuals who either experience the loss of their jobs or are only at risk for doing so. Thus, "losers" from modernization and globalization processes from both groups receiving society and diverse minorities will react with higher levels of ethnocentrism in terms of ethnic closure and ethnic ingroup orientation.

Integration into society by means of education, achieving desired social and professional positions, participation and belonging is bogged down by the dissolution of stable relations and belongingness, a decline in social participation, and the pluralization of values and norms. Risks and chances are most unevenly distributed. At the lower end are both the members of socially disadvantaged groups within the receiving society and immigrants or

¹⁵⁰ K. D. M. Snell, "The Culture of Local Xenophobia" *Social History* 28.1 (2003): 1-30 and Heather Antecol and Deborah Cobb-Clark, *Racial Harassment, Job Satisfaction and Intentions to Remain in the Military*, IZA DP No. 1636, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), online, <<ftp://repec.iza.org/RePEc/Discussionpaper/dp1636.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008.

¹⁵¹ Michael Alexander, "Local policies toward migrants as an expression of host-stranger relations: a proposed typology" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29.3 (2003): 411-430.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 415.

¹⁵³ Otfried Höffe, "Goldene Regel: Wie wir in Zeiten interkultureller Konflikte tolerant sein können" *Kulturaustausch* 57.3 (2007): 18.

¹⁵⁴ Reimund Anhut, and Wilhelm Heitmeyer, "Desintegration, Konflikt und Ethnisierung: Eine Problemanalyse und theoretische Rahmenkonzeption", Reimund Anhut, and Wilhelm Heitmeyer, eds., *Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaft: Soziale Desintegrationsprozesse und ethnisch-kulturelle Konfliktkonstellationen* (Weinheim: Juventa, 2000) 17-75 and Wilhelm Heitmeyer, "Gesellschaftliche Integration, Anomie und ethnisch-kulturelle Konflikte" *Was treibt die Gesellschaft auseinander? Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Auf dem Weg von der Konsens- zur Konfliktgesellschaft*, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, vol. 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997) 629-653.

ethnic minorities. The increasing experience of disintegration brings about feelings of insecurity and anxiety which are differently dealt with in different milieus.¹⁵⁵

More recently, a similar line of argument is followed by Kässner¹⁵⁶ and by Gauland:

Wer heute NPD wählt, ist meist männlich, jung, ohne Arbeit, ohne Zukunft, hat Angst vor der Unübersichtlichkeit der modernen Welt und bekämpft deshalb die anderen, die Globalisierer, die fremde Arbeitskräfte nach Deutschland lassen und Konkurrenz befürworten, der er nicht gewachsen ist. Der Wähler der NPD ist nicht für Auschwitz, sondern gegen die, welche eine Welt wollen, in der Deutschland sich nach anderen richten muss und in der er noch weniger Chancen hat als bisher schon.¹⁵⁷

Ethnocentrism can thus be explained as the result of an uncertainty reduction mechanism: "When the other's behavior is undesired, the actor is likely to see it as derived from internal sources rather than as being a response to his own actions. In this case the actor believes that the other is trying to harm him rather than that the effect was an unintended consequence or a side-effect."¹⁵⁸ Scapegoating and the formulation or strengthening of prejudice along the lines of ethnicity or other similar categories constitute very similar reaction patterns.

Relating to xenophobia as the actual fear of foreigners, Paxton and Mughan pointed out that immigrants and ethnic minorities pose a cultural threat to the majority population that may be labeled "assimilationist threat" referring to the perception that members of ethnic groups fail to assimilate and therefore threaten the majority population's cultural norms and lifestyle.¹⁵⁹

In terms of conceptualizing xenophobia, current quantitative studies on the determinants of xenophobia have produced a rather broad spectrum. Chandler and Tsai simply distinguished between attitudes towards legal or illegal immigrants.¹⁶⁰ Winkler constructed five dimensions of xenophobia in Western European countries based on (1) social prejudice as a generalized negative attitude towards other ethnic groups which serves as a motive for discrimination; (2) cultural defense as a reflection of perceived cultural difference between the own and other groups serving as pretext and justification for exclusion; (3) attitudes towards immigration; (4) attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities; and (5) "subjective racism."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ Heitmeyer, Müller, and Schröder 24f.

¹⁵⁶ Frank Kässner, "Warum fast jeder zweite Bewohner von Postlow NPD gewählt hat - Auf Spurensuche in Vorpommern" *Die Welt* 20 Sept. 2006, 4.

¹⁵⁷ Alexander Gauland, "Mehr Paternalismus wagen: Die NPD und die Konservativen" *Die Welt* 25 Sept. 2006, 8.

¹⁵⁸ Jervis 343.

¹⁵⁹ Pamela Paxton and Anthony Mughan, "What's to fear from immigrants? Creating an assimilationist threat scale" *Political Psychology* 27.4 (2006): 549-568.

¹⁶⁰ Charles A. Chandler, and Yung-Mei Tsai, "Social factors influencing immigration attitudes: an analysis of data from the General Social Survey" *The Social Science Journal* (2001), online, <http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-10630701_ITM>, retrieved on 17 Jun. 2007.

¹⁶¹ Jürgen R. Winkler, "Ursachen fremdenfeindlicher Einstellungen in Westeuropa: Befunde einer international vergleichenden Studie" *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B 26 (2003): 33-34.

Stolz¹⁶² and Kleinert¹⁶³ developed similar typologies. Coenders, Lubbers, and Scheepers¹⁶⁴ also define five categories of xenophobia concerning (1) resistance to multicultural society; (2) views asserting the limits to multicultural society in terms of the influx and presence of large minorities; (3) opposition to civil rights for legal immigrants; (4) favoring repatriation policy for legal immigrants; and (5) insistence on the conformity of immigrants to the receiving country's laws.

On the other hand, qualitative studies revealed circumstances of socialization¹⁶⁵, personality (in terms of authoritarian personality and social dominance orientation)¹⁶⁶, and perceived group competition (mainly in terms of economic strain and motives of competition)¹⁶⁷ to relate to xenophobia.

The specific determinants used in the studies and the effects they produce vary to the extent that even previously thought "safe" determinants such as education and income do not produce consistent patterns. For example, the analysis of General Social Survey data showed virtually no effects of income, race, and fear of crime on xenophobia.¹⁶⁸ In a study on "racialized" welfare attitudes, Frederico¹⁶⁹ found that even though college graduates generally are less likely to hold negative attitudes towards blacks, the relationship between racial perceptions and attitudes toward welfare may be stronger among the very same well-educated individuals. Thus, education actually strengthens the ability to adapt policy attitudes that are consistent with racial attitudes no matter if one holds positive or negative perceptions of blacks. Winkler¹⁷⁰ showed that in countries with rather high levels of xenophobia, the level education had no direct impact on people's attitudes towards racial

¹⁶² Jörg Stolz, Soziologie der Fremdenfeindlichkeit: Theoretische und empirische Analysen, Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2000.

¹⁶³ Corinna Kleinert, Fremdenfeindlichkeit: Einstellungen junger Deutscher zu Migranten (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004).

¹⁶⁴ Marcel Coenders, Marcel Lubbers, and Peer Scheepers, Majorities' Attitudes towards Minorities in European Union Member States: Results from the Standard Eurobarometers 1997-2000-2003, Report 2 for the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (Nijmegen: U of Nijmegen, 2005).

¹⁶⁵ E.g., Julie Robinson, Rivka Witenberg, and Ann Sanson, "The socialization of tolerance" Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict, eds. Martha Augoustinos and Katherine J. Reynolds (London: Sage, 2006) 73-88 or Peter Altvater, "Familiale Sozialisationserfahrungen – fremdenfeindliche und rechtsextremistische Orientierungen" Alltägliche Fremdenfeindlichkeit: Interpretation sozialer Deutungsmuster, eds. Peter Altvater, Maren Stamer, and Wilke Thomssen (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2000) 35-58.

¹⁶⁶ E.g., Patrick C. L. Heaven, "Prejudice and personality: The case of authoritarian and social dominator" Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict, eds. Martha Augoustinos and Katherine J. Reynolds (London: Sage, 2006) 89-104; Bob Altemeyer, The Authoritarian Specter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1996) also drawing from Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality, 1950 (New York: Harper, 1982).

¹⁶⁷ E.g., Katherine J. Reynolds, and John C. Turner, "Prejudice as a group process: the role of social identity" Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict, eds. Martha Augoustinos and Katherine J. Reynolds (London: Sage, 2006) 159-178; Michael J. Platow, and John A. Hunter, "Realistic intergroup conflict: prejudice, power, and protest" Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict, eds. Martha Augoustinos and Katherine J. Reynolds (London: Sage, 2006) 195-212; Felicia Pratto, and Anthony F. Lemieux, "The psychological ambiguity of immigration and its implications for promoting immigration policy" Journal of Social Issues 57.3 (2001): 413-430; James M. Olson, C. Peter Herman, and Mark P. Zanna, Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1986).

¹⁶⁸ Chandler and Tsai.

¹⁶⁹ Frederico 387.

¹⁷⁰ Winkler 35.

and ethnic minorities. Some studies clearly show age and gender differences in levels of xenophobia or opposition to immigration, while others do not produce significant results on these variables.¹⁷¹ The actual impact of the determinants thus seems to depend on circumstances. For example, feelings about immigrants “have an electoral effect only when there is a good fit between the policy stances of voters and the policies promoted by the parties on offer.”¹⁷²

As this analysis will be concerned with intergroup relations, ethnic closure will be understood as attitude complex in which an individual prefers restrictive immigration policy and holds rather negative attitudes towards immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. As a member of an ethnic minority, ethnic closure refers to attitudes of ingroup orientation and resentment against members of the receiving society as well as members of other minorities and new immigrants. A one-dimensional conceptualization of anti-immigration attitudes will be sensible in this research context as the measurement of ingroup-outgroup accentuation is targeted. This ingroup-outgroup accentuation will function similarly within the immigrant and ethnic minority population. That is why the very same scale will be proposed as a measure of ethnic closure, i.e. the degree of social closure of the majority population as well as the immigrant and ethnic minority population.

2.1.3 Integration in identity research

When applying identity based explanatory models to empirical tests, it appears reasonable to start out with Frable’s criticism of past identity research:

Research focuses on the personal meanings of these social categories one at a time. This practice fragments the literature and systematically excludes particular populations. Gender identity research excludes racial and ethnic minorities and those who are not middle class. Racial and ethnic identity research often avoids gender and sexuality. Sexual identity research focuses on white middle-class gay men and lesbians. Class identity research attends to the wealthy (usually white) or the poor (usually women and ethnic minorities). Critiques of these practices exist, but even when new research with previously excluded social groups contradicts traditional theory, it rarely leads to new theoretical conceptions. Even more unusual is the actual testing of any new theoretical conception that reflect dual or multiple social group membership. Currently longitudinal research is rare; such designs are essential to test development theories, to follow identity paths, and to demonstrate fluidity. In addition, self-esteem, adjustment, and other well-being indices are overworked dependent variables; identity has other functions needing exploration. Innovative methods for assessing the content

¹⁷¹ See for example Giovanni Facchini, and Anna Maria Mayda, Individual Attitudes towards Immigrants: Welfare-State Determinants across Countries. CESifo Working Papers 1768 (2006), online, <<http://www.CESifo-group.de>>, retrieved on 17 Jun. 2007 or Christian Dustmann, and Ian Preston, Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes to Immigration, IZA Discussion Paper Series 190 (Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor, 2006).

¹⁷² Anthony Mughan, and Pamela Paxton, “Anti-immigrant sentiment, policy preferences and populist party voting in Australia” British Journal of Political Science 36.2 (2006): 341-358.

and structure of people's identities now exist; they were designed or can be adapted to assess the many personal meaningful social categories on which people base their identities. The empirical work that stands out in this literature acknowledges that the personal meanings of social group memberships change over time, and these meanings are best understood in the context of socio-historical events. Work that is produced without taking this context into account can be nonsensical, trite, or harmful; such work usually applies as normative a white, middle-class standard.

A powerful vision of what empirical work on identity could look like exists in the narrative writings of feminists, particularly those who are women of color.¹⁷³ These accounts capture excluded groups, excluded dimensions, and excluded relationships. They attend to socio-historical contexts, family niches, and on-going milieus. They see identity as a continuously re-created, personalized social construction that includes multiple social categories and that functions to keep people whole.

These narratives are focused, detailed, and individualized; they come from people traditionally labeled as "Other" on multiple dimensions. Thus, they are first hand accounts of how the important social category systems actually work together. Integrating the insights of these narratives into carefully designed empirical studies may lead to an identity literature that sees people as a whole.¹⁷⁴

Indeed, much identity research has – in the context of migration – overstressed "master identities" such as race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, or culture.¹⁷⁵ More recently, the interaction of some of these master identities have increasingly come into the focus of empirical research, but have been still been treated rather independently from an overall identity structure.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Patricia Hill Collins, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (New York: Routledge, 1991); Lillian Comas-Diaz, and Beverly Greene, eds., Women of Color: Integrating Ethnic and Gender Identities in Psychotherapy (New York: Guilford, 1994); Shirley Brice Heath, and Milbrey W. McLaughlin, eds., Identity and Inner-City Youth: Beyond Ethnicity and Gender (New York: Teach. Coll. P, 1993); Aida Hurtado, "Relating to privilege: Seduction and rejection in the subordination of White women and women of Color" Signs 14 (1989): 833-55; Deborah King, "Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a Black feminist ideology" Signs 14 (1988): 42-72; Pat MacPherson, and Michelle Fine, "Hungry for an us: Adolescent girls and adult women negotiating territories of race, gender, class, and difference" Feminist Psychology 5 (1995): 181-200.

¹⁷⁴ Deborah E. S. Frable, "Gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, and class identities" Annual Review of Psychology 48 (1997): 154f.

¹⁷⁵ See James E. Cameron, "Perceptions of self and group in the context of a threatened national identity: A field study" Group Processes & Intergroup Relations 8.1 (2005): 73-88; Valentina A. Bali and R. Michael Alvarez, "The race gap in student achievement scores: Longitudinal evidence from a racially diverse school district" The Policy Studies Journal 32.3 (2004): 393-415; Sarah Song, "Majority norms, multiculturalism, and gender equality" American Political Science Review 99.4 (2005): 473-489; Donna Bahry, Mikhail Kosolapov, Polina Kozyreva, and Rick K. Wilson, "Ethnicity and trust: evidence from Russia" American Political Science Review 99.4 (2005): 521-532.

¹⁷⁶ See Julie McLeod and Lyn Yates, "Who is 'us'? Students negotiating discourses of racism and national identification in Australia" Race, Ethnicity and Education 6.1 (2003): 29-49; Karen K. Dion and Kenneth L. Dion, "Gender and cultural adaptation in immigrant families" Journal of Social Issues 57.3 (2001): 511-522; Sally Johnson and Colin Robson, "Threatened identities: The experiences of women in transition to programs of professional higher education" Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 9 (1999): 273-288; Carmen Braun Williams, "Counseling African American women: Multiple identities – multiple constraints" Journal of Counseling & Development 83 (2005): 278-283; Elisabeth Allès, "The Chinese-speaking Muslims (Dungans) of Central Asia: A case of multiple identities in a changing context" Asian Ethnicity 6.2 (2005): 121-134; Sophia Moskalenko, Clark McCauley, and Paul Rozin, "Group identification under conditions of threat: College students' attachment to country, family, ethnicity, religion, and university before and after September 11, 2001" Political Psychology 27.1 (2006): 77-97.

Frable also calls for further empirical research to make use of the richly textured, theoretical conceptions of identity construction, maintenance, and change, and to consider people's many social identities.¹⁷⁷

Undoubtedly, many would agree that ethno-national categories of group distinction clearly belong to these "master identities" supposed to influence our perceptions, attitudes, and behavior. However, Wimmer found them to be only secondary principles of classification in group formation processes, even though people's social networks are largely ethnically homogeneous.¹⁷⁸ Thus, the incorporation of other identities into an overall identity construct should be a rewarding approach. However, there were only a few previous attempts to consider people's identity construction and negotiation regarding migration in mere general terms, and to my knowledge none apart from a specific or situational context or specifically defined roles. Nevertheless, most recently it has been attempted to address people's multiple social identities in terms of multiple social groups implying different social identities and ingroup loyalties suggesting that multiple group identities are simultaneously influencing a person's overall level of social inclusion.¹⁷⁹

One of these new approaches to include several social categories in a model of a person's identity is that of Gaertner. His common ingroup identity model states that intergroup conflict can be reduced by transforming participants' memberships from two originally opposing groups to one – more inclusive – group. It then hypothesizes that intergroup interdependence or specific environmental conditions can alter individuals' cognitive representations and will thus result in specific cognitive and affective alterations as well as overt behavior.¹⁸⁰

Categorizing former outgroup members as ingroup members will be related with more positive thoughts, feelings and behaviors towards them. However, these will not be finely differentiated at first. Only over time a common identity can encourage personalization of former outgroup members thus reversing the original effect of positive differentiation processes of ingroup membership at the expense of the outgroup which is also called depersonalization. In order to develop a common ingroup identity, it is not necessary that each group completely forsakes its original group identity.¹⁸¹ This might even be impossible. Emerging 'dual identity' representations – making both the subgroup and superordinate group identities salient – may increase the benefits of intergroup contact in

¹⁷⁷ Frable 139.

¹⁷⁸ Andreas Wimmer, "Does ethnicity matter? Everyday group formation in three Swiss immigrant neighborhoods" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27.1 (2004): 1-36.

¹⁷⁹ Marilynn B. Brewer and Samuel L. Gaertner, "Towards reduction of prejudice: Intergroup contact and social categorization" *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) 298-318.

¹⁸⁰ Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Jason A. Nier, Brenda S. Banker, Christine M. Ward, Melissa Houlette, and Stephenie Loux, "The common ingroup identity model for reducing intergroup bias: Processes and challenges" *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown (London: Sage, 2000) 133-135. See also Amy K. Sanchez, Cristina Zogmaister, and Luciano Arcuri, "When 'they' becomes 'we': Multiple contrasting identities in mixed status groups" *Self and Identity* 6.2-3 (2007): 154-172.

¹⁸¹ Samuel L. Gaertner, Jeffrey A. Mann, John F. Dovidio, Andrey J. Murrell, and Marina Pomare, "How does cooperation reduce intergroup bias?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59 (1990): 692-704.

terms of extending the positive thoughts and feelings for the new (common) ingroup members beyond those one met in person.¹⁸²

The more people feel like members of one group, the more positive are their evaluations of partial outgroup members, the more positive their affective behavior towards them and the lower their level of intergroup anxiety. Strong one-group identification reduced intergroup bias between former in- and outgroup. Nevertheless, the empirical relationship between intergroup attitudes and behaviors is rather weak.¹⁸³ When it was shown that “dual identity” is beneficial to the reduction of intergroup bias – the key condition is similar as for the contact hypothesis: equal status. If this condition is not met the motivation to achieve ‘positive distinctiveness’¹⁸⁴ could rather exuberate than alleviate intergroup bias.¹⁸⁵ Only when groups have equal status, each group can maintain positive distinctiveness and a greater acceptance of a superordinate identity can be expected from the members of both groups leading to more successful intergroup contact.¹⁸⁶

Research on intergroup attitudes in a multi-ethnic high school supported these arguments: Students who described themselves as both American and as a member of their racial or ethnic group had less bias toward other groups in the school than did those students who described themselves only in terms of their subgroup identity. Also, the minority students who actually identified themselves using a dual identity reported lower levels of intergroup bias relative to those who only used their ethnic or racial group identity. These findings support the positive role of dual identity.¹⁸⁷

This view has also been confirmed through research by Transue showing that making salient a superordinate identity increased the support for a tax increase¹⁸⁸ and by Huddy and Khatib pointing to the effect that a strong American identity promoted civic involvement.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² See also the conclusions of Victoria M. Esses, John F. Dovidio, Lynne M. Jackson, and Tamara L. Armstrong, “The immigration dilemma: the role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001): 389-412 and Jean S. Phinney, Gabriel Horenczyk, Karmela Liebkind, and Paul Vedder, “Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001): 493-510.

¹⁸³ John F. Dovidio, John C. Brigham, Blair T. Johnson, and Samuel L. Gaertner, “Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination: another look” *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, eds. C. Neil Macrae, Charles Stangor, and Miles Hewstone (New York: Guilford, 1996) 276-319. These findings confirm Wicker’s earlier works on the relationship between attitudes and behavior in the way that “it is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviors than that attitudes will be closely related to actions. Product moment correlation coefficients [...] are rarely above 0.30 and often are near zero.” Allan W. Wicker, “Attitudes versus actions: the relationship of verbal and overt behavioral responses to attitude objects” *Journal of Social Issues* 25.1 (1969): 65.

¹⁸⁴ Tajfel and Turner 35.

¹⁸⁵ Rupert Brown, and Gillian Wade, “Superordinate goals and intergroup behavior: The effects of role ambiguity and status on intergroup attitudes and task performance” *European Journal of Political Psychology* 17 (1987): 131-142.

¹⁸⁶ Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Banker, Ward, Houlette, and Loux.

¹⁸⁷ Samuel L. Gaertner, Mary C. Rust, John F. Dovidio, Betty A. Bachman, and Phyllis A. Anastasio, “The contact hypothesis: The role of a common ingroup identity on reducing intergroup bias” *Small Group Research* 25.2 (1994): 224-249.

¹⁸⁸ John E. Transue, “Identity salience, identity acceptance, and racial policy attitudes: American national identity as a uniting force” *American Journal of Political Science* 51.1 (2007): 78-91.

¹⁸⁹ Leonie Huddy and Nadia Khatib, “American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement” *American Journal of Political Science* 51.1 (2007): 63-77.

Minimal group paradigm research, however, has shown that salient category or group distinctions can create intergroup discrimination. In the minimal group paradigm, the set up of groups or categories as the base for the generation of identities under conditions of laboratory experimentation is totally artificial and does not create any reward structure for the groups at all, much less a competitive one. In this context, Brewer argues “there is little reason to believe that the presence of *objective* superordinate goals or positive interdependence would be sufficient to overcome the *subjective* social competition associated with salient ingroup-outgroup distinctions.”¹⁹⁰

SIT also provides an interesting idea, why inter-ethnic contacts¹⁹¹ alone do not guarantee anyone’s “integration” into a more inclusive category nor the reduction of intergroup bias and competition (conflict):

Some redefinition of relevant and salient category boundaries – self-categorization at a different level of inclusiveness – must come prior to any benefits of cooperation or else interdependence will increase rather than decrease intergroup hostility. It is not sufficient to reduce the salience of the preexisting ingroup-outgroup category boundary; this boundary must be superseded by another category identity that is more inclusive but still maintains the properties of a bounded ingroup – defining exclusion as well as inclusion. Shared superordinate identity must precede or arise concomitant with superordinate goals before positive interdependence can be realized.¹⁹²

She found that the presence of positive interdependence in combination with a common identity engaged trust and cooperation. However, this was not the case when interdependence was not accompanied by an ingroup identity.¹⁹³

Overcoming resistance to cooperative interaction in the laboratory is far different from overcoming distrust between large social groups, and forging a common team identity among interacting players in the laboratory is qualitatively different from forging a symbolic identity among members of large collectives. None the less, the analysis of the interrelationships among ingroup identity, trust, and interdependence has implications that could be important for thinking about resolving problems of intergroup relations at the large scale.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Marilynn B. Brewer, “Superordinate goals versus superordinate identity as bases of intergroup cooperation” *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown (London: Sage, 2000) 118.

¹⁹¹ For more recent research on the contact hypothesis [first proposed by Robert E. Park, “Human migration and the marginal man” *American Journal of Sociology* 33 (1928): 881-893 and more explicitly formulated by Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 1954 (Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 1979)] see e.g., Ferdinand Böltken, “Angleichung und Ungleichheit. Einstellungen zur Integration von Ausländern im Wohngebiet in Ost- und Westdeutschland drei Jahr nach der Einheit” *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 5-6 (1994): 335-362; Stubelt, Wendelin, and Karin Veith. “Zuwanderung und Integration - Deutschland in den 80er und 90er Jahren”, *Die Städte in den 90er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und soziale Entwicklungen*, ed. Jürgen Friedrichs (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997) 109-135. For criticism of the contact hypothesis see e.g., J. Eric Oliver, and Janelle Wong, “Intergroup prejudice in multiethnic settings” *American Journal of Political Science* 47.4 (2003): 567-582; Bernadette Hayes, and Lizanne Dowds, “Social contact, cultural marginality or economic self-interest? Attitudes towards immigrants in Northern Ireland” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32.3 (2006): 455-476; W. Scott Ford, “Interracial housing in a border city: Another look at the contact hypothesis” *American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973): 1426-1447.

¹⁹² Brewer (2000) 123.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 126.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 130f.

Crossed categorizations concern intergroup contexts, which are more complex than the simple two-groups situation. Cross categorization occurs when one dimension of categorization is “crossed” by at least one other – for example race and gender; for reasons of simplicity let us just assume black vs. white and male vs. female. This leads to four possible categorizations: 1) black men; 2) black women; 3) white men, and 4) white women. Assuming that the observer indeed belongs to one of the four categories, he will then find one double ingroup, one double outgroup, and two ingroup-outgroup combinations also called “partial ingroup”.

It has been observed that systems of crossed memberships reduced the overall level of conflict. Also, experimental research showed that crossed categorization led to a reduction of intergroup discrimination compared to one-dimensional categorization. Regarding members of a partial ingroup, fewer differences are perceived compared to pure outgroup members.¹⁹⁵

In terms of a mere structural integration, this seems quite obvious: Of course it appears much easier to relate to someone either from the majority population or a minority member, once a person has found something it has in common with another, in particular once this common categorization is made salient. From the opposite point of view, the perception of similarity despite obvious differences makes a person or group more welcoming toward the other and reduces negative perceptions or attributions.

The “category differentiation model”¹⁹⁶ proposes that cognitive organization in a we-group context leads to the accentuation of differences between, and the accentuation of similarities within the categorizations.

The same logic can be applied to a situation of crossed categorizations leading to the prediction that discrimination shown against partial groups, relative to simple groups, will be eliminated. The theoretical rationale for this prediction is that the normal processes accentuating differences between and similarities within categorizations are working against each other when applied to crossed category subgroups that contain conflicting cues for group membership. Thus, the two processes of accentuation ‘cancel out’ each other. With no basis for differentiation there can be no basis for discrimination.¹⁹⁷

In contrast to this category differentiation, social identity theory proposes an additional process: People engage in social comparison based on assessing ingroup-outgroup similarities aiming for positive distinctiveness for the ingroup and thereby positive self-evaluation and self-esteem.

¹⁹⁵ Jean-Claude Deschamps, and Willem Doise, “Crossed category memberships in intergroup relations.” *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henry Tajfel (London: Academic P, 1978) 141-158.

¹⁹⁶ Willem Doise, *Groups and Individuals: Explanations in Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978).

¹⁹⁷ Crisp and Hewstone 152.

The crisscrossing structure of dual and multiple categorizations weakens group boundaries and places a stronger emphasis on the similarities of the crossed category subgroups.¹⁹⁸ There is an extremely interesting detail in Gaertner's conclusion: "generalization would be most effective when both the superordinate and subgroup identities are salient, such as when the members conceive of themselves as two subgroups within a more inclusive superordinate entity."¹⁹⁹ This effect of 'dual identity' may well be a hint that the sheer number of (strong) identities held by a person might be responsible for the observed effect. Looking at the case of immigrants seeking to adjust in the receiving country, common ingroup identity and cross categorization gained from real memberships in the social world – as opposed to more abstract social categories – will most likely result in additional ties with the members of the receiving society and will for both sides make personalized experiences and perceptions of outgroup members more likely. Additional social ties will not only benefit newcomers in structural terms, e.g., in their search for housing and jobs, but also in terms of additional secondary and perhaps even primary relationships one relies on to establish or maintain a positive self-image.

Interestingly, for understanding intergroup relations, identity theoreticians have argued that the prominent theory of relative deprivation is only secondary to identity based explanations in many contexts: While relative deprivation surely is a key factor in much intergroup conflict²⁰⁰, Seul suggests that incompatible interests in terms of the uneven distribution of material and social resources lead to intergroup conflict only in the case that the subordinate group views the dominant group as relevant for social comparison and develops a positive identity in relation to it.²⁰¹ Opposing interests may often be the obvious cause of conflict, but conflict will not surface in the absence of intergroup competition. However, intergroup differentiation does not inevitably lead to conflict.²⁰² It rather seems to be the case that, only when group action for positive distinctiveness is failing or is negatively influenced by an outgroup, overt intergroup conflict and hostility will result. This may even be so in the absence of incompatible group interests.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Phyllis A. Anastasio, Betty A. Bachmann, and Mary C. Rust, "The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias" European Review of Social Psychology, eds. Wolfgang Stroebe and Miles Hewstone, vol. 4 (Chichester: Wiley 1993) 1-26.

¹⁹⁹ Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Banker, Ward, Houlette, and Loux 148.

²⁰⁰ Janice Gross Stein, "Image, identity, and conflict resolution" Managing Global Chaos, eds. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996): 93-101.

²⁰¹ Henri Tajfel, and John C. Turner, "The social identity theory of intergroup behavior" Psychology of Intergroup Relations, eds. William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1986) 7-24.

²⁰² Tajfel and Turner 1986, 23.

²⁰³ Jeffrey R. Seul, "'Ours is the way of God': Religion, identity, and intergroup conflict" Journal of Peace Research 36.5 (1999): 557.

2.1.4 Defining a conceptual operationalization of integration

Inspired by the demand to focus on attitudinal components of integration,²⁰⁴ this work proposes a concept of integration based on interpersonal trust and trust in the social and political system of one's country of residence. An attitude will thereby be understood as a residue of past experience that the individual retains as a disposition or an implicit response.²⁰⁵ As such, attitudes are claimed to affect behavior and can be obtained by direct questioning as a form of self-generated knowledge.

Following Fishbein's theory of behavior as an extension of attitude theory, attitudes precede behavior²⁰⁶ but – as Wicker noted – may only weakly correlate.²⁰⁷ Thus, rather negative attitudes towards integration do not automatically lead to open intergroup conflict, and negative attitudes towards immigrants are not automatically related to overt aggression.²⁰⁸

Discussing different forms of social integration, Hellmann focused on the importance of interpersonal trust, reciprocity of relationships and networks at the core of social capital in which trust is the most important feature.²⁰⁹ Concerning networks and organizational memberships he recognized the importance of the intensity of identification with the group beyond personal networks as a source for behavioral security and self perception.²¹⁰

According to Hellmann, interpersonal trust is supplemented by political trust – the trust in society in general – institutional trust and multidimensional systemic trust based on the supplementation and interaction between several institutional orders or functional systems. In terms of institutional trust, trust in a person and his or her beliefs is replaced by trust in the constitution of an institution or organization – observation and control of a person's behavior is replaced by the observation of institutional achievements and control

²⁰⁴ At the conference "Theoretical foundations of empirical migration research" 2006 in München, Ulrich Bielefeld and Armin Nassehi argued for a further development of integration concepts as structural and economic integration tells us very little about the kind and degree of social inclusion of an individual. Instead, factors tied to subjective feeling, e.g., imagined belonging should be considered. See Can Aybek, "Bericht zur Tagung 'Theoretische Grundlagen der empirischen Migrationsforschung' der Sektion 'Migration und ethnische Minderheiten' der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie (DGS) 18./19. Mai 2006 in München" *IMIS-Beiträge* 30 (2006): 123-127. For a similar call see Nesdale and Mak, 493.

²⁰⁵ For a similar definition, see e.g. J.M.F. Jaspars, "The nature and measurement of attitudes" *Introducing Social Psychology*, eds. Henri Tajfel, and Colin Fraser (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) 275.

²⁰⁶ Michael Fishbein, "A behavior theory approach to the relations between beliefs about an object and the attitude towards the object" *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, ed. Michael Fishbein (New York, Wiley, 1967).

²⁰⁷ Allan W. Wicker, "Attitudes versus actions: the relationship of verbal and overt behavioral responses to attitude objects" *Journal of Social Issues* 25.1 (1969): 65.

²⁰⁸ Naomie Struch, and Shalom H. Schwartz, "Intergroup aggression: its predictors and distinctness from ingroup bias" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56 (1989): 364-373.

²⁰⁹ Kai-Uwe Hellmann, "Solidarität, Sozialkapital und Systemvertrauen: Formen sozialer Integration" *Zivilgesellschaft und Sozialkapital: Herausforderungen politischer und sozialer Integration*, eds. Ansgar Klein, Kristine Kern, Brigitte Geißel, and Maria Berger (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004): 134-135.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* 136.

mechanisms directed at the institution.²¹¹ Systemic or performance trust refers to the different functional systems of a society relating to the fields of politics, law, or the economy and thus creates a multidimensionality of inclusion.²¹² Systemic trust becomes more stable through the trust in several of these fields and integrates people through their behavioral expectations in so far as they willingly rely on these systems.²¹³

Despite the variety of strategic choices in integrative behavior, latest research particularly focuses on the attitudes towards the host country and emphasizes the role of political trust.²¹⁴ In terms of Berry's model, this regards the choices of integration and assimilation which seem equally worthy of pursuit. Despite the findings that ethnic community has some drawbacks, Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder have pointed at the positive impact of the dual strength of ethnic group and host country identification on personal well-being.²¹⁵ Therefore, ethnic identification will not be treated as contradictory, per se, to national identification regarding one's country of residence. It is the latter that should be focused on here independently, rather than the former. Emphasizing interpersonal and political trust in a concept of integration, I am also drawing from an older definitional aspect pointed out by Esser who originally defined integration as condition of balance of a person and its relations ("Zustand des Gleichgewichts der Person und der sie betreffenden Relationen")²¹⁶. Esser suggested this additional aspect as most definitions of integration failed to address the equilibrium state of the individual in terms of his or her personal and relational systems as a separate component of integration. He defined the individual equilibrium as 1) the equilibrium social ties and networks of a person and 2) the equilibrium of the macro system as functional and low tensions relationship of the subsystems.²¹⁷ Proposing this definition, Esser referred to previous research, e.g., Eisenstadt who depicted integration as behavioral stability, role security and feeling of subjective belonging, the absence of frustration, aggression, and psychological disorganization.²¹⁸ Alternatively, it was Heiss who looked at general satisfaction of a person.²¹⁹ Omari called it "happiness."²²⁰

²¹¹ See also M. Rainer Lepsius, "Vertrauen zu Institutionen" Differenz und Integration: Die Zukunft moderner Gesellschaften. Verhandlungen des 28. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Dresden 1996, ed. Stefan Hradil (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1997) 285.

²¹² Rudolf Stichweh, "Inklusion/Exklusion, funktionale Differenzierung und die Theorie der Weltgesellschaft" Soziale Systeme 3.1 (1997): 123-136.

²¹³ Hellmann 142-144.

²¹⁴ For example, Douglas S. Massey, and Ilana Redstone Akresh, "Immigrant intentions and mobility in a global economy: The attitudes and behavior of recently arrived U.S. immigrants" Social Science Quarterly 87.5 (2006): 954-971.

²¹⁵ Jean S. Phinney, Gabriel Horenczyk, Karmela Liebkind, and Paul Vedder, "Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: an interactional perspective" Journal of Social Issues 57.3 (2001): 493-510.

²¹⁶ Hartmut Esser, Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie. Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1980) 20.

²¹⁷ Ibid. 23.

²¹⁸ Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "Institutionalization of immigrant behavior" Human Relations 5 (1952): 375.

²¹⁹ Jerold Heiss, "Sources of satisfaction and assimilation among Italian immigrants" Human Relations 19 (1966): 165.

²²⁰ Thompson P. Omari, "Factors associated with urban adjustment of rural southern migrants" Social Forces 35 (1956): 48.

In more operational terms, the first aspect of Esser's definition – the balanced social ties and networks of a person – could be captured in terms of interpersonal trust. The second aspect – the equilibrium of the macro system as functional and low tensions relationship of the subsystems – could be assessed in terms of a translation of a reflection of the macro level equilibrium state by the individual: a person's trust in the country's institutions and the performance evaluation of policies or policy areas as an expression of his or her equilibrium (satisfaction) with the macro system.

Esser suggested: "Es liegt dann nahe, diesen Aspekt der Integration mit dem Konzept der personalen Identität als den transituational stabilen Teil des Selbst zu verbinden, der sich aus dem Erlebnis der erfolgreichen Bewältigung von Problemsituationen ergibt, die Folge eines erfolgreichen Re-Sozialisationsprozesses ist, und aus einer abgesicherten (und flexiblen) kognitiven und identifikativen Orientierung besteht."²²¹

This being said, a diffuse feeling or an opinion of "being different" or "disadvantaged" may actually suffice to create a structure of the "own" vs. the "other." The balance of a person and its particular relations to its environment can incorporate the important framework of the receiving country and its institutions. This "balance" definition of integration is also inclusive of the four dimensions of Esser's four-dimensional concept. If the achieved level of acculturation is insufficient for a person causing difficulties to bridge the differences between receiving culture and one's culture of origin, the inability to adapt to different contexts will place considerable strain on a person's balance with his environment. If structural integration is a problem, feelings of deprivation, disadvantage, or discrimination will surface in the imbalance with one's social environment or psychological distress. Identification with the social system is considered an important part of a person's balance with its environment – not in terms of citizenship or naturalization – often brought about by other conditions – but in terms of attitudes towards key institutions and the country in general.

Bartal²²² proposed a similar conceptual framework of integration – even though with a quite different theoretical background – based on the merger of the macro-sociological theory of anomic tensions²²³ and the micro-sociological theories of intended actions²²⁴ and value expectation²²⁵. She hypothesized that human behavior aims at the reduction of individual imbalances – also called anomic tensions. Integrative actions, however, will only be intended when it promises to contribute to reduce tensions and thus reflecting the highest value expectation.

²²¹ Arnold M. Rose and L. Warshay, "The adjustment of migrants to cities" *Social Forces* 36(1957): 72-76 as referred to by Esser 1980, 23.

²²² Isabel, Bartal, Paradigma Integration: Persönliche und kontextuelle Determinanten integrativen Verhaltens. Eine empirische Studie mit Eltern von Schülern und Schülerinnen portugiesischer, türkischer, kurdischer und tamilischer Herkunft in der Stadt Zürich, diss., U Zürich, 2003, online, <<http://www.dissertationen.unizh.ch/2004/bartal/diss.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008, 176.

²²³ Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny, Soziologie des Fremdarbeiterproblems. Eine theoretische und empirische Analyse am Beispiel der Schweiz (Stuttgart: Enke, 1973).

²²⁴ Icek Ajzen, and Martin Fishbein, Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behavior (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice, 1980).

²²⁵ Hartmut Esser, Soziologie. Spezielle Grundlagen, vol. 1, Situationslogik und Handeln (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1999).

She found three major strategies to reduce these imbalances:²²⁶

(1) Inter-contextual memberships as the measure of choice for transnational migrants: Contextual memberships are maintained with the place of origin and the new environment. Transnational migrants develop different reference structures for satisfying different needs – for example, prestige and cultural positions are mostly rooted in the relationships with the country of origin.

(2) Selective structural memberships – mainly seeking structural integration, while maintaining culturally separated. Migrants who chose this strategy actively participate in a variety of relevant reference structures.

(3) Ethnic retreat: Strong ethnic identity may lead to interpretations of success and discrimination drawing from ethnicity. Imbalances are reduced by the “flight” into what they perceive protective spaces.

Each of the three strategies may contribute to integration, but may also create limits to integration.²²⁷ Capturing the reduction of imbalances in rather quantitative terms – as this study attempts – may construct a better picture of the effectiveness of the means an individual adopts at the cost of losing some information on what these means are.

As a matter of fact, the suggested definition of integration proposed here is neither new nor exclusive. It rather follows the demand of strengthening the attitudinal components of integration. It has already been included, even though a little less explicit, in the following definition by Ager and Strang:²²⁸

An individual or group is integrated within a society when they achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc. which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities, and are in active relationship with members of their ethnic or national community, wider host communities and relevant services and functions of the state, in a manner ***consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship in that society.***

The proposed focus on interpersonal, institutional, and performance trust seems to be a straightforward measure of integrative attitudes.

²²⁶ Ibid. 178.

²²⁷ Bartal.

²²⁸ Alastair Ager, and Alison Strang, Indicators of Integration: Final Report. Home Office Development and Practice Report 28 (2004), online, <<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/04/dpr28.pdf>>. 9.

2.2 Identity security

The identity security has so far played little role in analyzing contemporary political phenomena. However, recent attempts to utilize this concept are rather promising. For example, Jeffrey R. Seul used a concept of identity security to explain the link between religion and intergroup conflict in a very convincing manner.²²⁹

Ever since the end of the East-West conflict, a tendency in International Relations could be observed to extend the security concept beyond military and physical security. Accordingly, national security definitions have shifted away from a mere understanding of military power or superiority towards the inclusion of political and economic stability (and prosperity). Crabb and Mulcahy's definition from 1991 still relies on the force aspect, but already picture security more generally in "prosperity" terms as "the promotion of the continued independence and well-being of the (...) nation in the face of a wide range of continuing external challenges, particularly those involving force or the threat of force."²³⁰

"Threats to national security can arise both externally and internally (...) as its core [national security] appears to refer to a society's perception of external threats and its response to them (...) in addition to mere survival, national security implies the creation and preservation of conditions in which the good life may be pursued (...) a nation's sense of security (or insecurity) is based heavily on official and popular perceptions (...) the concept of [a country's] national security abounds with contradictions and paradoxes, including the idea that an undue and narrow preoccupation with its own security can threaten the security of the [country itself] and other countries."²³¹

The early 1990s thus gave way to a new concept of security – that of *human security* as the absence of threats other than aggression and alliances. It also had an ideational and normative source – the dignity of people.²³² The idea Robert Jervis put forth in the 1970s resurfaced – the security of self-perception. He pointed out that a perceived threat against the self-view could have similar effects as perceived physical threat.²³³

Realistic group conflict theory²³⁴ addresses material threat in the way that perceived group competition for resources leads to efforts to reduce access of other groups. In terms of symbolic threat, social identity theory²³⁵ holds that the distinction between ingroup and

²²⁹ Jeffrey R. Seul, "Ours is the way of God?: Religion, identity, and intergroup conflict" Journal of Peace Research 36.5 (1999): 553-569.

²³⁰ Cecil V. Crabb, and Kevin V. Mulcahy, American National Security: A Presidential Perspective (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1991) 8.

²³¹ Ibid. 16.

²³² Amitav Acharya, "Human security, identity politics, and global governance: from freedom from fear to fear of freedoms", paper given at the international conference Civil Society, Religion & Global Governance: Paradigms of Power and Persuasion, 1-2 Sept. 2005, Canberra Australia, online, <<http://law.anu.edu.au/nissl/acharya.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008.

²³³ Jervis 15ff.

²³⁴ Donald T. Campbell, "Ethnocentric and Other Altruistic Motives" Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, vol. 13, ed. D. Levine (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1965) 283-311.

²³⁵ Henry Tajfel and John C. Turner, "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict" The Social Psychology of Intergroup relations, eds. W. G. Austin and S. Worchel (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979) 33-47.

outgroup motivates people to seek and to maintain positive distinctiveness of one's ingroup by limiting the opportunities for outgroups and the outgroup members.²³⁶

From the individual level, Bloom noted that failure to establish or to maintain a secure identity produces severe psychological discomfort – even total breakdown of one's personality – an individual may experience as a threat to survival.²³⁷

Research by Schafer showed that identity affects conflict behavior once it is mediated by insecurity whereas increased feelings of security correspond to more cooperative behavior.²³⁸

As DestreePearson d'Estrée²³⁹ argued more recently, perceived threats to identity may lead to conflict spirals and dilemmas just as perceived physical threats. As security motives, she defined self-preservation in terms of the preservation of the integrity of the self literally and symbolically being related to physical survival and the coherence of the self-concept.

Asserting one's identity may often imply a threat to another's identity because of the perceived zero-sum nature of identity, a security dilemma of the first order. We must trace this dilemma back to the nature of group boundaries and to the nature of social comparison as a dynamic in self-definition. The assertion of identity implies that an alternative identity (of the other or even of the self) has less value. As identities shift within new political boundaries, reframing even of one's self-definition can pose a threat to other's identities.²⁴⁰

This holds particular relevance for the immigration context. Müller regards Western European societies as potentially threatened by socio-cultural destabilization when immigration rates surmount certain “tolerance levels.”²⁴¹ At the same rate, a still somewhat poorly defined “immigrants' terrorism”²⁴² primarily in the form of Islamic fundamentalism and the “enemy image Islam” has to be considered as threats to national security. As a response to the new threat assessment, conflict resolution and prevention mechanisms by non-military means, such as measures to build mutual trust, the integration into international organizations, or communication oriented crises management were more strongly appreciated.²⁴³

These threats do not only apply at the national level. People of the receiving societies do not only feel threatened by the presence of religions or practices other than those they are

²³⁶ Victoria M. Esses, John F. Dovidio, Lynne M. Jackson, and Tamara L. Armstrong, “The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001): 390.

²³⁷ William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

²³⁸ Mark Schafer, “Cooperative and conflictual policy preferences: The effect of identity, security, and image of the other” *Political Psychology* 20.4 (1999): 829-844.

²³⁹ Tamra DestreePearson d'Estrée, “Threatened identities and the security dilemma,” conference paper for the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA: 2006, online, <http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/8/7/1/p98711.html>, retrieved on 13 Jun. 2006.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. [1]

²⁴¹ Harald Müller, “Außereuropäische Rahmenbedingungen europäischer Sicherheitspolitik” Forndran and Pohlmann, 183.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

accustomed to as members of nations but also as members of local communities and as individuals. These latter two levels seem not only important but probably predominant. Local politicians do not generally oppose the construction of Mosques in their city, but they seek to prevent such a construction in *their* district or neighborhood by all means.²⁴⁴ Living door-to-door with people of different origins and interacting with them in a day-to-day setting is not so much a national affair, but a local and individual task.

Cities are relevant stakeholders and players in the integration of migrants. Any policy aiming at promoting social cohesion and equal opportunity depends on the contribution of cities.²⁴⁵

Municipalities often adopt policy approaches which resemble suggestions of the international relations literature, such as inter-religious dialogue, intercultural conflict mediation, representation of migrants in political structures and advisory committees (city council and international committee of the city council), or channeling conflicts and discontent into a legal frame.²⁴⁶

However, individual motivations and efforts really are the core of integration success or failure.²⁴⁷ That is why, the understanding of how identity operates and how it drives individuals and communities is crucial to the success of any political intervention.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the political framework and support programs for integration have limitations to their effectiveness. Therefore, individual threat perceptions are extremely important to consider in an immigration context. Particularly the security of the self-perception of a person is an invaluable component in individual security among the absence of psychical harm, material deprivation, and other threats to the lifestyle of a person. Regarding the integration of immigrants, Anhut and Heitmeyer pointed out:

Not the factual economic disadvantage of foreigners inhibits their integration through social contacts with the receiving society, but just as in the case of the receiving population the fear of identity loss.²⁴⁹

In this context, efficient coping and identity reconstruction mechanisms are extremely valuable in maintaining or restoring the sense of identity security. As such, an identity

²⁴⁴ Discussion with municipal commissioners for integration at the TIK (transfer of intercultural competence) workshop in Frankfurt a.M., May 2003.

²⁴⁵ Borkert, Bosswick, Heckmann, and Krieger, 1; for a similar judgment see Roland Schäfer, "Integration beginnt vor Ort: Rolle von Städten und Gemeinden in der Integrationspolitik" *Stadt und Gemeinde interaktiv* 61.9 (2006): 347-350.

²⁴⁶ See e.g., Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, Stabsabteilung für Integrationspolitik (ed.), *Ein Bündnis für Integration*, Stuttgart: LHS, 2001 or Yvonne Hapke, "A Pact for Integration: the Stuttgart experience," application dossier for the UNESCO Cities for Peace-Prize 2002/2003, Stuttgart, 2004, passim.

²⁴⁷ Bommers 4.

²⁴⁸ Elizabeth Sullivan, "Social exclusion, social identity, and social capital: Reuniting the global, the local, and the personal", discussion paper for the Conference de l'Association Internationale des Ecoles de Travail Social, Milton Keynes: De Montfort University UK, July 2002: 2.

²⁴⁹ Reimund Anhut, and Wilhelm Heitmeyer, "Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaft. Diskussion von Forschungsergebnissen" *Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaft. Soziale Desintegrationsprozesse und ethnisch-kulturelle Konfliktkonstellationen*, eds. Reimund Anhut, and Wilhelm Heitmeyer (Weinheim: Juventa, 2000) 554.

perspective might yield better results in explaining a person's efforts to integrate itself or its attitudes towards foreigners and ethnic minorities than the mere knowledge about the existence of unemployment or other specific circumstances.

The psychology literature discusses identity security mainly under a different terminology. It speaks of stability, flexibility, or personality strength.²⁵⁰ Despite existing differences in terminology, it seems quite promising to transfer the findings from social psychology (for its analysis of identity processes) and also sociological research (for its broader scope and interest in real world phenomena) to the analysis of integration. Accordingly, two major identity concepts will be considered here for their potential contribution to a more inclusive and thus more flexible conception of identity security adoptable for quantitative research – social identity theory (SIT) and identity theory (IT). Both theories have already been suggested for combination for their supplementary character.²⁵¹ Davies, Steele and Stevens used a concept of identity safety in showing that stereotype threats to identity could be moderated by creating an “identity safe” environment.²⁵² They attempted this by environmental manipulations through which individuals were believed not to experience threat despite the priming of stigmatized social identities. Creating these environments involved assuring participants that their stigmatized social identities would not create a barrier to success in the tasks ahead of them. Thus, they were assured to be welcomed and supported regardless of their background. It was argued that the most effective identity safe environments would not only help the individuals to cope with primed stigmatized social identities, but also to embrace them.²⁵³ However, this notion of identity safety was limited to adding a sentence to the specified test condition that their research had revealed no gender difference in performing a certain task.²⁵⁴ This work attempts to go beyond the situation specific context of such a threat (in Davis, Spencer, and Steele's case concerning negative gender stereotype) and explore the availability of more general – i.e. context independent – determinants of identity security reasoned to be effective against various threats.

²⁵⁰ The stability connotation of security is also an important aspect in political science, for example as the *wanted state* comprising of several goals and needs such as freedom, peace, well-being, and participation. Its realization is regarded to be the product of continuing change as it is based upon continuous adaptations to a changing environment. See Eckhard, Lübke, “Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur militärischen und politischen Stabilität in Europa” *Europäische Sicherheit nach dem Ende des Warschauer Paktes*, eds. Erhard Forndran, and Hartmut Pohlmann, *Internationale Politik und Sicherheit* 33 (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1993) 116f.

²⁵¹ Jan E. Stets, and Peter J. Burke, “Identity theory and social identity theory” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63.3 (2000): 224-237.

²⁵² Paul G. Davies, Steven J. Spencer, and Claude M. Steele, “Clearing the air: Identity safety moderates the effects of stereotype threat on women's leadership aspirations” *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 88.2 (2005): 278.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* In addition, see previous studies by Hazel Rose Markus, Claude M. Steele, and Dorothy M. Steele, “Colorblindness as a barrier to inclusion: Assimilation and nonimmigrant minorities” *Daedalus* 129.4 (2000): 233-259; Claude M. Steele, S. J. Spencer, and J. Aronson, “Contending with bias: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat” *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 34, ed. Mark P. Zanna (San Diego, CA: Academic P, 2002): 277-341.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 281.

2.2.1 Identity sources

Social identity theory is a social psychological theory seeking to explain group processes whereas identity theory is a micro-sociological approach seeking to explain individuals' role-related behaviors.²⁵⁵

Both traditions assume that the self is constructed in and dependent upon the social context, and both assume a multiplicity of self-definitions. Sociological models, particularly that of Stryker, pay more attention to structural issues, attending both to features of the system in which the self is embedded and to the nature of the self-structure itself. Psychological models of social identity are more concerned with process, particularly cognitive processes of categorization and comparison. And somewhat ironically, sociological models of self place more emphasis on the individual identity whereas social identity theory has emphasized the intergroup domain.²⁵⁶

SIT supplies the insides on identity construction summarized in the following section. Nevertheless, IT can add to it in an interesting way, particularly with its emphasis on self-verification, which is related to the self-efficacy motive (see below) but also covers the aspect of support for negatively evaluated perceptions.

A person's identity draws from several sources, in particular from 1) memberships in social groups and large social categories and a wider range of social attributes, 2) social roles, and 3) mere personal characteristics. In general, role identities appear a lot more stable and less dependent on situational context than pure memberships to which no concrete roles are attached. Whereas groups can be made salient, accessed and exited in situational context, role commitments are more enduring as one cannot give up parenthood as easily as coming home from a club evening. Personal characteristics are most stable of the three. However, they are only important to consider when they are found to contradict group or role identities and when the individual attaches sufficient levels of importance to them. All three sources deliver important components of the self:

The person actively accommodates to and assimilates conceptions of the self provided by the social world. Social roles provide a structure for self-description and are hemmed by social values which generate self-evaluation. The individual moves through a sequence of social roles, adopting the social identity appropriate to each sequentially, and sometimes simultaneously, layering them on top of the other. Personal identity could be considered the relatively permanent residue of each assimilation to and accommodation of a social identity. It is what remains when the exigencies of social context that demand acceptance of a particular identity fade. To this extent it is autonomous of immediate social events but as a root fundamentally dependent on them.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Michael A. Hogg, Deborah J. Terry, and Katherine M. White, "A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58.4 (1995): 255.

²⁵⁶ Kay Deaux, "Models, meanings and motivations" *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Rupert Brown and Dora Capozza (London: Sage, 2000) 2.

²⁵⁷ Glynis M. Breakwell, *Coping with Threatened Identities* (London: Methuen, 1986) 17.

Many subjectively available identities are of great stability over a person's lifespan. Past social identities remain alive in people as part of their personal identity, and even anticipated future identities shape present day behavior and attitudes. Take for example the case of a student zealously working towards a degree without any guarantee for a suitable job or a clear perspective for life after school or university. The anticipated career – a mere vision or wish – often gives the student the strength to continue if it is not the love for the subject itself. In the following sections, only group and role identities will be considered for their impact on identity development. Personality traits that may also play a factor in identification will not be considered in this analysis for their already large coverage in literature.

2.2.1.1 Social groups and categories

Social groups and categories to which we feel attracted and to which we feel to belong contribute to our perception of self. Individuals can draw from a large variety of possible groups or categories – from shared interest, experience, history or future, achievements, characteristics, attributions, or social roles. All can supply material for the construction of a person's identity with variation in weight and meaning. What becomes an identification – and a salient one – depends on circumstances and situation, even though the overall identity of a person displays a high degree of continuity and stability.

The model of self adopted in SIT is based on Gergen.²⁵⁸ In general, the self-concept consists of all self-descriptions and self-evaluations available to the individual consisting of a wide range of attitudes, social roles, personal preferences, personality traits, formal and informal group memberships, and individual or collective experiences. Identity thus draws from multiple sources. This multiplicity of identity has already been proposed by James²⁵⁹ and later by Mead²⁶⁰ – the founders of the social interactionist perspective. A person's identity is constantly readjusted to the situational contexts in which it interacts with others. The components of the self vary from close and enduring interpersonal relationships (e.g. within one's family) to narrow personal characteristics such as preferred food or hair style. SIT holds that many self-descriptions and self-evaluations subjectively available to the individual are linked to the social categories and groups one belongs to or is ascribed to by others. The latter are usually framed as components of personal as opposed to social identity. Identity components exist in the whole continuum from idiosyncratic interpersonal behavior to group behavior. The various self-definitions are structured into relatively distinct constellations called self-identifications which are not necessarily mutually exclusive – it is quite common that self-identifications contain self-descriptions that are

²⁵⁸ Kenneth J. Gergen, *The Concept of Self* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971).

²⁵⁹ William James, *Principles of Psychology* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1890).

²⁶⁰ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1934).

contradictory, and some others are congruent with the self-descriptions contained in other self-identifications. This is possible because people do not experience the self-concept in its entirety, contradictory identity components are usually not activated simultaneously within the same context. Different times, places, and circumstances make available different self-identifications – “salient” self-images. Understood in this way, the self is both enduring and also responsive to situational or exogenous factors. In every situation the social categorization will become salient that best “fits”²⁶¹ the relevant information available to the person. Oakes²⁶² and Turner²⁶³ argued that social categories fit the available information in the way that they maximize the contrast between the differences between the opposing categories and the similarities within the own category. This process thus aims at explaining the relevant similarities and differences as straightforward as possible by generating a categorization accounting for the maximum amount of variance. In doing so, the simplest meaning for the context is chosen. Adopting certain self-categorizations and avoiding others is linked to the ability of a person to subjectively redefine any given context or negotiate a new one.²⁶⁴

The combination of all groups and social categories a person feels attached to or is ascribed to by others is unique to a person and constitutes his/her social identity. When someone refers to social identity usually what they mean is the self-concept of a person relating to other people, groups of people, and social categories. As someone’s social identity defines his or her concept of self, each individual identification and its activation depends on context. A person is not aware of its identity as a whole but rather perceives only flashes of it in terms of a limited number of self-images based on concrete situations.

Social identities are unlike material objects. Whereas material objects have a concrete existence whether or not people recognize their existence, social identities do not. An identity is a conception of the self, a selection of physical, psychological, emotional or social attributes of particular individuals; it is not an individual as a concrete thing. It is only in the act of naming an identity, defining an identity or stereotyping an identity that identity emerges as a concrete reality. Not only does that identity have no social relevance when it is not named; it simply does not exist when it has not been conceived and elevated to the public consciousness.²⁶⁵

The large scale categories we identify with are part of the social structure. They relate to one another in terms of power and status:

The dominant group (or groups) has the material power to promulgate its own version of the nature of society, the groups within it and their relationships. That is, it

²⁶¹ Jerome Seymour Bruner, “On perceptual readiness” *Psychological Review* 64 (1957): 123-52.

²⁶² Penelope J. Oakes, “The salience of social categories” *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*, John C. Turner, Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, S. D. Reicher, and M. Wetherell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

²⁶³ John C. Turner, “Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior” *Advances in Group Processes: Theory and Research*, ed. E. J. Lawler, vol. 2 (Greenwich, CT: JAI P, 1985).

²⁶⁴ Michael A. Hogg, and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London: Routledge, 1988) 24-26.

²⁶⁵ Virginia R. Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers UP 1986) 266.

imposes the dominant value system and ideology which is carefully constructed to benefit itself, and to legitimate and perpetuate the status quo. Individual human beings are born into this structure, and by virtue of their place of birth, skin color, parentage, physiology, and so forth, fall into some categories and not others. To the extent that they internalize the dominant ideology and identify with these externally designated categories, they acquire particular social identities which may mediate evaluatively positive or negative self-perceptions. Subordinate group membership potentially confers on members evaluatively negative social identity and hence lower self-esteem, which is an unsatisfactory state of affairs and mobilize individuals to attempt to remedy it. They can accomplish this in various different ways, depending in part upon *subjective belief structures*, that is the individuals' beliefs concerning the nature of society and the relations between groups within it. Subjective belief structures usually reflect the dominant ideology (after all, it is initially through social consensus about one prefabricated version of reality that the dominant group hopes to retain its privileged position), *but* the dominant ideology does not necessarily have to coincide with the 'true' nature of society.²⁶⁶

In order to improve the conceptualization and measurement of social identity – which is of essential importance for the application of the theoretical concepts to empirical research – several authors have focused on characteristic aspects or dimensions of social identity. In the past few years, evidence from empirical research has been growing to represent social identity with several instead of a single high-low dimension.²⁶⁷

The theoretical roots of this multidimensionality, however, go back to Tajfel who defined social identity as “that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his or her *knowledge* of his or her membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and *emotional significance* attached to that membership.”²⁶⁸ In empirical settings, Cameron proposes three major dimensions of social identity – centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties.²⁶⁹ He describes *centrality* as “the cognitive accessibility of a social identity”²⁷⁰ with social identity being derived from group memberships. Cameron operationalizes centrality through the importance of the group for one's self-definition and how frequent the group comes to mind.²⁷¹

Ingroup affect refers to the emotional quality of group membership. Most social identity scales contain items on the evaluation of group membership.²⁷² Cameron operationalized

²⁶⁶ Hogg and Abrams 26f.

²⁶⁷ Karl Deaux, “Social identification” *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*, eds. E. T. Higgins and A. W. Kruglanski (New York: Guilford, 1996) 777-798; J. W. Jackson, “Intergroup attitudes as a function of different dimensions of group identification and perceived intergroup conflict” *Self and Identity* 1 (2002): 11-33; Naomi Ellemers, Paulien Kortekaas, and Jaap W. Ouwerkerk, “Self-categorization, commitment to the group and group self-esteem as related but distinct aspects of social identity” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 29 (1999): 371-389; James E. Cameron, and Richard N. Lalonde, “Social identification and gender related ideology” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 40 (2001): 59-77; James E. Cameron, “A three-factor model of social identity” *Self and Identity* 3 (2004): 239-262.

²⁶⁸ Henry Tajfel, “Social categorization, social identity, and social comparison” *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henry Tajfel (London: Academic P, 1978) 63.

²⁶⁹ Cameron 241-243.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 241.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* 242.

²⁷² E.g., Ellemers, Kortekaas, and Ouwerkerk.

ingroup affect as being glad (or regretting) to be a member.²⁷³ The most influential operationalization on which this understanding is based is Luhtanen and Crocker's self-esteem concept.²⁷⁴ The importance of emotions for activating identities has been pointed out by several other authors.²⁷⁵

Ingroup ties refer to binding the self to the group in terms of felt belongingness in combination with perceiving that one fits in, has strong ties, and shares a common bond with the other group members. Cameron operationalized ingroup ties according to Bollen and Hoyle's concept as the extent to which "group members feel 'stuck to', or part of, particular social groups"²⁷⁶ when he asked whether the respondent felt having a lot in common with or have strong ties to other ingroup members, whether they fit in and have a strong sense of belonging to the group.²⁷⁷

While centrality and salience are similar and largely overlapping concepts and are widely paid attention to, ingroup ties are acknowledged rather in research on networks than on identity.²⁷⁸ Affective or emotional significance of group membership is an important component of social identity theory and was explicitly included in Tajfel's works on identity theory.²⁷⁹ This affective component of identifications has thus far remained largely peripheral to theoretical and empirical developments, but as Greenland and Brown point out, research on affective processes hold the promise of interesting new avenues in social identity research.²⁸⁰ Wann and Branscombe for example have pointed at the relationship between arousal and identification on stereotyping and suggested that high identifiers show stronger effects of arousal.²⁸¹ Strong identifiers also experience more joy from group-related activities.²⁸² There is also a similar interaction between intergroup anxiety and identification.²⁸³

With regard to identity security, the acknowledgement of different dimension of identity seems rather crucial. Also, the fact that strong identifiers enjoy group activities more than low identifiers may be a valuable hint for how identity could impact integration. Ideally, centrality (or salience), the emotional importance a person attaches to a group membership

²⁷³ Cameron 244.

²⁷⁴ Rii Luhtanen, and Jennifer Crocker, "A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 18 (1992): 302-318.

²⁷⁵ For an overview of these works, see Kofler 16-18.

²⁷⁶ Kenneth A. Bollen, and Rick H. Hoyle, "Perceived cohesion: A conceptual and empirical examination" *Social Forces* 69 (1990): 482.

²⁷⁷ Cameron and Lalonde; Cameron 244.

²⁷⁸ E.g., Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties" *American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973): 1360-1380.

²⁷⁹ Henry Tajfel, "Social categorization, social identity and social comparison" *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henry Tajfel (London: Academic P, 1978) 61-76.

²⁸⁰ Katy Greenland, and Rupert Brown, "Categorization and intergroup anxiety in intergroup contact" *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown (London: Sage, 2000) 167-183.

²⁸¹ Daniel L. Wann, and Nyla R. Branscombe, "Influence of level of identification with a group and psychological arousal on perceived intergroup complexity" *British Journal of Social Psychology* 34 (1995): 223-235.

²⁸² Daniel L. Wann, and Nyla R. Branscombe, "Die hard and fair-weather fans: Effect of identification on BIRGing and CORFing tendencies" *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 14 (1990): 103-117.

²⁸³ Greenland and Brown 182.

or role as well as a general measure of the strength of ingroup ties should be covered in a model of identity security.

Social attributes include gender, ethnicity, culture, or religion which are of particular relevance in an immigration context. The three identities mentioned often function as “master statuses”²⁸⁴. These are structurally based attributes of particularly high importance to the individual reflecting features of the social structure where people’s role identities are embedded. However, they do not carry clearly defined behavioral expectations.²⁸⁵ Nevertheless, social attributes are known to impact the self concept by affecting the roles people hold, the relative importance of the identities associated to certain role positions, and how they interrelate with others.²⁸⁶ Huntington’s consideration of “culture” is thus worth noting in integration settings even beyond the national context:

In the post-Cold War world flags count and so do other symbols of cultural identity, including crosses, crescents, and even head coverings, because culture counts, and cultural identity is what is most meaningful to most people. People are discovering new but often old identities and marching under new but often old flags which lead to wars with new but often old enemies.²⁸⁷

As they speak different languages, follow different customs and traditions, observe other religions, immigrants are perceived as members of an outgroup with whom nobody wants to share scarce resources in a gesture of solidarity and to whom most want to secure a superior social position.²⁸⁸ In the light of the own immigration experience or a perception of the “otherness” of ethnic groups, this category is made particularly salient and defines who we are – often based on a specific situation but also beyond particular contexts.

Racial and ethnic identities are not zero-sum entities. Instead, one can hold several at any one time since they are situational. Whereas in one situation a person feels American, in another situation he or she may feel Black, and in another moment one could hold all these identities simultaneously.²⁸⁹

However, the multiplicity and situational specificity of social identities does not mean that people are free to choose any identity or to attach any meaning to a particular identity. History and power relations shape the opportunities people confront in their day-to-day

²⁸⁴ Sheldon Stryker, “Identity theory: developments and extensions” *Self and Identity: Perspectives across the Lifespan*, eds. Krysia Yardley, and Terry Honess (New York: Wiley, 1987) 89-104.

²⁸⁵ Peggy A. Thoits, “On merging identity theory and stress research” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 54.2 (1991): 101-112.

²⁸⁶ Hogg, Terry, and White 257.

²⁸⁷ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 2nd edition (New York: Touchstone, 1997) 20. For a confirmation of this perspective for years to come, see Amina R. Chaudary, “‘Religiöse Unterschiede sind der Kern’: Samuel Huntington erfand den Kampf der Kulturen und warnte vor blutigen Konflikten zwischen dem Islam und dem Westen. Jetzt sieht er einen Hoffnungsschimmer”, interview with Samuel P. Huntington, *Die Welt* 16 Nov. 2006, 3.

²⁸⁸ Victoria M. Esses, John F. Dovidio, Lynne M. Jackson, and Tamara L. Armstrong, “The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001): 389-412 and Felicia Pratto, and Anthony F. Lemieux, “The psychological ambiguity of immigration and its implications for promoting immigration policy” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001): 413-430.

²⁸⁹ See Mary C. Waters, *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001) 47.

lives, providing some people with “ethnic options” while attributing “racial labels” to others. Labels are less flexible as they often refer to physical characteristics.²⁹⁰ There also exist shared and contested meanings associated to different groups that affect individuals’ ways of thinking about themselves.²⁹¹

National and ethnic identities alone can provide a whole variety of things to distinguish oneself or one’s group from others as ethnicity contains cultural attributes such as shared practices, languages, religious beliefs, behaviors, and ancestral origins. Often tied to nationality or ethnicity are racial attributes.

Identity is a relational concept; it implies a relationship between one group and another or others, whether real or imagined, whether clearly specified or not. Thus part of the process of identifying “us” is to make the other out to be different. In some instances, the other is clearly specified and the relation is that of “us” vs. “them.” Thus “us” is identified by how “they” perceive “us” as “their other,” and a more conscious position is taken to counter *their* perception of us if it is negative and to confirm it if it is positive. In either case, when this is done, the group consciously or unconsciously builds its self-image through the perceptions of others.²⁹²

The question of identity has always been particularly salient for the immigrant. Arriving as a stranger in a new society, the immigrant must decide how he or she self-identifies, and the people in the host society must decide how they will categorize or identify the immigrant. This is a dynamic and ongoing process as the newcomers fit into their new environment and as the environment itself is changed by their arrival. The social identities the immigrants adopt or which are assigned to them can have enormous consequences for the individual.²⁹³

From the perspective of the receiving society, Simmel²⁹⁴ pointed at the role of the stranger for defining what they have in common: It is through the stranger that the receiving group learns to define their group and themselves in distinction from the stranger’s characteristics, beliefs, and behaviors which they perceive as “the other” and which they are not.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ Henri Tajfel, Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981) and Henri Tajfel, “Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations” Annual Review of Psychology 33 (1982): 1-39; John C. Turner, “Social comparison and social identity: Some prospects for intergroup behavior” European Journal of Social Psychology 5 (1975): 5-34.

²⁹¹ Waters 47.

²⁹² Kwok Kian Woon, “Historical Discontinuity and Cultural Dislocation: The (Non-) Problem of Social Memory in Singapore,” paper presented at “Trauma and Memory: An International Research Conference,” organized by the Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire, 26-28 July 1996, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire, United States, 4.

²⁹³ Waters 44.

²⁹⁴ Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel (1908), transl. and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, IL: Free P, 1950).

²⁹⁵ Waters 46.

2.2.1.2 Social roles

The second source of social identity are the awareness and acceptance of the social positions a person occupies in the local community or larger society. Different from belongingness to large social categories, social positions are located within relationships.²⁹⁶ Sets of behavioral expectations – called roles – are attached to these social positions. They are usually enacted through reciprocal role relationships or what Merton terms the role set.²⁹⁷ When individuals assign themselves a certain positional designation and behave as expected they have taken on a set of identities.²⁹⁸ Similarly, the meaning of large social categories or social group ascriptions by others and personal meanings do not always correspond.²⁹⁹ Naturally, a similar distinction could be made between social identity and personal identity as was the case in considering groups and social attributions.³⁰⁰ However, for the most part, it can be assumed that personal identities are largely congruent with social identities as personal identities have been acquired in interaction.

Similarly as group identities, role identities contribute – for each role position we occupy – distinctive components to the self-concept. Thus, the self is a multifaceted social construct emerging from the roles in society.³⁰¹ Whereas, role identities result from the structural role positions, they may also be acquired through processes of labeling and self-definition arising from membership in a particular social category³⁰² as long as it serves to construct a role characteristic in a social interaction context.

An individual constructs its self-concept by taking the role of a specific or generalized other. Taking the role of the generalized other means that the individual becomes aware of and accepts its social position. Diverse social positions then construct a complex and organized structure of the self-concept.³⁰³ Burke explained the relationship between specific roles and a person's identity as follows:

Satisfactory enactment of roles not only confirms and validates a person's status as a role member³⁰⁴ but also reflects positively on self-evaluation. The perception that one is enacting a role satisfactorily should enhance feelings of self-esteem, whereas percep-

²⁹⁶ Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936); Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised edition (New York: Free P, 1957).

²⁹⁷ Merton.

²⁹⁸ Stryker 1980; Stryker and Serpe 1982; Sheldon Stryker, and Richard T. Serpe, "Towards a theory of family influence in the socialization of children" Research in the Sociology of Education and Socialization, ed. Alan C. Kerckhoff, vol. IV (Greenwich, CT: JAI P, 1983).

²⁹⁹ E.g., Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: Free P, 1963).

³⁰⁰ John Lofland, Deviance and Identity (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

³⁰¹ Sheldon Stryker, "Identity salience and role performance: The relevance of symbolic interaction theory for family research" Journal of Marriage and the Family 30 (1968): 568-574; Stryker and Serpe (1982).

³⁰² Peter J. Burke, "The self: measurement requirements from an interactionist perspective" Social Psychology Quarterly 43.1 (1980): 18-29; Peggy A. Thoits, "On merging identity theory and stress research" Social Psychology Quarterly 54.2 (1991): 101-112.

³⁰³ Peggy A. Thoits, "Multiple identities and psychological well-being: A reformulation and test of the social isolation hypothesis" American Sociological Review 48.2 (1983): 174.

³⁰⁴ Peter L. Callero, "Role-identity salience" Social Psychology Quarterly 48.3 (1985): 203-215.

tions of poor role performance may engender doubts about one's self-worth, and may even produce symptoms of psychological distress.³⁰⁵ Distress may arise if feedback from others – in the form of reflected appraisals or perceptions of the self suggested by others' behavior – is perceived to be incongruent with one's identity. According to Burke, identities act as cybernetic control systems: they bring into play a dissonance-reduction mechanism whereby people modify their behavior to achieve a match with their internalized identity standards. This process in turn reduces distress.³⁰⁶

Similar to the researchers of SIT, Stryker and Serpe suggested that identities are organized in a salience hierarchy. However, identities' salience in IT does not depend as much on the specificity of the situation. Instead, salience is believed to be the probability that a certain identity will be invoked across situations. It is determined by the commitment of the individual to any given identity.³⁰⁷ Even though, most IT scholars agree on the key role of commitment in determining identity structure, several different notions of this commitment are mentioned in the literature. For Stryker and Serpe, it is "the degree to which the person's relationship to specified sets of others depends upon his or her being a particular kind of person, i. e., occupying a particular position in an organized structure of relationships and playing a particular role."³⁰⁸ Commitment is also a function of network ties that are formed by the person enacting an identity and their affective importance. Thus, identities are hierarchically organized by their degree of commitment or so-called "network-embeddedness."³⁰⁹ They can also be "conceptualized in terms of the costs of relationships foregone as a consequence of movement out of a social role."³¹⁰ These statements suggest that commitment is the degree to which an identity is embedded in network ties.³¹¹

Multiple-role theorists³¹² have focused on the resources aspect of commitment assuming that commitment to identities largely depends on the time and energy invested in their enactment.³¹³ The underlying argument for this assumption is the scarcity principle³¹⁴ meaning that the time and energy available to people is limited. As these limited resources

³⁰⁵ Thoits 1991; John W. Hoelter, "The effects of role evaluation and commitment on identity salience" Social Psychology Quarterly 46 (1983): 140-147; Stryker and Serpe (1982).

³⁰⁶ Peter J. Burke, "The self: measurement requirements from an interactionist perspective" Social Psychology Quarterly 43.1 (1980): 18-29; Peter J. Burke, and Donald C. Reitzes, "The link between identity and role performance" Social Psychology Quarterly 44.1 (1981): 83-92; Peter J. Burke, "Identity processes and social stress" American Sociological Review 56.6 (1991): 836-849.

³⁰⁷ Stryker (1980); Stryker and Serpe (1982), Stryker and Serpe (1983).

³⁰⁸ Stryker and Serpe (1982) 207.

³⁰⁹ Stryker and Serpe (1983) 9.

³¹⁰ Ibid. 21.

³¹¹ Peggy A. Thoits, "Multiple identities and psychological well-being: A reformulation and test of the social isolation hypothesis" American Sociological Review 48.2 (1983): 176.

³¹² E.g., William J. Goode, "A theory of role strain" American Sociological Review 25 (1960): 483-496; Lewis Coser, and Rose Laub Coser, Greedy Institutions (New York: Free P, 1974); Theodore R. Sarbin, "Notes on the transformation of social identity" Comprehensive Mental Health: The Challenge of Evaluation, proceedings of a symposium on comprehensive mental health held at the U of Wisconsin, Madison, June 2-4, 1966, eds. Leigh M. Roberts, Norman S. Greenfield and Milton H. Miller (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1968) 97-115.

³¹³ Stephen Marks, "Multiple roles and role strain: Some notes on human energy, time, and commitment" American Sociological Review 42 (1977): 921-936.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

are allocated to various roles and the positional identities associated to them, identities are hierarchically organized by the amount of time and energy committed to their enactment.³¹⁵ Yet another perspective on commitment is offered by Rosenberg and Marks, who see commitment as a function of the “psychological centrality” which they defined as the subjective importance attributed to a role or positional identity. Even though time and energy invested in enacting identities tend to co-vary with the importance of that identity, it is nevertheless possible to be highly committed to an identity but actually spend very little time and assert little effort in its enactment (and vice versa).³¹⁶

Thus, commitment may emerge as integrating term constituted of the three identity dimensions formulated above:

- 1) cognitive centrality, i.e. salience;
- 2) ties, i.e. network-embeddedness; and
- 3) emotional attachment.

Perhaps, the substantial overlap between the three determinants of commitment renders the differentiation too complicated to produce meaningful results. Nevertheless, each component may contribute a slightly different mechanism to commitment or address different individual needs.

As Stets and Burke suggested, being and doing – the first relating to groups the second to roles – are both central features of an individual’s identity. The theories attending to each – social identity theory and identity theory – should therefore be regarded and treated as complementary.³¹⁷

We argue that identities referring to groups or roles are motivated by self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-consistency, and self-regulation. Indeed, recent research in social identity theory and in identity theory appears to be moving in common directions: both are considering multiple motives that lead one to act in keeping with that which most clearly represents the group or role. In considering multiple sources of motivation, we may find, for example, that the self-esteem motive is tied more closely to identification or membership in groups, while self-efficacy is associated more closely with the behavioral enactment of identities. Individuals may categorize themselves in particular ways (in a group or a role) not only to fulfill the need to feel valuable and worthy (self-esteem motive) but also to feel competent and effective (the self-efficacy motive).³¹⁸

The increase in self-worth that accompanies a group-based identity, however, may come not simply from the act of identifying with the group, but from the group’s acceptance of the individual as a member.³¹⁹ This point may partially explain the mixed support for self-esteem effects in social identity theory.³²⁰ A social identity based on membership in an abstract category may not yield the support and acceptance provided by a social identity based on membership in an actual group of interacting persons. The strongest confirmation that one is a group member may

³¹⁵ Thoits (1983b) 176.

³¹⁶ Rosenberg (1979); Marks.

³¹⁷ Stets and Burke 234.

³¹⁸ Cast, Stets, and Burke.

³¹⁹ Christopher G. Ellison, “Religious involvement and self-perception among black Americans” *Social Forces* 71.4 (1993): 1027-1055.

³²⁰ Abrams and Hogg; Abrams (1992).

come from acceptance by others in the group. Further, enhancement of one's self-worth through group membership may involve acting so as to promote acceptance through appropriate behavioral enactments; such behavior has implications for fulfilling the needs to feel competent.³²¹

At the micro level, the combination of group, role, and person identities lead to a better grasp of the motivational principles underlying identity construction. For example, people feel good about themselves for being group members, are confident about themselves in enacting particular roles, and generally gain certainty of who they are for having their personal identities “verified” by others. Group, role, and person are also different sources of identities available to an individual in constructing a multifaceted and multidimensional self-view.³²²

2.2.2 Identity construction

A simple answer to how people identify lays in the ascriptions imposed by others. Labels associated to a gender or ethnic category for example deliver cognitive and emotional material to deal with – a possible identity. Individual might adopt or reject the label, even though rejection is particularly difficult for visible identities such as race. Nevertheless, people may choose to minimize the importance of particular labels to their self-definition – shifting the category at question to a low position in their identity hierarchy and emphasizing others instead that can relate to with greater comfort. Accepting the socially represented meanings of such identities holds a broad range of possibilities. Deaux and Ethier show how people negotiate their identities in many different ways³²³ making them supportive to the person and unique in their meaning.

Not only do these methods provide evidence of substantial variation in the meaning that people associate with a shared category, but they also demonstrate the variations in structure and importance that identities may have.³²⁴ Thus, two individuals who are seemingly alike in having identities as students, Latinos, and men, may none the less define each of these identities differently and assign them different priorities in their daily interactions. ((...)) While one student described her Hispanic identity in terms of pride, loyalty and strong family values, another student, perhaps identifying equally strongly with this identity, would include feelings of resentment and lost opportunities.³²⁵

³²¹ Stets and Burke 233.

³²² Ibid. 234.

³²³ Kay Deaux, and Kathleen A. Ethier, “Negotiating social identity” *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective*, eds. Janet K. Swim, and Charles Stangor (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1998) 301-321.

³²⁴ Anne Reid, and Kay Deaux, “Relationships between social and personal identities: Segregation or integration?” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71 (1996): 1084-1091.

³²⁵ Kay Deaux, “Models, meanings and motivations” *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Rupert Brown, and Dora Capozza (London: Sage, 2000) 6.

Self-categorization theory suggests that the psychological salience of a particular identity is influenced by relations with and the comparison to members of the same group or category.³²⁶ Thus, membership activity increases the exposure of members to shared group representations.³²⁷ Particularly in homogeneous groups, there will be a consensus on meaning. Group pressure may further make people adopt the consensus position. Those who highly identify with their group see greater similarity among group members and are less likely to leave the group under conditions of threat.³²⁸ Also, high identifiers are more likely to display ingroup favoritism and to engage in outgroup derogation.³²⁹

Even though different understandings of the “identity” term exist among researchers, they are all based on the assumption that people seek to project their identity in interaction and behavior reflects identity. People derive their identities – meaning self-concepts – by observing the reactions of others towards them³³⁰, their own behavior³³¹, and the relative performance of others³³². Once formed, self-views allow the individual to make sense of their experience in social interactions and to (re)act flexibly and appropriately.³³³ Change in the self-concept is brought about when behavior and attitudes are inconsistent³³⁴ or as Cast puts it:

If persons perceive that they have recently behaved in ways that are inconsistent with previously formed self-attitudes, these attitudes may change in order to eliminate this inconsistency, particularly during the initial stages of formation when self-attitudes are weak.³³⁵

³²⁶ John C. Turner, Penelope J. Oakes, S. Alexander Haslam, and Craig McGarty, “Self and collective: Cognition and social context” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20 (1994): 454-463.

³²⁷ Glynis M. Breakwell, “Integrating paradigms, methodological implications” *Empirical Approaches to Social Representations*, eds. Glynis M. Breakwell, and David V. Canter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 180-201.

³²⁸ Bertjan Doosje, Russell Spears, and Naomie Ellemers, “Social identity as both cause and effect: The development of group identification in response to anticipated and actual changes in the intergroup status hierarchy” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 41 (2002): 57-76; Naomie Ellemers, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje, “Sticking together or falling apart: Ingroup identification as a psychological determinant of group commitment versus individual mobility” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 72 (1997): 617-626.

³²⁹ Nyla R. Branscombe, and Daniel L. Wann, “Collective self-esteem consequences of outgroup derogation when a valued identity is on trial” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 24 (1994): 641-657.

³³⁰ See Mead, and Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1902).

³³¹ E.g., D. J. Bem, “Self-perception theory” *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, ed. L. Berkowitz, vol. 6 (New York: Academic Press, 1972) 1-62.

³³² E.g., Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, IL: Row & Peterson, 1957).

³³³ William B. Swann, Jr., Christine Chang-Schneider, and Katie Larsen McClarty, “Do people’s self-views matter? Self-concept and self-esteem in everyday life” *American Psychologist* 62.2 (2007): 90.

³³⁴ E.g., Elliot Aronson, “Dissonance, hypocrisy, and the self-concept” *Cognitive Dissonance: Process on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology*, eds. Eddie Harmon-Jones and Judson Mills (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1999) 103-126; Eddie Harmon-Jones and Judson Mills, “An introduction to cognitive dissonance theory and an overview of current perspectives on the topic” *Cognitive Dissonance: Process on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology*, eds. Eddie Harmon-Jones and Judson Mills (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1999) 3-21.

³³⁵ Alicia D. Cast, “Identities and behavior” *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*, eds. Peter J. Burke, Timothy J. Owens, Richard T. Serpe, and Peggy A. Thoits (New York: Kluwer, 2003) 42.

2.2.2.1 Motives

The motivation to construct or to reconstruct identity in a certain way can be traced to the commitment and the salience of an identity: The greater the commitment and the greater the salience of any given identity, the more effort an individual will put into enacting this identity and the more it will resist to change.³³⁶

Nevertheless, people seek to address several human needs with their self-perceptions. These needs are sometimes referred to as identity motives or identity principles. They serve to allow the individual to develop a sense of self that provides for orientation in one's social environment. On the ladder of human needs they belong to the so-called higher order needs in the need hierarchy first proposed by Maslow.³³⁷ Seul suggests several motives to be essential for the development of secure identities due to their contribution to psychological stability and a positive sense of self. According to Maslow, psychological stability is linked to a person's "continuity across time and situation"³³⁸ and the reduction of uncertainty.³³⁹ Developing a positive self-perception depends on people's wish to regard themselves favorably³⁴⁰, to realize sufficient levels of self-esteem and self-actualization³⁴¹, and to belong, i.e. to be liked or loved by others.³⁴²

Additionally, other motives have been mentioned, such as positive distinctiveness³⁴³, autonomy³⁴⁴, collective self-esteem³⁴⁵, self-regulation³⁴⁶, self-consistency, and self-knowledge.³⁴⁷ Self-knowledge and self-consistency are strongly related to Breakwell's

³³⁶ Sheldon Stryker, Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version (Palo Alto, CA: Benjamin/Cummings, 1980); Stryker and Serpe (1982).

³³⁷ Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality, 1954 (New York: Harper, 1970).

³³⁸ Breakwell 1986, 24.

³³⁹ Michael A. Hogg, and Barbara A. Mullin, "Joining groups to reduce uncertainty: Subjective uncertainty reduction and group identification" Social Identity and Social Cognition, eds. Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) 249-279 and Janice Gross Stein, "Image, identity and conflict resolution" Managing Global Chaos, eds. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996) 93-101.

³⁴⁰ J. Richard Eiser, and A. J. Smith, "Preference of accuracy and positivity in the description of oneself by another" European Journal of Social Psychology 2.2 (1972): 199-201, Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963).

³⁴¹ Bloom; Breakwell (1986); and Stein.

³⁴² Seul 554.

³⁴³ E.g., Vivian L. Vignoles, Xenia Chrysochoou, and Glynis M. Breakwell, "The distinctiveness principle: Identity, meaning, and the bounds of cultural relativity" Personality and Social Psychology Review 4.4 (2000): 337-354; Penelope Oakes, and John C. Turner, "Distinctiveness and the salience of social category membership: Is there an automatic perceptual bias towards novelty?" European Journal of Social Psychology 16.3 (1986): 325-344; or Marilyn B. Brewer, "The role of distinctiveness in social identity and group behavior" Group Motivation: Social Psychological Perspectives, eds. Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams (London: Harvester/Wheatsheaf, 1993) 1-16.

³⁴⁴ Michael J. Apter, The Experience of Motivation: The Theory of Psychological Reversals (London: Academic Press, 1982).

³⁴⁵ Jennifer Crocker, and Riia Luhtanen, "Collective self-esteem and ingroup bias" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 58 (1990): 60-67.

³⁴⁶ Dominic Abrams, "Processes of social identification" Social Psychology of Identity and the Self-Concept, ed. Glynis M. Breakwell (London: Surrey University Press, 1992) 55-99 and Dominic Abrams, "Social self-regulation" Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 20.10 (1994): 473-483.

³⁴⁷ Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg, Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances (London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1990).

continuity motive. Collective self-esteem assigns a stronger value on group membership than the original self-esteem formulation.

The importance of each of these motives may be determined by culture and history.³⁴⁸ National and ethnic identities hold particularly strong historical and cultural aspects. Of course, these identities are rooted in a specific national culture and have developed in a concrete historical context. For example, collective cultures place a very strong emphasis on belonging to these collectives. They also somewhat suppress individuals' needs for distinctiveness by discouraging them from standing out within their group.³⁴⁹ This suppression is accompanied by stronger commitment to the collective and resulting outgroup derogation.³⁵⁰ Perhaps, this is why immigrants from collective cultures generally have a harder time exiting their ethnic communities if they choose to do so in the first place. Among these diverse identity motives, the following three are most frequently applied to empirical research:

(1) Distinctiveness refers to the need for feeling unique as a person, and distinctive in relation to other people. However, Brewer argues that people simultaneously have countervailing needs for belonging to others and for differentiation from others.³⁵¹ Thus, people who clearly see themselves different from others will seek out groups supplying them with a stronger sense of inclusion while members of large homogeneous groups will often tend to seek out opportunities and identities differentiating themselves from others.³⁵²

(2) Continuity is the sense that the self remains the same over time, despite all changes he or she might face. Exiting groups may endanger the feeling of continuity, particularly when the group still carries importance to the person. Also entering a new group may pose problems, particularly when the new group was regarded negatively before. Nevertheless, entering is usually easier to adjust as exiting.

(3) Self-esteem and self-efficacy concern the motivational underpinnings of an identity. It has been reasoned that when a group identity is activated, people seek to enhance the evaluation of their ingroup relative to an outgroup in order to enhance their own self-evaluation.³⁵³ This motive is referred to as self-esteem motive. Initially, self-esteem was believed to cause ingroup favoritism, ethnocentrism, and lead to outgroup hostility. Even

³⁴⁸ E.g., Vivian L. Vignoles, Xenia Chrysochoou, and Glynis M. Breakwell, "The distinctiveness principle: identity, meaning, and the bounds of cultural relativity" *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 4.4 (2000): 337-354.

³⁴⁹ Stephen Worchel, Jonathan Iuzzini, Dawna Coutant, and Manuela Ivaldi, "A multidimensional model of identity: Relating individual and group identities to intergroup behavior" *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown (London: Sage, 2000) 25.

³⁵⁰ H. C. Triandis, *Culture and Social Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994).

³⁵¹ Marilyn B. Brewer, "The role of distinctiveness in social identity and group behavior" *Group Motivation*, eds. Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993) 1-16.

³⁵² Kay Deaux, "Models, meanings and motivations" *Social Identity Processes*, eds. Rupert Brown and Dora Capozza (London: Sage, 2000) 9-10.

³⁵³ John C. Turner, Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, Stephen D. Reicher, and Margaret S. Wetherell, *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1987).

though this was a very central idea in the early days of social identity theory³⁵⁴, it has not received strong empirical support.³⁵⁵ It has also been reasoned that when a person holds a salient role identity, evaluating its role performance would impact feelings of self-esteem.³⁵⁶ Positive evaluation would increase the individual's level of self-esteem³⁵⁷; thus, the person would feel good about performing well based on the appraisals by others and their approval.³⁵⁸ Self-efficacy was suggested as an additional motivator: a person showing a good role performance gained a sense of control over its environment.³⁵⁹ Self-efficacy thus refers to a sense of agency, competence, and control. Very similar is Breakwell's notion of self-worth or social value.³⁶⁰

Even though, the research on identity motives mainly considers group identities (social identity theory), the terminology used by identity theory with reference to social roles is of striking similarity. Cast, Stets, and Burke found that both group and role identities are motivated by self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-consistency, and self-regulation. Thus, considering multiple sources of motivation, they pointed out that the self-esteem motive is linked more closely to group identification, whereas self-efficacy is associated more closely with role identification and thus the behavioral enactment of identities. Individuals categorize themselves in terms of group memberships or social roles in order to feel valuable and worthy – the self-esteem motive – and to feel competent and effective – the self-efficacy motive.³⁶¹

Self-esteem gained from a group-based identity is not alone a function of membership or felt belonging – the act of identifying with the group, but also from being accepted by the group as its member. Thus, associating oneself with an abstract social category generally does not yield the support and acceptance gained from a social identity which is based on membership in an actual group. Enhancing one's self-esteem through group membership may also involve particular roles within the group and thus generating acceptance through appropriate behavioral enactments. Playing a role allows the individual to perform and to feel competent when other group members appreciate his or her role performance. Thus, group membership might not always be separated from roles within the group.³⁶²

³⁵⁴ Dominic Abrams, "Processes of social identification" *Social Psychology of Identity and the Self-Concept*, ed. Glynis M. Breakwell (London: Surrey UP 1992) 55-99.

³⁵⁵ Dominic Abrams, "Social self-regulation" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20 (1994): 473-483; Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg, *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances* (London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1990).

³⁵⁶ Stryker (1980).

³⁵⁷ Jon W. Hoelter, "The relationship between specific and global evaluations of the self: A comparison of several models" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 49 (1986): 129-141.

³⁵⁸ David D. Franks and Joseph Marolla, "Efficacious action and social approval as interacting dimensions of self-esteem: A tentative formulation through construct validation" *Sociometry* 39 (1976) 324-341.

³⁵⁹ Ibid. and Viktor Gecas, and Michael L. Schwalbe, "Beyond the looking-glass self: Social structure and efficacy-based self-esteem" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 46 (1983): 77-88.

³⁶⁰ Glynis M. Breakwell, "Social representational constraints upon identity processes" *Representations of the Social*, eds. Kay Deaux and Gina Philogène (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001) 271-285.

³⁶¹ Alicia D. Cast, Jan E. Stets, and Peter J. Burke, "Does the self conform to the views of others?" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62 (1999): 68-82; Jan E. Stets "Status and identity in marital interactions" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60 (1997): 185-217.

³⁶² Christopher G. Ellison, "Religious involvement and self-perception among black Americans" *Social Forces* 71 (1993): 1027-1055.

2.2.2.2 Mechanisms

As noted before, social identities are acquired in social interaction. Cooley introduced the notion of the “looking-glass self”³⁶³ as a metaphor for the development of the self-concept. He made the point that people learn about themselves from others. These others act as mirrors in the way that they provide feedback about who they are. Mead saw the self arise from its relations to the “generalized other”³⁶⁴ as a cognitive entity. The generalized other is the individual’s image of the reactions and expectations of others who are significant to this person. Thus, Mead suggested that we learn to interpret the world in the way others do in order to act as they expect us to act.³⁶⁵

In this context, Kelman identified three distinctive processes for adopting an identity: compliance, identification, and internalization. Compliance refers to behaving according to the expectations of others. It contributes to identity formation to the extent that aspects of compliance-induced self-presentations are progressively incorporated into one’s self-concept. Identification means the adoption of another person’s or a group’s view, attitude or behavior the person associates with. By identifying with others a person can often gain a sense of power and status. Finally, internalization refers to the process how a person chooses an identity by aligning with others that is consistent with its values and beliefs and therefore suits the person.³⁶⁶

In adjusting the many identities a person hold, SIT suggests two major processes: 1) assimilation and adaptation as well as 2) evaluation. The first process refers to assimilating a new identity into the existing identity structure and adjusting the existing structure to make the new identity fit in. The second process assigns meaning and value to the new and the existing identities often leading to a reordering of centrality and salience hierarchies. The identity motives introduced in the previous section can also be seen as desired end state of successful identity construction. The two processes strongly depend on each other in the way that they interact and act simultaneously in order to change the content and value dimensions of identity. The process of evaluation influences what is assimilated and how it is accommodated. The process of assimilation and accommodation establishes the values assigned to identities and build the criteria of worth against which to evaluate.³⁶⁷

In considering the processes of identity, besides specifying the principles of their operation, it is also necessary to consider what cognitive abilities are required for them to operate. It is necessary to argue that cognitive processes (for example, memory and learning) are an integral part of identity processes but that they are, nevertheless, theoretically distinct. Cognitive processes required for identity processes would

³⁶³ Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, 1902 (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1992).

³⁶⁴ George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1934).

³⁶⁵ Breakwell (1986) 14.

³⁶⁶ Herbert C. Kelman, “The place of ethnic identity in the development of personal identity: A challenge for the Jewish family” Coping with Life and Death: Jewish Families in the Twentieth Century, ed. Peter Y. Medding (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 3-26.

³⁶⁷ Breakwell (1986) 23f.

include: memory, learning, consciousness and, probably, organized construal. The importance of cognitive processes to identity is most evident in their absence. For instance, without memory the whole process of assimilation-accommodation takes place in a vacuum; it will continue but it has no grounding and anything it generates is lost after a while. In fact, Kihlstrom and Cantor³⁶⁸ regard the self-concept as nothing more than a system of social memory. The erosion of memory, which often accompanies ageing, is a central plank in the explanation of identity changes in the elderly.³⁶⁹

From cognitive developmental psychology it is already possible to say that cognitive development parallels changes in social understanding (not least in the conception of morality³⁷⁰) and, during early infancy, in the conception of the self-other dichotomy.³⁷¹ It seems plausible that these connections are maintained throughout the lifespan: growing cognitive powers facilitating the processes of assimilation-accommodation and evaluation. If this is correct, it may be the case that the manner of assimilation-accommodation will alter during the lifespan, becoming more differentiated and organized as cognitive development occurs. It may also be true that the process of evaluation would shift during development from concern with largely concrete manifestations of value to a focus upon non-material or ideologically dictated values.³⁷² This would mean that the potential content of identity would be valued against different types of criteria of worth as the person develops. In turn, this would result in different contents being assimilated at each stage of cognitive development. As a child, the person assimilates new identity contents which lead to self-esteem measured in concrete terms; as an adult, self-esteem may be achieved through non-material advantages gained by assimilating new identity contents. Basically, cognitive development allows the processes of identity to move from concern with things to concern with ideas.

Indeed, a certain level of cognitive complexity is required before it is possible to assume that the identity processes can work at all. For instance, the notion of evaluation requires a certain level of conservation in the Piagetian sense, even at the very concrete level. The relation of cognitive processes to identity processes requires considerable conceptual clarification before empirical studies would prove fruitful. It certainly seems that the level of cognitive development will affect both the processes of identity themselves and, potentially, the principles guiding their operation. At the moment, for instance, it is impossible to say whether the child has the same principles directing identity processes as the adult. Assimilation-accommodation and evaluation may be constant processes across the lifespan but the raw material with which they operate and the principles which guide them may alter during that lifespan as a consequence of cognitive development.³⁷³

³⁶⁸ John F. Kihlstrom and Nancy Cantor, "Mental representations of the self" Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, vol. 17, ed. L. Berkowitz (New York: Academic P, 1984).

³⁶⁹ Patrick Rabbitt, Psychology of Ageing (Taylor & Francis, 2007).

³⁷⁰ Thomas Lickona, ed., Moral Development and Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976); Helen Weinreich-Haste and Don Locke, eds., Morality in the Making (Chichester: Wiley, 1983).

³⁷¹ Jean Piaget, and Bärbel Inhelder, The Psychology of the Child (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966).

³⁷² Milton J. Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978).

³⁷³ Breakwell (1986) 26f.

2.2.3 Identity enactment

How does identity serve as the basis for behavior? Attempting to answer this question, identity theory and social identity theory provide two cognitive processes of how people become aware of their normative aspects and translate them into action. They are still part of a person's identity construction but simultaneously already processes of identity enactment. Social roles and memberships in social groups represent two important aspects of this translation: an individual's identification with a category as emphasized in the process of depersonalization as well as the behaviors associated with a category which is rather focused on in self-verification. Both processes take place within the context of social structure and reaffirm social structural arrangements in a way that people are aware of the structural categories and relationships and act accordingly. In this way, a combination of the two theories would recognize that the self exists within society, because socially defined shared meanings are incorporated into one's prototype or identity standard. In addition, it would recognize that the self influences society, because individual agents act by changing social arrangements to bring the self into line with the abstract prototype/identity standard.³⁷⁴

2.2.3.1 Living up to identity standard: self-verification

Self-verification is a central cognitive process in identity theory. It refers to regarding the self in terms of the role embodiment in the identity standard. The identity standard as the cognitive representation of a role contains the meanings and norms the person associates with this role.³⁷⁵ According to Swann, behavior is closely tied to identity in the way that people work to create "opportunity structures"³⁷⁶ in which feedback about the self is consistent with identity standards. Drastic changes in behavior are therefore unlikely and behavior will generally be consistent with identity.³⁷⁷ Behavioral adaptation in migration setting will therefore be carried out via identity construction and reconstruction processes.

³⁷⁴ Cf. Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke, "Identity theory and social identity theory" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63.3 (2000): 232; Peggy A. Thoits and Lauren K. Virshup, "Me's and we's: Forms and functions of social identities" *Self and Identity: Fundamental Issues*, eds. Richard D. Ashmore and Lee Jussim (New York: Oxford UP 1997) 106-133; Lee Freese, and Peter J. Burke, "Persons identities and social interaction" *Advances in Group Processes*, eds. Barry Markovsky, Karen Heimer, and Jodi O' Brien (Greenwich, CT: JAI P, 1994) 1-24.

³⁷⁵ Burke (1991).

³⁷⁶ William B. Swann, Jr., "Self-verification: Bringing reality into harmony with the self" *Psychological Perspectives on the Self*, eds. Jerry Suls, and Anthony Greenwald (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1983) 33-66 and William B., Swann, Jr. "To be adored or to be known?" *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition*, eds. Richard M. Sorrentino, and E. Tory Higgins, vol. 2, Foundations of social behavior (New York: Guilford, 1990) 408-448.

³⁷⁷ Alicia D. Cast, "Identities and behavior" *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*, eds. Peter J. Burke, Timothy J. Owens, Richard T. Serpe, and Peggy A. Thoits (New York: Kluwer, 2003) 43.

Identities serve as behavioral guides for individuals.³⁷⁸ Thus, individuals will adopt behaviors reflecting their identity in order to maintain consistency between perceptions and identity meanings.³⁷⁹ Additionally, behavior can be seen as a function of the discrepancy between identities and the perceptions of the environment rather than a direct result of the identity.³⁸⁰ This fact is particularly relevant for investigating integration processes and how people attempt to adjust their identities.

People act to keep perceptions of themselves consistent with their identity standard. They act to modify the situation in the way that their self-perceptions become more consistent with their identity standard. Thereby, self-verification refers to the need of people to seek confirmatory feedback from others regarding their identity for negative and positive meanings. If there is a discrepancy between self-perception and feedback from others, a person might try to find alternative opportunity structures.³⁸¹

2.2.3.2 Conforming to group prototype: depersonalization

Groups induce a prototypical identity to which members try to conform. This cognitive process is central to social identity theory where it is called depersonalization. In the process of depersonalization, what happens is that the person sees itself as an embodiment of the ingroup prototype. This ingroup prototype is a cognitive representation of the social category containing the meanings and norms that the person associates with the social category rather than as a unique individual. As such, a social category into which one falls and to which one feels to belong, provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of the category.³⁸²

As social identity both describes and prescribes one's attitudes as a group member and thus what one should think and feel, and how one should behave. Thus, a person perceives the normative aspects of group membership and conforms to these norms as a foundation of action.³⁸³ When a specific social identity is made salient, self-perception and conduct become ingroup stereotypical. Perceptions of outgroup members become outgroup stereotypical whereby ingroup and outgroup stereotypes usually oppose each other for the sake of positive distinctiveness and the enhancement of self-esteem for the ingroup

³⁷⁸ Peter J. Burke, "Identity processes and social stress" *American Sociological Review* 56.6 (1991): 836-849.

³⁷⁹ Cast 43.

³⁸⁰ Peter J. Burke and Alicia D. Cast, "Stability and change in the gender identities of newly married couples" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60 (1997): 277-290.

³⁸¹ Swann (1983) as well as Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, "Trust and commitment through self-verification" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62 (1999): 347-366.

³⁸² Stets and Burke 231.

³⁸³ Stephen D. Reicher, "Crowd behavior as social action" *Rediscovering the Social Group: Self-Categorization Theory*, ed. John C. Turner (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Stephen D. Reicher, "The battle of Westminster: developing the social identity model of crowd behavior in order to explain the initiation and development of collective conflict" *European Journal of Social Psychology* 26 (1996): 115-134; Deborah J. Terry and Michael A. Hogg, "Group norms and the attitude-behavior relationship: A role for group identification" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 22 (1996): 776-793.

members. Thus, intergroup behavior acquires competitive and discriminatory properties to varying degrees depending on the nature of relations between the groups including social stereotyping and ethnocentrism.³⁸⁴

In more positive terms and particularly with regard to the ingroup, depersonalization also induces group cohesiveness, cooperation and altruism, emotional contagion, and collective action.³⁸⁵

However, it is important to note, that the level of commitment of members to the group may differ widely, and so does the extent to which depersonalization takes place. As such, the attitudes an individual holds towards other ingroup members and towards the outgroup strongly depend on the subjective importance the person attaches to the group, ingroup affect, and the number and strength of ties connecting the person to the other ingroup members.

2.2.4 Threats to identity

Much of people's day-to-day experience can turn out as potentially threatening to identity – thoughts, feelings, actions, and other experiences can pose challenges to an individual's personal or social identity. Such challenges may concern either the content or the evaluation of identity. The identity content can be described as the numerous self-description making the person aware of who one is and what one does. Threat to any of these descriptions may occur when a person actually encounters change and the old labels are no longer valid. Also, changes in meaning and uses of these labels may threaten identity contents. Content threats may generally relate to all identity motives depending on which of these motives a particular identity sought to satisfy. In terms of threats to the evaluation of identity, any negative connotation of a cherished identity can pose a fundamental threat as long as the individual accepts it. Evaluation related threats particularly impact the self-esteem of a person and, as the self-esteem motive is so central in identity construction, ultimately identity itself.³⁸⁶

Breakwell distinguishes two perspectives on the perception of threat – the internal and the external. The internal perspective refers to the threatened person's perception. The external perspective is the understanding of other people. The internal and external threat perspectives do not always match each other. Sometimes, the individual feels threatened when others see no reason for it. At other times, the individual feels not threatened even though others consider him or her to be in a threatening position. Therefore, a distinction has to be made between the subjective experience of threat and the threatening position for

³⁸⁴ Hogg, Terry, and White 259f.

³⁸⁵ Stets and Burke 232.

³⁸⁶ Glynis M. Breakwell, "Formulations and searches" *Threatened Identities*, ed. Glynis M. Breakwell (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1983) 13f.

a person can occupy the latter without perceiving the former. Whether a potential threat is subjectively perceived as such or not depends on the prior state of the person's identity.³⁸⁷ A threat can occur suddenly and within a limited time span or it can be more enduring. However, as people seek to reestablish a balance between themselves and their environment³⁸⁸, an event or a specific condition, even when it is enduring, will appear less threatening over time.³⁸⁹ Burke suggested that a threat will be greater under the following conditions:

- (1) The threat represents a repeated or a more severe interruption of the identity construct.
- (2) The disrupted identity is highly salient or most important.
- (3) The person is highly committed to the disrupted identity.
- (4) The source of perceived identity input is significant to the individual or the interruption of feedback from a significant other is more severe than that from a casual acquaintance.³⁹⁰

Thus, the magnitude of a threat can be accessed by the subjective importance the threatened identity component holds for the person in terms of the salience or cognitive centrality, emotional affect, or ties and by the subjective significance of the source of this threat.³⁹¹

2.2.4.1 The origins of identity threat

Identity threat occurs when the processes of identity construction and particularly the principles governing them are affected adversely or when identity conflicts within the existing structure cannot be dissolved immediately. Whereas evaluation threats concern self-esteem and self-efficacy more directly, content threats may also affect other motives. A new identity standing in conflict to an older identity component concerning their specific meanings could for example cause an individual to perceive discontinuity.

A threat to identity can be depicted in several different ways. Threats occur at the personal and social level. They stem from within the individual (subjective perceptions, internal

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 16.

³⁸⁸ Esser (1980) 210.

³⁸⁹ Tony Cassidy, "Self-categorization, coping and psychological health among unemployed mid-career executives" *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 14.4 (2001): 303-315.

³⁹⁰ Burke (1991) 841.

³⁹¹ Concerning the impact of threats, particularly those based on one's own behavior or perceived mistakes, 90 percent of the impact on identity security arises not from the threat itself in terms of the need that is not met but from the way we talk to ourselves about it. From our enculturation and education we have learned to blame and accuse ourselves – destroying self-respect and causing depression. Western cultures, for example, have a strong emphasis on work through which sudden unemployment will become a personal catastrophe that costs much more than just a large share of our previous income and the loss of a social role. We perceive it as our personal failure deserving blame and punishment. For this argument, see Marshall B. Rosenberg, "Introduction to nonviolent communication" Seminar in Munich, 2-4 May 2006, recording by Auditorium Netzwerke, Mühlheim, Baden 2006.

psychological processes of identity construction) or from external sources (interaction with other people, conditions outside the control of the individual etc.).

These threats can target the sources of identity in terms of social roles or groups. They can also concern personal identity. A threat concerning a role may relate to the loss or the anticipated loss of such a role (threatening the role itself as a component of identity). Alternatively, it can be related to poor role performance (threatening self-verification and feelings of self-efficacy, and self-esteem). Additionally, there is the possibility of experiencing a devaluation of the particular role by others or by the person itself.

A group related threat can either attack a person's membership in the group, the group as a whole (realistic threat or symbolic threat [values, beliefs, attitudes]), or take the form of devalued group status (e.g., discrimination).

As mostly internal threat, the mechanism of assimilation-accommodation or evaluation can be affected. As noted before, these processes only produce meaningful results on the basis of cognitive abilities such as memory. Poor memory thus inhibits identity processes. However, the individual does not necessarily have to experience memory loss as threatening per se, for example for not even being aware of it. The resulting inflexibility in identity adjustment might then more indirectly afflict well-being and life satisfaction.

As far as identity enactment is part of the construction mechanism of identity, it can afflict identity as well. For example, when people are frequently denied to self-verify their attitudes, beliefs, roles etc., they may be at risk of losing a sound sense of self even when, identity construction motives are essentially satisfied and assimilation-accommodation as well as evaluation processes function well. A failure to self-verify presents a content threat to identity.

The cross situational salience of roles and the situational salience of social groups and categories certainly hint at the higher centrality of roles compared to groups and categories in general. Also, there are concrete behavioral expectations attached to role identities including certain tasks for action requiring the commitment of time and effort from the occupant of the role. Group membership might be tied to certain roles within the group, however, pure membership does only require an unspecific attitudinal loyalty of the person. This may after all contribute to the difference in salience of group and role identities. Only master identities – which are believed highly salient – could possibly match up with the importance of roles or may be even more important to an individual. Both SIT and IT recognize the existence of a salience hierarchy of identities meaning that the relative importance of each role and categorical or group membership varies from person to person. This somewhat limits the comparability of role threats and group identities threats. Only generally speaking, it can be reasoned that a threat against a group or categorical identity will be less severe than a threat against a role identity for the differences in commitment and salience between group and role identities.

Following this argument, one can also reason that identity threat simultaneously concerning a group and a role will be more severe than those concerning only a group or a role identity (of course still moderated by the subjective importance of the particular group or role

identity to the person). In addition, a combination of several similar threats will register in the graveness of consequences. For example, the fear of walking alone at night in an unsafe neighborhood may otherwise just be a threat to efficacy in the sense that one cannot do what one wants. In combination with the perception of realizing an income far too low to meet life's ends and the anticipation of not being able to borrow in times of unexpected financial difficulties may increase the magnitude of any of those unfavorable conditions.

2.2.4.2 Potentially threatening conditions

Identity motive related threats

Achievement oriented identities: Threats to achievement orientation usually relate to the self-efficacy motive and to role performance. Social-economic status variables also appear to be relevant in assessing an individual's capability to satisfy identity motives. It is a widely shared opinion within materialist oriented societies that educational degrees and income levels express the level of personal attainment. Achievement oriented identities – which are naturally linked to self-esteem, self-efficacy, and positive distinctiveness – will thus be linked to school degrees, professional positions, and income. A certain income level can also be seen as a necessary precondition to engage in broader social networks and relationships creating more and different opportunity structures for self-verification. Thoits argues that people's identity structure in terms of the hierarchical identity rankings vary systematically by social status, lower-status individuals should be exposed to more identity threatening experiences than higher-status individuals, and the exposure to identity relevant experiences should account for more of the variation in status differences in experiencing stress than conventional measures of life events and strains.³⁹²

Group related threats

Group related threats often occur along the lines of ingroup devaluation concerning gender, nationality, education, income, and employment categories, and discrimination. Being a member of a devalued group can prove to be a threatening experience. This devaluation can be tied to social status whereas being a member of a lower status group is per se threatening and even when one perceives oneself to belong to a higher status group, anticipated group changes may already be sufficient to put the individual under such pressure that he or she reacts with higher blood pressure and heart rates.³⁹³ Examples for group associated status devaluation are being a women, an immigrant, a person with low

³⁹² Peggy A. Thoits, "On merging identity theory and stress research" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 54.2 (1991): 101-112.

³⁹³ Daan Scheepers and Naomi Ellemers, "When the pressure is up: The assessment of social identity threat in low and high status groups" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 41.2 (2005): 192-200.

educational achievement, or a member of a lower paying profession. A particularly severe threat to group status is the experience of discrimination. The awareness of being a member of a disadvantaged or devalued group threatens a person's self-esteem and self-efficacy. Societies often propose an ethnic hierarchy referring to the different social positions and more or less unfavorable images of ethnic groups in the public regard.³⁹⁴ In such a hierarchy, some groups are more devalued than others, usually not exclusively on the category of ethnicity or nationality. Usually, the perceived group rankings vary by groups and are related to the claims of these groups for symbolic status. Discrimination as experience of devaluation necessarily depends upon the awareness and salience of group membership. However, individual circumstances – the way the person interacts with outgroup members and the general state of identity of that particular person will define whether and to what degree a potential incidence of discrimination is perceived and interpreted as threatening to identity. In general, discrimination will be more of a problem to a person in terms of threatened identity, when this person may actually recall and report the discrimination experience in a questionnaire survey.

Unemployment can be seen as a combined group and role threat for people losing their jobs and join the ranks of the unemployed. They simultaneously suffer from the loss of their occupation. The effects of unemployment on people's self-perception have been described in terms of psychological distress and unhappiness.³⁹⁵

The threat to identity arising from unemployment first of all concerns the identity principles of continuity, distinctiveness, and self-esteem: In the case of continuity, unemployment often leads to a breakup of rather important interpersonal networks that were related to the previous job. Also, many goals, roles, and an array of activities are affected simultaneously. In the case of distinctiveness, job loss deprives a person of the opportunity to show one's unique skills, removes it from a definite social position, and places it in the undifferentiated category of the unemployed. Self-esteem suffers from the attack by the stereotype of social repugnance. However, unemployment is no homogeneous experience. The way identity will be affected by unemployment largely depends on the way a person becomes unemployed. Quitting a job on one's own accord is less likely to threaten continuity and distinctiveness as an alternative is desired or otherwise the job would be retained. A voluntary unemployed person may not ever have possessed any skills he or she found distinctive or a job that was fulfilling, e.g. in terms of social interaction etc. For the voluntary unemployed the major threat is related to self-esteem as they are often looked down upon by others as lazy scroungers and filthy layabouts being deprived of a socially more acceptable excuse for their status.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ E.g., Heinz Ingenhorst, Die Russlanddeutschen. Aussiedler zwischen Tradition und Moderne (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1997): 112f.

³⁹⁵ Cassidy 303 and Stefan von Borstel, "Arbeitslose sind unglücklicher als Arme: Wirtschaftsinstitut kritisiert Definition von Armut" Die Welt 7 Mar. 2006, 12.

³⁹⁶ Breakwell (1986) 61.

Identity process related threats

Limitations to cognitive abilities result in less flexible identity adjustment up to their complete failure. Cognitive abilities are known to develop over one's lifespan. Identity processes will thus improve while young and worsen when older. Losing one's cognitive abilities, and particularly poor memory, is often associated with old age. However, the way memory loss occurs might be rather self-protective. Childhood and youth memory are preserved including earlier self-perception. Even though memory functions might fail to create a proper present-day self-perception, an earlier self-perception could be subjectively available without the individual being aware of the difference of past and present self-perception. Moreover, activating the perception of oneself as a much younger person allows older people to have a positive self-perception despite their actual dependence and perhaps helplessness. Potential physical, even mortal danger may well be accompanied by total ignorance or unawareness.

Breakdown (or absence) of supportive relationships: Close relationships are central for self-verification processes. As Byrne pointed out, people's attraction for each other bears on the similarity of their attitudes.³⁹⁷ A person is consensually validating itself through the belief that similar attitudes and other cognitive features he or she shares with his or her partner are essentially correct. Agreement and feedback from the partner consistently confirms this view.³⁹⁸

Close relationships are also related to personality development. They strengthen the partners in terms of anticipated changes in their social environments and facilitating adjustments in their self-concepts by providing positive, change encouraging feedback. The breakdown of a functioning relationship will thus be a blow to personal development. On the other hand, a bad relationship accompanied with mutual distrust and disrespect inhibits personal development by draining a person of self-esteem, e.g. through blame for the relationship failure and other negative attributions. Breaking up a bad relationship can still be a sad affair for the still existing dependencies, but will protect the person from further harm and clear the way for a better relationship.

Similarly, the breakdown of relationships also results in the loss of roles that were previously defined through this relationship. Here again, this may or may not be considered threatening depending on whether these roles were regarded positively or negatively towards the end of the relationship. It should further be considered that primary relationships contribute much to the identity motive of belonging.

³⁹⁷ Donn Byrne, The Attraction Paradigm (New York: Academic Press, 1971).

³⁹⁸ Steve Duck and Martin Lea, "Breakdown of personal relationships and the threat of personal identity" Threatened Identities, ed. Glynis M. Breakwell (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1983) 60.

2.2.4.3 Devalued identities

Classic research on stigma holds that people who's social identity or membership in a social category is devalued have called into question his or her full humanity. The entire person is then devalued, spoiled or flawed in the perception of others.³⁹⁹ The stigmatized are often the target of prejudice, negative stereotypes⁴⁰⁰, and emotional reactions such as pity, anger, anxiety or disgust.⁴⁰¹ Traditional research on stigma assumed that the psychological and behavioral consequences of stigmatization result from internalization of devaluing images and stereotypes, current research also suggests a situational component to this process. In order to grasp why stigmatized and non-stigmatized people behave and feel differently, one must seek to understand the unique meanings of situations for the stigmatized and the non-stigmatized as well as how features of the situation which are often very subtle can alter such meanings.⁴⁰²

Identities can vary in salience and in meaning across situations. The very same identity can be either positive or negative depending on situational context. Pittinsky, Shih, and Ambady researched this phenomenon at the example of Asian-American women's test performance. The participants were confronted with positive or negative stereotypes concerning their gender and ethnicity. The researchers showed that ethnic and gender identities are adaptive to situational triggers in terms of salience and meaning. As expected, negative stereotypes worsened test results, whereas positive stereotypes acted as encouragement and elevated test scores. A recount of memories participants attached to their ethnic and gender identities showed the adaptiveness of identities according to the stereotypes presented before the tests. Positive stereotypes triggered the recount of positive memories that respondents associated with either gender or ethnic identity after they took the test, negative stereotypes did exactly the opposite.⁴⁰³

Even though the meaning of ethnicity and gender identities can be both positive and negative, in a more general context immigrants and members of ethnic minorities as well as women most of the time find themselves in an inferior social position. Nevertheless, the importance of potentially devalued group status and identity varies from person to person.

³⁹⁹ Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Jennifer Crocker, Brenda Major, and Claude Steele, "Social stigma" *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, eds. Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey, 4th ed., vol. 2 (New York: Guilford Press, 1998) 504-553.

⁴⁰⁰ Edward E. Jones, Amerigo Farina, Albert H. Hastorf, Hazel Markus, Dale T. Miller, and Robert A. Scott, *Social Stigma: The Psychology of Marked Relationships* (New York: Freeman, 1984).

⁴⁰¹ Bernard Weiner, *Judgments of Responsibility: A Foundation for a Theory of Social Conduct* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995); Bernard Weiner, Raymond P. Perry, and Jamie Magnusson, "An attributional analysis of reactions to stigmas" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55 (1988): 738-748.

⁴⁰² Jennifer Crocker and Diane M. Quinn, "Psychological consequences of devalued identities" *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilynn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) 125; Jennifer Crocker, "Social stigma and self-esteem: Situational construction of self-worth" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 35.1 (1999): 89-107.

⁴⁰³ Todd Pittinsky, Margaret Shih, and Nalini Ambady, "Identity adaptiveness: Affect across multiple identities" *Journal of Social Issues* 55.3 (1999): 503-518.

Alec Roy studied the impact of undesirable recent life events on personality and psychological well-being. He found certain recent life events, such as unemployment and a poor marital relationships, and particularly the combination of such conditions, to be responsible for the development of depression.⁴⁰⁴ Even though, Roy's studies have not explicitly included immigration, migration can well serve as an example of such an undesirable life event as it produces difficulties in orientation and requires large adjustment efforts of the individual. Resulting membership in the devalued group of "immigrants" seems to have an enduring impact on personality. Accordingly, the gender identity of women should have a similar – even though much smaller impact – for representing another inferior group status. Perceived group devaluation makes ingroup members more sensitive towards other identity threats and makes them react more sensitively to such threats.⁴⁰⁵ Exemplary for group status devaluation, immigration and gender will be considered in this analysis. Nevertheless, both categorizations may serve as identity resources as there exists considerable choice of favorable dimensions along which group members might compare themselves to outgroup members and achieve positive distinctiveness.

2.2.4.3.1 The threat potential of migration experience

Timotijevic and Breakwell characterized migration as an experience of massive social change.⁴⁰⁶ Of course, geographical migration does not inevitably lead to identity threat as not everyone becomes homesick. Threats to identity occur in the context of migration if the individual moves into a new social context that is different from the old in terms of the structural and procedural bases for continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem, or self-efficacy becoming unstable.⁴⁰⁷ However, the threat to identity relating to the new country and society may not stem from being simply different from the old, but it may be aggressively or passively opposed to the immigrant's previous experience and thus to what defined the person's identity prior to migration. Berry developed a model of acculturation for individuals and groups from different cultural backgrounds engaging in contact with each other and influencing each other's culture.⁴⁰⁸ He created a matrix of acculturation

⁴⁰⁴ Alec Roy, "A case-control study of social risk factors for depression in American patients" Canadian Journal of Psychiatry 42.2 (1997): 307-309; Alec Roy, "Vulnerability factors and depression in men" British Journal of Psychiatry 138 (1981): 75-77, and Alec Roy, "Vulnerability factors and depression in women" British Journal of Psychiatry 133 (1978): 106-110.

⁴⁰⁵ Cheryl R. Kaiser, S. Brooke Vick, and Brenda Major, "Prejudice expectations moderate preconscious attention to cues that are threatening to social identity" Psychological Science 17.4 (2006): 332-338.

⁴⁰⁶ Lada Timotijevic, and Glynis M. Breakwell, "Migration and threat to identity" Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 10 (2000): 355.

⁴⁰⁷ Kathleen A. Ethier and Kay Deaux, "Negotiating social identity when contexts change: maintaining identification and responding to threat" Journal of Personality and Social psychology 67.2 (1994): 243-251.

⁴⁰⁸ John W. Berry, "Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation" Applied Psychology: An International Review 46.1 (1997): 5-34.

strategies⁴⁰⁹ and argued that adaptation depended largely on the ‘fit’ between dominant and non-dominant groups’ acculturation preferences. Conflicting acculturation preferences between the groups would lead to acculturation stress and thus pose a threat to the identities of non-dominant group members.⁴¹⁰ However, the diverse changes immigrants experience when moving from one society to another and to which they seek to respond can hardly be restricted to a simple categorical identity change – that of culture or nationality as people act and behave in terms of their many identities. Pittinsky, Shih, and Ambady noted that stereotype-relevant prompts are related to an implicit reorientation of individual affect and self-evaluation across many identities not functioning isolated from each other within the overall identity structure.⁴¹¹ For this same reason, many identity researchers are concerned with the interaction of several social categories.⁴¹² Examining the interaction between ethnic and gender identity, Hedge showed that change in the content of one simultaneously leads to change in the other.⁴¹³ Moreover, Wimmer found ethno-national categories only being secondary principles of classification even though social networks of immigrants are largely homogeneous in terms of ethnicity.⁴¹⁴

Migration profoundly affects people both on an individual and a collective level, and is not confined merely to considerations of competing categories of identification. It may also involve palpable challenges to many of the usual bases for identity definition: interpersonal relations, material possessions, normative beliefs, and emotions.⁴¹⁵

Being an immigrant also frequently corresponds to memberships in other devalued social categories potentially posing threats to one’s identity. Across Europe, immigrants have higher risks for being unemployed and realizing lower incomes.⁴¹⁶ Additionally, immigrant children find themselves at a disadvantage concerning such basic things as school achievement in most countries. Concerning the PISA study, migration background was still significantly related to lower school achievement when parental socio-economic status was

⁴⁰⁹ See section 2.1.2 of this dissertation.

⁴¹⁰ John W. Berry, “Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation” Applied Psychology: An International Review 46.1 (1997): 5-34.

⁴¹¹ Todd L. Pittinsky, Margaret Shih, and Nalini Ambady, “Identity and adaptiveness: Affect across multiple identities” Journal of Social Issues 55.3 (1999): 503-518.

⁴¹² E.g., Marie L. Miville, “Integrating identities: The relationships of racial, gender, and ego identities among White college students” Journal of College Student Development 46.2 (2005): 157-175; Lisa Garcia Bedolla, “Studying Inequality: Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality,” conference paper, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (May 2004); or Deborah E. S. Frable, “Gender, Racial, Ethnic, Sexual, and Class Identities” Annual Review of Psychology 48 (1997): 139-162.

⁴¹³ Radha S. Hedge, “Swinging the trapeze: The negotiation of identity among Asian Indian immigrant women in the United States” Communication and Identity Across Cultures: International and Intercultural Communication Annual 21, eds. Dolores V. Tanno and Alberto Gonzales (Thousand Oakes: Sage, 1998).

⁴¹⁴ Andreas Wimmer, “Does ethnicity matter? Everyday group formation in three Swiss immigrant neighborhoods” Ethnic and Racial Studies 27.1 (2004): 1-36.

⁴¹⁵ Timotijevic and Breakwell 357ff.

⁴¹⁶ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Directorate for Employment, Labor and Social Affairs, Employment, Labor and Social Affairs Committee, ed., The labor market integration of immigrants in Germany, Note by the Secretariat, DELSA/ELSA/WP2(2005)3/REV1 (Santiago de Compostela: Hotel GH Santiago, June 2005), online, <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/28/5/38163889.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008, 17.

controlled for.⁴¹⁷ An especially negative impact was assessed for those immigrant children who's family language did not match the country's official language – a tendency which was found particularly strong in Germany.⁴¹⁸

Cultural distance between the majority and minority population

This threat has been described for both the receiving society and the individual immigrant. Members of the majority population may experience “assimilation threat” whereby it is feared that immigrants and ethnic minorities fail to assimilate and thereby undermine the majority cultures traditions and values.⁴¹⁹ The immigrant may experience considerable strain from the differences between his values and attitudes shaped by the culture of his or her place of origin and the new environment. These differences have been characterized through a variety of dimensions, for example the distinction between traditional, modern, and postmodern value systems⁴²⁰; long term vs. short term orientation; risk taking vs. uncertainty avoidance; collectivism vs. individualism; masculinity vs. femininity; or power distance.⁴²¹

Migration experience represents greater social change and challenge for individuals from the more “culturally distant” countries; however, certain specific cultural or individual features may facilitate integration despite the cultural distance such as achievement orientation or placing a high value on education. Thus, an assessment of the cultural distance between a migrants country of departure and country of arrival may be less important than individual characteristics, particularly as voluntary immigrants are often not the prototypical carriers of “their” home culture. Instead, they may even find the receiving country's culture more attractive than the home culture. Previous economic and political links between countries may have created useful parallels in terms of language, education system, or administration that might bridge an otherwise larger gap.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid. 43f.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.; Sylke Schnepf, How Different are Immigrants? A Cross-Country and Cross-Survey Analysis of Educational Achievement, IZA Discussion Paper 1398 (Bonn: IZA, 2004).

⁴¹⁹ Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “The True Clash of Civilizations” Foreign Policy 2 (2003): 67-74; Pamela Paxton and Anthony Mughan, “What's to fear from immigrants? Creating an assimilationist threat scale” Political Psychology 27.4 (2006): 549-568.

⁴²⁰ Ronald Inglehart, “Globalization and postmodern values” The Washington Quarterly 23.1 (2000): 215-228; Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, “Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values” American Sociological Review 65.2 (2000): 19-51.

⁴²¹ Gert Hofstede and Gert Jan Hofstede, Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind: Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival, 2nd revised ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

2.2.4.3.2 The threat potential of gender

Identity theory proposes gender differences in identity construction for men and women. Empirical studies have found a tendency that men stronger than women identify with achievement oriented positions and roles, whereas primary and secondary relationships are more crucial for women's self-definition. There are gender differences in terms of socialization, e.g. certain job opportunities used to be open only to men. However, in general the gender gap is more pronounced in the immigrant population for more "traditional" gender role socialization in many ethnic minority milieus.

Following the theorized differences in men's and women's identification based on achievement oriented vs. relationship oriented identities, it could be reasoned that threats to achievement related identity and to relationship identities should affect men and women differently. This difference should be even more present in immigrant and ethnic minority milieus for these often attending to more "traditional" gender roles, where the gender difference in identifying with achievement oriented and relationship oriented roles should be even more pronounced as ethnic communities often hold up their traditional values and assert them upon their members in order to distinguish themselves positively against the receiving society. Among others, these are traditional mother, and caretaker roles within the family for women, and provider-roles outside the home for men.⁴²²

Being female often constitutes membership in a devalued social category. Women emancipation has made particularly Western societies aware of the various disadvantages women face compared to men: If women decide to work, they realize significantly lower pay than men for comparable jobs in most countries, take leadership positions much less frequent than men and are even looked down upon by non-working women for not devoting enough time and care to their children and families. Either working or not, women face a much higher risk of poverty than men. In fact, uneven partnerships – modern in terms of the women pursuing work outside the home and traditional in leaving the household and caretaker roles up to the women alone – place an enormous burden on many women and endanger their physical and mental well-being. Additionally, society does not appreciate work within and for the family as much as work outside the home – thus, traditional women's work is not equally recognized. The same is true for traditional women's professions as compared to men such as the professions of a secretary, a nurse or a hair dresser. In many non-Western societies, the devaluation of women is even more pronounced, particularly in those regions of the world where girls are killed at birth for the disappointment of the parents for not having a son and thus the accompanying prestige and recognition from their local community. However, in Eastern European societies, the

⁴²² For example, Hanna Idema and Karen Phaet, "Transmission of gender-role values in Turkish-German migrant families: The role of gender, intergenerational and intercultural relations" *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung: Beiträge zu Haushalt, Verwandtschaft und Lebenslauf* 19.1 (2007): 71-105; Hans Peter Kuhn, "Explaining gender differences in adolescent political and civic identity: The impact of the self-concept of political competence and value orientations" *Citizenship Education – Theory – Research – Practice*, ed. Hans Peter Kuhn (Münster: Waxmann, 2006) 59-72.

devaluation of women is usually less pronounced than in many Western societies for the official ideology and practice proposed the image of the working women earlier and more sustainable. Even though, the countries of the former Eastern block have not reached full gender equality in terms of leadership, household chores and many other important aspects, at least the image of gender equality is more natural to most people there. Also these countries have not seen the same wave of feminist movement that swept the West making women aware of their misery and discrimination.

Being a member of a devalued group makes people more sensitive to further threats. Thus, when women face identity threats, one could expect them to assign higher importance to any further threat and react more sensitive. Thus, it can be expected that women will display higher levels of ethnic closure than men as it is a widely available mechanism of ingroup-outgroup accentuation as an attempt to restore an injured self-perception. Immigrant women from countries or regions with a delay in modernization such as Turkey or Africa, will therefore display levels of exclusive ethnic group orientation that will be higher than those of men from the same countries or regional origins as well as those women immigrating from more “modern” countries, particularly those from Eastern Europe.

Men and women also differ in outgroup empathy which is to some degree rooted in the typical female relational orientation of identity. Because women define themselves through their relationships with others, they are more likely to empathize with a worse-off other, even to the extent that this may lower their own self-evaluations. Even though identity construction motives are generally the same for men and women – achievement vs. relationship orientation seems to correspond with distinctiveness vs. belonging needs. Even though both needs are important to people, men place a higher emphasize on distinction than on belonging than women do. Men’s focus on personal uniqueness makes downward comparison a source of self-enhancement. Instead of empathy, another person’s misery helps men to highlight their superior qualities and elevates their self-evaluations.⁴²³

2.2.5 Responses to threat

A number of theorists have linked the initial impulse for developing a secure identity to the survival instinct of the infant in the way Freud and Mead did.⁴²⁴ Over the course of one’s development, one gains confidence that physical needs will be met and increasingly devotes energy to the satisfaction of higher-order needs⁴²⁵ such as the need for psychological security in terms of a predictable world, the need to belong, self-esteem, a positive perception of the self, or self-actualization. The satisfaction of these needs contributes to

⁴²³ Markus Kimmelmeier and Daphna Oyserman, “Gendered influence of downward social comparisons on current and possible selves” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.1 (2001): 129-148.

⁴²⁴ See Bloom.

⁴²⁵ Maslow (1954/1970).

people's identity security. Failure to establish or to maintain identity security causes severe psychological discomfort up to personality breakdown, which may be experienced by the individual as threat to survival.⁴²⁶ As such, need theory can provide important insights into the analysis and resolution of conflicts.⁴²⁷

This said identity security has to be considered of essential importance to human life and the development of a wide range of mechanisms available to individuals to respond to threatened identities is not really surprising.⁴²⁸

Generally speaking, managing threat is directed at eliminating the threat or the source of threat. This may take place anywhere from the social to the perceptual level depending on the perceived nature of the threat, context, and personality. People may seek to change aspects of the social context believed to have produced the threat – for example by adjusting their opportunity structure for self-verification as would be the case when one switches conversation partners at a party in order to find a person who will listen to someone's story and even encourage him or her to go on. One can also adjust by moving to a new, less threatening social position – for example by exiting a threatened group for a group enjoying higher social status.

Regarding threat perceptions, one could also make adjustments to the content and salience of identities – for example, when a group suffers from negative comparison along a given dimension, group members will emphasize those categories of their self-definition that compare more favorably.⁴²⁹ By reordering the salience hierarchy, one can devalue the identity component which is threatened and thus reduce the perception of threat. Similarly, one can place salience on one or more identity components that appear to be safe and thus narrow one's scope of identity, for example when one is burying himself in one's work. It is easy to see however, that the various mechanisms will differ in their effectiveness concerning the removal of threat and maintaining a secure sense of self. Thus, it has to be noted that response to threat does not necessarily mean coping. Adjustments to threat by mere psychological means may be effective in the short run, or even necessary for avoiding personality breakdown, but may prove rather problematic in the long run, when more and more energy needs to be devoted to keeping to a "story" while the original threat is still there. The denial of identities may have stabilizing effects at first for reducing threat, but it definitely poses limitations to one's identity options in the long run.

A distinction between threat perception and felt anxiety can be crucial for the understanding of actual behavior or policy support. Whereas the perception of threat leads to anger and rather assertive reactions, once the same threat perception is associated with high levels of anxiety, people will tend to withdraw and isolate themselves rather than fight. Anxiety can promote protective action in some situations where the risks are clear and

⁴²⁶ Bloom.

⁴²⁷ Christopher Mitchell, "Necessitous man and conflict resolution: more basic questions about basic human needs theory" *Conflict: Basic Human Needs*, ed. John Burton (New York: St. Martin's, 1990); Seoul.

⁴²⁸ See Breakwell (1986) for an overview of coping mechanisms.

⁴²⁹ See Xenia Chrysoschoou, *Cultural Diversity: Its Social Psychology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) 135.

known.⁴³⁰ However, there are also circumstances in which anxiety undermines action, in particular when this protective action is associated with further anxiety.⁴³¹

Anxiety therefore is also an important factor in defining the response or coping resources available to the individual. Under anxiety, it is far more difficult to go beyond psychological adjustments such as avoidance and denial. Aggression, which is a natural response to the experience of threat, will be directed rather inward than outward causing depression rather than social change.

This phenomenon has been addressed in various contexts. For example, Huddy, Feldmann, Taber, and Lahav looked at people's policy preferences concerning the fight of terrorism after the September 11 attacks. The majority of Americans perceiving higher threat of future attacks on the United States and not being overly anxious supported the antiterrorism policies of the Bush administration domestically and internationally. Anxious people, however, were much less supportive regarding aggressive military action against terrorism and more in favor of American isolationism.⁴³²

In more general terms, Dvorak-Bertsch, Curtin, Rubinstein, and Newman showed that anxiety has a negative impact on coping⁴³³ not least for anxiety being related to avoidance and denial strategies.⁴³⁴

The following two examples concern general responses to threat – one presenting a mere psychological adjustment strategy – making salient religious identity – and one concerning ingroup-outgroup accentuation – ethnic closure or ethnocentrism. They are general in the sense that they correspond to a variety of potential threats and are not limited to a particular experience or condition. The third example shows yet another mechanism – making an unthreatened component of one's identity more salient. However, it will be argued that this mechanism supplements and represents in itself a particular form of identity denial.

⁴³⁰ George F. Lowenstein, Elke U. Weber, Christopher K. Hsee, and Ned Welch, "Risk as feelings" *Psychological Bulletin* 127.2 (2001): 267-286.

⁴³¹ Kim H. Knight and Morton H. Effenbeim, "Relationship of death anxiety/fear to health-seeking beliefs and behaviors" *Death Studies* 20.1 (1996): 23-31.

⁴³² Leonie Huddy, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav, "Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies" *American Journal of Political Science* 49.3 (2005): 593-608.

⁴³³ Jeremy D. Dvorak-Bertsch, John J. Curtin, Tal J. Rubinstein, and Joseph P. Newman, "Anxiety moderates the interplay between cognitive and affective processing" *Psychological Science* 18.8 (2007): 699-705.

⁴³⁴ Jean-Christophe Rohner, "Memory-based attentional biases: anxiety is linked to threat avoidance" *Cognition and Emotion* 18.8 (2004): 1027-1054; Jenny Yiend and Andrew Mathews, "Anxiety and attention to threatening pictures" *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 54.3 (2001): 665-681.

2.2.5.1 Ethnic ingroup orientation and xenophobia

Xenophobia should be considered in the context of integration and identity for being comprised of more or less pronounced intergroup attitudes, prejudice, and beliefs which may have rather sincere consequences for behavior and mutual perceptions, for example as being at the root of devalued group identity (see section 2.2.4.3).⁴³⁵ As mentioned before, the accentuation of the border between ingroup and outgroup helps people to define who they are and who they are not. A positive definition of self as opposed to an other is linked to the preference of the own ingroup over the outgroup (ingroup favoritism). Ingroups are thus psychologically primary.⁴³⁶

Hostility toward outgroups helps strengthen our sense of belonging, but is not required. Because of their basic importance to our own survival and self-esteem we tend to develop a partisanship and ethnocentrism in respect to our ingroups. (...) The familiar is preferred. What is alien is regarded as somehow inferior, less “good,” but there is not necessarily hostility against it.⁴³⁷

In the minimal group situation, it has been shown that people display ingroup favoritism but are reluctant to harm members of outgroups more directly.⁴³⁸ Outside the laboratory, ingroup pride or patriotism have been shown conceptually and empirically distinct from aggression towards outgroups.⁴³⁹

This relationship dramatically changes under the perception of threat: In line with Realistic Conflict Theory,⁴⁴⁰ a strong reciprocal relationship between ingroup cohesion and outgroup hostility emerges with groups competing for physical resources, political power, and recognition. Whether actual or imagined, the threat perceptions in which the threat is attributed to an outgroup creates the condition under which identification with the ingroup is directly linked to fear and hostility towards the threatening outgroup. Members of disadvantaged or subordinate groups should therefore be more vulnerable to the link between ingroup identification and prejudice against the dominant outgroup.⁴⁴¹

While relative deprivation surely is another key factor in much intergroup conflict⁴⁴², it has been suggested that incompatible interests in terms of the uneven distribution of material and social resources lead to intergroup conflict only in the case that the subordinate group

⁴³⁵ See Robert Jervis, “Understanding beliefs” *Political Psychology* 27.5 (2006): 643.

⁴³⁶ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 1954 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Perseus, 1979) 42.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁸ Tajfel, Henri, M. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and C. Flament. “Social categorization and intergroup behavior” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (1971): 149-177.

⁴³⁹ Naomi Struch, and Shalom H. Schwartz, “Intergroup aggression: its predictors and distinctness from ingroup bias” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56 (1989): 364-373.

⁴⁴⁰ Robert Alan LeVine and Donald T. Campbell, *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behavior* (New York: Wiley, 1972).

⁴⁴¹ Marilyn B. Brewer, “The psychology of prejudice: ingroup love and outgroup hate?” *Journal of Social Issues* 55.3 (1999): 435f.

⁴⁴² Janice Gross Stein, “Image, identity, and conflict resolution” *Managing Global Chaos*, eds. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996) 93-101.

views the dominant group as relevant for social comparison and develops a positive identity in relation to it.⁴⁴³ Opposing interests may often be the obvious cause of conflict, but conflict will not surface in the absence of intergroup competition. However, intergroup differentiation does not inevitably lead to conflict.⁴⁴⁴ It rather seems to be the case that, only when group action for positive distinctiveness is failing or is negatively influenced by an outgroup, overt intergroup conflict and hostility will result. This may even be so in the absence of incompatible group interests.⁴⁴⁵

However, it is important to point out that threats against any aspect of identity can be experienced as a threat against identity as a whole. As such, a defense strategy which is more or less unconsciously adopted, will not ultimately correspond to the source of the original threat. The ingroup-outgroup accentuation associated with a certain degree of outgroup hostility is a generally available response mechanism. As such, the derogation of a particular outgroup does not necessarily stem from a specific relationship between particular groups. Ethnocentrism and xenophobia can be seen as an example where this is the case. There is no need for an actual interaction between members of the receiving society and migrants or even the presence of migrants for xenophobia to arise. A general availability of images how migrants might threaten us will suffice to trigger xenophobic attitudes under the condition of experiencing threat to identity.

Not only do people readily present prejudice and behave hostile against outgroups when they feel threatened in any way, they are also willing to give up their liberties in exchange for perceived security. The precondition is that they trust in the authority under which they subordinate.⁴⁴⁶

2.2.5.2 Narrowed identity: identity denial and identity salience

For more than a century, defense reactions of the threatened individual have been the subject of psychology research. More recently, e.g. the classic Freudian defense mechanisms have been placed into the context of modern psychology research. There it was found that the formerly proposed mechanisms of denial, isolation, and reaction formation are still at large in empirical research today and that they indeed serve defensive functions.⁴⁴⁷ Particularly, identity denial and its various forms have received a lot of attention.⁴⁴⁸ It often takes the form that stereotype-linked ascriptions by others are denied

⁴⁴³ Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, "The social identity theory of intergroup behavior" *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, eds. William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1986) 7-24.

⁴⁴⁴ Tajfel and Turner (1986) 23.

⁴⁴⁵ Seul 557.

⁴⁴⁶ Darren W. Davis and Brian D. Silver, "Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America" *American Journal of Political Science* 48.1 (2004): 28-46.

⁴⁴⁷ Roy F. Baumeister, Karen Dale, and Kristin L. Sommer, "Freudian defense mechanisms and empirical findings in modern social psychology: Reaction formation, projection, displacement, undoing, isolation, sublimation, and denial" *Journal of Personality* 66.6 (1998): 1081-1124.

⁴⁴⁸ E.g., William von Hippel, Courtney von Hippel, Leanne Conway, Kristopher J. Preacher, Jonathan W. Schooler, and Gabriel A. Radvansky, "Coping with stereotype threat: denial as an impression management strategy" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 89.1 (2005): 22-35; Dominic Abrams and Nicholas

to be part of one's own identity or that evaluations linked to threatening conditions are denied. For example, in the process of cultural adaptation, ethnic background may be a category to be denied because it threatens the new image of self as a well assimilated new citizen.⁴⁴⁹ Sometimes, when group belonging is very important to a person, but this person does not sufficiently match the group prototype, he or she may emphasize ingroup heterogeneity as a form of denying the importance of such a group prototype.⁴⁵⁰

There are two general response orientations corresponding to different coping propensities that Parker and Endler distinguished between problem-focused and emotion-focused styles of coping with the problem-focused style of coping typically being adaptive and the emotion-focused style of coping not being adaptive.⁴⁵¹ Emotion-oriented coping styles were highly associated with poor health and distress⁴⁵² – both known to inhibit integration. Relating to the defense mechanisms suggested above, reaction formation is rather problem focused whereas isolation and denial are emotion-focused. Problem-focused coping usually is associated with an increased perception of self-efficacy. In contrast, people with an emotion-focused style of coping may be more sensitive to emotion-relevant cues. This sensitivity increases a person's capacity to perceive potential threats to their identity.⁴⁵³

As denial is a common emotion-focused strategy, it can be expected that in response to a threat, this orientation would be associated with a disidentification response.⁴⁵⁴ Schmader, Major, and Gramzow regarded psychological disengagement as a defensive reaction that detaches self-esteem from a particular domain.⁴⁵⁵ Thus, when threat occurs in one area of life, a person with an emotion-focused style of coping will be likely to devalue the importance of this area and a person's level of self-esteem is no longer linked to the devalued area of identity. The same may be repeated for several areas of life. As a result, identity resources will be diminished and a narrowed identity structure will emerge. A narrowed identity can be defined as a decrease in a person's self-descriptions and social role identities it considers important. As stated above, identity denial is a non-adaptive coping strategy and will therefore not contribute much towards improving a person's integration. Instead, for being a response to threatened identity, narrow identity structure may also

Emler, "Self-denial as a paradox of political and regional social identity: Findings from a study of 16- and 18-year-olds" *European Journal of Social Psychology* 22.3 (1992): 279 – 295.

⁴⁴⁹ Sapna Cheryan and Benoît Monin, "Where are you *really* from? Asian Americans and identity denial" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 89.5 (2005): 717-730.

⁴⁵⁰ Paul Hutchison, Jolanda Jetten, Julie Christian, and Emma Haycraft, "Protecting threatened identity: Sticking with the group by emphasizing ingroup heterogeneity" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32.12 (2006): 1620-1632.

⁴⁵¹ James Da Parker and Norman S. Endler, "Coping with coping assessment: a critical review" *European Journal of Personality* 6 (1992): 321-344.

⁴⁵² Neil A. Rector, and Derek Roger, "Cognitive style and well-being: a prospective examination" *Personality and Individual Differences* 21.5 (1996): 663-674.

⁴⁵³ Kimberly Matheson and Barbara M. Cole, "Coping with a threatened group identity: Psychosocial and neuroendocrine responses" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40 (2004): 778.

⁴⁵⁴ Brenda Major and Toni Schmader, "Coping with stigma through psychological disengagement" *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective*, eds. Janet K. Swim, and Charles Stangor (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1998): (219-241).

⁴⁵⁵ Toni Schmader, Brenda Major, and Richard H. Gramzow, "Coping with ethnic stereotypes in the academic domain: Perceived injustice and psychological disengagement" *Journal of Social Issues* 57.1 (2001): 93-111.

inhibit integration and even more though, as it further limits a person's choices and capacities in identity construction and thus undermines identity stability and security in the long run.

Identity denial occurring in one area of life is often accompanied by a flight of the individual into another that is in turn made salient to provide an alternative identity resource satisfying the identity motives concerned by the loss or injury of an identity component. People unsatisfied with their jobs, seek self-actualization in their leisure activities or family roles, others – e.g. those with problems in their relationships – seek refuge in their work. However, the most prominent reaction to identity threat is to make religious identity salient which will be discussed separately in the following section. As such, identity denial and the salience of a particular identity component can be regarded as complementary phenomena that can be expected to be strongly interrelated.

2.2.5.3 Religious identity salience

Making religious identity dominate the overall identity structure creates limitations to the cognitive accessibility of other identity components. As such it leads to a narrowing of the available identity structure. Religious identity is of great importance in immigration contexts where individual religion often differs from official or dominant group religion. However, it is not restricted to immigration contexts.

Religious identity is particularly attractive in times of personal crisis for its ability to address several identity principles simultaneously. Religions serve psychological needs more comprehensively and potently than many other repositories of cultural meanings. They supply cosmologies, moral frameworks, institutions, rituals, traditions, and other identity supporting content that answers to individual needs for psychological stability in terms of providing a predictable world and addressing the needs of continuity, belonging, distinctiveness, self-esteem, and self-efficacy.⁴⁵⁶

Moreover, for the potential of religious identity to address all these different needs, the potential narrowing of the overall identity is not noticed by the individual as all identity principles can be sufficiently satisfied. Heitmeyer and colleagues argue that it is not the competition over religious identities leading people to place a greater emphasis on their religious belongingness but rather various fundamental threats from their social environment:

Dass Desintegration und Verengung der persönlichen Zukunftschancen nicht zuletzt auch zu einer vermehrten Hinwendung zur Religion und Glaubensgemeinschaft bis hin zur vermehrten Übernahme islamisch-fundamentalistischer Positionen führen, belegen schließlich alle von uns untersuchten Zusammenhänge zur Religiosität und ihrer politischen Instrumentalisierung. (...) Die angezeigten Zusammenhänge verweisen nachdrücklich darauf, dass v. a. für diejenigen Jugendlichen türkischer Herkunft islamisch-fundamentalistische Orientierungsmuster attraktiv werden, die

⁴⁵⁶ Seul.

aufgrund ihrer mangelhaften schulischen Qualifikation und der damit verbundenen geringen Chancen auf dem Ausbildungs- und Berufssektor ihre eigene Zukunft als subjektiv bedrohlich empfinden müssen. Angesichts des Anteils von 72,1% aller türkischen Schüler und Schülerinnen in Hauptschulen ist dies eine große Gruppe.⁴⁵⁷

Mol described the key function of religion as the stabilization of individual and group identity. According to him, religious traditions and institutions resist change in the negotiation of social meaning and thus provide more secure anchors for self-reference.⁴⁵⁸ By favoring the preservation of old content in terms of doctrine, ritual, moral frameworks, role expectations, and symbols, religions provide a stable framework and universe of shared meaning for adjusting new identity components. Although there is significant diversity among and within religions, most religions provide a world view to their adherents that assures them a place in a meaningful and ordered universe. They also provide ready answers when the complexity of a situation becomes overwhelming and threatening. Religious communities are frequently a source of belonging and affirmation to the individual. Doctrines of salvation and chosenness provide symbolic material for constructing ingroup-outgroup boundaries. In sum, religion often lies nearer to the core of one's identity, in part, because other identity elements typically do not address the full range of human needs, fears, and concerns as comprehensively or powerfully.⁴⁵⁹

2.2.6 Coping resources

Within a personality there are numerous settings that may act protective against personality breakdown and buffer the quite destructive effects threatened identities may otherwise develop. Several of these aspects have been described in stress research reaching from supportive (primary) relationships to identity balance and multiple identities.

As experiencing threat against one's identity is a stressful state, buffers against stress might be also particular useful in buffering identity threat or protecting against identity insecurity.⁴⁶⁰ It seems quite natural to argue, that a threat against a significant identity component is a lot less troublesome when an individual has several other important identity components not affected by the same threat in order to offset the effects of injured or even lost identity.

A threat to identity occurs when the processes of assimilation/accommodation are unable, for some reason, to comply with the principles of continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. Threats are aversive and the individual will seek to reinstitute the principled operation of the identity processes. For a threat to evoke

⁴⁵⁷ Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Joachim Müller, and Helmut Schröder, Verlockender Fundamentalismus (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997) 160f.

⁴⁵⁸ Hans Mol, Identity and the Sacred: A Sketch for a New Social Scientific Theory of Religion (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976).

⁴⁵⁹ Seul 558-562.

⁴⁶⁰ E.g., Burke (1991); Thoits (1991).

action, it must gain access to consciousness. It is therefore possible to distinguish between occupying a threatening position and experiencing threat. If coping strategies are effective, occupancy of a threatening position may lose its power to threaten.⁴⁶¹

The effect of any identity threat will definitely be moderated through the security of other identities within a person, the stability of the overarching identity structure, the efficiency of identity processes, and the certainty of identity enactment. As such, the ability to cope with threats to identity will be understood here as the sum of factors contributing to identity security – the satisfaction of identity motives, successful identity construction and reconstruction processes, and social verification. The coping or identity resources discussed below fit into this frame. Self-efficacy is the only identity motive that can be addressed satisfactorily by ESS variables. Identity stability and construction processes will be served by the notion of multiple strong identities that are argued to reflect at least to a certain extent the theme of identity balance rather than strain. Social support is the criterion of choice for modeling favorable conditions for self-verification. Cognitive abilities support both identity construction or reconstruction in the processes of identity assimilation and accommodation or identity evaluation as well as identity enactment.

2.2.6.1 Self-efficacy

Several authors allocated people in groups of active or passive personalities⁴⁶² attempting either to change their personal situation or rather make a change in the perception or evaluation of the situation they find themselves in.

However, instead of characterizing people's active vs. passive response attitudes as fixed personality factors, it may be just as feasible that the subjective level of self-efficacy could be an important factor underneath the behavioral predisposition towards available active and passive defense mechanism.

As such, self-efficacy could rather occur on a continuous scale of widely varying scores depending on situational specifications. Of the four identity motives, self-efficacy may play a particular role in constituting identity security for the confidence a person high on self-efficacy will have in facing an undesirable and potentially threatening situation. Recent achievements should be particularly relevant in constructing feelings of self-efficacy and related self-esteem as the individual will then tend to live up to the challenge a threat to identity poses as opposed to a person with lower confidence in his or her coping ability. Further, self-efficacy – or a person's confidence in his or her abilities – may be as easily transferred from one role to another for the knowledge and abilities a person possesses are available across situations and social contexts. Particularly relevant to constituting a high

⁴⁶¹ Breakwell (2001) 278.

⁴⁶² See for example Esser's concept of a P-type and a U-type in: Esser (1980) 211ff., where Esser argues that environmental opportunities and barriers to integration are much less relevant to a person of the P-type who is characterized by attitudes and beliefs of self-competence and personal responsibility for one's own situation.

level of self-efficacy should be the successful emergence from identity crisis, especially when it just occurred more recently. At the same token as a threat to identity has a negative impact on the stability of a personality, overcoming identity crisis has a strong stabilizing effect.

2.2.6.2 The multiplicity of identities

The multiplicity concept of identities is rooted in the works of James who first published the idea that a person possesses as many selves as groups of persons he or she interacts with.⁴⁶³ Mead later coined the terms of identity and identification for each of these group-based selves.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, they asserted people having as many identities as they have distinct networks of relationships in which they play roles and occupy positions. Mead's dictum "self reflects society" implies a multifaceted self – made up of independent and interdependent, mutually reinforcing and conflicting parts. In identity theory (IT) usage, social roles are expectations attached to positions which are occupied in networks of relationships. Thus, identities are also internalized role expectations. Identity theory asserts that role choices are an identity function, and that identities within the self are organized in a salience hierarchy expressing the importance of hierarchy as an organizing principle in society.⁴⁶⁵

There have been several studies dealing with the interaction of identities and trying to build models of multiple identities and their role based concepts.⁴⁶⁶ Other researchers have been concerned with the relationship between interdependent identities primarily in a concrete biographical context.⁴⁶⁷ Rather prominent in research is also the negotiation and interaction between several identities at the societal and political level.⁴⁶⁸ At the macro-level, Schwaabe sought to answer the question of why the EU still lacks a strong collective identity –

⁴⁶³ William James, Principles of Psychology (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1890).

⁴⁶⁴ George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1934).

⁴⁶⁵ Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke, "The past, present, and future of identity theory" Social Psychology Quarterly 63.4 (2000): 286.

⁴⁶⁶ See for example Ronald G. Fryer, Jr. and Matthew O. Jackson, "Categorical cognition: A psychological model of categories and identification in decision making", conference paper (October 2003), online, <<http://www.nber.org/papers/w9579>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008; Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje, "Self and Social Identity" Annual Review of Psychology 53 (2002): 161-186.

⁴⁶⁷ Lubna Nazir Chaudhry, "Aisha and her multiple identities: Excerpts from ethnographic encounters" Muslim World 95.4 (2005): 531-556; Howard Cooper, "The challenge of living with multiple identities" European Judaism 38.1 (2005): 67-72; Yali Zou, "Multiple identities of a Chinese immigrant: A story of adaptation and empowerment" Qualitative Studies in Education 15.3 (2002): 251-268; Carmen Braun Williams, "Counseling African American women: Multiple identities – multiple constraints" Journal of Counseling & Development 83 (2005): 278-283.

⁴⁶⁸ Mark A. Freeman, "Mapping multiple identities within the self-concept: Psychological constructions of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict" Self & Identity 2.1 (2003): 61-83; Marie L. Miville, "Integrating identities: The relationships of racial, gender, and ego identities among White college students" Journal of College Student Development 46.2 (2005): 157-175; Elisabeth Allès, "The Chinese-speaking Muslims (Dungans) of Central Asia: A case of multiple identities in a changing context" Asian Ethnicity 6.2 (2005): 121-134; Henry T. Trueba, "Multiple ethnic, racial and cultural identities in action: from marginality to a new cultural capital in modern society" Journal of Latinos and Education 1.1 (2002): 7-28.

pointing at the patchwork structures of many competing small and rather weak identities lacking the necessary salience or centrality needed to compose identity.⁴⁶⁹ Also other political analyses have benefited from identity perspectives and the consideration of people's multiple identities.⁴⁷⁰

Essayist Mallouf has argued that seeing the person as a whole in the multitude of aspects defining it as an individual should be a more useful approach to integrating individuals and groups of foreign origin into a diverse modern society instead of pushing them to "choose" one national, religious or ethnic affiliation over an other. Of course, this request to "choose" is always accompanied by a concrete expectation of the questioner along the lines of demanded loyalty to one or the other group. Transnational lifestyles where people live several months of the year in one country, and some more time in the other clearly represents the compatibility of seemingly conflicting identity components. Also, people who do not travel back and forth can be part of "two worlds" (in terms of identities) for having spent a considerable time of their lives here and there and strongly being influenced in their belief and behavioral systems by both normative settings. It is certainly wrong to limit personalities to the lines of ethnic or religious belonging which have considerable meaning to the majority of people but may be nevertheless rather meaningless to others. Seeing people as more complete personalities, also provides opportunities for numerous cross referencing and identification with people from other ethnic or religious groups and thus constructs bonds with the overall society.

Regarding the complex identity structure of a person, one can assume that an increasing number of identities will be associated with an average decrease of the individual's commitment to the identities a person holds, as the time and energy available to enacting identities are naturally limited. The greater the number of identities, the less the stake in any particular identity; the fewer the number of identities, the greater the stake in each. Zimbardo's prison simulation demonstrated this effect. He showed that positional identity emerges from role enactment, in his special case either as prisoner or guard. Investment of time and energy was high when alternative identities were unavailable. Interestingly, the participants of this study show high commitment to the prisoner identity even though the prisoners were extremely low in status suggesting that any identity – even a devalued one – can be made salient and even provide existential security when alternative identity choices are not available.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ Christian Schwaabe, "Politische Identität und Öffentlichkeit in der Europäischen Union. Zur Bedeutung der Identitätsdiskurse im 'post-abendländischen' Europa" *Zeitschrift für Politik* 52.4 (2005): 421-447.

⁴⁷⁰ Moskalkenko's, McCauley's, and Rozin's recent discussion of the importance of country and university before and after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 also pointed to the value of assessing identification with multiple identities in order to understand the complexity of identity dynamics. See Sophia Moskalkenko, Clark McCauley, and Paul Rozin, "Group identification under conditions of threat: College students' attachment to country, family, ethnicity, religion, and university before and after September 11, 2001" *Political Psychology* 27.1 (2006): 77-97.

⁴⁷¹ Philip G. Zimbardo, Craig Haney, W. Curtis Banks, and David Jaffe, "A Pirandellian prison: The mind is a formidable jailer" *New York Times Magazine* 8 (1973): 38-60; Craig W. Haney, Curtis Banks, and Philip Zimbardo, "Interpersonal dynamics in a simulated prison" *International Journal of Criminology and Penology* 1 (1973): 69-97.

Role requirements provide purpose, meaning, and direction how to think and behave. With an increasing number of those sets of behavioral expectations – the number of role identities – the stronger one’s sense of meaningful, guided existence should become. The more identities, the more “existential security.”⁴⁷² Many authors have argued that a sense of meaningful existence as well as purposeful and ordered behavior are crucial to psychological health.⁴⁷³

Sieber stated that “status and role alternatives afford a sense of general status security.”⁴⁷⁴ Multiple roles contribute to “ego-gratification, namely, the sense of being appreciated or needed by diverse role partners”.⁴⁷⁵ Arguing from the opposite position, Rose finds that “a depreciated or ‘mutilated’ self is a major factor in the development of a neurosis, (...) because an individual’s ability to accept strongly held values of any kind and to act efficiently to achieve those values is a function of his conception of himself”⁴⁷⁶ meaning that if one does not know who one is (in a social sense), or if one loses a highly valued identity, then one becomes uneasy about how to behave. This uneasiness may be accompanied by as strong sense of anxiety or feelings of depression as well as disorganized behavior. Thus, identity accumulation (definitely in terms of role identity and possibly to a weaker extent also in terms of group or categorical identities) will increase the level of subjective well-being and self-esteem. Identity loss, on the other hand, would impair it. A direct relationship between identity accumulation and psychological well-being has been observed.⁴⁷⁷

Sieber supplied some arguments how role accumulation contributes to overall feelings of security. He classified four types of rewards from role accumulation: privileges associated to these roles, overall status security, an increase in resources for status enhancement or role performance, and the enrichment of the self as well as the ego gratification derived from it.⁴⁷⁸ I assume this to be similar to sources of identity different from social roles as well. Most interesting here of course is the overall status security. Also the accumulation of role privileges and resources for status enhancement or role performance may facilitate the exit of established and the adoption of new roles in reconstructing overall identities. It can also be assumed that ego gratification will contribute to perceptions of identity security.

⁴⁷² Thoits (1983b) 175.

⁴⁷³ E.g., Viktor Frankl, Man’s Search for Meaning (Boston: Beacon P, 1959); Arnold M. Rose, “A social psychological theory of neurosis” Human Behavior and Social Processes, ed. Arnold M. Rose (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1962) 537-549; Theodore R. Sarbin, “Notes on the transformation of social identity” Comprehensive Mental Health: The Challenge of Evaluation. Proceedings of a symposium on comprehensive mental health held at the U of Wisconsin, Madison, June 2-4, 1966. Eds. Leigh M. Roberts, Norman S. Greenfield and Milton H. Miller. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1968. 97-115; Pauline Bart, “The sociology of depression” Explorations in Psychiatric Sociology, eds. Paul Roman and Harrison Trice (New York: Science House 1974) 139-157; Sam D. Sieber, “Toward a theory of role accumulation” American Sociological Review 39 (1974): 567-578.

⁴⁷⁴ Sieber 574.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid. 576.

⁴⁷⁶ Rose 539.

⁴⁷⁷ Thoits (1983b) 175.

⁴⁷⁸ Sieber 576.

In sum, diversification of social investments through a multiplicity of roles becomes a feasible means of guaranteeing overall status security. Recurrent conflict of expectations is avoided because of a tacit understanding that the relationship is not mainly obligatory in normative content, but is highly oriented to the voluntary provisions of help. And finally, it may be the case that the psychological and social benefits of buffering are enough to offset the strains that might emanate from conflict or overload produced by or demanding or more frequently activated roles. (...) A particular way in which multiple roles might compensate for role strain is through providing numerous buffers against failure in the instrumental and expressive domains of action. An individual with a wide array of role partners, some of whom might be located in disparate groups or social circles, is able to compensate for failure in any particular social sphere or relationship by falling back on other relationships. These alternative relationships afford compensatory affection, moral support, emergency resources, and perhaps even assistance for a renewal of effort in the original role. The accumulation of buffers might be especially critical for individuals who engage in ventures of some risk, e.g., the upwardly mobile, the man who changes career in the middle years, the rebel, and so forth. They are also of value to stationary individuals who gear or anticipate ego stress as a consequence of unpredictable or uncontrollable changes in a given role relationship.⁴⁷⁹

As Sarbin and Allen pointed out, the number of roles in a person's repertoire is an important departure for constructing theoretical approaches to psycho-pathology. The absence of a larger role repertoire can be reasoned to be responsible for ineffectual role taking whereas the absence of role-taking skills leads to paranoid disorders. A large number of roles – each subject of a particular self – also enhance a person's capacity to be self-critical.⁴⁸⁰

A self-critical view of the self may further improve actual role performance, the likelihood of positive role related experience and positive feedback from others and thus a higher perception of mastery. The capacity to be self-critical will also enhance identity adjustment skills which also constitutes an identity security resource.

Stress theory generally claims that the accumulation of major life events and chronic strains can overwhelm the individual's ability to readjust resulting in greater vulnerability to mental illness.⁴⁸¹ The necessary readjustments buffering stress seem to have much to do with a person's identity structure, particularly as coping resources such as high self-esteem and a sense of control⁴⁸², and perceived social support⁴⁸³ can act as stress buffers and will enhance the individual's ability to readjust.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. 573f.

⁴⁸⁰ Theodore R. Sarbin, and Vernon L. Allen, "Role theory" The Handbook of Social Psychology, eds. Gardner Lindsey and Elliot Aronson, vol. 1, 2nd edition (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley 1968) 488-567.

⁴⁸¹ E.g., Leonard I. Pearlin, "The sociological study of stress" Journal of Health and Social Behavior 30 (1989): 241-256; Richard S. Lazarus, and Susan Folkman, Stress, Appraisal, and Coping (New York: Springer, 1984).

⁴⁸² Leonard I. Pearlin and Carmi Schooler, "The structure of coping" Journal of Health and Social Behavior 19 (1978): 2-21; Sarah Rosenfield, "The effects of women's employment: Personal control and sex differences in mental health" Journal of Health and Social Behavior 30.1 (1989): 77-91.

⁴⁸³ Sheldon Cohen and Thomas A. Wills, "Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis: A theoretical analysis" Psychological Bulletin 98 (1985): 310-357; Jane D. McLeod, and Ronald C. Kessler, "Social support and mental health in community samples" Social Support and Health, eds. Sheldon Cohen and S. Leonard Syme (New York: Academic P, 1985) 219-240.

With a focus on social structure, also socioeconomic characteristics are a source of identity construction. According to Thoits, the identity accumulation hypothesis will predict members of low- and high-status groups to differ in their mean number of identities explaining differences between these groups concerning their mental health.⁴⁸⁴ A lower number of identities will predict higher levels of stress and illness which would also impair social integration of which subjective well-being is an integrative part. Indeed, studies show higher levels of mental disturbances in low-status groups such as immigrants or ethnic minorities, the unemployed, or women.⁴⁸⁵ However, the argument considering the mere number of identities is too simple and has been criticized – as for example, the number of identities a person holds does neither account for gender nor marital status differences related to psychological distress.⁴⁸⁶

Even when men and women who hold the same number and combinations of role identities are compared, distress differences by gender are still observed. (...) Employed married mothers exhibit significantly higher anxiety scores than employed married fathers. (...) Unemployed husband-fathers are significantly more distressed than unemployed wife-mothers and employed husband-fathers.⁴⁸⁷

The unmarried may view their work, friend, or group member identities as more salient than the married because they have more time and energy available for investment, or in the case of the widowed or divorced, as compensation for previous loss of the spouse role.⁴⁸⁸ If highly salient identities are in fact key sources of meaning, purpose, and behavioral guidance, women should be distressed more than men by the loss of or threats to identities based in *primary relationships*, whereas men should be damaged more than women by loss or threats to identities based in *achievement activities*. Threats to identities valued more highly by the unmarried than by the married also should be more disturbing to the unmarried than to the married (and vice versa, of course).⁴⁸⁹

Another example how certain threats are gender specific was provided by Gresky and others showing that gender related prejudice created gender sensitive threats to identity. In their studies the activation of a situational trigger of gender stereotype lead women to under perform in a mathematics test.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁴ Thoits (1991) 105.

⁴⁸⁵ E.g., Jane D. McLeod and Ronald C. Kessler, "Socioeconomic status differences in vulnerability to undesirable life events" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 31.2 (1990): 162-172; Patricia M. Ulbrich, George J. Warheit, and Rick S. Zimmerman, "Race, socioeconomic status, and psychological distress: An examination of differential vulnerability" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 30 (1989): 131-146; Peggy A. Thoits, "Multiple identities: Examining gender and marital status differences in distress" *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 259-272.

⁴⁸⁶ Thoits (1991) 105.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Viktor Gecas and Monica A. Seff, "Social class and self-esteem: Psychological centrality, compensation, and the relative effects of work and home" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 53.2 (1990): 165-173.

⁴⁸⁹ Thoits (1991) 107.

⁴⁹⁰ Dana M. Gresky, Laura L. Ten Eyck, Charles G. Lord, and Rusty B. McIntyre, "Effects of salient multiple identities on women's performance under mathematics stereotype threat" *Sex Roles* 53.9-10 (2005): 703-716.

Empirical evidence for the identity accumulation hypothesis is provided by a number of studies on the mental illness. People who hold fewer social identities such as the unemployed, the retired, or people living alone have a greater risk of psychological disturbances.⁴⁹¹ Small social networks, experiences of social exclusion, and the lack of intimate relationships are associated with depression, more serious mental illness, and even death.⁴⁹² The death of the spouse⁴⁹³ and significant role losses⁴⁹⁴ are more common in the lives of psychiatric patients than control groups. Studies on major life events such as divorce, graduation, marriage, or the start of a new job also support the identity accumulation hypothesis. On the other side, the accumulation of undesirable life events is associated to higher risks for psychological disturbances.⁴⁹⁵

This provides a clear prognosis for the security feelings of people belonging to several socially disadvantaged groups, as is the case for many people of foreign descent who tend to accumulate social problems: low group status will be associated with lower social capital, limited resources, and fewer highly valued social identities. In addition, Boswell's observation of the overlap of immigration phenomena with social fragmentation supports the argument and shows how the original problems tend to be exaggerated once social problems accumulate:

Much of the anti-immigration argumentation appears to be based on an exaggerated and often misinformed understanding of the costs and impact of immigration. Such argumentation frequently taps into diffuse fears about socio-economic or political change or declining social cohesion, phenomena which have little to do with immigration *per se*. But while there is some truth in this characterization, it would be

⁴⁹¹ Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff, and Sheila Feld, Americans View Their Mental Health (New York: Basic, 1960); Walter S. Gove, "The relationship between sex roles, mental illness, and marital status" Social Forces 51 (1972): 34-44; Walter Gove, and F. Tudor, "Adult sex roles and mental illness" American Journal of Sociology 78 (1973): 50-73; Norman M. Bradburn, The Structure of Psychological Well-Being (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); Leonore Radloff, "Sex differences in depression" Sex Roles 1 (1975): 249-265; Walter S. Gove, and Michael Hughes, "Reexamining the ecological fallacy: A study in which aggregate data are critical in investigating the pathological effects of living alone" Social Forces 58 (1980): 1157-1177.

⁴⁹² Daniel P. Mueller, "Social networks: A promising direction for research on the relationship of the social environment to psychiatric disorder" Social Science and Medicine 14A (1980): 147-161; A. Roy, "Vulnerability factors and depression in women" British Journal of Psychiatry 133 (1978): 106-110; Scott, D. Henderson, G. Byrne, P. Duncan-Jones, Sylvia Adcock, Ruth Scott, and G. P. Steele, "Social bonds in the epidemiology of neurosis: A preliminary communication" British Journal of Psychiatry 132 (1978): 463-466; Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal, "Social isolation and mental illness in old age" American Sociological Review 29 (1964): 54-70; Patrick McC. Miller, and J. G. Ingham, "Friends, confidants, and symptoms" Social Psychiatry 11 (1976): 51-58; Lisa Berkman and S. Leonard Syme, "Social networks, host resistance, and mortality: A nine-year follow-up study of Alameda County residents" American Journal of Epidemiology 109 (1979): 186-204.

⁴⁹³ E.g., Paula J. Clayton, James A. Halikas, and William L. Maurice, "The depression of widowhood" British Journal of Psychiatry 120 (1972): 71-77.

⁴⁹⁴ Barry, C. Glassner, V. Haldipur, and James Dessauersmith, "Role loss and working-class manic depression" Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease 167 (1979): 530-541; Eugene S. Paykel, "Recent life events and clinical depression" Life Stress and Illness, eds. Eric K. Gunderson and Richard H. Rahe (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas 1974) 134-163.

⁴⁹⁵ Barbara Snell Dohrenwend, and Bruce P. Dohrenwend, Stressful Life Events: Their Nature and Effects (New York: Wiley, 1974); Peggy A. Thoits, "Dimensions of life events as influences upon the genesis of psychological distress and associated conditions: An evaluation and synthesis of the literature" Psychosocial Stress: Trends in Theory and Research, ed. Howard B. Kaplan (New York: Academic P, 1983).

wrong to dismiss these concerns. There are indeed tangible, albeit overstated, control problems generated by illegal flows and asylum systems, just as there are very real social problems linked to failed integration. Thus although political mobilization of these fears may grossly inflate the problem, these concerns do need to be taken seriously. Governments in Western Europe will need to strike a balance between responding to the politics of anxiety and meeting demographic and economic needs.⁴⁹⁶

It suggests that one regards the integration problem in the wider context of social cohesion and identity. Integration also serves as a target theme on which to assign responsibility for other problems of social fragmentation and waning collective identities. Important among these are anxieties related to the changing role of the state, particularly its inability to guarantee socio-economic security for all. This development becomes obvious in decreasing welfare provisions, job insecurity, and persistently high unemployment. The perceptions and consequences of these developments have a severe impact on already threatened individuals.

Nevertheless, particularly people at high risk of “multiple problem accumulation” can be expected to gain from additional identity resources in buffering threats to their often already devalued identity.⁴⁹⁷

Looking at multiple roles and possibly related expectations or obligations, one also has to look at role strain and role conflict. It has been assumed for a long time that role strain and role conflict are frequent consequences of multiple identities.⁴⁹⁸ Keeping this in mind, one needs to ask whether or not the benefits of any additional identity would outweigh its costs. Sieber believes that the potential benefits from role accumulation would actually far outweigh tensions due to strain and conflict.⁴⁹⁹

Privileges and resources may be used to free the individual from constraining or overwhelming demands and to increase prestige, while sheer occupancy of multiple positions may enhance general feelings of security and a sense of personal worth, and buffer the effects of identity loss.⁵⁰⁰

However, this might be only true as long as it is possible to balance the different components of the self-conception satisfactorily. Identity enactments requiring a lot of time and other resources may create a lot of felt tension and strain when placed in a competitive rather than supplementary relationship to other identity enactments. Thus, it could be reasoned that the multiplicity of identities has positive marginal effects at first. However, these will eventually level off and even reverse with each additional identity. They may even do more harm than good at the end as would be the case when people feel

⁴⁹⁶ Boswell 122.

⁴⁹⁷ Thoits (1983b).

⁴⁹⁸ Goode; Merton; Sarbin and Allen.

⁴⁹⁹ Sieber 575.

⁵⁰⁰ Thoits (1983b) 176.

overloaded and maybe even burnt out from too many commitments. While they question whether they still perform their roles as well as they should and thought they did in the past, they are no longer able to self-verify as well as they used to and do not achieve the levels of self-efficacy and self-esteem they need. Then, role strains and conflicting demands undermine the sense of a purposeful and ordered existence.⁵⁰¹

Affirming Sieber's research, more recently Perrone and Civiletto found a strong positive relationship between life role salience and life satisfaction.⁵⁰² Distinguishing themselves from past research, which usually focused on work and family roles only,⁵⁰³ Perrone and Civiletto included five primary life roles – work, home and family person, community member, student, and *leisureite* – which a person occupies as a series or combination over the life span.⁵⁰⁴ Perrone and Civiletto showed that high role strain and high life satisfaction are not contradicting each other when they are linked by perceptions of coping efficacy.⁵⁰⁵ Also McCracken and Weitzman argued that individuals who perceive themselves as ineffective at problem solving were less likely to successfully balance multiple roles and experienced negative affect toward life or lower life satisfaction more often.⁵⁰⁶ Moreover, Perrone and Civiletto found that role strain actually lead people to develop higher coping efficacy that in turn lead to higher life satisfaction.⁵⁰⁷

2.2.6.3 Identity balance

Related to the concept of multiple identities and multiple roles is the concept of identity balance. Identity balance can be described as an important condition to support and to sustain multiple identities. In the organization of self-perceptions, roles, and activities within an individual, only the concept of “salience hierarchy”⁵⁰⁸ or similarly the concept of “prominence hierarchy”⁵⁰⁹ have been available. The underlying assumption in both

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Kristin M. Perrone and Christine L. Civiletto, “The impact of life role salience on life satisfaction” Journal of Employment Counseling 41.3 (2004): 105-116.

⁵⁰³ See for example Spencer G. Niles and Gary E. Goodnough, “Life-role salience and values: A review of recent research” The Career Development Quarterly 45 (1996): 65-86 and Robin O’Neil and Ellen Greenberger, “Patterns of commitment to work and parenting: Implications for role strain” Journal of Marriage and Family 56.1 (1994): 101-118.

⁵⁰⁴ For the life role concept see Donald E. Super, “A life-span, life-space approach to career development” Career Choice and Development: Applying Contemporary Theories to Practice, eds. Duane Brown and Linda Brooks (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990) 167-261 and Dorothy D. Neville and Donald E. Super, The Salience Inventory (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1986).

⁵⁰⁵ Perrone and Civiletto 113.

⁵⁰⁶ Rebecca Smith McCracken and Lauren M. Weitzman, “Relationship of personal agency, problem-solving appraisal, and traditionality of career choice to women’s attitudes towards multiple role planning” Journal of Counseling Psychology 44 (1997): 149-159.

⁵⁰⁷ Perrone and Civiletto 113.

⁵⁰⁸ Stryker (1968) and (1980).

⁵⁰⁹ George J. McCall and Jerry L. Simmons, Identities and Interaction (1966), revised ed. (New York: Free P, 1978).

concepts is that the management of multiple identities is based upon the preference of some identities rather than others.⁵¹⁰ As an alternative to a rigid hierarchical order of identities, Marks and MacDermid proposed the concept of balance based on their study of social roles and mental illness or well-being indicators.⁵¹¹ They suggest that “people with more balanced role systems will report less role strain, more role ease, greater well-being, and more positive role specific experience than people with less balanced role systems.”⁵¹² They define balance as follows:

Positive role balance is the tendency to become fully engaged in the performance of every role in one’s total role system, to approach every typical role and role partner with an attitude of attentiveness and care. Put differently, it is the practice of that evenhanded alertness known sometimes as mindfulness. Negative role balance is the tendency to become fully disengaged in the performance of every role. It is the practice of apathy and cynicism.⁵¹³

Positive role balance, they argued, should be expressed in the ease of combining these particular roles and impact psychological well-being. On the other hand, negative role balance would result in role overload associated with role strain.

With greater role balance, global self-esteem scores will be higher because full engagement across activities will result in an expanded array of positive self-experiences. Depression scores will be lower because role balance is a fully engaged state, whereas depression is a disengaged state. Mastery scores will be higher because full engagement should lead to an expansion of competencies, resulting in a greater sense of control over what happens to oneself. Finally, innovativeness scores will be higher because ongoing attentiveness will bring diverse experiential data more sharply into focus and will prompt more practice in exercising one’s creativity.⁵¹⁴

Marks and MacDermid not only confirmed the hypothesis but also found that the “balanced” group revealed significantly higher levels of avocational activities than the “non-balanced” group.⁵¹⁵ This finding nicely supplements the assumption in accumulation theory of the scenario of limited time and resources to invest in social roles and relationships – thus the associated identity construction.

What creates security within a person? What secures the stability of a person’s social identity? Identity construction research has placed much emphasis on the adaptation of identifications for the reason of closing the gap between new information and the established identity structure serving to interpret this new information. In the identity literature, information on the effects of multiple identities and their interaction on the stability of the whole identity of an individual is yet still missing. Instead, Stets argues that many identities provide more material for potential harms to identity each providing

⁵¹⁰ See summary in Callero 203-215.

⁵¹¹ Stephen R Marks and Shelley M. MacDermid, “Multiple roles and the self: A theory of role balance” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 58.2 (1996): 417-432.

⁵¹² *Ibid.* 420.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.* 421.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.* 422.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.* 424.

inherently destabilizing effects to the person in question⁵¹⁶ and thus places a greater emphasis on the well-researched notion of role strain.⁵¹⁷ The impact remains subject to further exploration. But how may the insecurity of a single identity develop a strong negative effect on the individual? It is true that an endangered identity will probably be salient on more occasions than normal situational effects would make us suggest as the insecurity of the identity at stake brings itself to the attention of a person becoming more sensitive for its “repair” needs. It may be reasoned that insecurity of a single identity will vary in its severity in accordance with the general importance of the endangered identity to a person’s self-perception which is still backed up by the existing theory.

2.2.6.4 Social support

Primary and secondary relationships alike may serve as buffers. Social support has been shown to help people regain a positive sense of self when facing discrimination and prejudice.⁵¹⁸ Earlier research on the US Army showed that primary group relations even helped soldiers to bear the threat of injuries and even death by increasing their levels of self-esteem and mastery and also raised the anticipated and actual capacity to encounter and survive deprivations.⁵¹⁹ Quite similar are observations for family relationships, sex partners, adolescent cliques etc. for their function of providing expressive support in conditions of stress. Sieber made the point to appreciate the secondary relationships as well. These may include organizational and work related roles functioning as prized buffers e.g., for the man “who loses himself in his work” or for an engaged club woman wishing to avoid family strains.⁵²⁰

The potential buffering of roles against stress has shown to include past and future roles as well – role related networks and identity resources from the past may retain their relevance and support capacity for present and future endeavors even though a former role is only sporadically or no longer enacted in the present. This is also true for anticipated future roles promising status gain or other rewards:

Regardless of location in time, however, status and role alternatives afford a sense of general status security; and quite possibly this sense of security improves the quality of role performance and compensates for failure in any particular role.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁶ Jan Stets and Michael E. M. Harrod, “Verification across multiple identities: The role of status” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 67.2 (June 2004): 169.

⁵¹⁷ See e.g., Wallace Williams, Sharon P. Dilworth-Anderson, and P. Y. Goodwin, “Caregiver role strain: The contribution of multiple roles and available resources in African-American women” *Aging and Mental Health* 7.2 (2003): 103-112; Kristin M. Perrone and Christine L. Civiletto, “The impact of life role salience on life satisfaction” *Journal of Employment Counseling* 41.3 (2004): 105-116.

⁵¹⁸ Stanley O. Gaines, Jr., “Coping with prejudice: Personal relationship partners as sources of socio-emotional support for stigmatized individuals” *Journal of Social Issues* 57.1 (2001): 113-128.

⁵¹⁹ Edward A. Shils, “Primary groups in the American army” *Continuities in Social Research*, eds. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Glencoe, IL: Free P, 1950) 27.

⁵²⁰ Sieber 573.

⁵²¹ Ibid. 574.

Besides providing privileges, buffers, and resources, role accumulation can also enrich the personality and enhance one's self-perception. A person who enjoys wide and varied contacts with other people will benefit from an increased capacity to manage discrepant information and the tolerance for the exposure to many sources of information, as well as the flexibility in adjusting to the demands posed by diverse role-partners, and the reduction of boredom.⁵²²

2.2.6.5 Cognitive abilities

Cognitive abilities are required for identity construction and reconstruction mechanisms. They prove quite valuable in searching, recognizing, and using life chances or opportunity structures. Memory, learning, rationality, use of language, but also cleverness, sensitivity, and flexibility in social interaction will put an individual at a benefiting position to securing less threatening social positions and thus reduce potential threats deriving from the social environment but will also enhance his or her potential to perceive and evaluate challenging situations more favorable and seek out still existing chances. Cognitive ability should thus not be reduced to simple measures of IQ but is also intended to include attitudinal predispositions such as generally being optimistic and kind towards others and towards oneself.⁵²³

Berzonsky and Sullivan showed a relationship between various social-cognitive dispositions, such as the need for cognition, the openness to experience, and introspection with identity style. Identity style they defined as the "manner in which individuals characteristically process self-relevant information, solve personal problems, and negotiate identity issues."⁵²⁴ As such, cognitive ability or dispositions contribute to identity security and should therefore also be regarded as an identity resource. The identity style of an individual strongly influences his or her strategies for coping with identity threat. Personal characteristics, such as openness to experience or mental flexibility will support problem-focused approaches in dealing with identity threat which is an adaptive approach to coping with threat.⁵²⁵ This is in line with the findings of Rector and Roger who showed that a person's cognitive style – or coping style for this matter – has a strong impact on his physical and psychological well-being.⁵²⁶

Even though, cognitive abilities are manifold, they can be approximated in terms of formal education. Educational success relates to a variety of cognitive features and attitudes, e.g. knowledge orientation, openness to experience, and introspection that can be related to

⁵²² Ibid. 576.

⁵²³ Marshall B. Rosenberg.

⁵²⁴ Michael D. Berzonsky and Colleen Sullivan, "Social-cognitive aspects of identity style: Need for cognition, experiential openness, and introspection" *Journal of Adolescent Research* 7.2 (1992): 140.

⁵²⁵ See James Da Parker and Norman S. Endler, "Coping with coping assessment: a critical review" *European Journal of Personality* 6 (1992): 321-344.

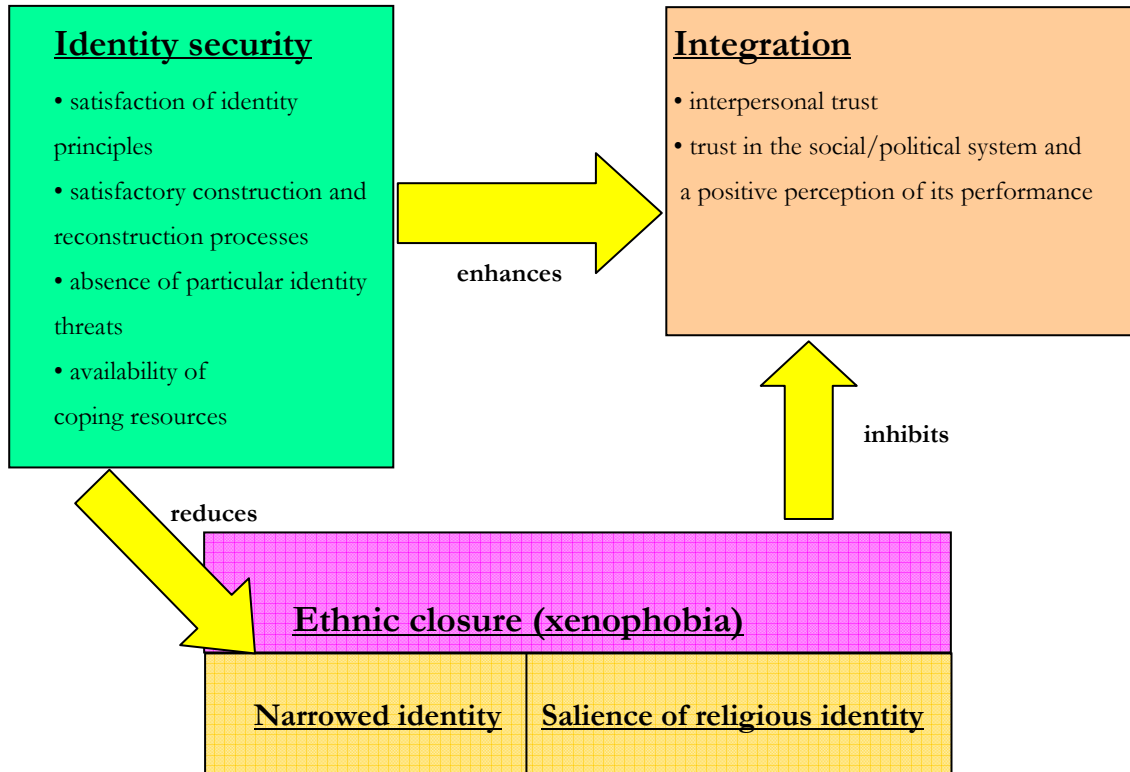
⁵²⁶ Neil A. Rector and Derek Roger, "Cognitive style and well-being: A prospective examination" *Personality and Individual Differences* 21.5 (1996): 663-674.

coping and identity style. In education as in many other areas, endurance and hard work are stronger assets than talent alone. One could also argue that the willingness to take on a challenge and the endurance to struggle for a personal goal will generally support a person's problem-focused approach to managing identity threat as well.

However, when using formal education as an approximation for cognitive resources relating to identity styles, differences between national and even regional opportunities should be considered as well as different opportunity structures for a population's different age groups.

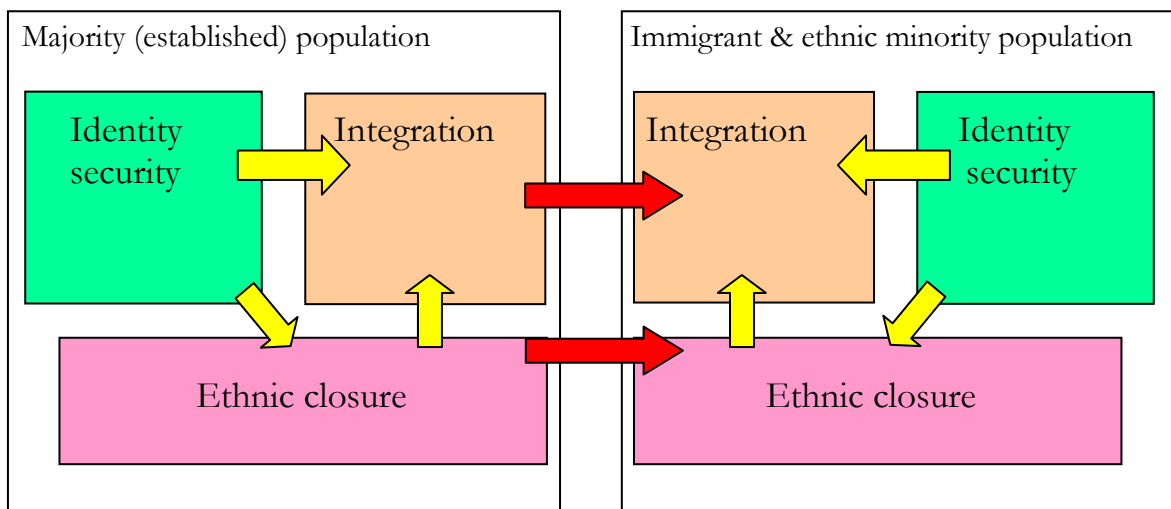
2.3 The proposed explanatory model

Figure 3: The general model



Source: Own model.

Figure 4: The extended model



Source: Own model.

The *explanandum* in the proposed model is integration in merely attitudinal terms – interpersonal trust as well as confidence in the government and key institutions of one’s country. The different parameters of identity security are treated as independent variable(s) in the proposed model. Xenophobia and ethnic closure – as similar expressions of outgroup derogation – narrowed identity and a particularly strong religious identity are all understood as responses to insecure or threatened identity in an attempt to stabilize individual self-perception. As such ethnic closure intermediates the relationship between identity security and integration. Defending injured or threatened identity via religious identification or ethnic closure inhibit positive intergroup relationships from the perspective of the injured individual and from outgroup members as ethnic closure/ethnocentrism of the former are perceived by others. In this model, ethnic closure of members of the receiving society – and also the ethnic closure of established immigrants or for that matter the degree of closure of their own ethnic communities – will be understood as components of a defense mechanism to restore the ingroup member’s positive distinctiveness at the expense of degrading various outgroups. Also the contribution of an overly strong religious identification compared to other identity sources to the phenomenon of “defensive ethnic closure” will be considered.

When looking at the different subpopulations, an interaction between intergroup attitudes of the receiving society and immigrants or ethnic minorities can be described in the way that ethnic closure on the side of the majority population will lead to a stronger ingroup orientation of immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Also, the opposite should be the case: separatist or exclusionist choices of minority groups may increase levels of xenophobic attitudes held by members of the majority population. The level of integration of subpopulations will tend to reinforce each other directly. In a positive sense, well integrated established populations will supply symbols and role models for newcomers and other subpopulations making identification with the host society attractive. On the other hand, when members of the dominating group mistrust each other and have a poor opinion about their political system rather disintegrative tendencies will be reinforced. Even though these relationships are two-directional, it is argued here that the stronger impact will go from the larger group to the smaller – thus the impact of the receiving population on immigrants and minority groups should be greater than the other way around.

Perhaps, the interaction between minorities with the majority population is pictured a bit too narrow as diverse minority groups may greatly vary in their composition, resources, and attitudes towards integration. Therefore, it would produce a clearer picture to differentiate stronger between these minority groups. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the intergroup relationships are only secondary to the pervasive impact of identity security variables. As such, group memberships will only be depicted on the majority – minority theme.

Identity security has been defined previously as the certainty of the self-definition of who one is and what one does in terms of the ability to satisfy identity principles, self-verification as well as the functioning of the identity processes of assimilation-

accommodation and evaluation which may all be attacked by diverse threats to identity. However, additional personal characteristics will be considered here which may act as buffers to potential threats to identity and thus contribute to a higher level of perceived security. As argued in the preceding chapter, multiple strong identities in terms of memberships and in terms of categorical ascriptions and descriptions, identity balance, general cognitive ability, feelings of self-efficacy, and supportive relationships may be factors that contribute to a greater flexibility and stability of the self-concept.

Identity is directly linked to well-being (primarily operationalized as feeling of self-esteem in social identity theory and as feeling of mastery in identity theory). Identity theory proposes that subjective well-being is gained from positive appraisals by others – most notably primary relationships (spouse, peers), but also from secondary relationships (voluntary organizations, diverse social networks etc.). This support results in higher self-esteem and better role performance which will generate more positive appraisal and enhance feelings of mastery and self-worth. Relying on positive appraisals by others for one's perception of self gained from primary and secondary relationships is clearly tied to the notion of balance with one's social environment which is adopted as the overarching definition of integration in this work.

Also the relationship between the successful balance of several roles or role identities (as proposed in role balance theory) can nicely be linked to the adopted definition of integration. Achieving a subjective balance of one's social roles will increase subjective feelings of mastery and well-being, but also reflect the perceived balance with one's social environment in terms of meeting the demands of the various social roles and positions one occupies. Role accumulation theory and identity accumulation theory both propose that the number of identities (and their salience) held by a person will affect well-being in terms of acting as a buffer to psychological distress and particular identity loss.

Even though well-being is the psychological term of choice to relate to the identity security condition – integration is the concept of interest to the political scientist that is most closely associated with the notion of balance between the individual and its social environment and will therefore be preferred in this work.

3. Empirical analysis

Before conducting any empirical tests, certain limitations to testing the proposed model by means of quantitative analysis of the ESS 1 data should be considered: There are a number of shortcomings to operationalizing the identity concept – for example in terms of the satisfaction of identity principles and processes – as the European Social Survey is not based on a typical identity questionnaire. As such it contains no direct identity variables. However, it provides many very important indirect variables suitable for operationalizing the identity concept that are grounded in the social structure surrounding individuals.

It cannot be emphasized enough how much people learn from others in their social environment including attitudes towards oneself, others, and the social structure in general as well as the identification with one's specific social environment. Both the social structure and socioeconomic characteristics are an important source for identity construction as research on social status and identity confirms.⁵²⁷ Therefore, looking at how aspects of people's social environment influence the stability of the self is an important point in understanding concepts of identity more fully. As such, the indirect operationalization of identity that will be attempted with the wealth of social structural variables from the ESS is a hopeful project. Analytical results may or may not differ when compared with more direct measures mainly applied in psychological laboratory research as they represent distinctive parts of the personality – mainly exogenous vs. indigenous factors. The major shortcoming of utilizing rather indirect measures of identity aspects, however, is due to the fact that “threats” or “resources” grounded in the social structure surrounding an individual are only potential in nature. There is no logical way of assessing the strength or even a correlation from the potential threat operationalized via ESS variables – or occupying a potentially threatening social position (see section 2.2.4) – and the experience or perception of a threat to identity as well as the personal meaning attached to a threat or resource. Potential threats and resources are often neither fully actualized or even perceived and appreciated and therefore remain somewhere between totally meaningless and not very meaningful to the identity security of a person.

Consequently, when interpreting analytical results concerning identity aspects gained from the ESS data, effect sizes of the proposed models applied here will rather tend to underestimate the described relationships. This however, should not be regarded as a misfortune for relationships found by the attempted analysis can be expected to really exist.

When looking at the prospects and limitation of the following analysis, it is also useful to consider the four generally problematic characteristics of identity when applying identity

⁵²⁷ See for example Jan E. Stets and Michael M. Harrod, “Verification across multiple identities: The role of status” *Social Psychological Quarterly* 67.2 (2004): 155-171; Bertjan Doosje, Russell Spears, and Naomie Ellemers, “Social identity as both cause and effect: The development of group identification in response to anticipated and actual changes in the intergroup status hierarchy” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 41 (2002): 57-76 or Jan E. Stets, “Status and identity in marital interactions” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60.3 (1997): 185-217.

concepts to quantitative empirical research Huddy pointed out: 1) the existence of identity choice; 2) the subjective meaning of identities; 3) gradations in identity strength; and 4) a considerable stability of many identities.⁵²⁸ These four characteristics of identity will be discussed briefly in terms of their implication for the following analysis.

Existence of identity choice

People have considerable choice between identities or parts of identities they may attribute to themselves. The emphasis of personality components a person chooses may be quite different from a complete description of the self. Having a background of migration might be a rather negligible description of self to one person, but not to another. It is not necessarily the case that people experiencing low identity security will actually accentuate the difference between themselves and ethnic, national, cultural minorities, and immigrants or immigrant communities. Even as one may follow the logic of Huntington and Harrison that cultural identity is one of the master identities people hold and should therefore very likely be made salient when people encounter difficulties or perceive certain inequalities or injustices of that matter.⁵²⁹ However, a person still has a choice between cultural heritage, ethnic belonging, the attachment to an old or new homeland, which may mark such boundaries quite contrarily. Also “some individuals may be very willing to adopt multiple identities, whereas others prefer to define themselves on the basis of a few key affiliations.”⁵³⁰

When a “complete” description of a person is already so faulty, a description that is already heavily reduced by the variables available in an already existing data set designed for other purposes than identity research will increase the problem of identity choice even further. From the four potential problems Huddy mentioned this is perhaps the gravest. The identity descriptions that can be constructed with the help of ESS are reducing the individual to seven areas of life a person ranks in importance, various memberships in voluntary organizations, one’s level of education and one’s profession as well as the confidence in one’s professional skills, legal marital status, nationality, nationality of one’s parents, an evaluation of one’s communicative behavior and social contacts. However, important alternative identity sources such as informal groups and social networks cannot be considered appropriately with the help of the ESS.

Subjective meaning of identities

People often attach different meanings to the “same” identity. Being a woman may first of all mean to wear a stigma and to be disadvantaged at one’s job for one person whereas for another it may be related to the ability to give birth and raise children and thus represent the greatest source of life satisfaction. As the ESS provides no information on specific meanings of identities to individuals, this subjectivity will be widely ignored by the analysis

⁵²⁸ Huddy 127.

⁵²⁹ Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress (New York: Basic, 2000).

⁵³⁰ Huddy 150.

which is to be conducted. The interest here is to quantify the concept of identity security on the basis of many possible identities. However, as far as subjective meanings of identities relate to an evaluation of their importance to the individual – they may be at least partly addressed through the concept of identity strength.

Gradations in identity strength

The strength of particular identities varies across time and situations. Even when different people describe a specific identity in quite similar terms for themselves, the strength they attach to it may still be different. The strength of an identity can be addressed by the self-evaluation how important certain areas of life were for the respondents. However, as some people assign a score of 10 to their important areas of life, others may only assign an 8 or a 9 even though they attach the same importance to this identity which makes the scores hard to compare. One could of course construct a relative measure of identity strength using the score attached to one area of life and divide it by the average all other areas of life have received. When people thus simply give smaller scores to all, the ratio will correct for this phenomenon. The strength of organizational identities can be readily measured by considering different forms of attachment and commitment to the organization. However, counting “being a member” or “having a friend in the organization” or “contributing money” or “voluntary work” or does not account for the subjective meaning of each of the above for different people. Also the assessment of political identity (in terms of the efficacy to understand politics, the capability to take action or to formulate an independent opinion) and work identity (in terms of job efficacy) can be addressed through a measure of strength.

Stability of many identities

It has been argued that SIT considers identities to be highly situational and flexible whereas IT tells us that identities show considerable stability across situations and over time. This is no contradiction as SIT refers to the many large social categories to which people belong and IT refers to positional or role identities. Concrete role related identities are usually stronger, enduring, and more stable than identities tied to simple group memberships – for example one is always a mother and thoughtful of this role according to the commitment to this particular role. Categories such as being male or female, living in a particular street or town, or practicing a certain sport are clearly not of equal importance to most people as parenthood. The identities associated to these categories are therefore rather made salient depending on situational context and may even be neglected or denied by the individual.

Treating identity as independent variable, stability or flexibility of identities does not pose a problem to the proposed model. However, the considerable stability of many identities has to be reconsidered when policy advice is formulated, because identities and their behavioral effects are known to exhibit great resistance to change.

Considering the mentioned limitations to a quantitative operationalization of the identity concept in the proposed model and the impact this may have on the reach of answers from the analysis, some of the drawbacks of the attempted analysis will definitely be offset by the strength of the data in terms of large case numbers, complete questionnaires, high data quality, and the internationality of the survey.

The data set can be utilized to aggregate specific country data into means to demonstrate the relationships between identity security, ethnic closure and integration by regression analysis. The macro level analysis provides the opportunity to allocate country specific conditions to the data points in integration, ethnic closure, and identity security of the respective countries – conditions which can be expected to interfere at the micro-level bringing down the effect size of the adopted model when individuals are the unit of analysis.

Nevertheless, the main focus of the empirical test will be the micro level, as social identity theory and identity theory first of all concern the individual human being. In order to address the existing skewness in the ESS data, the provided design weight will make the data more representative for the whole population. Several of the sample designs applied by the participating countries were not able to provide the same chance of selection for participation to all individuals in the population aged 15 or older. Thus, the unweighted samples sometimes over- or underrepresent people for example in certain living areas, smaller or larger households. The design weight corrects for the different probabilities of selection. When using individual data from several countries – which will be the case for most of the micro-level analysis – I will additionally apply the population size weight (which is also provided in the data set) as it can adjust the data to ensure that each country is represented in proportion to its actual population size in order to avoid an overrepresentation of small countries from which the ESS researchers have collected samples that are almost as large as for the bigger countries in order to ensure a good representation of these countries' populations in the data.⁵³¹

Several lines of argument from the model will be tested with multivariate analysis to derive information that may possibly feed back into the ongoing political debates concerning the perception of immigrants and immigration policy as well as problems of the integration of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. As with most concepts and models in social and political science, not all of the variation can be expected to be explained properly. An evaluation of the model in terms of how much of the variation can actually be accounted for will provide a measure for the seriousness of the findings. It may then lead to a conclusion about how serious the policy recommendations derived from the following analysis can be taken by policy makers and those individuals and agencies putting such policies into practice.

⁵³¹ The design weight and the population size weight of the data set will be combined through multiplication.

3.1 Hypotheses

The general model

(H1) The higher a person's score on identity security, the more that person will embrace attitudes that are supportive of integration.

(H2) The more threatened people's identities in a country are, the greater their inclination towards ethnic closure will be.

(H3) The higher a country's degree of ethnic closure, the lower will be that country's level of integration.

(H4) The more severe the threats to a person's identity are, the more likely that person will be to develop a narrowed identity structure and the lower that person's level of integration.

(H5) The more severe the threats to a person's identity are, the more likely that person will be to make religious identity salient which in turn results in a higher level of ethnic closure and a lower level of integration.

The extended model

(H6) The higher the majority population's level of integration, the higher the general level of integration of minority group members will be.

(H7) The higher the level of ethnic closure within the majority population, the higher the general level of ethnic closure of immigrants and ethnic minority groups will be.

Supplementary model specifications

Intergroup differences and potential group devaluation

(H8) If a person is a member of a stigmatized group, this person is more perceptive to identity threats and exhibits stronger defense reactions.

(H9) The stronger a person's group identification, the more pronounced will be this person's experience of group specific identity threat which can be measured in stronger defense reactions and a stronger impact of such a threat on integration.

Coping with identity threats

(H10) The higher a person's level of identity resources, the lower will be that person's number of perceived threats.

(H11) The better an identity resource "matches" a potentially threatening position, the less likely will be the actual experience of threat and the smaller will be its impact on integration when such a threat is experienced.

(H12) The higher a person's level of identity resources, the lower will be the person's levels of ethnic closure, narrowed identity, and religious identity salience.

(H13) A high level of identity resources can also moderate the negative impact of threat responses on integration.

3.2 Operational conceptualization of the model

This section will clarify how the theoretical concepts from chapter 2 will translate to the framework of variables in the chosen data set. Thereby assumptions and special circumstances for the following analysis will be laid out and the definitions and operationalizations used will be set in perspective to previous empirical research in the fields of identity and integration as well as existing practical problems for practitioners.

3.2.1 Definition of ethnic minority and migration background

For some time now, practitioners in statistical departments of national, state, and local authorities as well as commissioners for integration policy search for ways to define the inhabitants' background of migration or ethnic minority membership in more elaborate ways than was previously done through citizenship alone.

A broader definition of ethnic minority membership or migration background seems to be important for this analysis as well, because citizenship and naturalization laws differ greatly between the European countries. Further, the number of people who have difficulties to integrate into mainstream European societies due to a different cultural, national or ethnic origin is far greater than those of foreign passport holders. As one of the first German cities, Stuttgart attempted to find a more reliable statistical definition of migration background for improving municipal services. The city developed a framework of migration background that succeeded to include foreign passport holders, German citizens born outside Germany, and naturalized citizens.⁵³² Municipal departments often rely on the additional inhabitant surveys and their analysis to learn about specific needs of the migrant population. These surveys usually ask respondents for a self-assessment of their migration background.⁵³³

However, for developing specific local integration projects, additional information not found in the available inhabitant statistics or inhabitant surveys is crucial to practitioners. Teachers and social workers quite often find day-to-day relevant migration characteristics such as language mastery or their belongingness to an ethnic community group more useful for their work with young people from migration backgrounds than the well-recorded national background of a person. Also, the rather old concept to which "generation" of immigrants a person belongs is of interest to practitioners – particularly, as the process of

⁵³² For details see Utz Lindemann, "Stuttgarter Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund: Erstmals umfassende Quantifizierung des Phänomens Zuwanderung möglich" *Statistik und Informationsmanagement* 2 (2005): 30-40 and Utz Lindemann, "Ausländer in Stuttgart 1955-2005: Zum 50. Jahrestag des Beginns der Anwerbung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer" *Statistik und Informationsmanagement* 12 (2005): 431-449.

⁵³³ For the case of Stuttgart, see Petra Reichle, "Integration ausländischer Mitbürger in Stuttgart – Ergebnisse der Bürgerumfrage 2003" *Statistik und Informationsmanagement* 2 (2004): 45-53 and Eberhard Grapke, "Die Ergebnisse der Ämterbefragung zur Integrations- und Migrationspolitik der Stadtverwaltung" *Statistik und Informationsmanagement* 1 (1999): 9-21.

integrating immigrants often takes several generations.⁵³⁴ The generational definition of migration background is quite prominent in empirical integration research.⁵³⁵ Concerning the first generation of immigrants, their length of stay in the current country of residence as well as their immigration motivation is of interest.⁵³⁶ Lindemann also argued to classify children with one majority parent and one parent who immigrated as having a family background of migration for particularly immigrated mothers in families with very traditional gender roles raise their children only in the cultural traditions familiar to them.⁵³⁷ Diefenbach and Weiß additionally suggested to consider migration related discrimination experience, i.e. discrimination on the grounds of color or race, religion, language, nationality, religion, or ethnic group.⁵³⁸ Thus, migration background has been defined for the following analysis according to table 4 mostly relying on the generational concept but also including some of the migration specific characteristics mentioned above.

Table 4: Categories of migration status and their defining characteristics

	Definition
First generation	a person born outside its country of current residence ⁵³⁹
Second generation	a person born its country of current residence and who has parents born outside this country
Bi-nationals	a person born in its country of current residence and having one parent who was born in this country and one who was not
Third generation	a person born in its country of current residence, who's parents were born in this country as well, but who reports to use another than any of the countries official languages as first home language or who reports to belong to an ethnic minority in the country of current residence or who has experienced discrimination on the grounds of at least two migration related characteristics such as color or race, language, religion, nationality, or ethnicity
Unclassified foreigner	a person without the citizenship of its country of current residence and not belonging to any of the categories defined above ⁵⁴⁰

Source: Own categorization merging recommendations from the literature cited above matching the available variables from the ESS 2002/2003.

⁵³⁴ Heike Diefenbach and Anja Weiß, Gutachten: Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund. Datenerfassung für die Integrationsberichterstattung – im Auftrag der Stelle für interkulturelle Arbeit, Sozialreferat und des Statistischen Amtes der Landeshauptstadt München, ed. Landeshauptstadt München (2006) 17-20.

⁵³⁵ Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck, eds., American Immigrants and their Generations: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years (Urbana, IL: U of Illinois P, 1990).

⁵³⁶ See Doerschler and section 2.1 of this paper for the full argument.

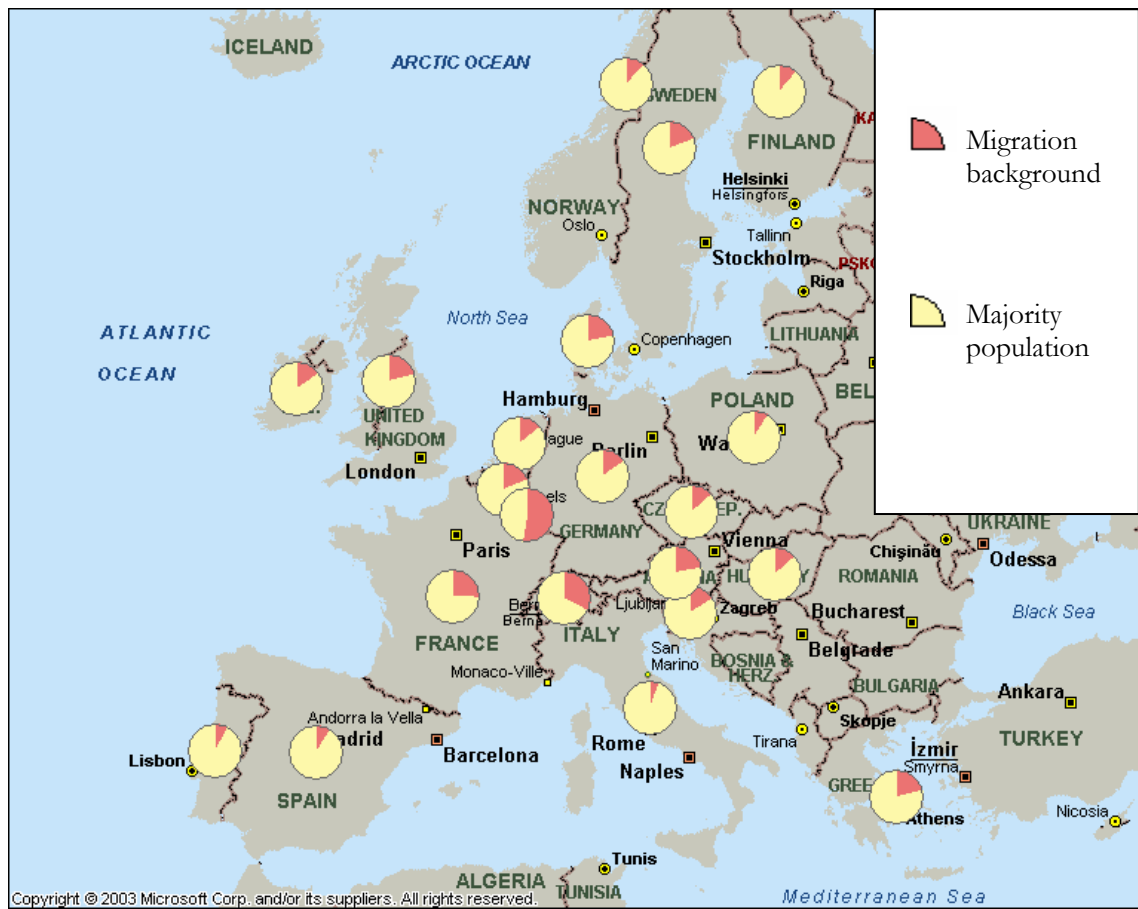
⁵³⁷ Lindemann (2005b) and Schäfer 347.

⁵³⁸ Diefenbach and Weiß 26-27.

⁵³⁹ Exception: People who are foreign born but who's parents were born in the country – as often is the case for children of diplomats or for children of re-émigrés – who belong much more to the majority population than to any minority and will therefore considered to be members of the majority population here.

⁵⁴⁰ People are mostly assigned to this category due to missing data on their place of birth and their parents' place of birth.

Figure 5: Representation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the ESS countries



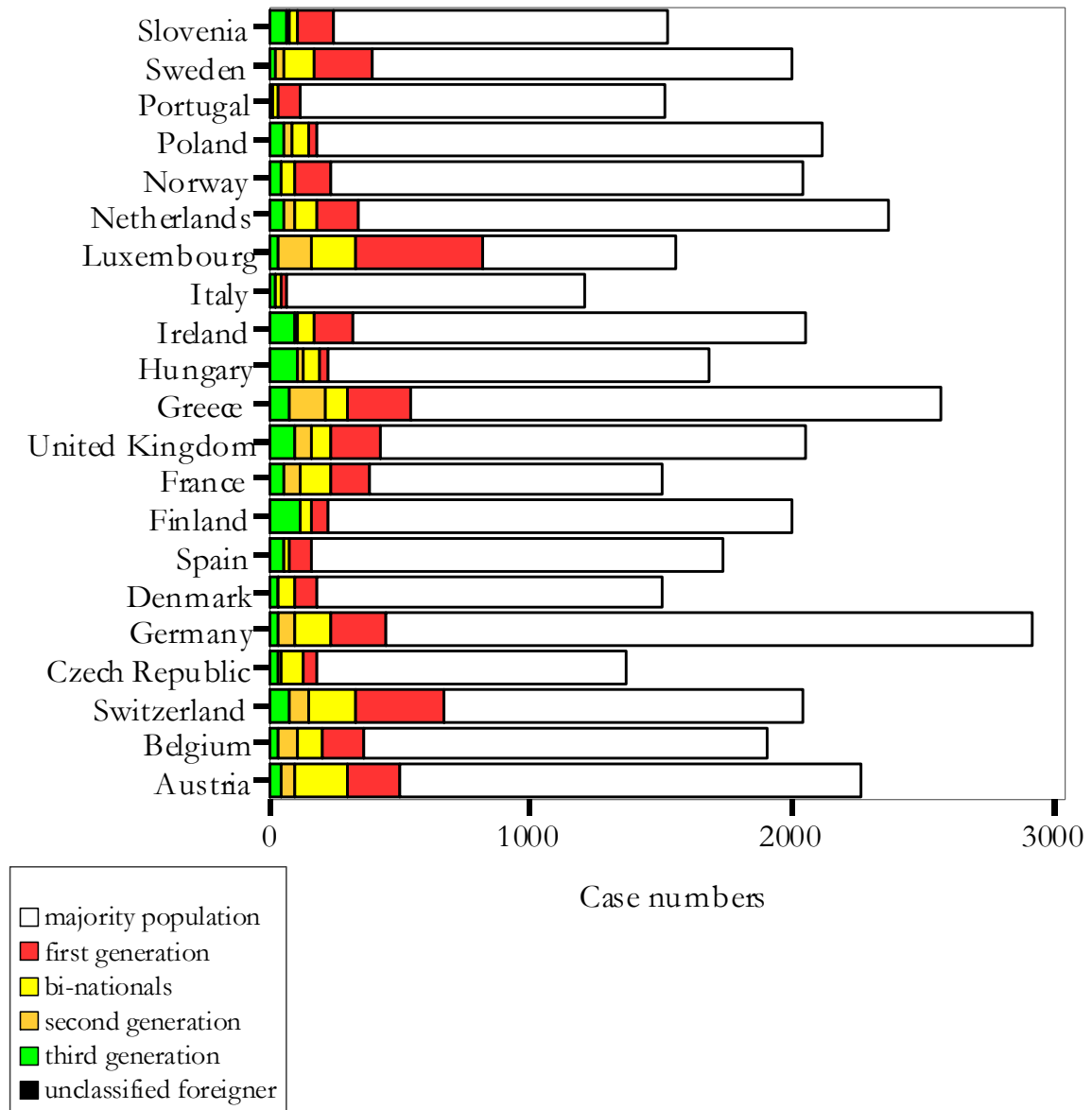
Note: Population ratios based on unweighted case numbers of immigrants and ethnic minority members as well as the majority population of each country from the ESS 2002/2003 survey data. Map plotted with Microsoft MapPoint Europe 2004.

Official statistics in Europe are slow to catch up with the immigration reality, particularly when national statistics measure indicators such as nationality alone. Germany for example, is home to approximately 9 percent foreigners – in terms of people who do not possess a German passport. The ESS 2002/2003 includes 8.9% respondents from Germany who reported to be non-Germans. The German micro census in 2005 which surveyed one percent of all German households revealed that 15.3 million inhabitants making up 19 percent of the total population have migration experience. Foreign passports hold only 47 percent of these while further 12 percent are *Spätaussiedler* (people of German descent coming from the former Eastern block countries and the former USSR). 23 percent have been naturalized, and the remaining 18 percent are descendents of *Spätaussiedler*, foreign citizens, and naturalized immigrants.⁵⁴¹ Additionally, the definition of migration background also needs to include the family background of migration since many children of immigrants or ethnic minorities are either socially disadvantaged or have other difficulties regarding integration which are related to their family’s ethnic or cultural

⁵⁴¹ Joachim Peter and Stefan von Borstel, “Deutlich mehr Zugewanderte in Deutschland: Mikrozensus 2005 korrigiert offizielle Statistik - 15,3 Millionen Bürger haben sogenannten Migrationshintergrund” *Die Welt* 7 Jun 2006, 4.

background. Thus, when using the broadest possible definition, the ESS 2002/2003 sample for Germany presents 15.1 percent people with a background of migration.⁵⁴² For brevity they will be simply called migrants here.

Figure 6: Case numbers of migration status by country



Note: Unweighted case numbers from the European Social Survey 2002/2003. The distinction of migrant groups has been made by the author.

Overall, the share of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities and their descendants was 16.6 percent which represents the actual percentage in most participating countries fairly well. These 16.6 percent split up into 7.0% for first generation immigrants, 4.5% of persons with only one foreign parent, 2.0% for the second generation, and 2.9% for the

⁵⁴² When the design weight of the ESS is applied, the percentage of migrants increases to 16.5 that comes very close to the *Mikrozensus* results.

third generation and ethnic minorities. The remainder of .2% are people who could not be classified as belonging to any of the generational categories but who nevertheless do not possess the passport of the country where they currently live.

The highest share of migrants in the data was found for Luxembourg with 51.8%, followed by Switzerland with 32.1%, and France with 24.8%. The lowest share of migrants was found for Italy with 4.6%, Portugal with 5.8%, and Poland with 8.2%. For a better representation of the surveyed European population, the design weight and the population size weight of the data set will be applied to the analysis. This has a slight impact on the representation of the migrant populations. Considering the design weight alone, the percentage of migrants remains constant for seven countries, slightly increases for 8 countries, and slightly decreases for 6 countries. However, the population size weight brings the share of migrants down a bit, mainly for the high population size weight of Italy in combination with the low share of migrants in the Italian sample (5.2% when applying the design weight). Overall the percentage of migrants decreases from 16.6% to 15.0%. This decrease primarily affects the first generation (with a reduction from 7.0 to 6.0%) and persons with one foreign parent (with a reduction from 4.5 to 4.0%).

Even though the ESS represents immigrants and ethnic minorities quite well, there is a bit of response bias concerning newly immigrated people probably to the greatest extent due to existing language barriers. Survey participation in the ESS will be easier for foreign students than for foreign workers with little formal education. In addition, students would probably be more motivated to complete a lengthy questionnaire on a variety of social issues than people outside the academic world.

Table 5: Number of first generation immigrants by years of residence in country

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
less than 1 year	44	1.6	1.6
1-5 years	406	14.6	16.2
6-10 years	433	15.6	31.8
11-20 years	599	21.6	53.4
more than 20 years	1293	46.6	100.0

Note: Unweighted case numbers from the European Social Survey 2002/2003.⁵⁴³

Table 5 shows the share of newly immigrated people in the data set of 1.6 percent of all immigrants. The exact number in the population should be approximately 2 to 5 percent, as most newly immigrated people do not stay on for a very long time but either return to their country of origin or move on to a third country.

⁵⁴³ The combined application of the ESS design weight and population size weight slightly increases the values of cases in the categories less than 1 year, 1-5 years, and more than 20 years. Thus, the applied weight succeeds to reduce the existing response bias particularly regarding new immigrants considerably: The percentage of people who have come less than a year ago among the first generation migrants rises to 2.3 percent in the weighted sample. The weights reduce the number of total cases in the data set from 39,860 to 37,332.

3.2.2 Integration

Focusing on attitudinal aspects of integration, the ESS contains a variety of indicators shown in table 6 that relate to people's trust in others, their trust in the institutions of their countries of residence, as well as their attitudes towards the systemic functioning of their countries. Additionally, it includes a variable on life satisfaction in general which is a good indicator for the balance between an individual and its social environment in general and should therefore be assigned to the integration variables. However, some identity research has also used life satisfaction and well-being as a measure of identity with the argument that people will not be satisfied with their life or life situation when they feel unsure about themselves. This relationship is not denied here at all. However, the proposed explanatory concept treats life satisfaction more as an expression of the balance between the individual and society and needs it as such to be an integration variable. Nevertheless, the relationship is two-directional in the sense that the quality of this balance will have an effect on the construction and perception of self and the construction and perception of self will also impact the balance that an individual develops with his or her surrounding social world.

Table 6: Indicators for integration

	Mean	(SD)	N
1) Most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	4.77	(2.3)	37,194
2) Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair	5.42	(2.3)	36,985
3) Most of the time people helpful or looking out for themselves	4.58	(2.3)	37,080
4) Trust in country's parliament	4.66	(2.3)	36,135
5) Trust in the legal system	5.15	(2.5)	36,479
6) Trust in the police	6.10	(2.4)	36,923
7) Trust in politicians	3.68	(2.2)	36,740
8) How satisfied with life as a whole	6.90	(2.2)	37,099
9) How satisfied with present state of economy in country	4.08	(2.3)	36,313
10) How satisfied with the national government	4.01	(2.3)	35,905
11) How satisfied with the way democracy works in country	5.19	(2.3)	35,885
12) State of education in country nowadays	5.12	(2.2)	35,505
13) State of health services in country nowadays	5.00	(2.4)	36,801

Note: All items ranged from 0-10 with 0 indicating low integration and 10 meaning high integration. Cases weighted by design and population size weight. For complete wording of the items see appendix 2.

The 13 indicators for integration from table 6 have been subjected to a factor analysis to evaluate the underlying components.⁵⁴⁴ According to the theoretical concepts of interpersonal trust, institutional trust, and performance trust as attitudinal aspects of integration, an ideal outcome would be a three-dimensional solution representing these

⁵⁴⁴ The analysis was based on 32,273 weighted cases. The high KMO of .877 accompanied by a highly significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity show that factor analysis is appropriate for the data at hand and the indicators will be represented to a very high degree through the analysis. Also, the MSA values were all equal or above .81. The determinant of the correlation matrix of .012 indicates that multicollinearity does not pose a problem to the data. When the residuals between observed and reproduced correlations were computed, there were 33 (42.0%) nonredundant residuals with absolute values greater than 0.05.

aspects. Indeed, three components can be extracted from the proposed list of indicators using the criterion of extracting all components with eigenvalues above 1. This explains 57.8 percent of the total variance (see table 7).

Table 7: Eigenvalues for integration indicators

Component	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	4.860	37.4%	37.4%
2	1.489	11.4%	48.8%
3	1.161	8.9%	57.8%
4	.927	7.1%	64.9%
5	.822	6.3%	71.2%
6	.587	4.5%	75.7%
7	.558	4.3%	80.0%
8	.540	4.2%	84.2%
9	.510	3.9%	88.1%
10	.471	3.6%	91.7%
11	.407	3.1%	94.9%
12	.343	2.6%	97.5%
13	.325	2.5%	100.0%

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis; direct Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalization. The analysis was based on N = 32,237 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The factor loadings in table 8 reveal exactly the anticipated solution representing the dimensions of interpersonal trust (items 1-3), institutional trust (items 4-7), and performance trust (9-13). Life satisfaction (item 8) also considerably loads on the third dimension even though a bit lower than the others.

Table 8: Factor loadings for integration indicators

	Component		
	1	2	3
1) Most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	-.002	.777	-.070
2) Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair	-.055	.827	-.048
3) Most of the time people helpful or mostly looking out for themselves	.043	.757	-.002
4) Trust in country's parliament	.163	.012	-.716
5) Trust in the legal system	-.064	.024	-.849
6) Trust in the police	-.099	.063	-.780
7) Trust in politicians	.203	.053	-.667
8) How satisfied with life as a whole	.429	.275	.057
9) How satisfied with present state of economy in country	.765	.037	-.026
10) How satisfied with the national government	.698	-.110	-.207
11) How satisfied with the way democracy works in country	.511	-.031	-.364
12) State of education in country nowadays	.714	-.036	.030
13) State of health services in country nowadays	.692	.038	.049

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis, Rotation method: direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 32,237 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Looking at institutional trust, some researchers distinguish between trust in institutions of the constitutional state (the ESS contains the variables trust in the legal system and trust in the police) and trust in institutions of the party state (ESS contains trust in the parliament and trust in politicians).⁵⁴⁵ Similar to Gabriel or Gesemann⁵⁴⁶, the ESS data also show higher means of trust in the police (M = 6.10, SD = 2.4) and the legal system (M = 5.15, SD = 2.5) than in parliament (M = 4.66, SD = 2.3) and politicians (M = 3.68, SD = 2.2).⁵⁴⁷ Principle component analysis for these four items does not suggest this distinction here as the unidimensional factor solution for the subscale institutional trust already accounts for 63.6 percent of the total variation. There were remarkably high factor loadings on the main component (rotated direct Oblimin) ranging between .73 to .82. Additionally, Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .81$) is higher for the comprehensive index of institutional trust than for distinguishing between trust in institutions of the party state and trust in institutions of the constitutional state suggesting the use of a rather one-dimensional concept of institutional trust here. Further, this analysis of integration will not specifically look at macro-level factors such as party politics or political institutions. It will instead treat institutional trust as a general attitudinal aspect of integration. Using a comprehensive institutional trust index as one of these attitudinal dimensions will therefore suit the theoretical background to this research better.

However, it seems advisable to distinguish between the three dimensions of integrative attitudes as proposed by other researchers and which was also confirmed by principle component analysis instead of assigning all integration related items to one comprehensive integration scale alone. The proposed distinction may yield results generating interpretations which might improve current understanding of integration processes in more detail and will therefore be well framed to contribute to policy improvements.

Constructing integration scales, for each item, the respondent's score was divided by 10 and an average score was calculated for each of the subscales as long as there were valid data entries for at least half of the items needed for the subscale indices. Thus, all items and all subscales are now ranging 0-1 with 0 indicating no trust at all whereas 1 stands for complete trust. The comprehensive integration index has been constructed in the same way by averaging the subindex scores. Thus, the overall integration index also has a value range of 0-1.

⁵⁴⁵ See for example Dieter Fuchs, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Kerstin Völkl, "Vertrauen in politische Institutionen und politische Unterstützung" *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 31.4 (2002): 427-450; Oscar W. Gabriel and Kerstin Völkl, "Persönlichkeitseigenschaften und Institutionenvertrauen" *Persönlichkeit: Eine vergessene Größe der empirischen Sozialforschung*, eds. Siegfried Schumann and Harald Schoen (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005) 177.

⁵⁴⁶ Oscar W. Gabriel, "Integration durch Institutionenvertrauen?" *Soziale Integration*, eds. Jürgen Friedrichs and Wolfgang Jagodzinski (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1999): 212; Frank Gesemann, "Es ist egal ob man Ausländer ist oder so – jeder Mensch braucht die Polizei. – Die Polizei in der Wahrnehmung junger Migranten" *Die Ethnisierung von Alltagskonflikten*, eds. Axel Groenemeyer and Jürgen Mansel (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2003) 208.

⁵⁴⁷ The original answer range was 0-10 for each of the four items.

Table 9: Integration dimensions

	Mean	(SD)	N	Correlations		
				(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Interpersonal trust	.488	(.19)	37,181	--	.355	.326
(2) Institutional trust	.487	(.19)	36,985		--	.542
(3) Performance trust and life satisfaction	.506	(.16)	37,075			--
Integration (comprehensive index)	.494	(.14)	37,188			

Note: All items ranged from 0-1 with 0 indicating low integration and 1 meaning high integration. Correlation coefficient: Spearman's ρ . Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The three integration dimensions are moderately related to each other. The association is particularly strong for institutional trust and performance trust – including life satisfaction. This strong relationship is little surprising as both represent a person's ties to his or her country. As such, both latter dimensions represent the political aspect of integration.

3.2.3 Identity security

In the context of the proposed explanatory model, identity security was defined as the absence of threat or injury to a person's self-perception as well as the possession of identity resources supporting processes of identity construction, transformation, and satisfying identity motives.

3.2.3.1 Threats to identity

Various threats to identity are captured by the ESS that can be easily related to the theoretical arguments laid out in the section devoted to identity security and threats against it (2.2.4). There, identity motive related threats have been explained as well as role and group related threats, identity process related threats, and threats to existential security. According to this categorization, the following variables are introduced from the ESS.

Identity motive related threats: The single most important of the identity motives is self-efficacy. Achievement orientation is well related to people's self-efficiency needs and self-esteem. Achievement related identities are nicely represented by socio-economic status variables, such as a person's profession, employment status, income, educational degree, or even the number of children – all of them included in the ESS. However, personal preferences have an overwhelming impact on the evaluation of the personal situation as well as the need and the related tendency to regard oneself positively. Some people regard family and professional success as mutually exclusive life paths. For them either the

number of children or the achieved professional position might be indicative of personal success, but not both at the same time. For others, success is rather measured in realizing a healthy balance between family and professional life often accompanied by part time jobs and moderate family incomes. Nevertheless, neither the chosen profession nor the family situation allows a safe guess about that individual's ideal life situation and how this person might evaluate its personal achievement. Therefore, any generalization about one's personal regard of a particular profession, size of income, or educational degree may be flawed. A perceptual-evaluative aspect should be added to the socio-economic status variable. Thus, the perception of one's income being too low to meet life's ends will be a much better indicator for threat than income itself. Similar to this, the belief not to be able to borrow money in case of a personal emergency will be a good indicator for threat. Also, the perception of poor health interferes with our day-to-day planning of activities. Frequent doctor or hospital visits divert much time and energy from self-actualization needs. Illness and disability increase feelings of dependency and the lack of personal worth for the perception of being more of a burden than a fortune to others. Tied to this may also be the feeling of stigma either ascribed by oneself or by others and thus the experience of devalued group status.

Role and group related identities: For role identity is usually stronger than unspecified group identity, the loss of a cherished role will be more severe than perceived group devaluation. The loss of a primary relationship can have the attribute of role loss, particularly the sudden and unforeseeable death of a spouse. Separation or divorce, however, will not diminish role identities and opportunities to self-verify as both were already lost some time ago and adjustments were most likely made in a timely manner. Adult children moving out of one's home is definitely related to role loss or transformation, however, it will be a quite useless as an indicator of threat when this was no recent experience – or for these matters when the information how long ago the threat occurred is missing – for the simple reason that, again, adjustments are made over time. Group related identity threats may be found in the ESS in terms of belonging to an often devalued or stigmatized group such as being an immigrant or member of an ethnic minority group or being female. Both require a situational context activating the stigma since otherwise the devaluation will be neutralized by the effects of ingroup appreciation.⁵⁴⁸ Then there will be only weak effects if there is any observable association at all. The situational trigger may be the experience of discrimination, for which the ESS provides various categories. However, a one time incidence in the past is not necessarily creating an identity threat in the presence. A better measure would have been achieved with the formulation: “How often do you observe a discrimination of your group...” Once several categories of discrimination are combined, the measure of threat will also be a bit better than when each is treated individually.

⁵⁴⁸ See for example Paul M. Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior, “Predisposing factors and situational triggers: Exclusionary reactions to immigrant minorities” *American Political Science Review* 98.1 (2004): 35-49.

Perceived discrimination has further been associated with a strengthened identification with one's heritage culture even when the discrimination reported was not directed at the person in question as long as the person believed that the discrimination was related to his or her ethnic group.⁵⁴⁹ This heritage culture orientation could directly inhibit the development of trust in members and institutions of the host culture.

Depending on socio-cultural context⁵⁵⁰, the pure belonging to groups of a lower socio-economic status will suffice to create a group related identity threat. An example for this is unemployment. Unemployment may also relate to an unsatisfied achievement motive, but even when the criteria of achievement may be redefined by the person in question, negative stereotyping and disregard by others will most likely present a threat to the unemployed individual.

Identity process related threats: In the section on identity threats, limitations to cognitive abilities and the breakdown or absence of supportive relationships have been discussed. The first cannot be sufficiently represented by the means of the ESS. Even though the ESS contains a variable on educational achievement which might be somewhat seen as an approximation of cognitive ability, it falls short to present really threatening cognitive features to identity processes such as memory loss. On the other hand, it could be argued that a person who realized a higher educational degree may be better positioned in terms of socio-economic status and may also be more flexible cognitively and thus more adaptive in processes of identity transformation. However, this is rather an argument to regard education as an identity resource.

As stated before, we need to relate to others for our need to self-verify with self-verification being an important element in identity formation and transformation. Therefore, the breakdown or the absence of cherished supportive relationships may pose a severe blow to processes of self-verification and thus inhibit our identity security. The loss of a spouse should thus be considered not only in the context of losing role identities but also in terms of losing the opportunity to self-verification. Social isolation in terms of having nobody to talk to about personal and intimate matters is also a very good indicator for missing opportunities to self-verify and probably an even better one than the loss of a

⁵⁴⁹ Amado M. Padilla and William Perez, "Acculturation, social identity, and social cognition: A new perspective" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25.1 (2003): 38.

⁵⁵⁰ The socio-cultural context itself may also be a threat to a person particularly when facing difficulties in adapting to a new cultural context. However, this threat may not be sufficiently operationalized with the data at hand – even though quantifiable data on many cultures is available from the World Value Survey – as the case numbers of immigrants are not large enough to split them apart by their receiving country and country of origin and retain meaningful large groups. In addition, as migrants are somewhat free to choose where to go, they will have chosen their country and region of current residence at least in part on the basis of personal and "cultural" appeal. Assigning them a culture of origin that has not even been truly theirs anymore at the time of departure would lead to most erroneous conclusions about cultural identities. Characterizing countries of residence and countries or communities of origin to civilizations according to Huntington would totally neglect the large degree of cultural variation between countries of the same civilization and the value pluralism within them. The concept of civilization is more symbolic than practical in nature and difficult in its application as a predictor of assimilation strain.

spouse for it is more difficult to overcome. Alternatively, divorce and separation could be regarded as personal failure and pose a threat to achievement orientation.

Threats to existential security: Physical safety reflects on identity security as well. When an individual is scared to move about freely in his or her neighborhood for example for the fear of robbery or rape, this person may feel limited in its day-to-day activities and realize lower levels of self-efficacy. The ESS contains two important indicators for threats to physical safety: the present fear of walking alone through one's neighborhood after nightfall and the past experience of burglary or assault by the individual or a household member. Here again, the time factor is crucial. Of the two threats, the anticipation or fear of victimization in the present will most likely be stronger than victimization in the past.

As noted earlier, occupying a potentially threatening social position and experiencing threat may be quite different. Since most of the identity threats covered by the ESS refer to social positions, it is important to have some kind of measure which potentially threatening situations will be likely to present an actual threat. Also, as time plays a major role in the experience of threat, there is no way to conclude from the data how immanent certain threats are since people start reacting to a threat as soon as it occurs or they become aware of it. To complicate matters further, much of this reaction takes place unconsciously.

Traditional identity research treats personal well-being as an expression of stable identity whereas threats to identity are known to adversely affect well-being. Therefore, the association between well-being and those variables that might be an approximation for identity threat may well be indicative for the strength of threat each of the variables represents. For life satisfaction has already been introduced as an integration variable, the other well-being variable – happiness – will be utilized for the purpose of evaluating the strengths of various potential threats here.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵¹ Subjective general health would have been available also, but it appears to be a bit problematic as people with chronic illness or disability may answer more factual and thus cause the variable to be less sensitive to the various threats it is supposed to associate with.

Table 10: Potential indicators for identity threat

	Mean	(SD)	N	Definition
Group devaluation				
Gender (female)	.529	(.54)	37,332	1 if female, 0 if male
Immigration or ethnic minority background	.150	(.36)	37,332	1 if migration background, 0 otherwise
Discrimination				
any at all	.064	(.25)	37,075	1 member of a discriminated group, 0 otherwise
color or race	.012	(.11)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
nationality	.010	(.10)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
religion	.010	(.10)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
language	.004	(.06)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
ethnicity	.007	(.08)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
age	.007	(.08)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
gender	.006	(.08)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
sexuality	.003	(.06)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
disability	.005	(.07)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
other grounds	.020	(.14)	37,332	1 discriminated, 0 otherwise
<i>combination of several categories</i>	.084	(.39)	37,332	Number of categories along which discrimination was experienced
Poor health	.219	(.41)	37,246	1 hampered in daily activities by illness or disability, 0 otherwise
Economic threats				
Perceived low income	.203	(.40)	32,110	1 too low or much too low, 0 otherwise
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	.407	(.49)	35,173	1 difficult or very difficult, 0 otherwise
Unemployment	.474	(.50)	37,145	1 unemployed, 0 otherwise
Physical safety threats				
Victim of burglary or assault	.219	(.41)	37,269	1 victim within last 5 years, 0 otherwise
Being afraid walking alone in local area after dark	.269	(.44)	36,972	1 afraid, 0 not afraid
Social isolation	.099	(.30)	37,063	1 not having anyone to talk to about intimate and private matters, 0 otherwise
Primary relationship threats				
Separation	.027	(.16)	22,137	1 if separated, 0 otherwise
Divorce	.082	(.27)	23,472	1 if divorced, 0 otherwise
Widow	.113	(.32)	24,276	1 if widowed, 0 otherwise
<i>Loss of primary relationship</i>	.141	(.35)	37,332	1 if separated, divorced, or widowed, 0 otherwise

Note: For the complete wording of the questions, see appendix 2. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Table 10 presents suitable indicators from the ESS 2002/2003 survey explained above. Threats to self-efficacy – in the table named economic threats – were the most prominent among the respondents. Nearly half of the sample was unemployed, 20 percent perceived their household income to be too low or much too low to meet life's ends, and over 40 percent reported that they could borrow money in case of a personal emergency only with difficulty or with great difficulty. Poor health as another variable threatening achievement aspirations and self-efficacy was reported by 22 percent of the people. Existential security – here called physical safety threats – ranked second in the frequency of occurrence. 22 percent of the respondents or any of their household members had been a victim of a physical assault or burglary within the past 5 years, and 27 percent were afraid or very afraid of walking alone in their residential neighborhood after nightfall. Social isolation and the loss of a primary relationship – both potentially threatening self-verification – occurred less often: One out of 10 people reported to have nobody to talk to about private and intimate matters. 14 percent of the surveyed reported the loss of a primary relationship most of them were widowed. Concerning the identity threat category of group devaluation, surprisingly few people reported to have been discriminated. Only 6.4 percent said to have been discriminated and if discrimination was recalled, it was done so on average on 1.3 of the categories mentioned. Considering the low occurrence of discrimination, pure belonging to a potentially devalued group will certainly not safely reflect an experience of group devaluation for the lack of an awareness-raising trigger. While 15 percent of the people have a migration background, only 1.2 percent reported discrimination on the grounds of color or race, 1 percent on nationality, 1 percent on religion, just 0.7 percent on ethnicity, and 0.4 percent on language. In terms of gender, the picture was quite similar: While 53 percent of the respondents were women, only 0.6 percent of the respondents reported to have been discriminated on the ground of gender.⁵⁵² Thus, it seems advisable to search for a way of evaluating the potentially threatening conditions found in the data set to a more established measure of identity security or stability. Particularly, as it was argued to utilize the potential of the ESS to investigate identity threats stemming from the social environment rather than from intra-personal factors, one has to take into account that these merely sociological variables are at best approximations and much weaker representations of identity concepts than those in typical psychological studies.

⁵⁵² Nevertheless, gender related discrimination was reported more frequently by women (1.0%) than by men (0.2%).

Table 11: Associations between potential identity threats and happiness

	Spearman's ρ	
	Correlation	N
Group devaluation		
Gender (female)	.016**	31,356
Immigration or ethnic minority background	-0.010*	31,356
Discrimination		
any at all	-0.075***	31,155
color or race	-0.033***	31,356
nationality	-0.042***	31,356
religion	-0.016**	31,356
language	-0.014**	31,356
ethnicity	-0.034***	31,356
age	-0.038***	31,356
gender	-0.003	31,356
sexuality	-0.006	31,356
disability	-0.022***	31,356
other grounds	-0.052***	31,356
<i>combination of several categories</i>	-0.074***	31,356
Poor health	-0.127***	31,301
Economic threats		
Perceived low income	-0.261***	26,153
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-0.147***	29,515
Unemployment	-0.067***	31,215
Physical safety threats		
Victim of burglary or assault	-0.015**	31,310
Afraid walking alone in local area after dark	-0.063***	31,060
Social isolation	-0.168***	31,147
Primary relationship threats		
Separation	-0.092***	19,054
Divorce	-0.092***	19,962
Widow	-0.132***	20,688
<i>Loss of primary relationship</i>	-0.134***	31,356

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$ one-tailed. The analysis is based on the combination of the design and population size weight. For the complete wording of the questions, see appendix 2. Happiness was measured on an 11-point scale with 0 meaning completely unhappy and 10 completely happy whereas the threats were dichotomous variables – 0 indicating no threat and 1 indicating the occupation of a potentially threatening situation.

Table 11 shows nonparametric bivariate correlations between the potential identity threats and happiness for none of the variables is even close to being normally distributed. The dichotomous character of the variables further reduces the amount of information correlation analysis could yield. Nevertheless, table 11 allows the distinction between weaker and stronger threat variables. As threats reduce the stability of identity, all variables representing threat should correlate negatively with happiness.

It comes of little surprise that gender does not possess this feature. Being a women is clearly not a threat to a person's identity – especially when no situational trigger of stigma or negative group evaluation is supplied. The positive correlation might even be due to a general gender difference, even though it appears to be very small. As such, gender will be a poor example for an analysis of the effects of group devaluation.⁵⁵³ In addition to the very small overlap between migration background and migration related discrimination, possessing a migration background is weakly related to happiness which is another argument that membership in the “group” of migrants alone is no convincing indicator for the experience of identity threat.

In general, the associations between happiness and most of the potential threats shown in table 11 are rather small. Even though one can expect a negative impact of identity threats on happiness, one should be cautious in the estimation of the size of that impact. Coping mechanisms have been demonstrated to moderate the impact of role strain on life satisfaction. For example, Perrone and Civiletto showed that high role strain and high life satisfaction are not contradicting each other when they are linked by perceptions of coping efficacy.⁵⁵⁴ It could well be the case that at the same token as the experience of role strain improves a person's ability to cope, the experience of other forms of identity threat may also improve coping abilities. Particularly, as time plays such a crucial role for the experience of threat, many of the threats presented here will be moderated by the factor of time and thus decrease the measure of association between some of the threats and happiness. The application of a threshold for the correlation of .05 should therefore suffice to exclude less important threats and thus allow improving the operationalization of identity threat by focusing on the stronger ones.

Sometimes, several similar, weak variables can be combined to a new one that meets the proposed threshold, for example in the case of discrimination experience. Among the different grounds of discrimination, indeed several dimensions are sensible⁵⁵⁵, but as the individual discrimination items only weakly affect happiness, they should be excluded from further analysis and only a combined discrimination variable should be kept for the clearly higher correlation revealed in table 11. Even though the correlation coefficient is roughly the same for any discrimination and the number of categories along which discrimination experience was reported, only one of the two variables should be retained for the large degree of redundancy. As the latter contains more information for including the former – only when discrimination was reported, the score on the latter will be above zero – the

⁵⁵³ However, when related to migration background, it might still be a useful category for analysis as many integration problems affect women with migration background worse than to men for their lower social and socio-economic status within their socio-cultural environment.

⁵⁵⁴ See Perrone and Civiletto.

⁵⁵⁵ Separate factor analysis shows a strong link between migration related issues language, ethnic group, nationality, religion, and race. Even though these five items load on the first factor, when SPSS is allowed to extract eigenvalues below 1, a distinct dimension reveals itself that consists of religion and ethnic group. A second dimension concerns age and gender related discrimination. And finally disability and sexuality load on the third factor. Discrimination on other grounds is a bit unstable and links to the age & gender or disability & sexuality component depending on the number of factors extracted.

variable “combination of several discrimination categories” will be retained for further analysis.

A combination of similar variables also seems advisable regarding primary relationship loss for the inclusion of all possibilities to lose a spouse achieves a higher correlation with happiness than any of the individual items, even though the death of a spouse affects a person considerably stronger than separation or divorce. Even though the widow-variable correlates fairly well with happiness, too. There is a large overlap between the widow-variable and the combined variable for the loss of a primary relationship that should be avoided for greater clarity of the following analyses. Thus, only the latter will be retained.

The other six variables to be retained are following the simple threshold criterion suggested above: poor health, perceived low income, anticipated difficulties borrowing money, unemployment, afraid walking alone in local area after dark, and social isolation.

Even though perceived low income, anticipated difficulties borrowing money, and unemployment all present economic threats and may thus be rather similar to each other, they present comparably high negative correlations with happiness and therefore seem to be too important for the tasks ahead to be reduced. Unemployment correlates not as high as the other two economic threat indicators which may be due to a rather different nature of the variable. This speaks against a combination of all three.

When trying to confirm the different aspects of identity threat by principle component analysis, not only the already suggested double meaning of several potential threats appears problematic as it will result in the loading of these variables on more than one component. Also, a different perspective on identity and its related threats according to the life path or life cycle model contributes to the production of rather unstable patterns.⁵⁵⁶

The eight stronger indicators for identity threat gained from the association of the potentially threatening conditions with happiness have been subjected to a factor analysis to check on the stability of the underlying factor structure.⁵⁵⁷

Four components have been extracted according to the wish to reproduce the proposed four sources structure of the identity threats explained above. In doing so, components 3 and 4 only narrowly missed the alternative criterion of extracting components with eigenvalues above 1. The four component extraction explained 59.9 percent of the total variance (see table 12).

⁵⁵⁶ For the relationship between identity development and age, see for example Jennifer L. Pals, “Narrative identity processing of difficult life experiences: Pathway of personality development and positive self-transformation in adulthood” *Journal of Personality* 74.4 (2006): 1079-1110 or Daniel K. Mroczek and Avron Spiro III, “Change in life satisfaction during adulthood: Findings from the veterans affairs normative aging study” *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 88.1 (2005): 189-202.

⁵⁵⁷ The analysis was based on 29,720 weighted cases. The KMO was .662 with a highly significant Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity. The MSA values were all equal or above .58. The determinant of the correlation matrix was .73 indicating that multicollinearity does not pose a problem to the data. When the residuals between observed and reproduced correlations were computed, there were 17 (60.0%) nonredundant residuals with absolute values greater than 0.05.

Table 12: Eigenvalues for identity threat indicators

Component	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	1.763	22.0%	22.0%
2	1.063	13.3%	35.3%
3	.993	12.4%	47.7%
4	.975	12.2%	59.9%
5	.910	11.4%	71.3%
6	.862	10.8%	82.1%
7	.752	9.4%	91.5%
8	.683	8.5%	100.0%

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis; Direct Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalization. The analysis was based on N = 29,720 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The four suggested categories of identity threats – identity motive related threats; role and group related threats; identity process related threats; and threats to existential security are partly confirmed by the factor solution shown in table 13.

Table 13: Factor loadings for identity threat indicators

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
1) Discrimination	-.001	.028	.966	.089
2) Poor health	.688	-.033	.020	.062
3) Perceived low income	.026	.772	.049	.098
4) Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	.001	.810	-.021	-.019
5) Unemployment	.594	.215	-.188	-.015
6) Being afraid of walking alone in local area after dark	.553	.044	.200	-.263
7) Social isolation	-.057	.126	.085	.881
8) Loss of primary relationship	.490	-.123	-.044	.417

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis, Rotation method: direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 29,720 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Discrimination clearly is a group related threat and constitutes a separate factor here. Social isolation and the loss of primary relationship were reasoned to be examples of identity process related threats for they frustrate the need to self-verify. Indeed, they load on the same factor here, too. It was also reasoned that perceived low income, anticipated difficulties borrowing money, unemployment, and poor health should inhibit identity motives – they all relate to the self-efficacy motive or respectively achievement. The factor structure in the data set only places perceived low income and anticipated difficulties borrowing money into one group and shows an alternative group containing poor health and unemployment together with being afraid of walking in local area after dark, and the loss of primary relationship. Of these, being afraid of walking in local area after dark was reasoned to fall into a separate category referring to existential security. However, all four variables seem to be strongly influenced by age. Older people face all of these four threats much more frequently than younger people. Interestingly, the loss of primary relationship

variable loads even higher on the age and self-efficacy factor than on the identity process factor.

In the age group of people over 50, one could find two separate self-efficacy or achievement factors – one representing perceived low income and anticipated difficulties to being able to borrow money in case of a personal emergency, the other representing poor health and unemployment. Again, being afraid of walking alone in one's residential area after dark loads on the latter self-efficacy factor. Discrimination represents a factor of its own whereas social isolation and primary relationship loss constitute a separate factor. Here again, the loss of primary relationship splits loading scores between the self-verification factor and the second self-efficacy or achievement factor which also represents unemployment and poor health, even though it loads on self-verification a bit stronger than on self-efficacy.

For people under 30 years of age, discrimination and poor health load together. Social isolation loads negatively on the factor also representing the fear of walking alone in one's local area after nightfall probably presenting the need of those who wish to socialize more frequently with friends to move about freely. For this age group, the three economic variables nicely load on the same factor as it was expected, while the loss of a primary relationship creates a factor of its own.

People between 30 and 49 have primary relationship loss and poor health loading together. Again, the three economic threats load on one factor, and discrimination is a separate factor. Similar to the younger people, being afraid of walking alone in one's residential area after dark loads negatively on the factor representing social isolation.

A simplification of the measure for identity threat is nevertheless feasible and will be discussed in section 3.2.3.3.

3.2.3.2 Identity resources

The previous discussion on identity suggests that threats are not the only indicators of identity security. Cognitive and social resources supporting processes of identity construction, transformation, and enactment are equally important in the model presented here. However, it is very difficult to link these merely psychological concepts to the variables available in the chosen data set. Nevertheless, several items are available that relate closely to the determinants discussed in the section of coping resources (2.2.6) that are directly or indirectly linked to identity processes and many of which have been used in previous studies as moderators of threat.

These were self-efficacy, the multiplicity of identities, identity balance, social support, and cognitive abilities. Whereas identity balance cannot be represented in a meaningful way through the ESS variables, the other concepts can.

It could be argued that trust is also a very important source of security and identity security as well. Trusting others may well enhance regards of the self and self-confidence or help the individual in realizing a higher level of social support. However, it will nevertheless be omitted from the operationalization of identity resources here, because the definition of integration draws so heavily on the trust concept and the variables representing the independent and the dependent should be kept clearly separate.

Self-efficacy

Even though it was suggested, earlier that efficacy can generally be transferred from one situation to another and from one identity to another, there are still certain skills, methods, and abilities that are defined by context and linked to evaluative aspects of identity. Self-efficacy related to a particularly strong and positively regarded identity as can often be found in a person's compassion is not so easily transferred to tasks relating to a weaker identity much less central to a person. For example, a person who relates very well with other people who share his or her love for a musical instrument and shows great aptitude and self-confidence in his or her abilities to teach others how to play it, the same person might feel completely overwhelmed by a request of an angry customer at work and much less confident in his or her ability to calm him down even though that person is very caring and patient with other people in general.

It also seems recommendable to consider several sources and dimensions of identity stabilizing factors⁵⁵⁸ as different sources of self-efficacy might provide. For the ESS contains self-efficacy related questions concerning work and politics, factor analysis might provide useful information on whether or not to use an overall measure of self-efficacy with the data at hand or if it is possible to look at area related self-efficacy sources. Both would be suitable for the research aim of this work. However, a distinction of self-efficacy sources might later have the potential to suggest an area related integration policy instead of a general self-efficacy focused policy if a strong enough link between self-efficacy and integration could be revealed.

Self-efficacy can be translated in the ability to understand political events and processes or to feel fit to influence them. Work related self-efficacy could not only be seen as the result of positive job performance but also of having some degree of freedom of decision making and influence on the organization and direction of one's work. Also the confidence of finding a more interesting or better paid job with the same or another employer as well as the confidence of being able to start one's own business can be regarded as an expression of work related self-efficacy. Table 14 contains the ESS items supposed to represent self-efficacy.

⁵⁵⁸ Lee A. Kirkpatrick and Bruce J. Ellis, "An evolutionary-psychological approach to self-esteem: Multiple domains and multiple functions" *Self and Social Identity*, eds. Marilyn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) 54-56.

Table 14: Self-efficacy components

	Mean (SD)	N	Definition
1) Politics too complicated to understand	3.18 (1.1)	36,787	1 never, 5 frequently
2) Could take an active role in a group involved with political issues	2.17 (1.3)	36,959	1 definitely not, 5 definitely
3) Making mind up about political issues	2.92 (1.1)	36,763	1 very difficult, 5 very easy
4) Allowed to be flexible in working hours	4.53 (3.5)	16,032	0 no influence, 10 complete control
5) Allowed to decide how daily work is organized	5.93 (3.3)	16,022	0 no influence, 10 complete control
6) Allowed to influence job environment	5.41 (3.1)	15,972	0 no influence, 10 complete control
7) Allowed to influence decisions about work direction	5.06 (3.1)	15,965	0 no influence, 10 complete control
8) Allowed to change work tasks	4.27 (3.6)	15,946	0 no influence, 10 complete control
9) Get a similar or better job with another employer	4.02 (3.0)	15,726	0 extremely difficult, 10 extremely easy
10) Start own business	2.88 (2.8)	15,748	0 extremely difficult, 10 extremely easy

Note: Items 1-3 were measured on a five-point scale, items 4-10 on an eleven-point scale. For complete wording of the questions see appendix 2. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The 10 indicators for self-efficacy from table 14 have been subjected to a factor analysis to evaluate the underlying components.⁵⁵⁹ Components with eigenvalues above 1 were extracted and three components emerged. They explained 63.5 percent of the total variance (see table 15).

Table 15: Eigenvalues for self-efficacy components

Component	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	3.544	35.4%	35.4%
2	1.662	16.6%	52.1%
3	1.148	11.5%	63.5%
4	.702	7.0%	70.6%
5	.599	6.0%	76.6%
6	.583	5.8%	82.4%
7	.571	5.7%	88.1%
8	.489	4.9%	93.0%
9	.391	3.9%	96.9%
10	.311	3.1%	100.0%

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis; Rotation: Direct Oblimin with Kaiser normalization. Components with eigenvalues above 1 were extracted. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

⁵⁵⁹ The analysis was based on N = 15,033 weighted cases. The high KMO of .832 accompanied by a highly significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity show that factor analysis is appropriate for the data at hand and the indicators will be represented to a very high degree through the analysis. The MSA values were all equal or above .64. The determinant of the correlation matrix of .056 indicates that multicollinearity does not pose a problem to the data. When the residuals between observed and reproduced correlations were computed, there were 12 (26.0%) nonredundant residuals with absolute values greater than 0.05.

The three-factorial solution indeed contained a component for the political variables as was expected. It further created two components for the work related variables – one referring to the freedom of decision making and organization in and of one’s job tasks, the other is a reflection of feelings of independence. The high negative loading of the first indicator (table 16) is due to its reversed scale. As there are very clear loadings and no double loadings of items one can have some confidence in the three-dimensionality of the items included here.

Table 16: Factor loadings for self-efficacy indicators

	Component		
	1	2	3
1) Politics too complicated to understand	.006	-.755	.010
2) Could take an active role in a political group	.018	.708	.049
3) Making mind up about political issues	-.020	.802	-.027
4) Allowed to be flexible in working hours	.700	.011	.039
5) Allowed to decide how daily work is organized	.845	.042	-.064
6) Allowed to influence job environment	.835	-.002	-.041
7) Allowed to influence decisions about work direction	.860	.005	-.027
8) Allowed to change work tasks	.739	-.070	.119
9) Get a similar or better job with another employer	-.063	-.055	.889
10) Start own business	.094	.089	.767

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis, Rotation method: direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 15,033 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

All items have been adjusted to display values between 0-1 with 0 indicating low self-efficacy and 1 high self-efficacy. According to table 16, items 1-3 have been assigned to political self-efficacy, items 4-8 to work related self-efficacy, and the remaining items 9 and 10 composed an independence based self-efficacy index. The second and third indexes summarize the assigned items by dividing each score by 10 and calculating the mean score of all items. For the political self-efficacy index, the scale of the first item was reversed. Then the three items with values from 1 to 5 were recoded in the way that 1 was replaced by 0, 2 by .25, 3 by .5, 4 by .75, and 5 by 1. The political self-efficacy index was then constructed by calculating the mean score of the assigned items. When any item on any of the three indexes had missing values, the index score was nevertheless calculated when at least half of the items had valid data entries. The comprehensive self-efficacy index was constructed by calculating the average value of the three sub indexes, if there were valid data on at least one scale, otherwise too many cases would have been lost.

Table 17: Self-efficacy dimensions

	Mean	(SD)	N	Correlations		
				(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Political self-efficacy	.408	(.22)	37,029	--	.122	.092
(2) Work related self-efficacy	.504	(.26)	16,030		--	.336
(3) Independence based self-efficacy	.345	(.24)	15,949			--
Self-efficacy (comprehensive index)	.404	(.20)	37,108			

Note: All items ranged from 0-1 with 0 indicating low self-efficacy and 1 meaning high self-efficacy. Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Correlation coefficients: Spearman's ρ .

A distinction between the three dimensions of self-efficacy seems to be a good idea particularly as political and job related self-efficacy correlate so weakly. However, work task related self-efficacy and independence base self-efficacy show a moderate degree of correlation which is quite natural as people who feel competent in performing well on their job are more confident in their chances to find another good job or in starting their own business. Combining work related and independence based self-efficacy, their mean score is slightly higher than people's average on political self-efficacy.

Looking at the case numbers revealed a high participation rate on the political questions whereas the two job related dimensions include less than half of the respondents. In order to keep a sufficiently large sample size for further analysis, completing at least half of the questions of one sub index – and this will be in most cases the political index – lead to a valid score on the comprehensive self-efficacy index. This seems also reasonable since the lower response rate on job related self-efficacy is not due to simple refusal but merely due to life situations. When someone is not yet working, retired, disabled or unemployed, he or she may lack a very important source for the experience of self-efficacy and should therefore be inclined to have a lower score.

Multiple strong identities

The possession of multiple strong identities has been shown to facilitate identity processes and to act as buffers against the repercussions of negative life events⁵⁶⁰ and should therefore be regarded as a source for identity security. The ESS offers two representations of multiple strong identities – one concerning seven areas of life, the other identities relating to voluntary organizations. The first asked how important family, friends, leisure time, politics, work, religion, and voluntary organizations were in one's life. The second listed 12 different kinds of voluntary organizations and asked for each whether the person was a member, participated in the organization's activities, donated money or did voluntary work for the organization within the past year. If any of these four options was positively answered, it was additionally asked if the person had personal friends within the

⁵⁶⁰ See for example Pittinsky, Shih, and Ambady; Stacey Sinclair, Brian S. Lowery and Curtis D. Hardin, "Self-stereotyping in the context of multiple social identities" *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 90.4 (2006): 529-542; Vivian L. Vignoles, Jen Golledge, Camillo Regalia, Claudia Manzi, and Eugenia Scabini, "Beyond self-esteem: Influence of multiple motives on identity construction" *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 90.2 (2006): 308-333; and Thoits (1983b).

organization. Each of these five aspects represents a tie to the organization. The strength of such an organizational identity could thus be expressed in the number of positive answers linked to an organization. Under this definition, pure membership represents less organizational identity strength than the combination of several aspects such as membership plus voluntary work plus personal friends. As people may evaluate the importance of each of the five aspects differently in terms of their commitment to the organization, they should here be regarded as equally important for the sake of simplicity. Thus, a scale counting the occurrence of each of the five aspects for each of the twelve types of organizations can be constructed.

Table 18: Indicators for the strength of identities

Indicator	Mean	(SD)	N	Definition
Important in life				0 extremely unimportant, 10 extremely important
Family	9.36	(1.3)	37,268	
Friends	8.26	(1.8)	37,202	
Leisure time	7.67	(2.0)	37,048	
Politics	4.23	(2.6)	37,092	
Work	7.41	(2.8)	36,683	
Religion	4.79	(3.3)	37,162	
Voluntary organizations	4.56	(2.9)	36,865	
Voluntary organizations				0 no affiliation, 5 strong commitment
Sport/outdoor club	2.45	(1.1)	10,297	
Cultural or hobby organization	2.40	(1.1)	7,345	
Trade union	1.78	(0.9)	5,608	
Professional organization	1.99	(1.0)	3,296	
Consumer organization	1.30	(0.6)	5,767	
Human rights organization	1.67	(1.0)	5,473	
Environmental, peace, or animal rights organization	1.65	(0.9)	4,162	
Religious group	2.36	(1.2)	6,040	
Political party	2.17	(1.2)	1,824	
Scientific, teaching or educational organization	2.21	(1.2)	3,332	
Social club	2.38	(1.1)	5,029	
Other voluntary organization	2.10	(1.2)	3,098	

Note: For complete wording of the questions see appendix 2. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Considering the seven areas of life people were asked to evaluate in their importance for their personal lives, family stands out as the most important. Friends, leisure time, and work are also important to most people whereas politics is the least important.

Among people who were involved with voluntary organizations, people engaged in sport and outdoor activity clubs as well as cultural and hobby organizations had the strongest organizational identity closely followed by those involved in social clubs and religious groups. Unsurprisingly, consumer organizations do not generate a lot of commitment as for example membership in an automobile club has little more meaning to most people than being an insurance against car breakdown.

Regarding engagement in voluntary organizations as a resource for identity security is related to the concept of social capital.⁵⁶¹ The social capital perspective argues that memberships provide social contacts, increase personal networks, teach democratic procedures, and provide ties to one's country of residence etc. All of these aspects of organizational engagement and voluntary work directly link to integration. In contrast, from an identity perspective it can be argued that memberships and organizational identity create new opportunity structures for the construction and transformation of identity which will render identities more stable and should then contribute to integration. From organizational research it is known that the more individuals identify the more they think and act from the group's perspective and the more they take a greater effort on behalf of the group.⁵⁶²

Measures of multiple strong identities should include both aspects – multiplicity and identity strength. In the case of life areas, one could simply count the areas a person evaluates as rather important to his life considering values between 6 and 10, for 5 would indicate a neutral evaluation and values between 0 and 4 represent low importance evaluations of the life area in question.

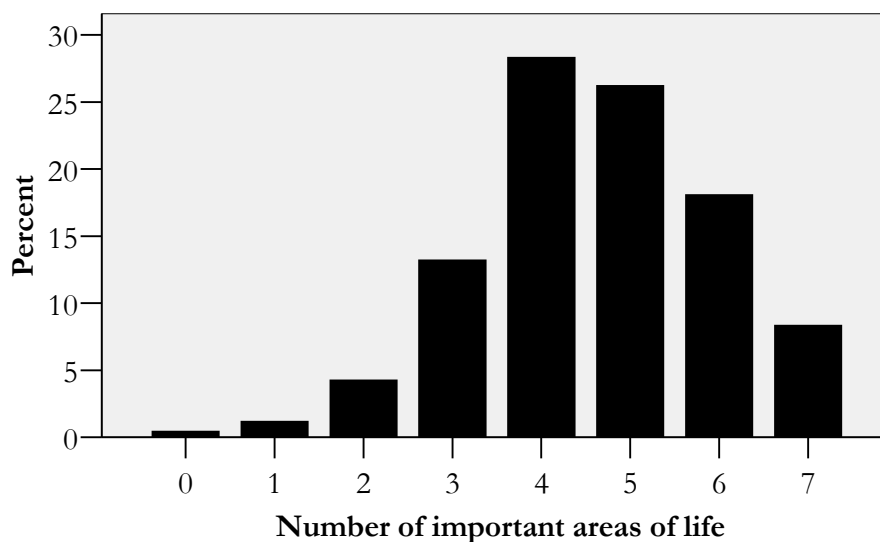
For representing organizational identity strength and multiplicity, a different approach will have to be taken considering the small case numbers in each category. Being active in several organizations might provide similar important opportunities for identity construction as the strong commitment to an organization. Thus, an additive scale would contain information on both – the multiplicity and strength of organizational identity with

⁵⁶¹ This measure is closely linked to the social capital concept as developed and used by James S. Coleman, "Social capital in the creation of human capital" American Journal of Sociology 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure (1988): S95-S120; Robert D. Putman, Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1993); Robert D. Putman, "Turning in, turning out: The strange disappearance of social capital in America" PS: Political Science and Politics 28.4 (1995): 664-683; Robert D. Putman, "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital" Journal of Democracy 6 (1995): 65-78; Robert D. Putman, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000); Oscar W. Gabriel, Volker Kunz, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Jan van Deth, Sozialkapital und Demokratie: Zivilgesellschaftliche Ressourcen im Vergleich (Wien: WUV Universitätsverlag, 2002); Pamela Paxton, "Is social capital declining in the United States? A multiple indicator assessment" American Journal of Sociology 105.1 (1999): 88-127. Even though several memberships will clearly indicate a broader range of one's social networks, they are also indicating a wider range of available identities to a person – as used here. Nevertheless, the outcome substantially overlaps and one cannot clearly distinguish whether multiple memberships are so beneficial to a person's integration because of an increase in identity resources, the substantial personal ties associated to these memberships or both. Similarly difficult is the explanation for the relationship between memberships and anti-immigration attitudes: the positive effects of multiple memberships on reducing anti-immigration attitudes may be due to the increased identity resources contributing to a person's sense of security (as claimed here), but also the experience of cross identification or a common ingroup identity.

⁵⁶² Daan van Knippenberg, "Work motivation and performance: A social identity perspective." Applied Psychology: An International Review 49.3 (2000): 357-371; Daan van Knippenberg and Els C. M. van Schie, "Foci and correlates of organizational identification" Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology 73.2 (2000): 137-147; Naomi Ellemers, Dick de Gilder, and Henriëtte van den Heuvel. "Career-oriented versus team-oriented commitment and behavior at work" Journal of Applied Psychology 83.5 (1998): 717-730; S. Alexander Haslam, Psychology in Organizations: The Social Identity Approach (London: Sage, 2001); Haslam, S. Alexander and John C. Turner, "Social identity, organizations, and leadership" Groups at Work: Theory and Research, ed. Marlene E. Turner (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2001) 25-65.

values above 5 always requiring engagement in at least two organizations. However, it would be unrealistic to expect this simple measure of organizational identity strength to reflect the theoretical identity dimensions of centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties in a separable fashion – as for example pointed at by Cameron (see section 2.2.1.1). Instead, regarding the opportunities of the data set, one will have to be satisfied with the proposed, much more obscure measure of identity strength in which of course centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties will play their role but are not clearly separable from one another. Ingroup ties will particularly relate to the aspect of personal friendships within the organization. Centrality and affect are expressed by the accumulation of organization related behavior, such as participation in activities of the organization and committing voluntary work. It should be noted here that this operationalization of identity strength is not able to distinguish between commitment and identification that some identity researchers find important to do.⁵⁶³ Others point to the fact that these two concepts correlate rather highly and thus rendering this distinction a bit less important.⁵⁶⁴

Figure 7: Areas of life as an identity resource



Note: Bars reflect the number of the seven areas of life, a person evaluates at least with a 6 on a scale from 0-10 including family, friends, leisure time, work, politics, religion, and voluntary work. The analysis was based on N = 37,332 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

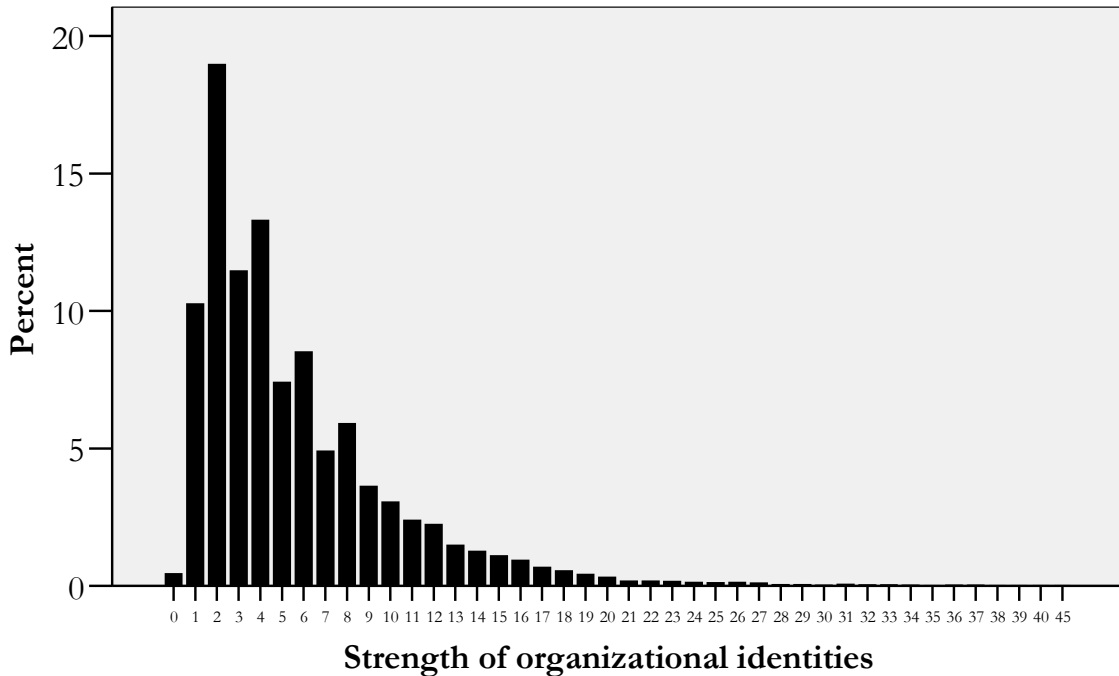
Whereas the distribution of the areas of life scale is almost close to normal (see figure 7), the distribution of organizational identity is extremely skewed (see figure 8). While 95

⁵⁶³ Michael G. Pratt, “To be or not to be? Central questions in organizational identification” *Identity in Organizations: Building Theory through Conversations*, eds. David Allred Whetten and Paul C. Godfrey (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998) 171-207; Dominic Abrams, Kaori Ando, and Steve Hinkle, “Psychological attachment to the group: Cross-cultural differences in organizational identification and subjective norms as predictors of workers’ turnover intentions” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 24.10 (1998): 1027-1039; Rolf van Dick, Ulrich Wagner, Jost Stellmacher, Oliver Christ, and Patrick A. Tissington, “To be(long) or not to be(long): Social identification in organizational context” *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs* 131.3 (2005): 203.

⁵⁶⁴ Daan van Knippenberg and Ed Sleebos, “Organizational identification versus organizational commitment: self-definition, social exchange, and job attitudes” *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 27.5 (2006): 571-584.

percent of the weighted sample had scores between 0 and 14, there was 1 percent scoring 21 to 45.

Figure 8: Distribution of organizational identity strength



Note: Bars reflect the strength of organizational identity based on the number of activities/ties by twelve types of voluntary organizations. The analysis was based on N = 23,043 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

In order to eliminate the extremes, values between 21 and 45 were set to 20. Doing so also seems reasonable as these high scores will most likely be due to low commitment factors such as passive memberships or financial donations spread over very many organizations and will thus contribute rather little to identity security. Subsequently, the natural logarithm will be applied to the scale to correct for some of the skewness in order to make the organizational identity scale more comparable to the area of life scale according to the formula: $x_2 = \ln(x_1 + 1)$ with x_1 representing the old variable and x_2 the transformed one. After this transformation the scale range was reduced to 0-3.04 with a mean value of 1.67 (SD = .62). This compares much better to the areas of life scale with a mean value of 4.6 (SD = 1.4) on a 0-7 range. Both scales can now be combined into a comprehensive index representing multiple strong identities by the following operation:

$$MSI = \frac{AOL/7 + OI/3.04}{2}$$

with *MSI* representing the comprehensive index of multiple strong identities, *AOL* the areas of life index and *OI* the transformed organizational identity index. The

comprehensive index of multiple strong identities takes on values between 0 and 1 with a mean score of .613 and a standard deviation of .15.

Table 19: Multiple strong identities

	Mean	(SD)	N	Correlation	
				(1)	(2)
(1) Areas of life (<i>AOL</i>)	4.60	(1.4)	37,332	--	.190
(2) Organizational identity (<i>OI</i>)	5.51	(4.5)	23,043		--
Multiple strong identities (<i>MSI</i>) comprehensive index	.613	(.15)	23,043		

Note: Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Correlation coefficient: Spearman's ρ . Scales range 0-7 for AOL, 0-60 for OI and 0-1 for MSI.

Supportive relationships

The approach in including supportive relationships is twofold. On the one hand, identifications with people provide us with a sense who one is which is central for identity construction. On the other hand, people need relationships for the purpose of self-verification which is central to identity enactment.

As the lack of a primary relationship as well as social isolation have already been discussed as severe potential identity threats, the perspective on identity resources will refer to people's communicative behavior. With the ESS data, the presence of supportive relationship can be measured in terms of social interactions and how the individual perceived them. The ESS contains four suitable items – (1) socially meeting with friends, relatives and colleagues; (2) taking part in social activities; (3) helping others; and (4) discussing politics and current affairs. These interactions provide opportunity structures for identity construction and self-verification and are thus extremely valuable for sustaining positive self-perceptions.

For improving the comparability of the four indicators, the scales of item 3 and 4 have been reversed. Further, an adjustment to the different scale ranges was made dividing each scale point by the maximum scale points after 1 point was subtracted. Each variable has thus been converted into scales from 0 to 1 with 0 indicating no social support and 1 representing high social support.

Table 20: Indicators for social support

	Mean	(SD)	N	Definition
1) Socially meet with friends, relatives or colleagues	.659	(.26)	37,232	0 never, 1 every day
2) Take part in social activities	.422	(.24)	36,580	0 much less than most, 1 much more than most
3) Help others	.435	(.31)	31,531	0 never, 1 every day
4) Discuss politics and current affairs	.521	(.35)	37,066	0 never, 1 every day
Social support (comprehensive index)	.515	(.18)	37,003	0 no support, 1 high support

Note: For complete wording of the questions see appendix 2. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The 4 indicators for integration from table 20 have been subjected to a factor analysis to check whether or not they could sensibly be combined into the same index representing social support.⁵⁶⁵ When given the criterion to extract eigenvalues above 1, SPSS extracted two components explaining 63.8 percent of the total variance (table 21).

Table 21: Eigenvalues for social support indicators

Component	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	1.525	38.1%	38.1%
2	1.025	25.6%	63.8%
3	.773	19.3%	83.1%
4	.676	16.9%	100.0%

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis; Direct Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalization. The analysis was based on N = 30,798 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The factor loadings in table 8 reveal a structure that group social meetings and social activities to one factor while assigning helping behavior and the discussion of politics and current affairs on another. Even so the extracted components have some degree of correlation, the assignment of each indicator to a factor is rather sharp.

⁵⁶⁵ The analysis was based on 30,798 weighted cases. The low KMO of .576 accompanied by a highly significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity barely meets the required minimum of .500 showing that factor analysis is still appropriate for the data at hand and the indicators will be sufficiently represented through the analysis. The MSA values were all equal or above .56. The determinant of the correlation matrix of .818 indicates that multicollinearity does not pose a problem to the data. When the residuals between observed and reproduced correlations were computed, there were 4 (66.0%) nonredundant residuals with absolute values greater than 0.05.

Table 22: Factor loadings for social support indicators

	Component	
	1	2
1) Socially meet with friends, relatives or colleagues	.850	-.096
2) Take part in social activities	.759	.115
3) Help others	.087	.731
4) Discuss politics and current affairs	-.076	.825

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis, Rotation method: direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 30,798 cases weighted by design and population size weight. The components are correlated at $r = .19$.

The distinction between the two components represented by items 1 and 2 and item 3 and 4 respectively may well present the famous distinction between strong and weak social ties discussed by Granovetter.⁵⁶⁶ Discussing politics and current affairs freely requires an atmosphere with a good bit of intimacy. Most people would probably not reveal their political opinions to unknown strangers. Also, most people would not necessarily help unfamiliar people with high commitment tasks such as moving furniture or babysitting whereas low commitment tasks such as telling time or helping to read a map would probably not be associated with “helping” right away.

However, for a measure of the general level of social support, the distinction between support from weak ties and strong ties seems not urgent. As the second component had an eigenvalue of just slightly over 1, a second principle component analysis was conducted extracting only one factor revealing that all four factors score rather well at a minimum of .533 and a maximum of .702 on the main component. This result seems to warrant the creation of a comprehensive social support index based on the mean score of the four indicators. The descriptive statistics of this resulting index were reported in table 20.

Education

Education could be regarded as an identity resource for being an approximation for a person’s intellectual capacity and how well cognitive resources are put to use by the individual. It has been argued that the intellectual capacity of a person relates to one’s preferred response mechanisms to identity threat in terms of problem-oriented vs. emotion-focused defense reactions whereby the problem-oriented approach requires more intellectual resources and provides greater stability for the perception of self. A person’s cognitive abilities such as memory, concentration, or logical thinking may well translate into educational success. Additionally, other attitudes and characteristics such as motivation, interest in many things, working hard, or goal orientation may similar influence educational success and provide resources for identity construction. The ESS contains two major variables measuring education: the highest level of education achieved by a person and the

⁵⁶⁶ Mark S. Granovetter, “The strength of weak ties” *American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973): 1360-1380.

years of full-time education. The highest level of education has a genuine problem of comparability from one country to another. The standardized version, however, has only five categories providing differentiation. Further, Austria is not included. Even though, the number of years spent with full-time education may not automatically present educational success in terms of efficiency, and career choices will strongly impact how much time a person devotes to education, some correlation should be expected for the facts that the less “talented” will choose earlier exit options from the education system. On the other hand, each year a person stays on or later returns for further qualification will definitely contribute to his or her cognitive and emotional maturation.

The years of a person’s full-time education will therefore be used as an approximation for his or her general cognitive ability. However, adjustments have to be made for different educational traditions and systems as well as age. Thus, the years a person spent on full-time education will be related to the country’s average and to the average of his or her age group. For the age differentiation, the same rough measure will be used that has already been applied to show the effects of age on the occurrence or perception of identity threats looking at young people under 30, middle aged people between 30 and 49 and elder people aged 50 or older. The mean values for each of the country-age subgroups have been rounded on .5 years. The differences thus maintained between the person’s years of education and his or her subgroup mean ranged from -14 to 31.5 years. As the extreme values at both ends of the scale will contribute little in terms of measuring a general degree of cognitive abilities, values between -14 and -5.5 were set to -5 and values between 10.5 and 31.5 were set to 10. In order to avoid negative values on the scale and to match the scale range of other identity resources, 5 has been added before dividing the new score by 15 – the new end of scale. Education as expression of cognitive resources is thus measured on a scale between 0 which indicates 5 or more years below the average education and 1 indicating 10 or more years of education above the average ($M = 0.335$, $SD = 0.23$, $N = 36,477$).

3.2.3.3 Summary identity security

Particularly for the first step of analysis looking at the macro-level, a further reduction of the independents is necessary, as the number of cases – the presented countries – is so low. On the other hand, it would be interesting to know whether the two proposed dimensions of identity security really present different concepts. Therefore, a second order factor analysis has been conducted for the identity security indicators included in the table below.

Table 23: Identity security components

	Mean	(SD)	N
Threats			
Discrimination	.084	(.39)	37,332
Poor health	.219	(.41)	37,246
Perceived low income	.203	(.40)	32,110
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	.407	(.49)	35,173
Unemployment	.474	(.50)	37,145
Being afraid of walking alone in local area after dark	.269	(.44)	36,972
Social isolation	.099	(.30)	37,063
Loss of primary relationship	.141	(.35)	37,332
Resources			
Self-efficacy	.404	(.20)	37,108
Multiple strong identities	.613	(.15)	23,043
Social support	.515	(.18)	37,003
Education	.335	(.23)	36,477

Note: For complete wording of the questions see appendix 2. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

For it is argued that threats and resources should present different dimensions of identity security, it will be attempted to extract two factors.⁵⁶⁷ Table 24 presents the eigenvalues for the components of identity security.

Table 24: Eigenvalues for identity security components

Component	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	2.170	18.1%	18.1%
2	1.287	10.7%	28.8%
3	1.094	9.1%	37.9%
4	1.051	8.8%	46.7%
5	.969	8.1%	54.8%
6	.899	7.5%	62.2%
7	.873	7.3%	69.5%
8	.818	6.8%	76.3%
9	.791	6.6%	82.9%
10	.747	6.2%	89.2%
11	.692	5.8%	94.9%
12	.610	5.1%	100.0%

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. The analysis was based on N = 18,235 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

⁵⁶⁷ The analysis was based on 18,235 weighted cases. The KMO of .704 accompanied by a highly significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity show that factor analysis is appropriate for the data at hand and the indicators will be represented to a very high degree through the analysis. The MSA values were all equal or above .54. The determinant of the correlation matrix of .496 indicates that multicollinearity does not pose a problem to the data. When the residuals between observed and reproduced correlations were computed, there were 38 (57.0%) nonredundant residuals with absolute values greater than 0.05.

Applying the rule of extracting eigenvalues above 1, SPSS extracts four factors representing three components for identity threats and one additional component for all four identity resources. However, when forced on two components – which can be done adjusting the extraction criterion to 1.1 – the first emerging component represents identity resources and the second component represents identity threats.

Table 25: Factor loadings for identity security components

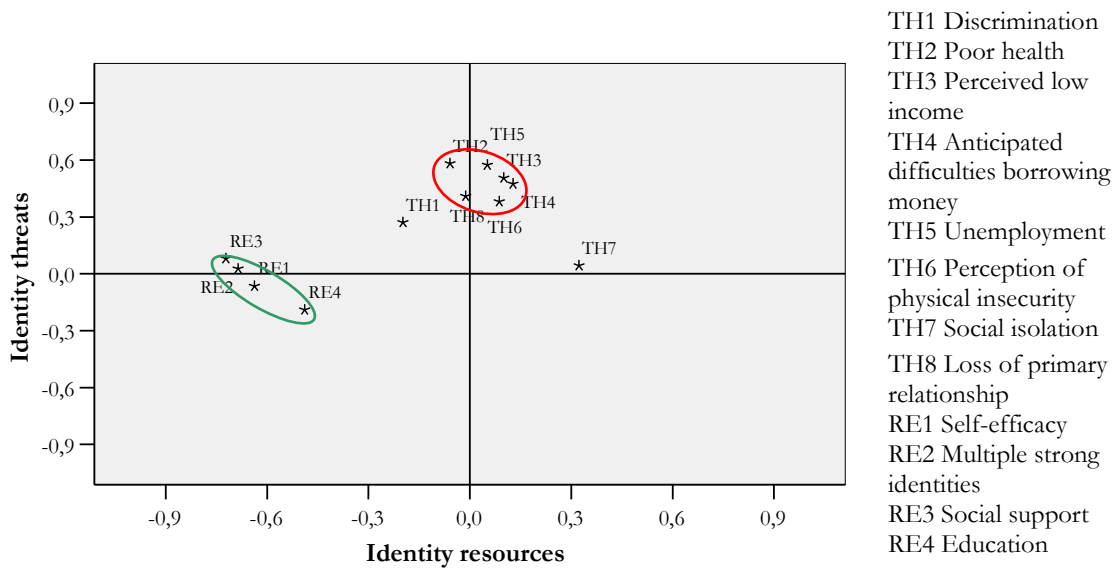
Indicator	Component	
	Resources	Threats
Discrimination	-.198	.271
Poor health	-.059	.582
Perceived low income	.101	.506
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	.128	.475
Unemployment	.052	.575
Perception of physical insecurity	.087	.381
Social isolation	.323	.043
Loss of primary relationship	-.013	.409
Self-efficacy	-.638	-.064
Multiple strong identities	-.686	.027
Social support	-.722	.080
Education	-.489	-.189

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis, Rotation method: direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 18,235 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Social isolation and discrimination load insufficiently on the components and are therefore excluded. The component plot (figure 9) suggests social isolation to be a mere counter concept to social support – and indeed it is feasible that scoring very low in social ties increases the risk for not having anyone to talk to about private and intimate matters. Indeed, there is some degree of correlation between social support and social isolation with Spearman's $\rho = -.20$. Discrimination splits its loading between the two factors but loads rather low on both – thus neither component represents it well enough.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁸ To check on the stability of the factor solution, it was rerun without social isolation and discrimination. Doing so raises the variance explained by the two components from 28.8% to 33.8% and the underlying factor structure remained the same.

Figure 9: Identity security components



Note: Component plot of second order factor analysis. Extraction method: Principal component analysis, Rotation method: direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 18,235 cases weighted by design and population size weight. Components correlated at .16.

The two dimensions of identity security representing identity threats and identity resources can well be channeled into a two variable summary of the concept. Whereas identity resources are composed of self-efficacy, multiple strong identities, social support and education.⁵⁶⁹ As the four resources variables had already been standardized on 0-1 scales, the resulting identity resources index was then defined by the statistical mean of the four subscales when there was valid data on at least 2 or the 4 subscales.

As the factor solution suggested omitting discrimination and social isolation, the identity threat index is now composed of six potentially threatening conditions – poor health, perception of low income, anticipated difficulties borrowing money, unemployment, physical insecurity, and loss of a primary relationship. Since the unstable factor structure behind the eight threat indicators made a reduction according to subgroups inadvisable, the emerging approximation variable for identity threat simply counts the occurrence of potential threats a person reported. This possibility has previously been addressed in the context of negative life events research showing that the combination of several threatening conditions affects an individual much worse in terms of the stability of his or her identity than just one such condition.⁵⁷⁰ This approximation of threat falls short to address the difference in magnitude of each of the threatening conditions which should be

⁵⁶⁹ For the country based analysis, education will be omitted as it is a constant variable, because the individual scores were defined vis-à-vis the country average as it was argued, that different education systems and traditions were to cause differences in the length of time an individual spends on full-time educations. However, there was no reason to suggest that the general cognitive resources of individuals here approximated by education should meaningfully differ between the participating countries.

⁵⁷⁰ Alec Roy, “A case-control study of social risk factors for depression in American patients” *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 42.2 (1997): 307-309.

considered very worthwhile of pursuit.⁵⁷¹ Still disregarding differing individual perceptions and evaluations of threats, the threat measure can be improved by introducing a factor for each threat representing the negative correlation with happiness from table 11 and a constant factor of 1.106 (equaling 1 divided by the sum of these correlation factors) in order for the resulting scale to retain the range of 0-1.⁵⁷² The final measure of threat is then composed of the sum of each of these potentially threatening conditions with their respective factors.

Table 26: Generalized identity security components

Indicator	Mean (SD)	N	Definition
Identity Threats	.256 (.23)	29,902	Representing poor health, perception of low income, anticipated difficulties borrowing money, unemployment, perception of physical insecurity, and loss of a primary relationship and a threat size factor for each
Identity Resources	.442 (.15)	37,210	Representing self-efficacy, multiple strong identities, social support, and education

Note: Threats and Resources are measured on a 0-1 scale with 0 representing low resources/threat conditions and 1 high resources and threat potential. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

3.2.4 Defending threatened or injured identity

With the help of the ESS 2002/2003, three defense reactions to identity threat or injury can be modeled that may be seen as indirect expression of identity security – (1) the ingroup appreciation at the expense of outgroup(s) – ethnic closure; (2) the narrowing of identity structure as the result of depreciating and denying of threatened identifications; and (3) making salient a particular identity component – here discussed at the example of religious identity salience.

3.2.4.1 Ethnic closure (xenophobia)

Ethnic closure has been defined here as a feature of intergroup relations – the established vs. the outsiders whereby it is primarily expressed in negative attitudes of the established population towards immigrants and ethnic minorities as well as in the support of restrictive immigration policy. As ethnic closure concerns the accentuation of group boundaries it may serve as an expression of ethnocentrism of each defined subpopulation. Ethnic closure can be expressed in general prejudice regarding various outgroups, anti-immigration

⁵⁷¹ See Huddy's argument under the heading *gradation of identity strength* presented on page 124 of this dissertation.

⁵⁷² Thus, poor health will be multiplied by .127 and the constant factor, perception of low income with .261 and the constant factor etc.

policies, and a preference for cultural homogeneity as the latter smoothens depersonalization processes when identifying with the ingroup prototype.

Ethnic closure is also a defense reaction to threatened identity. Allport argued that ingroups are psychologically primary as the familiar is generally preferred and the alien regarded as somehow inferior.⁵⁷³ Under the experience of threat, group boundaries are accentuated and outgroup hostility may contribute towards a stronger sense of belonging to one's own group according to social identity theory. Threat will thus turn a healthy level of ingroup pride and patriotism into fear of the other and outright hostility.⁵⁷⁴

For this analysis, ethnic closure will be also empirically framed as a defense reaction against identity threat and an expression of ingroup-outgroup accentuation. The module of the ESS 2002/2003 on immigrants and immigration is very well suited to serve this purpose of the empirical operationalization of ingroup-outgroup accentuation. It contains various attitudes regarding immigration policy, immigrants, and ethnic minorities. Group accentuation precedes any differentiation of dimensions of xenophobia, it should constitute the main component in a principle component analysis. As each subgroup accentuates its borders under threat, this operationalization should also be valid for the immigrant and ethnic minority population – however, the formulation of the question assumes to address members of the established population. That is why; the more “established” an individual becomes the more prototypical for the respective country should be its score as his or her choice of ingroup will be clearer.

As there exists considerable group and identity choice among which migrants may define their belonging as an individual, it seemed appropriate to include general prejudice, immigration and diversity preferences as well as orientations towards the receiving population for them, too.

The proposed factor analysis was conducted separately for the majority and the migrant population. One component has been extracted. 36 out of the 58 items – all substantially loading on the main component have been presented in table 27 together with their statistical means and their factor loadings on the main component.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷³ Allport 42.

⁵⁷⁴ Marilyn B. Brewer, “The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate?” *Journal of Social Issues* 55.3 (1999): 429-444 or Rui J. P. de Figueiredo, Jr. and Zachary Elkins, “Are patriots bigots? An inquiry into the vices of in-group pride” *American Journal of Political Science* 47.1 (2003): 171-188.

⁵⁷⁵ Factor loadings of .4 and higher are considered substantial according to Steven's criterion as presented by Andy Field, *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS (and Sex, Drugs and Rock 'n Roll)*, 2nd edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005, 647.

Table 27: Ethnic closure (xenophobia) variables

Indicator	Mean			Factor loadings on main component		
	Overall	MA	IM	Overall	MA	IM
Allow few immigrants:						
(1) of same group as majority	.415	.427	.372	.66	.66	.64
(2) of different group from majority	.489	.496	.445	.78	.78	.78
(3) from richer countries in Europe	.448	.454	.412	.59	.59	.58
(4) from poorer countries in Europe	.466	.475	.412	.76	.75	.76
(5) from richer countries outside Europe	.474	.479	.444	.62	.62	.62
(6) from poorer countries outside Europe	.489	.497	.443	.76	.76	.76
Qualification for immigration:						
(7) speak country's official language	.687	.687	.684	.43	.43	.44
(8) Christian background	.352	.359	.311	.43	.43	.45
(9) be White	.231	.239	.187	.51	.51	.51
(10) be wealthy	.314	.319	.284	.49	.48	.48
(11) work skills needed in country	.670	.672	.659	.44	.45	.45
(12) committed to way of life in country	.745	.748	.728	.46	.46	.47
General prejudice:						
(13) Wages/salaries brought down by immigrants*	.513	.515	.497	.53	.53	.54
(14) Immigrants harm economic prospects of the poor*	.577	.585	.533	.55	.55	.55
(15) Long term unemployed should leave*	.542	.554	.472	.65	.65	.65
(16) Immigrants should not be given same rights	.344	.352	.297	.44	.44	.43
(17) Immigrants committing serious crime should leave*	.785	.793	.739	.46	.46	.49
(18) Immigrants committing any crime should leave*	.603	.616	.528	.58	.58	.58
(19) Immigrants take jobs away*	.553	.562	.501	.57	.57	.53
(20) Immigrants take out more taxes/services than they put in*	.575	.582	.532	.56	.56	.57
(21) Immigration bad for country's economy*	.504	.513	.454	.64	.63	.66
Cultural homogeneity:						
(22) Country's cultural life undermined by immigrants*	.435	.444	.384	.66	.66	.66
(23) Immigrants make country worse place to live*	.529	.538	.477	.70	.70	.71
(24) Immigrants worsen country's crime problems*	.677	.681	.652	.52	.52	.51
Intergroup relations:						
(25) Mind majority group immigrant: your boss	.256	.266	.201	.53	.54	.45
(26) Mind majority group immigrant: married close relative	.254	.261	.214	.52	.54	.41
(27) Mind minority group immigrant: your boss	.310	.322	.245	.61	.62	.55
(28) Mind minority group immigrant: married close relative	.345	.352	.304	.59	.60	.51
(29) People of minority race/ ethnic group in ideal living area*	.531	.543	.459	.45	.45	.44
(30) Everyone must share same customs and traditions*	.586	.598	.528	.53	.54	.49
(31) Reducing tension = stop immigration*	.531	.541	.473	.68	.68	.69
Refugees:						
(32) Country has more than its fair share of people*	.666	.667	.657	.59	.59	.58
(33) Most refugee applicants not persecuted at home*	.574	.576	.566	.48	.47	.55
(34) Keeping applicants in detention centers*	.483	.488	.452	.41	.40	.46
(35) No financial support to refugee applicants	.487	.495	.442	.47	.46	.49
(36) Refugees not entitled to bring close family members	.459	.465	.428	.48	.48	.50

Note: *Original scale reversed. All items measured on a 0-1 scale with 0 representing no ethnic closure and 1 high level of ethnic closure. For the complete wording of the items see appendix 2. Cases weighted by design and population size weight. SD ranged 0.21-0.41 for the majority and 0.22-0.38 for the minority population. N was between 22,265-31,274 cases for the majority and 3,844-5,534 for the minority population.

For the standardization of the item range to 0-1, the items have been transformed according to the formulas below with x_1 being the original score (after reversal of the scale if indicated by *) and x_2 the new score:

- (I) $x_2 = \frac{x_1 - 1}{3}$ for items (1)-(6),
- (II) $x_2 = \frac{x_1}{10}$ for items (7)-(12) and (19)-(28),
- (III) $x_2 = \frac{x_1 - 1}{4}$ for items (13)-(18) and (30)-(36).

Item (29) was reversed and recoded in the following way: 4 into 0 since the group boundary was not at all accentuated, 3 into .33, 2 into .67, and 1 into 1 as a measure of strong outgroup adversary.

The factor analysis was re-run for the retained items to check on the stability of the underlying structure.⁵⁷⁶ The reported factor loadings in table 27 refer to this confirmatory factor analysis.

Indeed, the distinction between the majority population and the immigrant and ethnic minority population revealed extremely similar factor loadings and except very few items also rather similar means for each item. These exceptional items merely reflect an migration based ingroup orientation of immigrants and ethnic minorities and not as members of the “established” group.

Considering the overwhelming similarities between the groups, ethnic closure understood as the accentuation of group boundaries and outgroup hostility can be measured in the same way for members of both groups. A very reliable index can be constructed from the 36 items that reaches a Cronbach’s α of .94 for the full sample ($\alpha_{MA} = .94$ and $\alpha_{IM} = .93$). A comprehensive index for ethnic closure was constructed calculating the statistical mean of all 36 standardized variables used as indicators for ethnic closure presented in table 27. Missing values of an individual were ignored when there were valid data in at least 18 other items from which a mean could be calculated.

⁵⁷⁶ The analysis was based on 16,702 weighted cases where the design weight and the population size weight of the ESS have been combined. Of these cases 14,170 referred to members of the majority population, the remaining 2,532 to immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. Extracting one factor, explains 32.2 percent of the total variance of the 36 items for the entire sample, 32.2 percent for the majority population, and 31.6 for the immigrant and ethnic minority population. The high KMO of .931 ($KMO_{MA} = .931$ and $KMO_{IM} = .924$) accompanied by a highly significant Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity shows that the variables will be well represented by factor analysis. The MSA values were all equal or above .80 for the entire sample, .81 for the majority, and .76 for the immigrant and minority population. The very low determinant of the correlation matrix of $8.3 \cdot 10^{-9}$ for the full sample ($7.4 \cdot 10^{-9}$ for the majority and $1.3 \cdot 10^{-8}$ for the immigrant and minority population) indicates a very high degree of multicollinearity in the data. This will not pose a problem here as it was reasoned that the variables present the same concept: outgroup hostility.

Table 28: Ethnic closure index for the majority population and migrants

Index	Mean	(SD)	N
Ethnic closure (xenophobia) _{MA}	.506	(.15)	31,678
Ethnic closure _{IM}	.457	(.16)	5,583
Ethnic closure (overall)	.499	(.15)	37,261

Note: Index ranged from 0-1 with 0 indicating a low degree of ethnic closure and 1 standing for a high degree of ethnic closure. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

As it is argued that the defined concept of ethnic closure reflects a person's ingroup-outgroup accentuation and ingroup favoritism/outgroup hostility, one may see the process of staying in one country as assimilation towards the majority population's level of ethnic closure. The longer a person lives in a country the less he will perceive him- or herself to be in immigrant and the more the person will regard him- or herself as a member of the established population. However, it is still possible that minority groups realize a higher degree of ingroup favoritism/outgroup hostility than the majority population.

The process of assimilation – the crossing of group boundaries from “immigrant” to “established” – is illustrated for the previously defined migrant categories and in the case of the first generation according to their length of stay in the current country of residence. In tables 29 and 30, the group means of ethnic closure are presented. In figures 10 and 11, the difference between the level of ethnic closure between each group and the majority of one's country of residence are shown. As the group of unclassified foreigners was so small, it was omitted from the comparison. The low case number was also a problem for the newly arrived immigrants. They have been combined with the people staying in the country between one and five years.

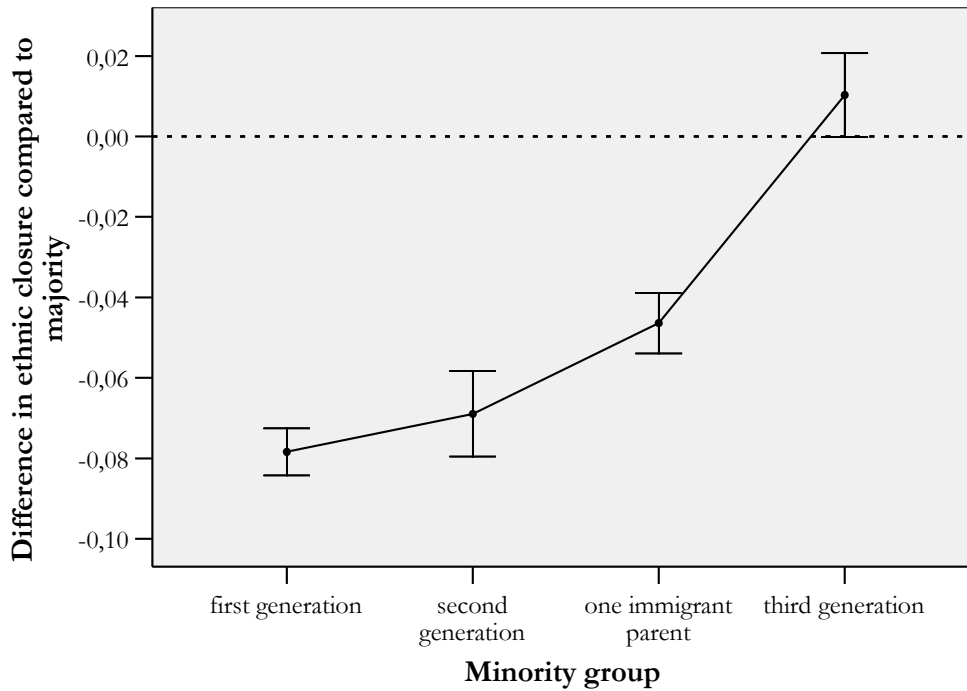
Table 29: Level of ethnic closure by migrant group

Migrant group	Mean	(SD)	N
First generation	.426	(.14)	2,238
Second generation	.444	(.16)	764
One immigrant parent	.460	(.15)	1,499
Third generation	.523	(.18)	1,037
<i>Majority population</i>	<i>.506</i>	<i>(.15)</i>	<i>31,678</i>

Note: Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Unclassified foreigners were omitted because of low case number (N = 44).

The definition of ethnic closure as a reaction to injured or threatened identity which has been adopted for the majority population is most pronounced in the “third generation” for it is most removed from actual migration experience and can therefore adopt the ingroup-outgroup differentiation between established and newcomers more easily to its advantage. Also, members of the third generation are more likely to be part of a particular ethnic minority that provides an ingroup identity based on migration group. Already by the definition of this category (see section 3.2.1), countries' ethnic minorities are included here.

Figure 10: Migrant group level of ethnic closure compared to the majority



Note: The difference between the individual's and the majority population's level of ethnic closure was calculated by individual country. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval of the mean. Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Unclassified foreigners omitted because of low case number (N = 44).

Within the first generation, a further differentiation on the dimension of the length of stay in the host country can be made. The length of stay in one's country of residence should well reflect an individual's increasing adjustment to the country. He or she becomes more and more "established" and as a result of this, the person is more likely to emotionally cross the group boundary from immigrant to majority.

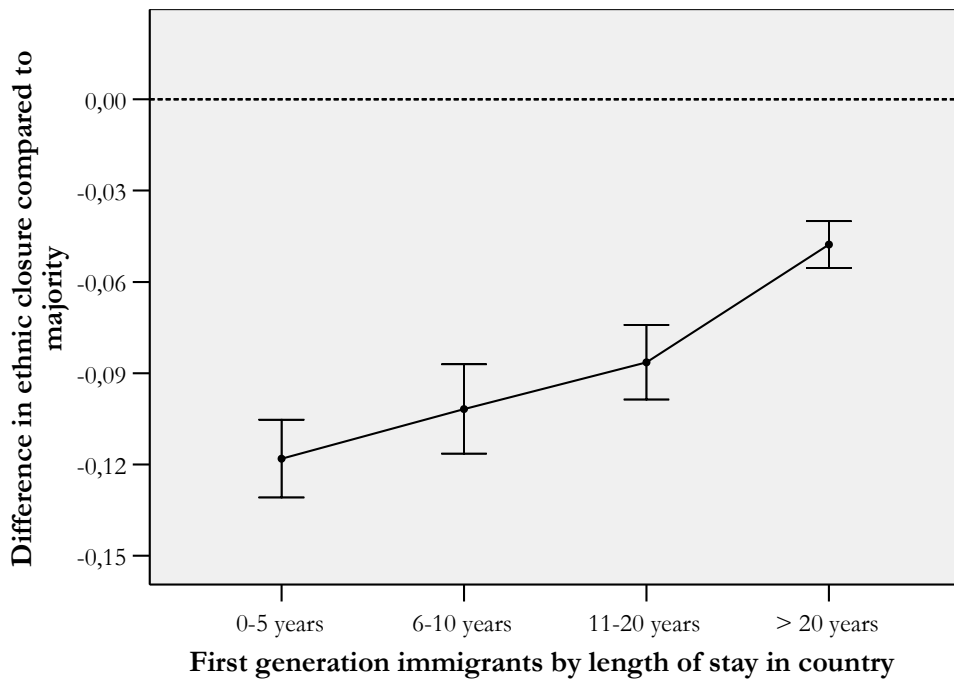
Table 30: First generation's level of ethnic closure by length of stay

First generation category	Mean	(SD)	N
0-5 years	.387	(.13)	401
6-10 years	.407	(.14)	331
11-20 years	.417	(.14)	487
>20 years	.458	(.15)	1,326
<i>Majority population</i>	<i>.506</i>	<i>(.15)</i>	<i>31,678</i>

Note: Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Newly arrived immigrants were combined with those staying in country between 1 and 5 years because of low case numbers (N = 65).

Similar to the example of the different immigrant generations, the increasing length of stay in a person's country of current residence revealed to be a suitable measure of adjustment of the migrant group's score towards the majority population's mean of ethnic closure.

Figure 11: First generation's level of ethnic closure compared to the majority



Note: The difference between the individual's and the majority population's level of ethnic closure was calculated by individual country. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval of the mean. Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Newly arrived immigrants were combined with those staying in country between 1 and 5 years because of low case numbers (N = 65).

Different from the previous example, the length of stay is unrelated to any particular ingroup identity based on migration background that might provide the symbolic means for outgroup hostility as measured by the concept of ethnic closure. Thus, an adjustment tendency towards the majority population's mean of ethnic closure could be revealed that falls short of reaching it.

Following the argument of social identity theory, ethnic closure is interpreted as a reaction to identity threat through which group boundaries based on culture, nationality, racial, and ethnicity are emphasized and an ingroup appreciation takes place at the expense of outgroup devaluation. Strong ingroup identity results in a clearer sense of self. Linked to the appreciation of one's ingroup, also the personal level of self-esteem is increased through ingroup identification. As cultural, national, racial, and ethnic identity is important to most people and indeed cultural and ethnic boundaries still seem to matter in many contexts⁵⁷⁷, ethnic closure will be a widely available response mechanism to identity threat measurable even without particular situational triggers. However, the problem of identity choice has to be considered for it concerns not only identity components but also construction processes including threat response. Not everyone will show an increase in

⁵⁷⁷ Harrison and Huntington.

xenophobic attitudes or ethnic closure even under severe threat to his or her identity. E.g., strong diversity supporting attitudes will prove highly resistant to such change.⁵⁷⁸

Ethnic closure seems to be the same phenomenon for members of the majority population and diverse immigrants and ethnic minorities for encouraging results were presented above showing assimilation effects in attitudes related to ethnic closure of immigrants and ethnic minorities with the majority population. Therefore, it seems quite reasonable to apply the concept of ethnic closure as a defensive reaction of the threatened individual to both groups the majority population and the migrant population keeping in mind that the measure will be a bit weaker for the groups of migrants as their ingroup choice is still somewhat unclear.

3.2.4.2 Narrowed identity

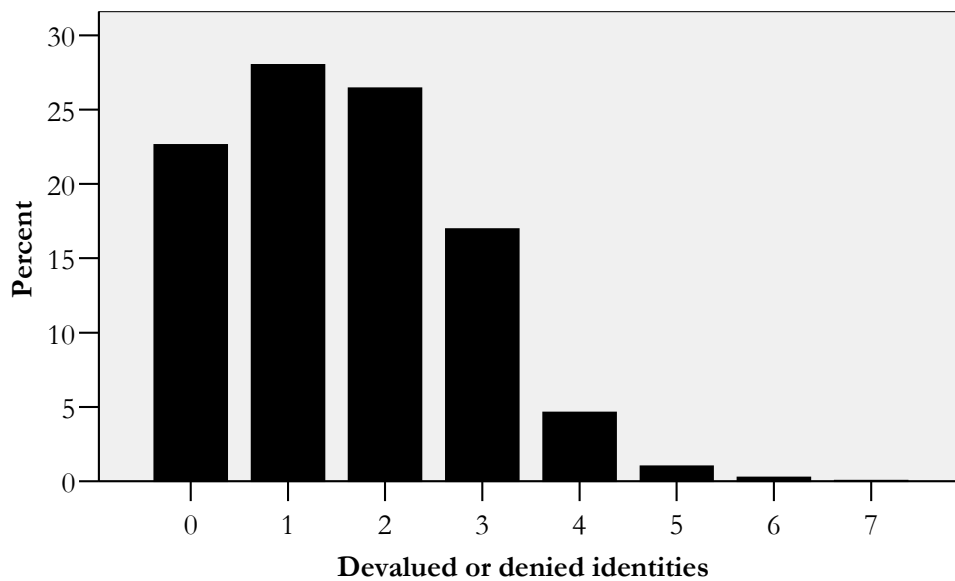
Narrowed identity has been introduced in section 2.2.5.2 as an emotion-focused style of coping with identity threat that was characterized as a non-adaptive response mechanism. Narrowed identity is the result of identity denial and is therefore a disidentification response.⁵⁷⁹ Thus, when threat occurs in one area of life, a person with an emotion-focused style of coping will be likely to devalue the importance of this area. The same may be repeated for several areas of life. As a result, identity resources will be diminished and a narrowed identity structure will emerge. A narrowed identity can be defined as the number of areas a person feels to be quite unimportant in its life. With the help of the ESS, a narrowed identity can be operationalized by counting the areas of life, an individual evaluates as rather unimportant for his or her life.⁵⁸⁰ As stated above, identity denial is a non-adaptive coping strategy and will therefore not contribute towards improving a person's integration. Instead, for being a response to threatened identity and as such also its indirect expression, narrow identity structure will also inhibit integration and even more though, as it further limits a person's choices and capacities in identity construction and thus undermines identity stability and security in the long run.

⁵⁷⁸ See Alice H. Eagly and Shelly Chaiken, The Psychology of Attitudes (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1993) 559-561.

⁵⁷⁹ Brenda Major and Toni Schmader, "Coping with stigma through psychological disengagement" Prejudice: The Target's Perspective, eds. Janet K. Swim, and Charles Stangor (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1998): (219-241).

⁵⁸⁰ Unfortunately, no example for problem-focused coping can be operationalized with the ESS data.

Figure 12: Narrowed identity



Note: The count of devalued and denied identities is based on low evaluations (0-4 on a scale of 0-10) of seven areas of life in their importance for a person's day-to-day life. Analysis based on N = 37,332 cases weighted by design and population size weight, M = 1.57 (SD = 1.2).

Figure 12 shows that for most people's lives one or two of the seven defined areas play a minor or no role at all. For almost one fourth of the respondents all seven areas of life where at least somewhat important. It is a minority of people who can rely only on 4 or less of the seven areas of life. But, when should one exactly speak of a narrowed identity structure? A person not interested in politics would probably not describe this as a personal loss nor would the unreligious person. They would rather question the justification of selecting exactly the proposed seven areas of life. Instead, one could argue that the actual loss or depreciation of one or more important identities or identity relevant areas of life should be regarded as the narrowing of identity. Unfortunately, the loss of identity relevant areas of life cannot be captured within the framework of the ESS. Relying on the pure numbers of the important areas of life may considerably weaken the concept leading to an underestimation of the proposed effects in the analyses.

As mentioned before, identity denial occurring in one area of life is often accompanied by a flight of the individual into another that is in turn made salient to provide an alternative identity resource satisfying the identity motives concerned by the loss or injury of an identity component. People unsatisfied with their jobs, seek self-actualization in their leisure activities or family roles, others – e.g. those with problems in their relationships – seek refuge in their work. The most prominent reaction to identity threat, however, is to make religious identity salient (see section 2.2.5.3) – at least for people who already have a religious identity of some kind or gain access to it in any way.

3.2.4.3 Salience of religious identity

A steep increase in the importance of religious identity has been suggested as a reaction to injured or threatened identity attempting to attain a positive self-perception despite the occurring challenges. Of course, any identity can be made particular salient when threat occurs within this life aspect or in any other that is devalued in order to retain the threat perceptually. However, from the arguments presented in section 2.2.5.3, religious identity should be a particular powerful resource for stabilizing overall identity.

The relative importance of religion to a person has been defined as the ratio between the importance in life: religion and the sum of the other important in life areas. This time all point values of the self-reported importance attached to the life areas are considered.

$$\text{Importance of religion} = \frac{n \times \text{religion}}{\sum_1^n \text{family, friends, leisure, work, politics, organizations}}$$

In this formula n represents the number of areas of life a person evaluated in its importance for his or her day-to-day life. The denominator is composed of the sum of the importance scores from all n areas of life the person evaluated. As religious identity is not a component of the denominator, n is 6 at most. The nominator presents the product of n with the score from religious identity.

The salience of religion will thus be measured in its relative importance vis-à-vis other areas of life. A value of one represents a medium importance resulting from the same weight of this particular area of life and the others. As an additional indicator for the salience of religious identity, religion should be evaluated in importance for one's daily life with a 10.

Alternatively, the other life areas can be made salient in reaction to threat and each should provide some additional degree of identity stability when doing so. However, due to the life roles people play in some of these areas, particularly within their family or relating to friends, these areas will naturally present fields of cognitive centrality. Under this condition, assigning an evaluation score of 10 will not necessarily present salience in response to threat but the mere centrality of this area in a person's life. Even if the area is only of great constant centrality to the person but not particularly made salient, it will supply a certain buffer to threats and support identity stability. Of the seven available areas of life, identity salience in response to threat can be measured best in terms of religious identity salience for there are very few identity defining roles associated and it can serve so many identity motives identity threats may make difficult to satisfy.

Table 31: Importance and salience of different areas in life

Identity components	Importance				Salience		
	Mean	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	(SD)	N
(1) Religion	0.70	0	12	37,143	1.41	(.43)	4,283
(2) Family	1.62	0	60	37,216	1.68	(.63)	26,201
(3) Friends	1.36	0	12	37,179	1.55	(.42)	11,958
(4) Leisure	1.23	0	12	37,041	1.53	(.41)	8,409
(5) Politics	0.61	0	9	37,087	1.32	(.36)	888
(6) Work	1.17	0	15	36,668	1.50	(.44)	10,004
(7) Voluntary organizations	0.65	0	14	36,860	1.29	(.24)	2,125

Note: The importance of an identity component reflects the ratio between the score of this component vis-à-vis alternative areas of life whereby scores of 1 mean “average” and scores above 1 “over average.” Salience scores were calculated using the same formula, however, only cases with absolute scores of 10 for the component in question – as the marker of salience – were considered. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

As table 31 shows, family plays the greatest role in most people’s lives, followed by friends, leisure, and work. Politics is of least importance to most people. Naturally, the areas that are already of some centrality to a person will be subjectively more available to them under the condition of identity threat.

3.2.5 Summary of the model’s general concepts

Apart from defining the different subpopulations for analysis – the majority or receiving society and immigrants and ethnic minorities – section 3.2 sought to operationalize the major concepts of the proposed explanatory model. Integration is the dependent variable composed of interpersonal trust, institutional trust, and performance trust. Identity security was framed by two direct measures – identity threat and identity resources. Whereas the former is constructed by a number of potentially threatening conditions and factors seeking to assess the threat potential each of these conditions constitutes, the latter is addressing four different aspects or dimensions of identity construction and enactment. These for aspects are: 1) The identity motive of self-efficacy: Together with self-esteem, it has received the greatest attention in psychological identity research. 2) The multiplicity of identity components: Having many identity components facilitates identity construction and transformation processes. 3) Social support as a good indicator for the capability to self-verify one’s identity. 4) Education as an approximation for a person’s intellectual capacity and how well cognitive resources are put to use by the individual. It has been argued that the intellectual capacity of a person relates to is preferred response mechanisms to identity threat in terms of problem-oriented vs. emotion focused defense reactions whereby the problem-oriented approach requires more intellectual resources and provides greater stability. Further, the ESS allowed the construction of three responses to identity threat: Ethnic closure as an indirect expression of identity threat in the sense that the

threatened individual is much more likely to pronounce ingroup-outgroup differences and realize ingroup favoritism at the expense of outgroup hostility that directly influences intergroup attitudes and relations. Additionally, more threat responses could be focused on: e.g. identity denial that leads to a limitation of identity resources and choice in construction and transformation. The second is to make an unthreatened identity component salient that provides adequate resources to satisfy the identity motives concerned by the loss or injury of the identity component in question. This will be covered here in terms of the salience of religious identity.

Now, before conducting any detailed analysis, it is important to check on the quality of the proposed operationalizations and to see if the approximations used here present the same characteristics in the empirical data that are assigned to them in the theory based research literature. A simple indicator for the quality of the empirical approximations is a second order factor analysis for the generalized variables. Because the salience of religious identity variable has only 4,283 weighted cases and could not be conceptualized meaningfully enough otherwise, it will first be omitted from the factor analysis.

There was only one component with an eigenvalue above 1 explaining 39.9 percent of the total variance. Table 32 shows the loadings of the five generalized on that component:

Table 32: Factor loadings of the generalized variables on the main component

	Main component loadings
1) Integration	.63
2) Identity resources	.74
3) Identity threat	-.67
4) Ethnic closure	-.63
5) Narrowed identity	-.45

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. The analysis was based N = 29,774 cases weighted by design and population size weight. KMO = .688, $p < .001$, MSA $\geq .64$.

Including the salience of religious identity in the analysis, the case number drops considerably to 3,516. Nevertheless, this number is still substantial and the underlying factor structure remains quite stable. The difference now is that two components reach an eigenvalue of above 1 which means, they should both be extracted.

Table 33: Eigenvalues of the generalized variables

Component	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance	Cumulative Variance
1	2.528	42.1%	42.1%
2	1.165	19.4%	61.5%
3	.801	13.4%	74.9%
4	.697	11.6%	86.5%
5	.553	9.2%	95.7%
6	.256	4.2%	100.0%

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. The analysis was based on N = 3,516 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

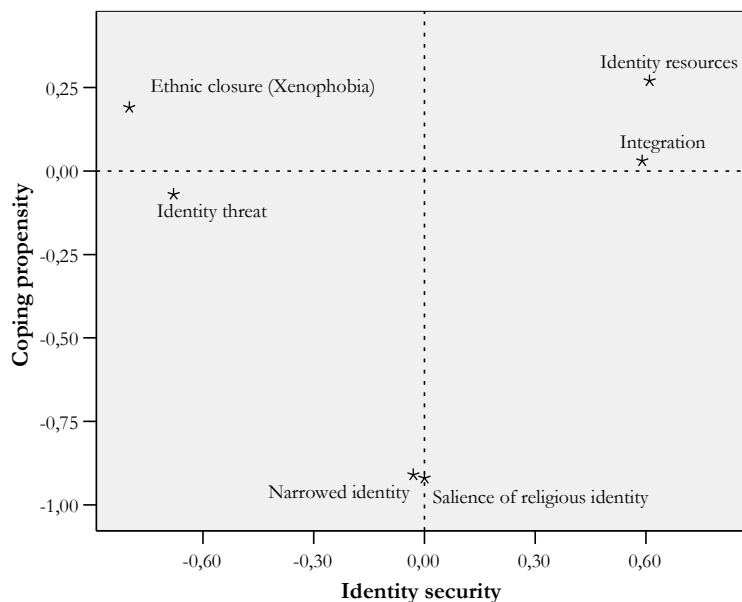
The two components account for 61.5% of the total variance. When looking at the communalities after extraction, integration has a clearly lower score of .36 than the other variables that all score equal or above .51. However, this is rather good news for only about one third of the dependent variable is represented together with the independents on the identity security dimensions. The bivariate correlations of the independents with integration offer a first answer to the validity of the proposed model. Only identity resources are positively associated with integration. All others – identity threat, ethnic closure, narrowed identity structure, and salience of religious identity – correlate negatively. The level of the correlations is small to moderate (ranging between .19 and .28) and rather typical for associations found in social identity research.

Table 34: Factor loadings of the generalized variables on two components

	Component	
	1	2
1) Integration	.59	.03
2) Identity resources	.61	.27
3) Identity threat	-.68	-.07
4) Ethnic closure	-.80	.19
5) Narrowed identity	-.03	-.91
6) Salience of religious identity	.00	-.92

Note: Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. The analysis was based on N = 3,516 cases weighted by design and population size weight.⁵⁸¹ The two extracted components correlated at $r = .32$.

Figure 13: Generalized variables of the proposed explanatory model



Note: Component plot in rotated space. Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser normalization. The analysis was based on N = 3,516 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

⁵⁸¹ The mediocre KMO of .689 accompanied by a highly significant Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity speaks for a sufficient representation of the factors within the data. MSA values were all equal or above .61. The determinant of the correlation matrix of .233 indicated multicollinearity did not present a problem for analysis.

The two extracted components represent the dimension of identity security and a dimension related to coping propensity. As narrowed identity that loads very highly on this second dimension, was already well represented by the identity security dimension, when only one component was extracted, it comes of little surprise that the two dimensions are moderately correlated ($r = -.32$).

However, the coping propensity dimension is only a very rough approximation of problem-oriented vs. emotion-focused orientation reflecting the accompanied increase or decrease in self-esteem. One would be hard pushed to classify ethnic closure, as a problem-oriented defense approach, nevertheless levels of self-esteem increase with higher levels of ethnic closure for the ingroup appreciation-outgroup devaluation process at the core of it that is untypical for identity denial and for making an alternative identity component salient in response to threat. Having a high level of identity resources will provide the means towards problem-oriented approaches to identity threat and it should be found at the opposite end of the scale of identity denial and identity salience where it actually was found.

Narrowed identity and the salience of religious identity present very similar coping responses visualized in figure 13. The two concepts also correlate highly at .74. By definition of the two concepts proposed here, narrowed identity structure will contribute to higher scores when religious identity is made salient because it is part of the denominator. As the two concepts are so similar, one of the two coping responses will suffice in analyses where low case numbers pose a problem.

Looking at the identity security dimension, ethnic closure represents even more insecurity than the proposed measure of identity threat, despite the higher level of self-esteem associated with it. Even though ethnic closure was argued to reflect a defense reaction to threat and indeed seems to be a very good approximation of identity threat for it is so closely located to the concept of identity threat in the component plot in figure 13, it seems to create a threat on its own – very likely representing the effect of ethnic closure. This effect rules out the potential of border crossing between ingroup and outgroup or the prospect of including the outgroup into a superordinate group consisting of ingroup and outgroup. For members of ethnic minorities, it is rather impossible to develop trust in institutions of the outgroup. For members of the majority population ranking high on ethnic closure, it will be equally difficult to develop institutional and performance trust as those institutions are regarded as supporting multiculturalism and representing interests of various outgroups.

3.3 A country perspective

The proposed explanatory model is relevant for the macro and for the micro level. However, as only 21 countries are available for the analysis, the “country” perspective will merely serve illustrative purposes. Nevertheless, it merits consideration, as each country represents a specific set of macro-level factors that impact individual states of identity and integration that somewhat pose a disturbance to the model at the micro-level.

The trust dimension of integration is strongly emphasized here as an attitudinal approach to integration. Therefore, recent works on the determinants of social trust have to be considered in order to set up the theoretical framework in which the proposed empirical analysis will take place. As such, the theory of social conditions states that social structural characteristics and institutions that reach beyond the personal experience of an individual are crucial to the development of trust.⁵⁸² Thus, democratic societies realize higher levels of trust than non-democratic ones, rich nations rank higher on measures of trust than poor nations, and egalitarian societies are more trusting than inegalitarian ones.⁵⁸³ According to Rothstein and Stolle, countries with universal access to the welfare state realize higher levels of trust than those with selective access.⁵⁸⁴ Trust develops in societies with fewer conflicts, where the population is not repressed and where behavior of people and elites can be anticipated safely.⁵⁸⁵

It is argued that the described factors will not only influence trust but also levels of identity security that individuals perceive in their society. When other people’s behavior in one’s social environment is predictable, when people have a perceived influence on important political decisions, and when welfare is generally available to people they will perceive themselves more secure and will also be more confident about themselves.

Aggregated country means of both integration (trust) and identity security can therefore be expected to indirectly reflect a variety of the macro-level variables suggested above. Nevertheless, the relationship of interest in this work is between identity security and integration.

⁵⁸² Bob Edwards, Michael W. Foley, and Mario Diani, eds., Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective (Hanover: UP of New England, 2001).

⁵⁸³ Ronald Inglehart, “Trust, well-being and democracy” Democracy and Trust, ed. Mark E. Warren (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 88-120; Pamela Paxton, “Social capital and democracy: an independent relationship” American Sociological Review 67.2 (2001): 254-277.

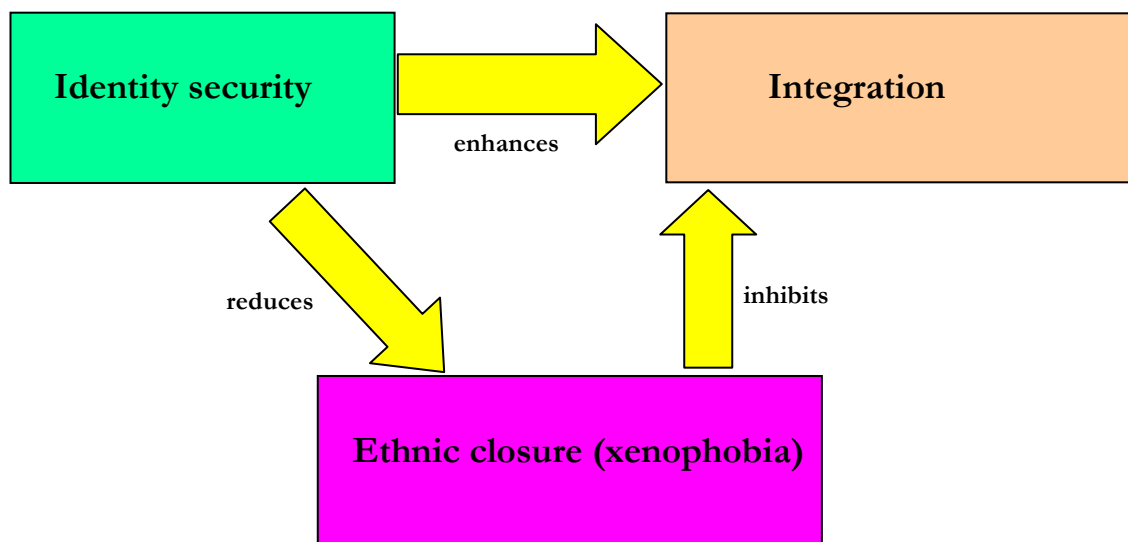
⁵⁸⁴ Bo Rothstein and Dietlind Stolle, “Social capital and street level bureaucracy: An institutional theory of generalized trust,” working paper for the ESF conference on “Social Capital: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,” Exeter 2001, online, <<http://www.princeton.edu/~csdp/events/pdfs/stolle.pdf>>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008.

⁵⁸⁵ Jan Dalhey and Kenneth Newton, “Determinanten sozialen Vertrauens: Ein international vergleichender Theorientest” Zivilgesellschaft und Sozialkapital: Herausforderungen politischer und sozialer Integration, eds. Ansgar Klein, Kristine Kern, Brigitte Geißel, and Maria Berger (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004) 155.

3.3.1 The general model

Using aggregated country means for the proposed variables, renders some of the proposed measures insensible – both narrowed identity and the salience of religious identity strongly depend on the extreme values, whereas a country average may present absolutely no expression or even an approximation of an expression of threat. Therefore, narrowed identity and the salience of religious identity will be dropped from the proposed explanatory model at the country perspective. Further, the independent variables for the macro level tests have to be summarized to the highest possible degree in order to reduce the number of independent variables or whenever this is insensible or impossible, they have to be tested individually.

Figure 14: Explaining integration – the general model



Note: Narrowed identity and salience of religious identity were omitted from the macro-analysis, because they are exclusively intra-personal and have no meaning at the macro-level.

Thus, the resulting model is quite simple: It is argued that identity security will promote integration directly. The absence of identity security will have an additional indirect effect on integration – that of increased ethnic closure which will adversely affect integration. Accordingly, three hypotheses for testing emerge that are to be tested individually:

- (H1) The higher the country's mean on identity security, the more its people will embrace attitudes that are supportive of integration.
- (H2) The more threatened people's identities in a country are, the more attitudes related to ethnic closure these people will hold.
- (H3) The higher a country's mean on ethnic closure, the lower that country will score on integration.

Further, a multivariate analysis is proposed to measure the combined effect of identity security and ethnic closure on integration. For the proposed relationships are all causal in nature, regression analysis is the tool of choice to test the hypotheses. The hypotheses have been tested separately for the two subpopulations – the majority and the migrants – in order to find out whether the theoretical approach is suitable in explaining the development of interpersonal and political trust of both majority members and migrants.

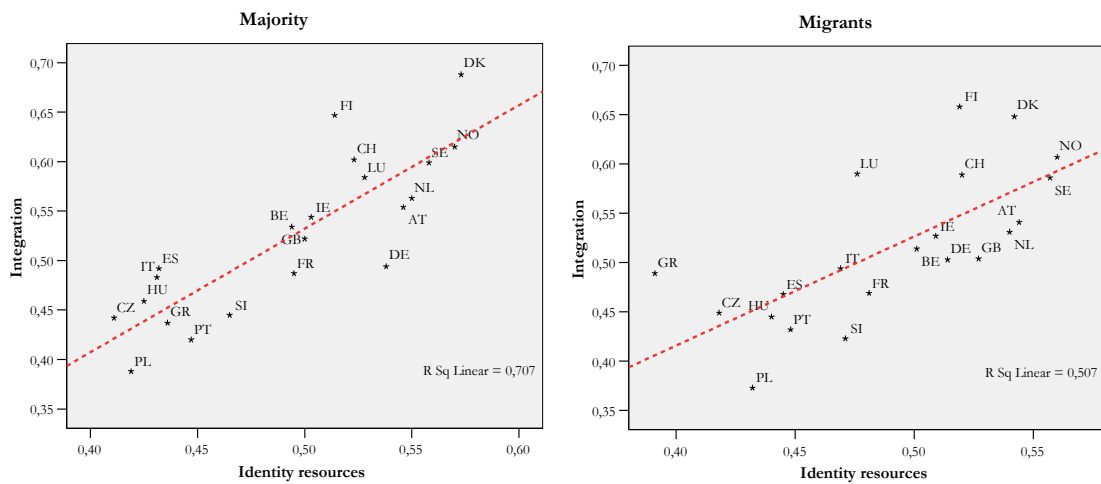
3.3.1.1 Integration as a function of identity security

(H1) The higher the country's mean on identity security, the more its people will embrace attitudes that are supportive of integration.

Two identity security variables – identity resources and identity threat – are used to test this hypothesis. They are first related individually, afterwards utilizing multiple linear regression.

The higher people's identity resources within a country, such as people's feeling of self-efficacy, multiple identities, and social support, the better their bonds with their country of residence in terms of trusting people and developing political trust. The regression revealed a strong overall trend between identity resources and integration which was highly significant, $F(1, 19) = 41.7, p < .001, R = .829$. Now, looking at the countries' majority and its immigrants and minorities, a slightly different picture emerges for the different distribution of identity resources and their impact on integration. Nevertheless, the tendencies are similar. For the majority, the trend was stronger, $F(1, 19) = 45.9, p < .001, R = .841$, than for the migrant population, $F(1, 19) = 19.6, p < .001, R = .712$. The migrant population across Europe is very heterogeneous in terms of its geographic and cultural origin, the motivation to immigrate, or the size of different migrant groups. Also, as pointed out in the introduction, receiving countries have quite dissimilar modes of accommodating immigration for differences in migration policies and traditions.

Figure 15: Integration by identity resources

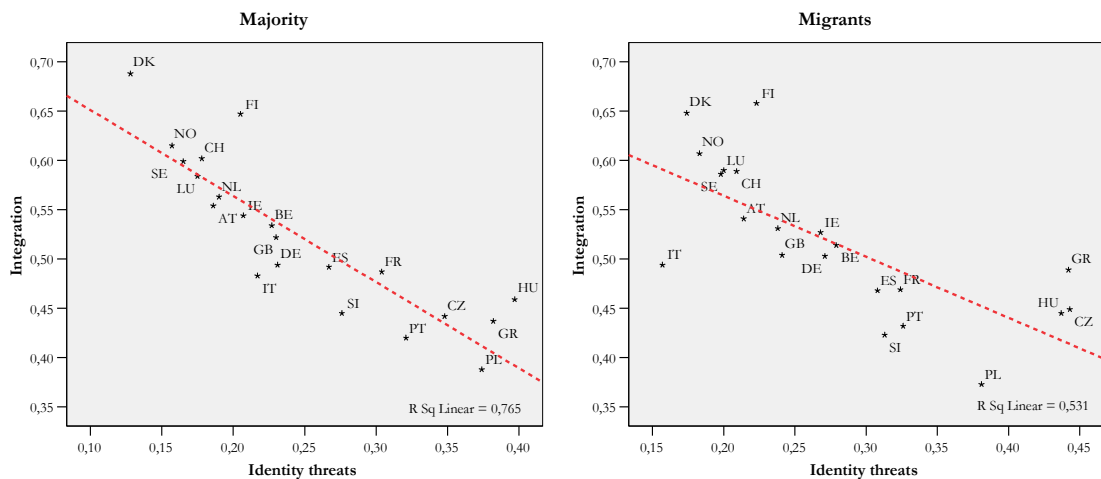


Note: The x- and y-axis represent aggregated means by country. Within each country, cases were weighted by design weight.

In Greece, for example, foreigners have higher political and interpersonal trust than members of the majority population, despite their lower score of identity resources. In Italy, migrants seem to have more identity resources than members of the majority population but a comparable level of trust (see figure 15).

Likewise, linear regression revealed a very strong overall trend between identity threat and integration. It was highly significant, $F(1, 19) = 54.0, p < .001, R = .860$. When looking at the two subpopulations separately, the trend is by far stronger for the majority population, $F(1, 19) = 61.9, p < .001, R = .875$ than for immigrants and ethnic minorities, $F(1, 19) = 21.5, p < .001, R = .729$. Apparently, migrants are a bit more threatened than members of the majority but it does not seem to matter as much to migrants as it does to members of the majority in terms of their integration as their regression slope is less steep.

Figure 16: Integration by identity threat



Note: The x- and y-axis represent aggregated means by country. Within each country, cases were weighted by design weight.

Interestingly, Scandinavian welfare states – in particular Denmark, Sweden, and Norway – can be found at the higher end of the integration and identity resources scales as well as at the lower end of the identity threat scale. On the other end, Eastern European reform countries, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, show much lower levels of identity resources and integration, but high levels of identity threat.

Of the two independent variables, both affected integration in the predicted way – identity resources support integration and identity threats weaken integration. When considering them together, the explanatory power of the linear model increases slightly, $F(2, 18) = 30.7$, $p < .001$, $R = .879$. It does so for the majorities, $F(2, 18) = 35.0$, $p < .001$, $R = .892$, as well as for the migrants, $F(2, 18) = 12.0$, $p < .001$, $R = .756$. However, identity threats were a lot more powerful in explaining integration than the identity resources. This difference, however, was more pronounced for the majority populations in Europe than for immigrants and ethnic minorities. Indeed, in table 35, which presents the regression coefficients, only the regression coefficient of identity threat reaches the level of significance and it does so only for the majority.

Table 35: Identity security determinants of integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Identity resources	.506	(.310)	.341	.543	(.419)	.349
Identity threats	-.580**	(.208)	-.582	-.375	(.229)	-.442
<i>Constant</i>	.417	(.199)		.354	(.261)	
adjusted R ²	.773			.523		
N	21			21		

Note: ** $p < .01$; one-tailed. N represents the number of countries.

Therefore, when having the choice of directing integration policy measures either at developing identity resources or reducing identity threats people might perceive in a country, fighting identity threats should be the first choice if the costs for both policy directions are roughly equal. However, policy costs are often unequally distributed. Local measures for stronger community involvement such as recognition for voluntary work can often prove very effective combined with a minimum of financial resources whereas more global measures against unemployment, poverty, and crime are not only expensive but often result in only small improvements. Under the condition that costs for developing identity resources within a population are considerably lower than those for reducing identity threats, it is good to know that each Euro spent on the development of identity resources will nevertheless make a difference due to the large effect size in the univariate linear regression model. This policy choice should definitely be considered for Eastern European reform countries that still rank so far behind other countries in their level of identity resources and where the marginal impact on the development of trust can be expected to be particularly high.

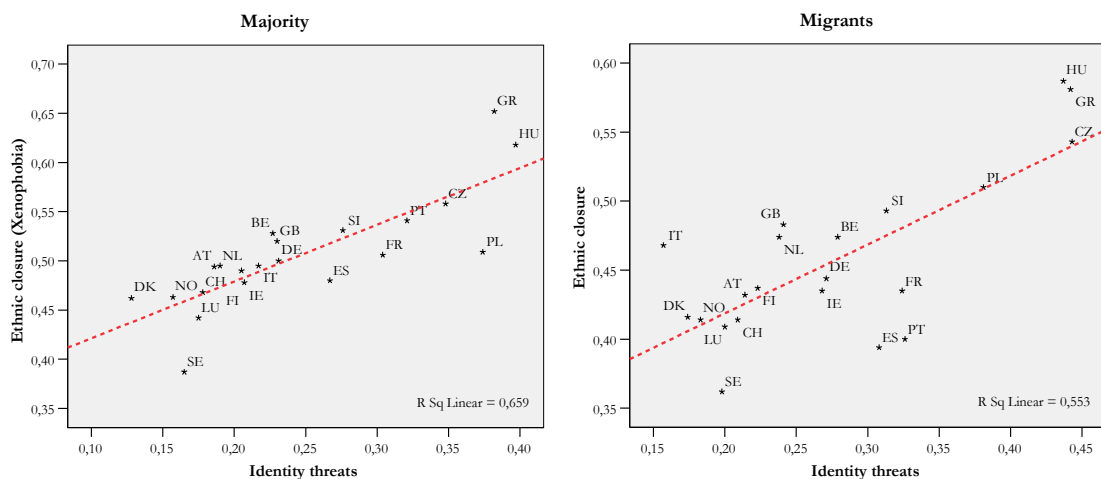
3.3.1.2 The role of ethnic closure

Ethnic closure is treated here as a reaction to identity threat. This analysis concerns the dimension of ingroup-outgroup accentuation (members of the population majority vs. minority members and established residents vs. immigrants), as it is argued that the ingroup is favored and appreciated at the expense of the outgroup.

(H2) The more threatened people's identities in a country are, the greater their inclination towards ethnic closure will be.

From current research on negative life events⁵⁸⁶ one could suggest that very small threats will have little effect but additional threats will have an over proportional impact on the perceived identity security and related defense reactions of an individual. Therefore, a quadratic regression might be suggested here to model the relationship between identity threats and ethnic closure. However, the scatter plot representing aggregated country means does not necessarily suggest such a relationship. Instead, a linear regression appears quite appropriate for the majority population whereas the data points for the migrant populations in European countries seem much harder to fit to a regression line. For European countries' majorities, linear regression was highly significant, $F(1, 19) = 36.7$, $p < .001$, $R = .812$. This trend could also be reproduced for the minorities following the predicted pattern, $F(1, 19) = 23.5$, $p < .001$, $R = .743$.

Figure 17: Ethnic closure by identity threat



Note: The x- and y-axis represent aggregated means by country. Cases within each country were weighted by design weight. For France the question on the perception of low income was missing. Therefore, the constant multiplier for calculating the threat score (see section 3.2.3.3) was adjusted to 1.86.

⁵⁸⁶ Roy (1997) 307-309.

Often, ingroup-outgroup boundaries are not as easily defined for immigrants and ethnic minorities as for members of the majority population. As the first generation immigrants adjust their level of ethnic closure through membership in the established society to the level of the majority over time, different ethnic groups and migrant groups differing in size within different immigration countries also vary in their ingroup choice. That is why; the measure of association found in the data is considerably weaker for immigrants and members of ethnic minorities than for majority members.

(H3) The higher a country's degree of ethnic closure, the lower will be that country's level of integration.

A quadratic regression model is suggested again for expecting an over proportional impact of high levels of ethnic closure on integration.

Again, the overall ANOVA for the relationship between ethnic closure and integration presented a strong trend for the majority, $F(2, 18) = 7.04, p < .01, R = .663$ and a somewhat weaker trend for migrants, $F(2, 18) = 3.42, p < .05, R = .525$. However, the high degree of multicollinearity renders both the linear and the quadratic component of the equation $y = ax^2 + bx + c$ insignificant (see table 36).

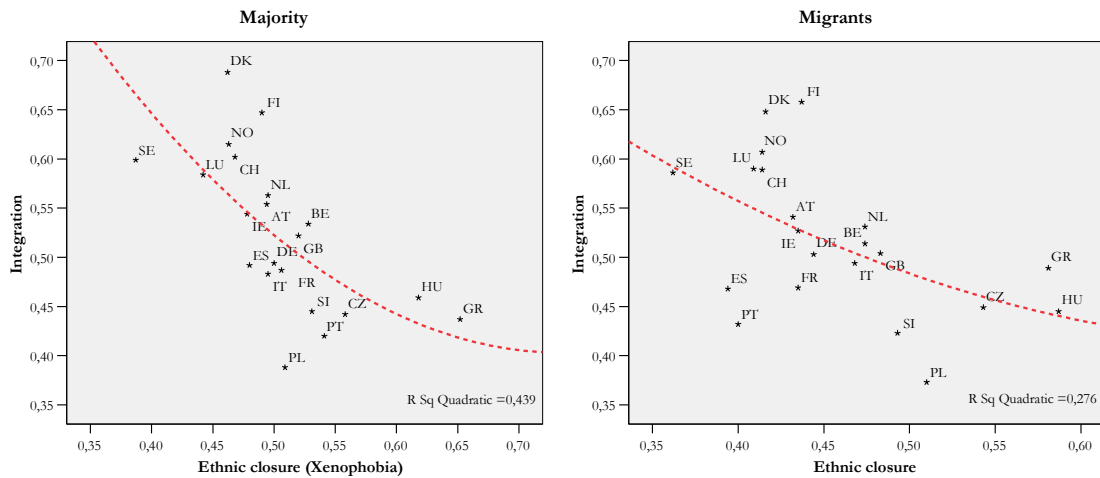
Table 36: Ethnic closure determinants of integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Ethnic Closure (Xenophobia)	-3.193	(2.839)	-2.274	-1.893	(3.647)	-1.495
Ethnic Closure (Xenophobia)**2	2.173	(2.690)	1.633	1.286	(3.791)	.977
Constant	1.576*	(.745)		1.109	(.866)	
adjusted R ²	.377			.195		
N	21			21		

Note: * $p < .05$; two-tailed. N represents the number of countries.

However, the linear component dominates the equation. In fact, the curve even levels off showing smaller marginal impacts on integration with increasing levels of ethnic closure. If considering the linear component by itself, the effect size of the model is almost as high as before and the relationship is significant for the majority, $F(1, 19) = 13.7, p < .01, R = .647$, and for the minority, $F(1, 19) = 7.06, p < .05, R = .520$.

Figure 18: Integration by ethnic closure



Note: The x- and y-axis represent aggregated means by country. Within each country, cases were weighted by design weight.

However, the model did not show overproportional effects with increasing levels of ethnic closure, but a rather steep decline in integration when ethnic closure (xenophobia) increased at lower levels of ethnic closure (xenophobia). At high degrees of ethnic closure (xenophobia) these effects are leveling off.

A note of caution for the interpretation of this figure seems to be in place here: Hungary and Greece had much higher response rates in the ESS 2002/2003 survey than the other countries, which might have inflated the ethnic closure scores for both countries.⁵⁸⁷ If this is the case, the low number of cases will have contributed to a severe disturbance of the calculated parameters of the regression equation.

3.3.1.3 Summary: Integration explained by identity security and ethnic closure

When considering the impact of identity resources, identity threats, and ethnic closure on integration in a multivariate linear regression⁵⁸⁸, the analysis revealed a strong overall trend for the majorities, $F(3, 17) = 23.1, p < .001, R = .896$ and a bit weaker yet significant relationship for the immigrants and ethnic minorities, $F(3, 17) = 7.60, p < .01, R = .757$.

⁵⁸⁷ Jaak Billiet, and Michel Philippens, “Data Quality Assessment in ESS Round one: Between Wishes and Reality” *Recent Developments and Applications in Social Research Methodology. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Social Science Methodology*, eds. Cor van Dijkum, Jörg Blasius, and Claire Durand (Amsterdam: Budrich, 2004) [1-5].

⁵⁸⁸ For the dominance of the linear component in the quadratic regression between xenophobia and integration, only the linear component of xenophobia will be considered here.

Table 37: Integration by identity security and ethnic closure

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Identity resources	.474	(.315)	.320	.547	(.431)	.352
Identity threats	-.720**	(.272)	-.722	-.411	(.275)	-.484
Ethnic closure (Xenophobia)	.211	(.261)	.150	.076	(.300)	.060
<i>Constant</i>	.360	(.212)		.327	(.288)	
R ²	.803			.573		
adjusted R ²	.768			.497		
N	21			21		

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ one-tailed. N represents the number of countries.

There was a rather high degree of multicollinearity in this regression. In particular, identity threat and ethnic closure correlated very highly ($r = .81$ for the majorities and $r = .74$ for the migrants). The VIF averaged 4.43 for the majorities and 3.16 for the migrants whereby the average tolerance level of .25 for the majorities (.34 for the migrants) barely met Menard's criterion⁵⁸⁹ of 0.20. Thus, there is much shared variance between identity threat and ethnic closure (xenophobia). The positive β -value of ethnic closure (xenophobia) which is usually negatively related to integration to a rather high degree, is thus an outcome of this high multicollinearity. Identity threats bind much of the model's variance whereas ethnic closure (xenophobia) as the weaker of the two variables very likely reflects the increase in self-esteem associated with both ethnic closure (xenophobia) in the process of ingroup appreciation and integration.

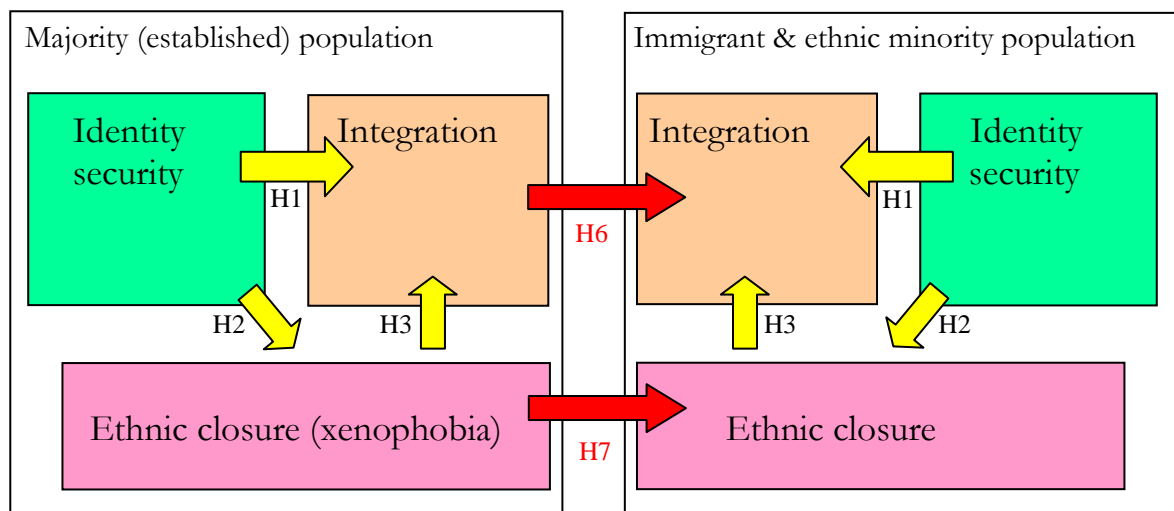
Despite the high level of multicollinearity, table 38 is quite clear about the most important independent – identity threats, which is the only variable in the resulting equation that reaches significance and should therefore be paid the appropriate attention in integration policy making. As seen above, identity threat alone already accounted for 76.5% of the total variance for the majorities and 53.1% for the minorities. As such the model based on the analysis of aggregated county means would lose very little of its explanatory power if identity resources and ethnic closure would be neglected.

⁵⁸⁹ Scott Menard, *Applied Logistic Regression Analysis*, Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences 106 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995).

3.3.2 The extended model

The extended model is devoted to the central question: What is the influence of a country's majority population on its immigrants and ethnic minorities in terms of integration and ethnic closure? A strong intergroup relation element of integration can be expected here. Even though the orientation of minority members towards inclusion or separation may also be rooted in their attitudes prior to immigration, it will strongly depend on the social conditions of the receiving society and the majority's attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration.⁵⁹⁰ Particularly the lack of a long-term oriented integration policy causes mutual isolation of the majority and diverse minority populations. Low integrative orientation on the one side inhibits the integration of the other. Particularly Islamic groups can serve as a prominent example here for they took advantage in the establishment of parallel structures seeking to bind members to their group by a multitude of institutions and activities – from kindergartens, cultural events, tutoring for pupils, and social work to sport clubs, and further activities in a number of European countries.⁵⁹¹

Figure 19: Explaining integration – the extended model



Note: The model extension refers to the impact of the majority attitudes towards integration and ethnic closure on immigrants and ethnic minorities.

It is reasoned (see figure 19) that a well integrated majority population will be very supportive of the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities (H6) and that a highly xenophobic society will cause strong ingroup orientation in its minority communities and lead to mutual tendencies of ethnocentrism and social exclusion (H7) or to be more explicit:

⁵⁹⁰ Armin Pfahl-Traughber, "Vom Aufbau von Parallelgesellschaften bis zur Durchführung von Terroranschlägen. Das Gefahren- und Konfliktpotential des Islamismus in Deutschland" *Unfriedliche Religionen? Das politische Gewalt- und Konfliktpotential von Religionen*, eds. Mathias Hildebrandt and Manfred Brocker (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005): 171-172.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

(H6) The higher the majority population's level of integration, the higher the general level of integration of minority group members will be.

(H7) The higher the level of ethnic closure within the majority population, the higher the general level of ethnic closure of immigrants and ethnic minority groups will be.

However, this model extension has its drawbacks for external factors will influence simultaneously the majority's and the migrants' levels of integration and ethnic closure and the proposed relationship between the groups might easily be overestimated. This potential overestimation can be put into perspective when the analysis is repeated for the individual level.

3.3.2.1 Trust of the majority population and trust of migrants

When looking at the relationship between the majority's and the minorities' attitudes towards integration, one needs to pay attention to the changed nature of immigration today. Instead of the 'classical immigrants' that were observed to gradually shift their orientation from the home to the host country, modern immigrants are supposed to retain a stronger home culture orientation by frequently traveling home, watching satellite TV from their home countries and communicating over the internet among themselves. Due to this home culture orientation, they are supposed to adapting only partially, if at all, to the receiving society.⁵⁹²

However, a recent study by Alba and Nee suggests that an important aspect of modern assimilation is found in the rapid changes in the economy and the labor market. Even though the American mainstream now looks different from what it used to be in the industrial era, this is not to say that there is no mainstream and that immigrants would not assimilate to it.⁵⁹³

This should also hold true for European countries that have also become magnets for immigration. Their situation has become increasingly similar to that of the classical immigration societies in North America.⁵⁹⁴

The interaction between the majority population and its diverse immigrants and ethnic minorities should not only be regarded in terms of intergroup attitudes – that were discussed in section 2.1.2, but also holds some potential for the general understanding of migrants' assimilation. Assimilation is a reemerging core concept for comprehending the long-run consequences of immigration, both for the immigrants and their descendents and for the society that receives them. However, to be useful as a means of understanding

⁵⁹² Hans van Amersfoort, "Immigration" Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, ed. George Ritzer (Blackwell Publishing, 2007) Blackwell Reference Online, <http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g9781405124331>, retrieved on 12 Aug. 2008.

⁵⁹³ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003).

⁵⁹⁴ See Amersfoort.

contemporary social realities, the concept of assimilation needs to be stripped of the normative encumbrances acquired in the past. Also, one needs to recognize that assimilation is not the only pattern of incorporation into immigration societies. Pluralism and racial exclusion of individuals and groups may be other means to become recognized as parts of these societies.⁵⁹⁵

In his classic work, Gordon identified seven dimensions of assimilation – cultural, structural, marital, identity, prejudice, discrimination, and civic. According to him, assimilation was a largely one-way process in which the minority group adopted to the mainstream, which remained basically unchanged.⁵⁹⁶

Other researchers have identified important additional dimensions, such as socioeconomic assimilation.⁵⁹⁷ However, socioeconomic assimilation generally meant the attainment of average or above-average socioeconomic standing measured by education, occupation, and income. With many immigrant groups such as the Irish, Italians, or Mexicans in the US, entered the social structure in its lowest ranks, the meaning of socioeconomic assimilation conflated with social mobility. Further, this conception has become problematic as many immigrant groups no longer start at the bottom of the labor market, but already possess financial capital, substantial educational credentials, professional training, and other forms of human capital prior to their immigration.⁵⁹⁸

Another dimension of assimilation more recently described involves residential mobility. Douglas Massey's spatial assimilation model holds that as minority members acculturate and establish themselves in the labor market, they seek to convert socioeconomic and assimilation progress into residential gain by accessing locations with greater advantages and amenities. Since good schools, clean streets, and other important facilities are more common in areas where the middle class of the majority population is concentrated, better-off ethnic minority families get stronger involved with the majority.⁵⁹⁹

Much of the assimilation pattern can be explained by Merton's classic concept of the role model. According to Merton, individuals compare themselves with "reference groups" - i.e., the groups of people who occupy social positions to which the individual aspires.⁶⁰⁰ It may be reasoned that immigrants and members of ethnic minorities will emulate the behavior and adopt the attitudes of people belonging to the majority population or their ethnic group they perceive as role models.

⁵⁹⁵ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Assimilation" *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (Blackwell Publishing, 2007) Blackwell Reference Online, <http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g9781405124331>, retrieved on 12 Aug. 2008.

⁵⁹⁶ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford UP, 1964).

⁵⁹⁷ For example, W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social System of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1945).

⁵⁹⁸ Alba and Nee, "Assimilation."

⁵⁹⁹ Douglas Massey, "Ethnic residential segregation: a theoretical synthesis and empirical review" *Sociology and Social Research* 69.2 (1985): 315-350.

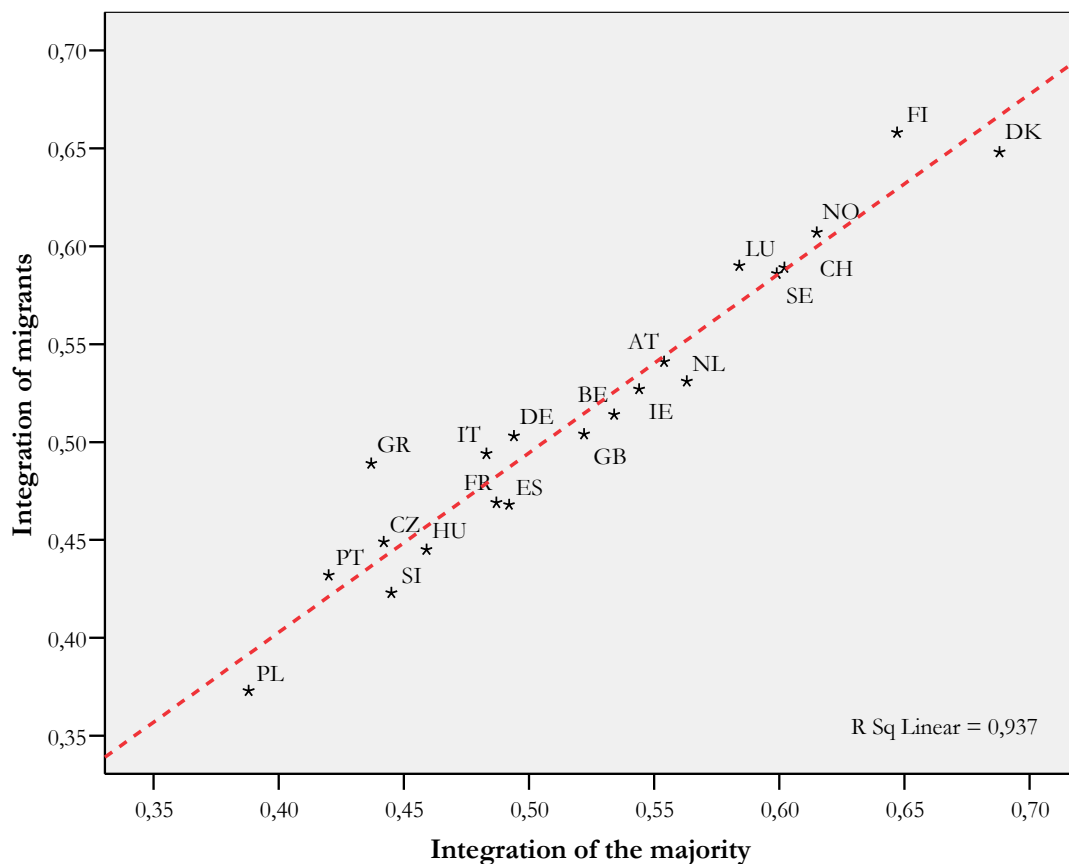
⁶⁰⁰ Gerald Holton, "Robert K. Merton – Biographical Memoirs" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 148.4 (2004): 506–517, online, <<http://www.aps-pub.com/proceedings/1484/480411.pdf>>, retrieved on 28 Aug. 2008.

As a majority population's level of integration increases, the level of integration within immigrant communities and ethnic groups is expected to rise accordingly as integrative attitudes extend rights and opportunities in day-to-day life to outgroup members and provide chances and opportunities thus enabling them to develop positive images and attitudes towards people and institutions in the country. The relationship is two-directional, however, the impact of the larger on the smaller group should be considered larger than the impact of the smaller on the larger group. Integrative attitudes further provide for intergroup boundary crossing opportunities if desired by the individual.

(H6) The higher the majority population's level of integration, the higher the general level of integration of minority group members will be.

Figure 20 and table 39 represent the relationship between countries' levels of integration of the majority population and those of their immigrants and ethnic minorities. Linear regression revealed an exceptionally huge trend in the predicted direction, $F(1, 19) = 283.8, p < .001, R = .968$.

Figure 20: Migrants' integration by integration of the majority population



Note: The x- and y-axis represent aggregated means by country. Within each country, cases weighted by design weight.

Table 38: Integration interaction between the subpopulations

	INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta
INT _{MA}	.916***	(.054)	.968
Constant	.036	(.029)	
adjusted R ²	.937		
N	21		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents the number of countries.

Even though, a strong relationship between the levels of integration of the majority population and the integration of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities has been expected, it is also reasonable to assume that other micro- and macro level factors – e.g., those presented in the general model – will have a strong impact on both groups' attitudes towards integration and will thus additionally contribute to the very high correlation between the majority's and the migrants' level of integration.

3.3.2.2 Ethnic closure of the majority and ingroup orientation of migrants

The interaction between the majority population and migrants should not only be seen in the described way of social exclusionism and ingroup-outgroup accentuation between groups. At least in part, attitudes related to ethnic closure will also be learned in terms of immigrants' and ethnic minorities' assimilation along the dimensions of prejudice and discrimination. As shown above, the length of stay in the new country defined the degree of immigrants in terms of their assimilation to the majority population's level of ethnic closure to the extent that ethnic minorities who were further removed from their personal experience of migration did not meaningfully differ in their level of ethnic closure from the majority population.

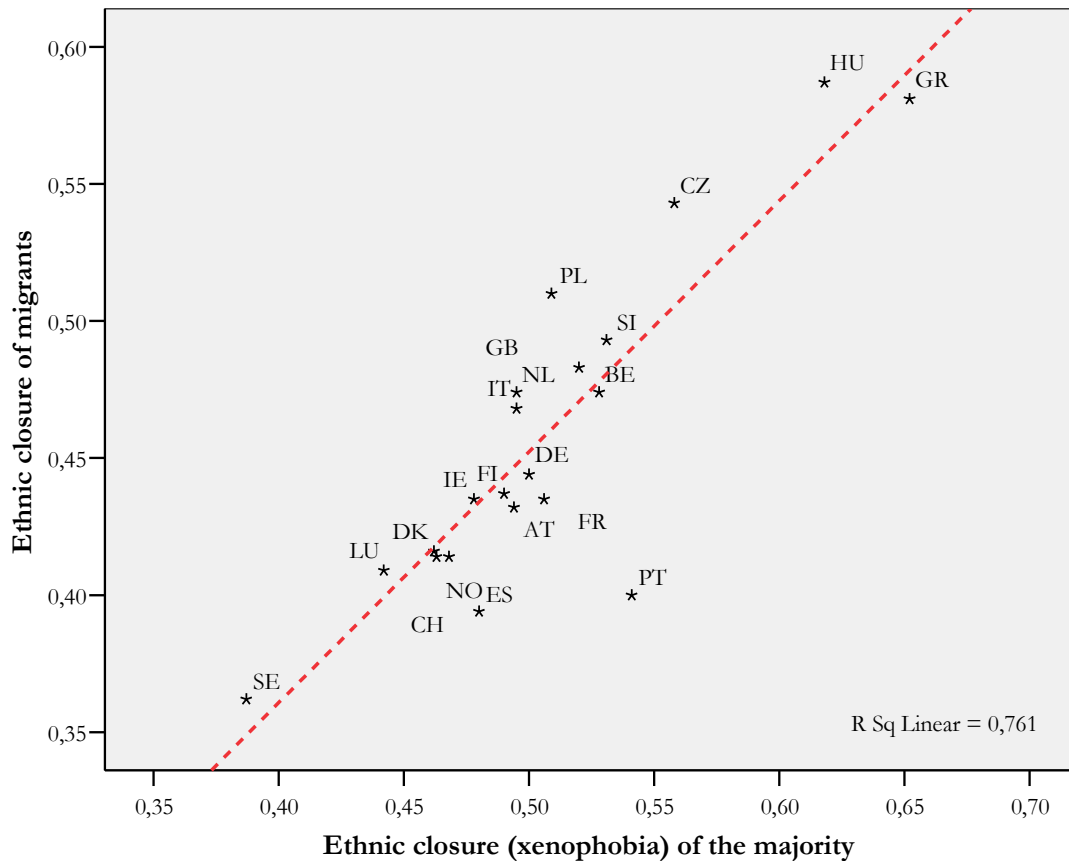
However, the two aspects of migrants acquiring attitudes related to ethnic closure will not be further distinguished in the following analysis and the hypothesis remains quite simple:

(H7) The higher the level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) within the majority population, the higher the general level of ethnic closure of immigrants and ethnic minority groups will be.

As a majority population's level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) increases, the level of ethnic closure within immigrant communities and ethnic groups is expected to rise accordingly for intergroup perception being mutually more or less cooperative or hostile and for the migrants adjusting to the majorities attitudes towards new immigrants and other ethnic minorities.

Figure 21 and table 40 result from linear regression analysis. Even though, some ethnic minorities may vary considerably from others, migrants have been treated as members of one group due to the low case numbers in terms of countries and in terms of members of specific ethnic communities or generational categories in each country.

Figure 21: Migrants' ethnic closure by ethnic closure (xenophobia) of the majority



Note: The x- and y-axis represent aggregated means by country. Within each country, cases weighted by design weight.

The regression revealed a huge trend in the predicted direction, $F(1, 19) = 60.6$, $p < .001$, $R = .873$, meaning that ethnic closure of the majority indeed triggered ethnic ingroup orientation within the migrant population.

Table 39: Ethnic closure interaction between the subpopulations

	Ethnic closure _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta
Ethnic closure (xenophobia) _{MA}	.915***	(.118)	.873
Constant	-.005	(.060)	
adjusted R ²	.761		
N	21		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents the number of countries. Within each country, cases weighted by design weight.

Even though, this relationship seems quite straightforward, the model assumed that the migrants' perception of the majority population's degree of ethnic closure equals the actual views of the majority members. The perception process, however, is far more complicated as it depends on actual contacts, medial images, ingroup- and intergroup perceptions. Even when the national level would be replaced by the smallest geographical entity the data set provides, the resulting analysis would hardly be more correct for the stated reasons.

3.3.2.3 Excuse: Does the country's percentage of migrants play any role?

Looking for external factors that might have an additional influence on how well a country's immigrants and ethnic minorities are integrated, one quickly arrives at the prominent theme in public discourse that states that a country could only "handle" a certain share of immigrants – a claim that is widely supported by political conservatives from the right to the center of the political spectrum, sometimes even infiltrating the traditional left.⁶⁰¹ According to this claim, the prospects for integration should be reduced if the percentage of migrants in a country or region reaches a "critical" level. This attitude also becomes obvious in the policy attempt to attract the "right" immigrants – even at the level of the EU – offering green cards to the well educated and welcoming younger people to Europe in order to offset the aging of European societies through immigration and at the same time tightening borders to unwanted immigrants.

Others have argued, for example in the German debate, that levels of ethnic closure are particularly high in areas with low levels of immigrants and ethnic minorities.⁶⁰² The latter argument follows the contact hypothesis that contacts are responsible for achieving the necessary level of acquaintance between different people and diverse ethnic groups to nurture attitudes that are more supportive of multiculturalism and mutual trust which increases integration and reduces ethnic closure (xenophobia). However, it is far from automatic that the presence of immigrants or ethnic minority groups leads to "contact" between migrants and members of the majority population.

When the share of people with migration background in the country is introduced as a control variable in the two interaction equations, neither of the two arguments could be safely confirmed. Regarding the integration of migrants, the β value slightly decreases to .953 with the control variable reaching .052 which is not significant; the overall ANOVA was significant, $F(2, 18) = 140.4, p < .001, R = .969$ accounting for 94.0 percent of the

⁶⁰¹ E.g., Patrick J. Buchanan, The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2002) or Janine Cremer, "Zuwanderung bzw. Zuwanderungspolitik im Spiegel der Arbeitgeber- und der Gewerkschaftspresse" Themen der Rechten - Themen der Mitte: Zuwanderung, demographischer Wandel und Nationalbewusstsein, ed. Christoph Butterwegge et al. (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2002) 43-66.

⁶⁰² See for example the discussion about the so-called "no go areas" in Eastern Germany with high presence and public support of right wing extremism and xenophobia at very low levels of immigration. E.g., Mariam Lau, "Die Mär von der 'No-go-Area': Wo Ausländer ihres Lebens angeblich nicht sicher sind – Eine Spurensuche in Brandenburg" Die Welt, 20 May 2006, 4.

variance. Even when taking the control variable as only independent in explaining overall country levels of integration, its effect does not reach any level of significance considering the small case number of countries included in the analysis, $F(1, 19) = 1.8$, $p = .193$, $R = .296$. Thus, the influence of the percentage of migrants in a country on that country's overall level of integration is rather negligible.

In terms of the level of ethnic closure of immigrants and ethnic minorities, the β value changes to .880 with the control variable reaching .029 which is not significant. Again, the overall ANOVA was significant, $F(2, 18) = 28.8$, $p < .001$, $R = .873$ accounting for 76.2 percent of the variance. Even when considering the control variable as only independent in explaining overall country levels of ethnic closure (xenophobia) its effect does not reach any level of significance either, $F(1, 19) = 2.1$, $p = .162$, $R = .316$. Thus, the influence of the percentage of migrants in a country has a moderate but non-significant impact of reduction on the country's overall level of attitudes related to ethnic closure held by members of the majority population.

Considering just the direction of the impact, the percentage of migrants in a country has the effect proposed by the contact hypothesis – a greater share of migrants is somewhat related to better integration and lower levels of ethnic closure (xenophobia). But perhaps this is just because voluntary migrants normally go to places where they feel welcomed and where they find good prospects to make a living – such as economically strong regions and countries with liberal immigration regulations which provide favorable conditions for integration and lower levels of ethnic closure (xenophobia) from the start.

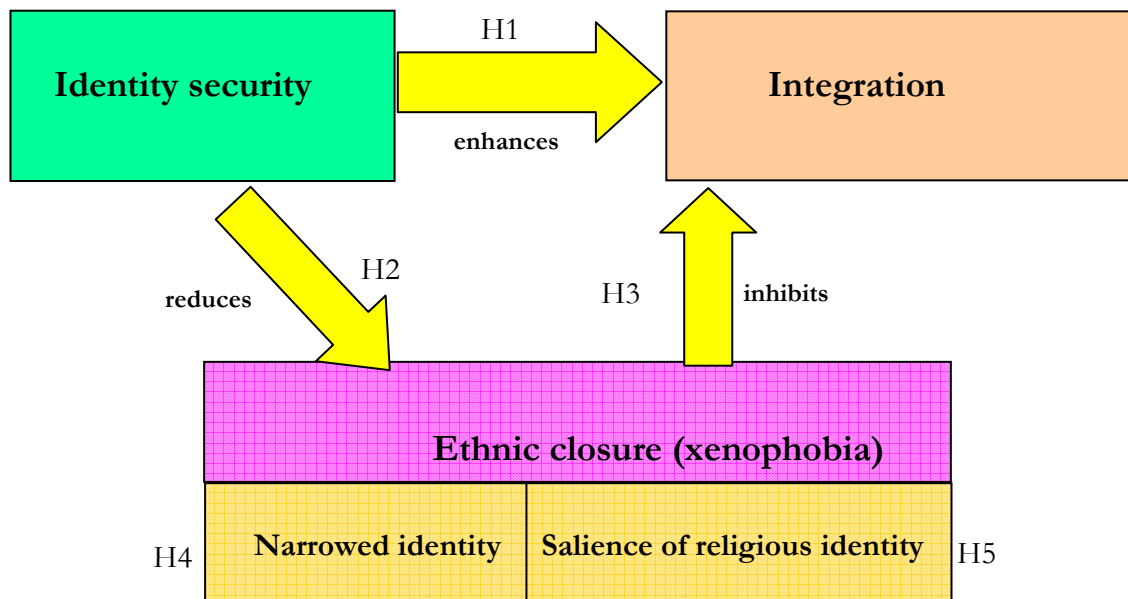
3.4 An individual perspective

Both theories social identity theory and identity theory are focusing on the individual. Therefore, the micro-level is the suitable perspective for empirical analyses based upon these theories.

3.4.1 The general model

In order to allow for a comparison of the micro-level analysis to the results gained in the section on the country perspective, all hypotheses are tested with the variables used for analyses in the previous section with the exception that identity resources will now additionally include a person's educational achievement vis-à-vis other people of one's country and age group. Afterwards, multivariate regression will present the proposed concepts in more detail.

Figure 22: Explaining integration – the general model



Note: Ethnic closure (xenophobia), narrowed identity, and salience of religious identity are all regarded as indirect expressions of and defense reactions to insecure or injured identity whereby the concepts of narrowed identity and salience of religious identity are particularly strong related to each other.

3.4.1.1 Integration as a function of identity security

(H1) The higher a person's score on identity security, the more that person will embrace attitudes that are supportive of integration.

In the most generalized sense, identity resources and identity threats explain integration. This can be confirmed by the following linear regression:

Table 40: Identity security determinants of integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE	Beta	B	(SE	Beta
Identity resources	.159***	(.006)	.165	.145***	(.016)	.145
Identity threats	-.148***	(.004)	-.243	-.126***	(.010)	-.199
<i>Constant</i>	.461***	(.003)		.470***	(.009)	
adjusted R ²	.116			.081		
N	25,756			4,025		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The analysis revealed a medium trend for the majority population, $F(2, 25753) = 1684.8$, $p < .001$, $R = .340$ accounting for 11.6 percent of the variance. For the migrants, the proposed tendency could be reproduced. However, the trend was weaker there, $F(2, 4022) = 178.4$, $p < .001$, $R = .285$ accounting for only 8.1 percent of the variance. For both subgroups, the threat component clearly outweighed the resource component of identity.

Identity resources and identity threats correlate with each other at $-.369$ for the majority and $-.360$ for migrants with the VIF averaging 1.16 for the majority and 1.15 for migrants thus not creating a cause of concern here in terms of multicollinearity.⁶⁰³

Thus, the result of the country perspective could be reproduced at the individual with the only difference that the overall explanatory power of the model is considerably smaller. Again, identity threats are more important than identity resources, even though both variables are highly significant in their impact on integration now due to the very large case numbers. Also, the tendency that identity threats seem to matter a bit less to migrants in terms of their integration than to members of the majority was found here, too.

This regression can be refined focusing in detail on the independent variables. The following two tables show the influence of identity resources and identity threats independently.

Looking at the individual correlations between identity resources and integration, rather small but highly significant relationships were found varying between .08 for education and .22 for multiple strong identities for the majority and .07 for social support and .21 for multiple strong identities for migrants. The VIF in the multivariate regression averaged 1.16 for the majority and 1.17 for migrants indicating little multicollinearity.

⁶⁰³ Field, 175.

In the multivariate regression, two of these four variables dominated the picture for the majority – multiple strong identities and self-efficacy (see table 41) with the standardized β coefficient of multiple strong identities being about twice as high as the one of self-efficacy. Education and supportive relationships played a negligible role. For the migrants, multiple strong identities presented the same dominating factor as for the majority. However, education also influenced the equation whereas self-efficacy played almost no role. The difference of the subpopulation in self-efficacy and education was a bit surprising as the theoretical concept gives no hint whatsoever why such a difference should occur.

Table 41: Identity resources determinants of integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Self-efficacy	.066***	(.005)	.096	.021*	(.013)	.030
Multiple strong identities	.170***	(.007)	.190	.186***	(.018)	.191
Social support	.011*	(.006)	.014	-.006	(.016)	-.009
Education	.003	(.004)	.005	.031**	(.010)	.053
Constant	.377***	(.005)		.374***	(.012)	
adjusted R ²	.057			.046		
N	19,118			3,403		

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The relationship between identity resources and integration is not a particularly strong one but nevertheless highly significant for both the majority, $F(4, 19113) = 290.1$, $p < .001$, $R = .239$, and migrants, $F(4, 3398) = 41.7$, $p < .001$, $R = .216$. Thus, the explanatory power of identity resources for integration is much lower from the individual perspective than from the country perspective, which was presented in the previous section.

Now considering identity threat determinants of integration, as expected all eight proposed identity threat variables are negatively related to integration even though at widely varying degrees realizing correlation rates between -.04 for the loss of a primary relationship for the majority (-.06 for migrants) and -.28 for perceived low income for the majority (-.20 for migrants) – all being highly significant. As it was argued before, lacking a measure of timeliness, the loss of a primary relationship is a rather weak indicator of identity threat and it therefore comes at no surprise that its impact on integration is low. Looking at the bivariate correlations of the threat variables with each other, they related rather weakly, if at all. The strongest relationships among the independent variables were found between perceived low income and the anticipated difficulties to borrow money with a correlation of .32 for the majority and .28 for migrants; and between unemployment and poor health with a correlation of .23 for the majority and .22 for migrants. The VIF in the multivariate regression averaged 1.08 for the majority and 1.06 for migrants, which further indicated that multicollinearity did not pose any problem to the analysis.

Overall ANOVA revealed a moderately strong relationship between potential identity threats and integration for both the majority, $F(8, 25625) = 435.3, p < .001, R = .346$, and migrants, $F(8, 4009) = 52.9, p < .001, R = .309$.

Table 42: Identity threat determinants of integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
(1) Discrimination	-0.026***	(.004)	-.036	-0.029***	(.003)	-.150
(2) Poor health	-0.004*	(.002)	-.011	-0.016**	(.006)	-.045
(3) Perceived low income	-0.076***	(.002)	-.215	-0.052***	(.006)	-.149
(4) Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-0.035***	(.002)	-.121	-0.020***	(.005)	-.068
(5) Unemployment	-0.006***	(.002)	-.023	-0.002	(.005)	-.006
(6) Being afraid of walking alone after dark	-0.046***	(.002)	-.142	-0.037***	(.005)	-.115
(7) Social isolation	-0.040***	(.003)	-.082	-0.038***	(.008)	-.071
(8) Loss of primary relationship	0.005*	(.002)	.012	-0.010	(.006)	-.024
<i>Constant</i>	0.537***	(.001)		0.552***	(.004)	
adjusted R ²	.119			.094		
N	25,526			3,981		

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Looking at the negative impact of the discussed identity threats on integration, there were differences between the majority and migrants. Whereas discrimination had the gravest impact on migrants' integration, it mattered very little to majority members. On the other hand, the income related categories of identity threat had a stronger influence on the integration scores of majority members than those of migrants. An important threat worth of consideration for both subgroups was the concern about one's physical safety related to walking alone in one's residential area at night. The effects of poor health, unemployment, and the loss of a primary relationship were rather negligible for both groups (see table 42).

Now, the different kinds of trust should be considered as important components of integration. All identity resource and identity threat variables having a highly significant impact on integration will be considered in subsequent multiple regressions.

The correlations of the identity variables with each of the integration components were only weak and self-efficacy even lost its significance in the multivariate regression relating to performance trust. The VIF in the multivariate regressions was found at 1.11 for the majority and 1.12 for migrants further indicating that the results should not be blurred by multicollinearity.

Table 43: Identity security determinants of integration components for the majority

	Interpersonal trust		Institutional trust		Performance trust	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
<i>Identity resources</i>						
Self-efficacy	.050***	.055	.066***	.071	.011*	.014
Multiple strong identities	.118***	.100	.212***	.174	.112***	.109
Social support	.033***	.031	-.012	-.011	-.018*	-.019
Education	.006	.007	.009	.011	-.034***	-.051
<i>Identity threats</i>						
Discrimination	-.027***	-.032	-.052***	-.062	-.039***	-.055
Perceived low income	-.057***	-.108	-.049***	-.091	-.068***	-.148
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-.026***	-.067	-.026***	-.067	-.021***	-.064
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	-.045***	-.107	-.036***	-.085	-.043***	-.120
Social isolation	-.051***	-.074	-.028***	-.039	-.013***	-.022
<i>Constant</i>	.441***		.384***		.497***	
adjusted R ²	.078		.087		.071	
N	15,791		15,745		15,780	

Note: * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Table 44: Identity security determinants of integration components for migrants

	Interpersonal trust		Institutional trust		Performance trust	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
<i>Identity resources</i>						
Self-efficacy	.021	.023	.030	.031	-.049**	-.061
Multiple strong identities	.188***	.156	.260***	.206	.155***	.142
Social support	-.012	-.011	-.018	-.016	-.002	-.002
Education	.040**	.056	.005	.006	-.011	-.017
<i>Identity threats</i>						
Discrimination	-.027***	-.116	-.050***	-.206	-.035***	-.166
Perceived low income	-.023**	-.048	-.017*	-.033	-.040***	-.092
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-.007	-.020	-.016*	-.041	-.021**	-.063
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	-.040***	-.097	-.028***	-.064	-.031***	-.082
Social isolation	-.022*	-.033	-.021	-.030	-.015	-.025
<i>Constant</i>	.411***		.375***		.491***	
adjusted R ²	.066		.098		.074	
N	2,559		2,550		2,557	

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Table 43 and 44 show the unstandardized B coefficients and the standardized β coefficients of the separate regressions of the retained important identity variables for interpersonal trust, institutional trust, and performance trust.

Whereas the correlations of each identity resource to each trust dimension had been consistently positive and highly significant (except for education and performance

evaluation which were completely unrelated), the multiple regression yielded a more differentiated picture.

Overall, the three trust dimensions can be best explained by the multiple identities a person holds and his or her memberships in voluntary organizations for both subpopulations. Moreover, multiple identities have the greatest explanatory power regarding institutional trust. However, several threat indicators revealed to be considerable as well. For immigrants and ethnic minorities, discrimination was the most essential realizing almost as much of an impairment to integration than multiple identities served the individual's development of trust. For the majority population, two potential threats stand out – the perception of a low household income and concerns about one's safety when walking alone in one's residential area after dark. The latter showed also critical for the migrants, however, it was a bit less important to them. The weak negative tendency of social support on political trust for the majority and on political and interpersonal trust for the immigrants and ethnic minorities could possibly relate to the social support people receive from members of their ethnic group and this support may well be linked to ingroup membership and ingroup-outgroup accentuation. If this were the case than the negative impact of self-efficacy on integration could also relate to stronger group boundaries and access barriers more self-efficient migrants may perceive.

Considering multiple identities as the strongest single identity resource for enhancing integration, it is interesting to make a direct comparison of the multiple identity components – for organizational identities – here measured as organizational engagement and commitment – is also a rather classic measure of social capital. As stated earlier, social capital theory argues that memberships provide social contacts, increase personal networks, teach democratic procedures, and increase ties to and stakes in one's country of residence. All of these aspects of organizational engagement and voluntary work directly link to integration as it is argued they increase the trust in other people, the country's political institutions, and the country's social system or subsystems in general. In contrast, from an identity perspective it can be argued that memberships and organizational identities create new opportunity structures for the construction and transformation of identity, which will render identities more stable and which should then also contribute to integration.⁶⁰⁴ As such, one could argue that diversified organizational identities should have a very similar effect as multiple identities, here measured in terms of highly valued areas of life.

However, as Geißel, Kern, Klein, and Berger note, people with higher levels of interpersonal trust are more likely to support and to join voluntary organizations.⁶⁰⁵ If this is true, interpersonal trust may not so much be the result of organizational engagement but its cause. Nevertheless, organization related opportunities would still be of some benefit to people who already realized higher degrees of interpersonal trust. The doubt voiced about

⁶⁰⁴ Daan van Knippenberg and Els C. M. van Schie, "Foci and correlates of organizational identification" *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 73.2 (2000): 137-147.

⁶⁰⁵ Brigitte Geißel, Kristine Kern, Ansgar Klein, and Maria Berger, "Einleitung: Integration, Zivilgesellschaft und Sozialkapital" *Zivilgesellschaft und Sozialkapital: Herausforderungen politischer und sozialer Integration*, eds. Ansgar Klein, Kristine Kern, Brigitte Geißel, and Maria Berger (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004): 10.

the quality of explaining interpersonal trust with organizational engagement may also be extendable to the “learning” opportunities of institutional and performance trust, since the three trust concepts are somewhat related. From the perspective of identity theory one could alternatively argue that a persons inherent orientation towards many identities and the associated multiplicity of interests will likely include an openness of the mind for the affairs of one’s local community and political themes in general both of which should positively relate to the development of institutional and performance trust. Further, multiple identities should also lead to engagement in various voluntary organizations via the development of a multitude of personal interests.

Table 45 presents a multivariate regression of 1st the multiple strong identities based on the number of highly appreciated areas in a person’s life and 2nd of the person’s organizational identities. Overall ANOVA for the regression was highly significant for both the majority, $F(2, 19488) = 511.2, p < .001, R = .223$, and migrants, $F(2, 3498) = 89.7, p < .001, R = .221$. The two independent variables somewhat correlate with each other at $r = .190$ for the majority and $r = .209$ for migrants, thus not posing a problem to the regression at hand for the low VIF of 1.04 for the majority and 1.05 for immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Table 45: Multiple identity determinants of integration

Multiple strong identities	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
1) Areas of life	.017***	.001	.162	.021***	.002	.188
2) Organizational identities	.027***	.002	.126	.020***	.004	.083
<i>Constant</i>	.393***	.004		.373***	.010	
adjusted R ²	.047			.047		
N	19,491			3,501		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

For both subpopulations, the number of important areas in their lives outweigh organizational identities. However, it appears to be even more important to immigrants and ethnic minorities to hold many different identities whereas organizational identities are much less supportive to them than to members of the majority population.

Comparing the strength of explanation of the identity paradigm (multiple identities regarding different highly valued areas of life) with the social capital paradigm (organizational engagement) for the three proposed dimensions of trust, a more differentiated picture emerges – one that is consistent across the two subpopulations.

For all three components, the overall ANOVAs were highly significant. Of the three trust components, institutional trust can be best explained by the multiple identity variables. In terms of interpersonal trust, the standardized β coefficient was clearly higher for organizational identities, whereas the standardized β coefficients of multiple identities relating to the areas of life a person evaluated as rather important were much higher for explaining institutional and performance trust. Thus, there is no clear dominance of one

over the other independent variable – whereas organizational identities related better to interpersonal trust, multiple important areas of life related better to political trust. Nevertheless, regression analysis is no suitable method for clarifying the causality of the relationships. There is reason to believe that the relationship between interpersonal trust and organizational identities is bi-directional. Perhaps, this is also true for multiple identities and the political forms of trust: People with trust in institutions and the political and social system should react more positively to e.g. family policies or institutional support for voluntary engagement encouraging them to balance personal identities relating to family, leisure time, friends, social clubs etc. with every day necessities. This may lead them to a higher evaluation of all these when pure security needs favoring work are pushed a bit to the background. Thus, also the relationships of political trust and multiple identities should be at least partly bi-directional.

Table 46: Impact of multiple identities on trust dimensions for the majority

	Interpersonal trust		Institutional trust		Performance trust		
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	
Majority	Multiple identities						
	1) Areas of life	.010***	.072	.026***	.189	.014***	.123
	2) Organizational identities	.040***	.139	.030***	.101	.013***	.052
	<i>Constant</i>	.409***		.338***		.430***	
	adjusted R ²	.028		.053		.020	
N	19,494		19,420		19,465		
Migrants	1) Areas of life	.015***	.103	.031***	.202	.017***	.133
	2) Organizational identities	.037***	.123	.015**	.046	.007	.027
	<i>Constant</i>	.372***		.325***		.422***	
	adjusted R ²	.031		.047		.019	
	N	3,492		3,490		3,496	

Note: *** $p < .001$, two-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

As table 45 already revealed as smaller impact of organizational identities on migrants' integration in general, table 46 specified this difference. Among migrants, the influence of organizational identities on political trust is clearly weaker than among members of the majority population, whereas multiple strong identities referring to the various areas of life seem to be slightly more important to migrants across all three dimensions of trust.

In sum, the first hypothesis can be wholeheartedly confirmed. According to the presented analysis, identity security indeed enhances integration. Only drawback: The strength of this relationship is at most moderate.

3.4.1.2 The role of ethnic closure

As in the previous section, ethnic closure is treated as a reaction to identity threat concerning the dimension of ingroup-outgroup accentuation (members of the population majority vs. minority members and established residents vs. immigrants). It is argued that the ingroup is favored and appreciated at the expense of the outgroup in order to stabilize the threatened self and self-perception.

(H2) The more threatened people's identities in a country are, the greater their inclination towards ethnic closure will be.

Ethnic closure can be expressed as a function of the available identity threat variables. For better comparability, the summary variable of identity threat already applied to the country perspective is used here as well. Subsequently, the eight individual threats are subjected to a multivariate regression.

The regression was highly significant for both the majority population, $F(2, 25840) = 888.5, p < .001, R = .254$ and migrants, $F(2, 4033) = 89.3, p < .001, R = .206$.

Table 47: Explaining ethnic closure (xenophobia) by identity threat

	Ethnic closure (xenophobia) _{MA}			Ethnic closure _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Identity threats	0.171***	(0.11)	.269	.082**	(.029)	.126
Identity threats**2	-0.014	(0.14)	-.017	.070*	(.037)	.083
Constant	.464***	(.002)		.433***	(.004)	
adjusted R ²	.064			.042		
N	25,843			4,036		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents the number of cases weighted by design and population size weight.

At the individual level, ethnic closure (xenophobia) can be modeled as a quadratic regression. Distinguishing between the two subpopulation, however, it becomes obvious that the equation is strongly dominated by the linear component. There is no quadratic component for the majority, but a considerable one for the migrants. The latter signifies that there is a bit of over proportional growth of ethnic closure at higher levels of identity threats. As immigrants and members of ethnic minorities are more prone to threats⁶⁰⁶ some of them may reach a critical threshold where the accumulation of negative life events has a more than linear impact.

⁶⁰⁶ On average, migrants were more likely to experience identity threats ($M = .2712, SE = .004$) than members of the majority population ($M = .2534, SE = .001$). This difference was highly significant $t(29900) = -4.494, p < .001$.

When looking at the eight defined threats in more detail, the overall ANOVA of the multivariate regression was highly significant for both the majority, $F(8, 25664) = 243.1$, $p < .001$, $R = .265$, and migrants, $F(8, 4017) = 36.2$, $p < .001$, $R = .259$.

Table 48: Identity threat determinants of ethnic closure (xenophobia)

	Ethnic closure (xenophobia) _{MA}			Ethnic closure _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Discrimination	-0.021***	(0.05)	-.028	-0.009**	(0.03)	-.045
Poor health	0.029***	(0.02)	.079	0.056***	(0.06)	.150
Perceived low income	0.039***	(0.02)	.105	0.021***	(0.06)	.058
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	0.027***	(0.02)	.088	0.001	(0.05)	.004
Unemployment	0.018***	(0.02)	.059	0.028***	(0.05)	.090
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	0.032***	(0.02)	.093	0.024***	(0.05)	.070
Social isolation	0.031***	(0.03)	.062	0.018*	(0.08)	.032
Loss of primary relationship	0.012***	(0.03)	.027	0.030***	(0.07)	.070
Constant	0.461***	(0.01)		0.426***	(0.04)	
adjusted R ²	.070			.065		
N	25,673			4,026		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents the number of cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The supposedly false negative relationship between discrimination and ethnic closure (xenophobia) is the result of two factors. First, most discrimination categories are related to migration group; and migrants score slightly lower on ethnic closure (xenophobia). Second, particularly women who have experienced discrimination themselves are less likely to discriminate against outgroups. This phenomenon is further discussed in section 3.5.2.

All other threats contributed towards ethnic closure (xenophobia) as predicted. Nevertheless, the two subgroups revealed differences in the importance of most factors. For migrants, poor health developed a surprisingly high β -value, whereas perceived low income and anticipated difficulties borrowing money in case of an emergency mattered very little for migrants but a lot for members of the majority.

(H3) The higher a country's degree of ethnic closure, the lower will be that country's level of integration.

A quadratic regression model is suggested again for expecting an over proportional impact of high levels of ethnic closure (xenophobia) on integration. The overall ANOVA for the relationship between ethnic closure (xenophobia) and integration was highly significant for both the majority, $F(2, 31594) = 1374.8$, $p < .001$, $R = .283$ and migrants, $F(2, 5568) = 239.4$, $p < .001$, $R = .281$.

Table 49: Explaining integration by ethnic closure (xenophobia)

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	.017***	(.025)	.190	.021***	(.055)	.440
Ethnic closure (xenophobia)**2	.027***	(.024)	-.466	.020***	(.056)	-.694
<i>Constant</i>	.521***	(.006)		.461***	(.013)	
adjusted R ²	.080			.079		
N	31,597			5,571		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents the number of countries.

The comparison of the standardized β coefficients reveals a clear dominance of the quadratic component of ethnic closure (xenophobia). Increases in ethnic closure at lower levels are much less severe for the reduction of trust than increases at higher levels. Thus outright xenophobia will be even more damaging. As the quadratic parameter is greater for the immigrants and ethnic minorities, one could argue that stronger ingroup orientation of migrants inhibits the development of trust more than ethnocentrism regarding the majority population.

3.4.1.3 The role of narrowed identity

Narrowed identity has been introduced as a defense mechanism to identity threat that is strongly related to identity denial or at least the depreciation of formerly important identity components of a person. As such, it can be seen as the counter concept of multiple strong identities that were found to serve the person as an identity resource. To a certain extent, narrowed identity will also have somewhat of a “resource” function as a certain identity threat to which it is a specific reaction becomes compartmentalized and mentally deactivated and thus contributes to a re-stabilization of the person’s identity security, for example by reducing threat related anxiety. However, in the long run it is argued that the resulting narrowed identity structure will limit a person’s situational and role identity choices and thus its flexibility in identity construction and reconstruction. Thus, the model regards narrowed identity as an additional contributor to identity threat even though much more indirect and also weaker because of short term to intermediate stabilizing effects for a person’s identity.

(H4a) The more severe the threats to a person’s identity are, the more likely that person will be to develop a narrowed identity structure.

Narrowed identity will be expressed as function of the identity threat in the same way as for ethnic closure (xenophobia). Again, one could expect an over proportional growth of narrowed identity – as accumulated identity denial – with increasing threats to identity.

The quadratic regression revealed a weak relationship for the majority, $F(2, 25862) = 215.1, p < .001, R = .128$, but was negligible yet still highly significant for immigrants and ethnic minorities, $F(2, 4034) = 7.03, p < .001, R = .059$.

Table 50: Narrowed identity as a reaction to identity threat

	Narrowed identity _{MA}			Narrowed identity _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Identity threats	0.311***	(.092)	.059	-.151	(.229)	-.030
Identity threats**2	0.491***	(.121)	.071	.568*	(.299)	.086
Constant	1.435***	(.013)		1.509***	(.035)	
adjusted R ²	.016			.003		
N	25,865			4,037		

Note: *** $p < .001$; * $p < .05$; one-tailed. N represents the number of cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Considering the poor operationalization of narrowed identity, which completely ignored the fact of identity choice, finding this weak relationship was the most one could have hoped for. For migrants, identity choice could be considered even greater than for the majority for greater variation of what society or culture one can to belong to. Also migration motivation is sometimes linked to specific areas of life such as work, study, or family while other areas become of importance only over time. As the mean of narrowed identity is a bit higher for migrants, there seems to be support for this argument. Also, the analysis of the impact of identity threats on integration suggested a different effect of several threats towards the two groups.

Now, when looking at the eight individual threat components of identity by themselves instead of their condensed summary, a multivariate linear model should suffice for the sake of simplicity as the quadratic regression of the overall threat variable had exhibited just a bit more explanatory power than a linear regression. Now, the model's explanatory power improves for both the majority population, $F(8, 25684) = 82.6, p < .001, R = .158$, and quite considerably for immigrants and ethnic minorities, $F(8, 4017) = 8.34, p < .001, R = .128$. Nevertheless, the trend is still very small.

Table 51: Identity threat determinants of narrowed identity

	Narrowed identity _{MA}			Narrowed identity _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Discrimination	0.236***	(.039)	.038	0.032	(.024)	.021
Poor health	0.160***	(.019)	.054	0.200***	(.047)	.069
Perceived low income	0.096***	(.020)	.031	0.036	(.047)	.013
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	0.100***	(.017)	.039	-0.024	(.039)	-.010
Unemployment	0.079***	(.016)	.032	0.004	(.039)	.002
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	0.033*	(.018)	.012	-0.057	(.042)	-.022
Social isolation	0.279***	(.026)	.066	0.347***	(.067)	.081
Loss of primary relationship	0.214***	(.022)	.060	0.145**	(.053)	.043
<i>Constant</i>	1,370***	(.012)		1,452***	(.031)	
adjusted R ²	.025			.016		
N	25,693			4,026		

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; one-tailed. N represents the number of cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The impact of each threat is still very small. Nevertheless, there seems to be a greater importance of those threats that concern self-verification – social isolation, loss of primary relationships and poor health. As ethnic closure (xenophobia) was rather triggered by low income, being afraid of walking after dark, one could argue that narrowed identity and ethnic closure (xenophobia) are alternative defense mechanisms to threatened identity depending on the kind of threats an individual experiences.

(H4b) The more narrowed a person's identity structure is, the lower that person will score on integration.

A linear regression was found to support hypothesis H4b best. The relationship was highly significant for both the majority, $F(1, 31613) = 1050.1, p < .001, R = .179$, and immigrants and ethnic minorities, $F(1, 5571) = 182.6, p < .001, R = .178$. Nevertheless, it was rather weak (see table 52).

Table 52: The impact of narrowed identity on integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Narrowed identity	-.027***	(.001)	-.179	-.020***	(.002)	-.178
<i>Constant</i>	.526***	(.001)		.529***	(.003)	
adjusted R ²	.032			.032		
N	31,615			5,573		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents the number of individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Thus, both parts of hypothesis 4 have been confirmed and it may be reasonable to believe that a more elaborate operationalization of narrowed identity may produce stronger effects. Even though different threats impact narrowed identity a bit differently for members of the majority and for immigrants and members of ethnic minorities, both groups reveal the same tendency for the negative impact of narrowed identity on integration.

3.4.1.4 The role of religious identity salience

Making religious identity salient was introduced as the third defense mechanism to identity threat discussed here which is conceptually closely related to narrowed identity in general as it can be regarded as special case of narrowed identity where attention and resources are re-distributed from other areas of life towards the strengthening and enactment of religious identity. Accordingly, the direction of the hypotheses concerning identity threat and religious identity salience as well as religious identity salience and integration are identical with the role of the other two defense mechanisms.

(H5a) The more severe a person's identity is threatened, the more likely that person will be to make religious identity salient.

The salience of religious identity will now be represented as a function of identity threat – first expressed by the summary variable used in the previous analyses and subsequently with the eight individual threats that are subjected to a multivariate regression.

As in the case of narrowed identity, the quadratic regression revealed a highly significant, weak relationship for the majority, $F(2, 2830) = 120.0, p < .001, R = .280$, and for migrants, $F(2, 702) = 15.3, p < .001, R = .205$.

Table 53: Salience of religious identity as a reaction to identity threat

	Religious identity salience MA			Religious identity salience IM		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Identity threats	.082	(.090)	.052	.052	(.187)	.033
Identity threats**2	.417***	(.104)	.229	.330	(.225)	.173
Constant	1.228***	(.016)		1.325***	(.032)	
adjusted R ²	.078			.042		
N	2,833			705		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents the number of cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Increasing levels of threat to one's identity resulted in a higher salience of religious identity. Again, the quadratic component dominated the equation for both subgroups. However, it is significant only for the majority population that realized a sufficiently large number of cases.

When considering the eight individual threat components of identity by themselves instead of their condensed summary, the model's explanatory power improved to moderate for both the majority, $F(8, 2803) = 42.5, p < .001, R = .329$ and for migrants, $F(8, 694) = 8.68, p < .001, R = .302$.

Table 54: Individual threat determinants of religious identity salience

	Religious identity salience _{MA}			Religious identity salience _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Discrimination	0.049	(.042)	.021	0.005	(.016)	.011
Poor health	0.089***	(.016)	.102	0.070*	(.035)	.078
Perceived low income	0.091***	(.016)	.107	0.025	(.033)	.030
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	0.030*	(.015)	.037	0.030	(.030)	.038
Unemployment	0.081***	(.016)	.098	0.044	(.031)	.056
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	0.027*	(.015)	.032	0.031	(.030)	.038
Social isolation	0.152***	(.021)	.130	0.271***	(.056)	.177
Loss of primary relationship	0.134***	(.019)	.128	0.163***	(.043)	.144
<i>Constant</i>	1,219***	(.014)		1,280***	(.029)	
adjusted R ²	.106			.081		
N	2,812			703		

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .05$; one-tailed. N represents the number of cases weighted by design and population size weight.

For both subgroups, threats to self-verification proved to be important just as in the case of narrowed identity. Additionally, perceived low income and unemployment played a role for the majority. The conceptual similarity of narrowed identity and salience of religious identity is thus empirically supported by the contribution of social threats to both dependents and across the population groups.

(H5b) The more salient a person's religious identity, the lower that person will score on integration.

This hypothesized relationships has been modeled utilizing a linear regression. The ANOVA for the relationship between religious identity salience and integration was found to be highly significant but small for both groups the majority, $F(1, 3306) = 131.9, p < .001, R = .196$ and migrants, $F(1, 952) = 14.3, p < .001, R = .122$. As hypothesized, the relationship between narrowed identity and integration was negative (see table 55).

Making religious identity salient is a response to the experience of identity threat as hypothesis 5a was confirmed. Also, the regression between salience of religious identity and integration had a quadratic component just as identity threat had on integration.⁶⁰⁷ Thus, the salience of religious identity also has a negative impact on integration.

⁶⁰⁷ The quadratic component has not been included in table 55 for the equation was clearly dominated by the linear component.

Table 55: The impact of religious identity salience on integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Saliency of religious identity	-.079***	(.007)	-.196	-.046***	(.006)	-.122
<i>Constant</i>	.588***	(.010)		.550***	(.018)	
adjusted R ²	.031			.031		
N	3,308			954		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents the number of individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

However, as the relationship between identity threat and salience of religious identity by far outweighs the relationship between salience of religious identity and integration, one could argue that even though salience of religious identity supposedly is a non-adaptive threat response it has stabilizing effects on identity and it thus even beneficial to integration. Therefore, one could argue, religious identity presents an important identity resource and has rightfully been included as such among the multiple strong identities regarding several areas of life an individual may strongly appreciate.

Due to the particularly weak relationship between salience of religious identity and integration for immigrants and ethnic minorities, migrants actually seem to benefit more from a strong religious identity than members of the majority populations in Europe.

3.4.1.5 The combination of all independent variables in the general model

The general model argues that a person's identity security enhances his or her integrative attitudes and thus his or her integrative behavior. According to the proposed model, identity security has been addressed in terms of identity resources and identity threats. Identity resources were operationalized as self-efficacy, multiple identities, education (as an approximation for intellectual resources), and supportive relationships. Identity threats were expressed as potentially threatening conditions to a person's perception of self and feelings of personal security relating to a variety of social, economic, and even physical aspects. As indirect expressions of threatened or injured identity and at the same time additional obstacles to integration, ethnic closure (xenophobia), narrowed identity, as well as the salience of religious identity were introduced which have been argued to be possible response reactions to identity threat.

The relationships between the concepts of the general model have already been discussed above. Now, it is also interesting to evaluate the relative weight of the model's major components – i.e. identity resources, identity threats, and response reactions – influence on integration in a multivariate regression. Narrowed identity and the salience of religious identity correlated highly at $r = .739$ for the majority and $r = .750$ for migrants. As the variable salience of religious identity strongly reduces case numbers, only narrowed identity was included in the multivariate regression concerning the general explanatory model.

Overall, this final test of the general model revealed a moderate explanatory power for the European majority populations, $F = (4, 25744) = 1148.3$, $p < .001$, $R = .389$ and for their immigrants and ethnic minorities, $F = (4, 2040) = 165.8$, $p < .001$, $R = .376$. Multicollinearity was not a problem as the highest VIF were 1.35 for the majorities and 1.27 for migrants in both cases concerning identity resources. The average VIF amounted to 1.20 for the majority and 1.15 for migrants.

Table 56: Explaining integration in the general model

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Identity resources	.081***	(.006)	.085	.067***	(.017)	.067
Identity threats	-.131***	(.004)	-.215	-.113***	(.010)	-.178
Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	-.169***	(.006)	-.177	-.204***	(.015)	-.208
Narrowed identity	-.012***	(.001)	-.101	-.018***	(.002)	-.142
<i>Constant</i>	.595***	(.005)		.624***	(.013)	
adjusted R ²	.151			.142		
N	25,749			4025		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents the number of individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Again, as in the country perspective, identity threats have a far stronger impact on integration than identity resources that are supposed to act as buffers against threats. Even the response mechanisms to identity threat have a stronger impact on integration than identity resources. When looking at the three components of integration, there was a largely stable pattern.

Table 57: Identity determinants of integration components

	Interpersonal trust		Institutional trust		Performance trust		
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	
Majority	Identity resources	.156***	.122	.101***	.079	-.012	-.011
	Identity threats	-.119***	-.147	-.115***	-.142	-.160***	-.236
	Ethnic closure	-.237***	-.186	-.154***	-.121	-.116***	-.109
	Narrowed identity	-.001	-.009	-.023***	-.152	-.010***	-.081
	<i>Constant</i>	.574***		.587***		.624***	
	adjusted R ²	.115		.103		.090	
	N	25,755		25,614		25,692	
Migrants	Identity resources	.211***	.162	.050*	.037	-.053**	-.046
	Identity threats	-.104***	-.126	-.114***	-.134	-.119***	-.163
	Ethnic closure	-.206***	-.162	-.188***	-.143	-.215***	-.191
	Narrowed identity	-.006*	-.040	-.031***	-.186	-.016***	-.112
	<i>Constant</i>	.528***		.635***		.703***	
	adjusted R ²	.110		.097		.082	
	N	4,017		4,008		4,017	

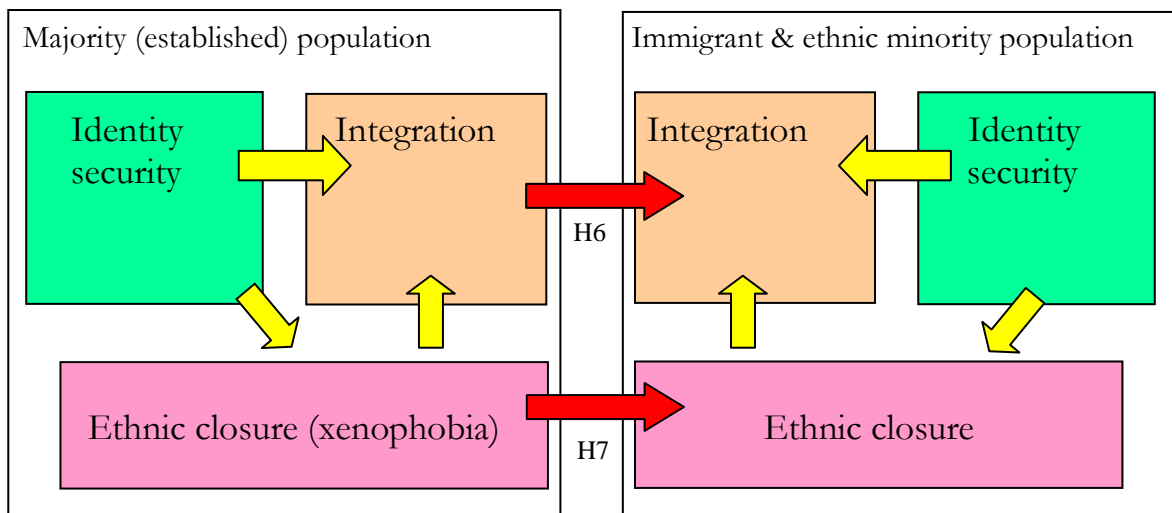
Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The strongest factors in explaining overall integration – identity threats and ethnic closure (xenophobia), are also the dominating factors when looking at each of the three integration dimensions. Only in terms of explaining institutional trust, narrowed identity made a slightly greater contribution than either one of the two. Identity resources had a smaller but yet considerable impact on interpersonal trust which was even more pronounced for the immigrants and ethnic minorities. Interpersonal trust is also the component of integration to which identity resources make their highest contribution, but in terms of performance trust, identity resources had no meaningful explanatory power in addition to the other variables. Identity threats had the gravest impact on performance trust, ethnic closure (xenophobia) strongly affected interpersonal trust for both groups and showed particularly high for explaining migrants' lack of performance trust. Finally, narrowed identity played its major role in institutional trust and was negligible for interpersonal trust.

3.4.2 The extended model

Again, as in the country perspective, the focus of the model extension is on the interaction between the population groups. Even though of course, the relationship is bi-directional, it will be assumed that the impact of the larger group on the smaller will be more important than the other way around.

Figure 23: Explaining integration – the extended model



Note: The model extension refers to the impact of the majority's attitudes towards integration and ethnic closure (xenophobia) on those of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

As before, hypothesis 6 looks at the relationship between the majority's attitudes towards integration and the migrants' attitudes. The majority's trust or lack of trust in other people, institutions or the country's performance, will strengthen or inhibit the development of trust of people new to the country. Hypothesis 7 states that a high level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) of the majority in terms of a strong ingroup-outgroup accentuation will limit contacts with and opportunity structures of immigrants and ethnic minorities and will therefore contribute to a greater ingroup orientation and thus an increase in ethnic closure in minority groups as well. The independent variables here are the means of ethnic closure (xenophobia) and integrative attitudes of the majority population by country.

3.4.2.1 Trust of the majority population and trust of migrants

In general, immigrants and ethnic minorities score a bit lower or roughly equal on all integration dimensions when the country variable is controlled for. Exceptions were the Czech Republic, Finland, and Greece, where immigrants and ethnic minorities consistently scored higher on overall integration and on each of the dimensions.

(H6) The integration of the majority population supports the integration of minority group members.

It is reasoned that the integration related attitudes of the receiving society will influence the integrative attitudes of immigrants and ethnic minorities. As a result of inclusive attitudes, structural opportunities will be extended to members of minority groups – and what is just as important – cultural, social, and political attitudes of the receiving society will be dispersed to any other group members functionally participating in a society. This should include the way people think and feel about their society and political system as well as other people. More democratic and inclusive societies will thus more readily support integrative attitudes of newcomers and ethnic minority members. This impact is also somewhat bi-directional: Poorly integrated minority groups will have a negative impact on the majority group’s level of integration, particularly, as distrust towards others instills distrust by others. However, the larger group should have the stronger impact on the smaller group than vice-versa: $I_{IM} = f(I_{MA}) = I_{MA} * x + c_1$ with I representing Integration, x the regression coefficient, and c a constant.

This relationship could be confirmed by linear regression analysis and the trend in the data was moderately strong, $F_{IM}(1, 5571) = 200.4, p < .001, R = .312$. The three trust components were all positively related to each other at a rather high degree ($.619 \leq r \leq .703$). Thus, there is some multicollinearity with an average VIF of 2.24 in this regression.

Table 58: Majority-migrants interaction concerning overall integration

	Integration of migrants		
	B	(SE)	Beta
Interpersonal trust _{MA}	.128***	(.049)	.053
Institutional trust _{MA}	.665***	(.055)	.221
Performance trust _{MA}	.180***	(.048)	.070
Constant	.009	(.019)	
adjusted R ²	.097		
N	5,573		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents migrants weighted by design and population size weight.

The contribution of the integration components – interpersonal trust, institutional trust, and positive evaluation of the political system – is rather uneven. A multivariate regression of these three components based on the country average scores of the majority population revealed a higher importance of institutional and, to a lower extent, performance trust for overall integration of the immigrant and ethnic minority population.

Table 59: Majority-migrants interaction of integration components

	Interpersonal trust		Institutional trust		Performance trust	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Interpersonal trust _{MA}	.696***	.223	-.164*	-.050	-.159**	-.057
Institutional trust _{MA}	.244**	.063	1.294***	.318	.485***	.139
Performance trust _{MA}	-.043	-.013	-.101	-.029	.673***	.226
<i>Constant</i>	.031		-.022		.014	
adjusted R ²	.068		.073		.083	
N	5,555		5,553		5,561	

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents migrants weighted by design and population size weight.

Despite existing multicollinearity, it comes of little surprise that the interpersonal trusts of the majority best explains interpersonal trust of migrants, the majority's institutional trusts migrants' institutional trust, and the majority's performance migrants' performance trust.

3.4.2.2 Ethnic closure of the majority and ingroup orientation of migrants

Looking at the relationship of mutual ingroup-outgroup accentuation between the majority population and diverse minorities is not only a way to evaluate conflict levels within a society. The ingroup-outgroup interaction also has a further impact on the integration strategy people will choose more or less consciously. Both high ingroup orientation of migrants and perceived access barriers to the receiving society increase a person's inclination towards the separation strategy (see table 3 visualizing Berry's model of integration discussed here in section 2.1.2). This option, however, inhibits the development of trust in the receiving society's institutions and socio-economic system and may damage the person's trust in other people, particularly, those belonging to the "outgroup."

(H7) The higher the level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) within the majority population, the higher the general level of ethnic closure of immigrants and ethnic minority groups will be.

In the logic of the model it will do so through the mutuality of the perception of intergroup relations ranging from hostile to friendly. It can be argued that the minority status may serve as a measure of ingroup identification for immigrants and ethnic minorities. The regression equation takes the format: $X_{IM} = f(X_{MA}) = X_{MA} * x + c$ with X being Ethnic closure (xenophobia), x the regression coefficient and c a constant.

The minority's perception of the majority's level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) has been approximated by the "self-reported" level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) of the majority population. The respective country mean of the majority's ethnic closure (xenophobia) has

been assigned to the individual migrant. The proposed regression revealed a rather weak relationship in the hypothesized direction, $F(1, 5581) = 335.6, p < .001, R = .238$. This relationship is very likely underestimated by the analysis for great regional diversity within a country which was not adjusted for, a broad possible range of individual experiences with members of the majority population, and last but not least intragroup variation among migrants.

Table 60: Majority-migrants interaction concerning ethnic closure (xenophobia)

	Ethnic closure of migrants		
	B	(SE)	Beta
Ethnic closure (xenophobia) _{MA}	.975***	(.053)	.238
Constant	-.039	(.027)	
adjusted R ²	.057		
N	5,583		

Note: *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. represents migrants weighted by design and population size weight.

When considering different groups of migrants, a stronger relationship between the perceived ethnic closure (xenophobia) of the majority and the resulting strengthening of migrants' ingroup orientation was found for the newly arrived immigrants, $F(1, 50) = 9.9, p < .01, R = .408$ and the second generation, $F(1, 762) = 89.8, p < .001, R = .325$.

In the case of the newly immigrated, perceived social exclusion by the majority population could well be the key to this stronger relationship as opportunity structures are more limited and one's identity is more vulnerably when dealing with the immigration situation thus making the person more susceptible to messages of exclusion and the own need to belong. For the second generation, the higher explanatory power may well stem from the still existing ties to one's heritage culture and related ethnic community ties that may provide for greater ingroup orientation.

3.4.3 The potential impact of macro-variables on this micro-analytical model

As the macro-analysis revealed important differences in the level of identity resources and the level of threat between the countries included, there is reason to believe that several underlying factors of the macro system may influence integration as well as individual identity security related variables. This impact could be modeled with a variety of macro-level factors. Alternatively, the country variable can be used as a meaningful expression of the specific combination of those relevant macro-level variables. This will be attempted here as the research interest is not the specific look at macro-level factors, but an estimation of the potential impact of the macro system on the proposed micro-level

analysis. Nevertheless, using the variable “country” will reflect the full range of macro-variables such as national or regional unemployment rates, share of persons with migration group, major origins of such immigrants or their descendents, economic strength, state of national welfare systems, education level etc. in a very compact manner. For further simplification, one can assign somewhat similar countries to groups. In the introduction to this work, it has been pointed out that local conditions often matter more than official national integration policies. However, the “national” can also be read as a general geo-political and political culture complex of determinants which are not only the frame for national policy but may also largely impact local conditions through such things as the mentality of the people, their level of tolerance etc. Using such common geo-political and political culture determinants, four country groups can be distinguished.

The first group is formed by the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland as former members of the Eastern block bearing the burden of political system transformation and – in the case of the Czech Republic – national redefinition. The second group is made up of Southern European countries: Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Slovenia. Slovenia is included here instead of the first group for its Mediterranean orientation. The third group consists of Western and Central European countries – the United Kingdom, Ireland, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The Northern European countries will make up a fourth group: Norway, Finland, Denmark, and Sweden.

Now, it can be argued that the first group provides the most difficult condition for individual integration. System transformation and the need for political and national re-orientation and particularly in the case of Poland the lack of political stability, as well as hardship due to economic restructuring will make the development of institutional and performance trust more difficult even for the established population. Additionally, the failure to incorporate old ethnic minorities – such as the Sinti and Roma – into the mainstream society and the widespread notion of “ethnic nations”⁶⁰⁸ make it rather hard for ethnic minorities to develop feelings of truly belonging to these countries.

The second group has better economic opportunities than the first. However, comparably low levels of education (particularly for Italy, Greece, and Portugal), the only recently emerging status as immigration countries when those countries used to be emigration countries for decades, and the resulting slow change in these countries’ national redefinitions towards “immigration countries” make them only slightly better places for successful individual integration than the countries of the first group.

The third group contains traditional immigration countries, multiethnic nations, long standing democracies and those stably established after World War II. This group can be characterized with higher levels of political and cultural tolerance than the first and second group as well as higher economic wealth – all creating rather favorable conditions for individual’s integration.

⁶⁰⁸ Frederika Björklund, “The East European ‘ethnic nation’ - Myth or Reality?” *European Journal of Political Research* 45.1 (2006): 93-121.

The fourth group of Northern European countries scores very strongly in terms of education, economic wealth together with a more even distribution of income than the countries of the other groups, stable democracies, the most advanced welfare systems, and developed civil societies. Thus, the fourth group provides the most supportive framework for people's integration.

Consequently, there will be steadily increasing favorable conditions from the first group of countries to the fourth.⁶⁰⁹ The geo-political perspective should be refined with an even stronger economic focus. According to their economic strength, Luxemburg and Switzerland are to be placed with the Northern European countries of the fourth group. This would be consistent with the well-established argument that integration is facilitated by individual's economic participation and is therefore proposed here as well.

Indeed, the model of the proposed micro-variables has much to gain from an introduction of the country group as a macro-variable in terms of its explanatory power. This is different for the share of people with a background of migration that was proposed in an excursion in the country perspective and did not yield any convincing impact there. As the individual differences within the countries become magnified from a micro-analytical perspective, this variable will have to contribute even less than before. The share of people with a background of migration in a country did positively correlate with integration but to a rather small extent ($r = .18$ for both subgroups). In a multivariate linear regression, these small coefficients can be expected to be even further reduced and thus do not promise to yield any meaningful additional explanation. Additionally, the overall macro variable "country groups" already includes the percentage of people with a background of migration to a comfortable degree as the two concepts correlate as high as $r = .63$ for the majority and $r = .64$ for migrants. Thus, omitting the percentage of migrants in the equation will also benefit the model by reducing multicollinearity.

Thus, the first test will include the direct and more indirect measures of identity security on integration and check them against the country group in a multivariate regression. The independent variables in the analysis are as follow:

- 1) identity resources (as a summary of self-efficacy, multiple identities, supportive relationships, and education);
- 2) identity threats (in terms of the six strongly threatening situations reported by the individual weighted by the correlation factor with happiness to adjust for the different potential magnitude of each threat);
- 3) threat responses (ethnic closure (xenophobia) and narrowed identity); and
- 4) country group.**

⁶⁰⁹ Accordingly, the group membership has been coded as 1 for the first group, 2 for the second, 3 for the third, and 4 for the fourth group.

The average VIF of 1.20 for the majority and 1.15 for migrants showed that multicollinearity did not pose a problem to this analysis. The combined micro-macro-model considerably increased the explanatory power of the model as compared to the micro-model for both the majority, $F(5, 25743) = 1605.3, p < .001, R = .488$ and migrants, $F(5, 4019) = 191.9, p < .001, R = .439$. The macro variable accounted for an additional 8.7 percent of the variance for the majority. However, for the immigrants and ethnic minorities, the introduction of the macro-variable only accounted for 5.1 percent additional variance that could be explained by the model.

Table 61: Integration in the general model: Introducing the macro-level

		Integration: Model 1			Integration: Model 2		
		B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Majority	Identity resources	.081***	(.006)	.085	.015*	(.006)	.016
	Identity threats	-.131***	(.004)	-.215	-.100***	(.004)	-.164
	Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	-.169***	(.006)	-.177	-.170***	(.006)	-.177
	Narrowed identity	-.012***	(.001)	-.101	-.017***	(.001)	-.150
	Country group				.052***	(.001)	.310
	<i>Constant</i>	.595***	(.005)		.498***	(.005)	
	adjusted R ²	.151			.238		
	N	25,749			25,749		
Migrants	Identity resources	.067***	(.017)	.067	.034*	(.016)	.034
	Identity threats	-.113***	(.010)	-.178	-.092***	(.010)	-.144
	Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	-.204***	(.015)	-.208	-.174***	(.014)	-.178
	Narrowed identity	-.018***	(.002)	-.142	-.020***	(.002)	-.157
	Country group				.044***	(.003)	.236
	<i>Constant</i>	.624***	(.013)		.503***	(.015)	
	adjusted R ²	.142			.193		
	N	4,025			4,025		

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The strong β coefficient of country group (table 61) is also a good indicator for the high impact of diverse macro-level factors on integration. As reasoned, the higher the group number a country was assigned to, the better became the prospects for integration. The rather impressive R^2 change indicates the strong impact of macro factors on a country's integration success in comparison to the individual determinants used in this analysis. For the individual determinants still being widely overlooked in public integration debates, it seems quite rewarding to combine them with a more detailed perspective on macro factors which is already much more prominent. The combination of macro and micro level aspects of integration might also yield new insights into the interpretation of macro-level factors. However, the generation of trust in the migrant population by trust within the majority was largely independent of the country group (table 62).

Table 62: Integration in the extended model: Introducing the macro-level

	INT _{IM} : Model 1			INT _{IM} : Model 2		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Interpersonal trust _{MA}	.128***	(.049)	.053	.148*	(.064)	.061
Institutional trust _{MA}	.665***	(.055)	.221	.681***	(.065)	.227
Performance trust _{MA}	.180***	(.048)	.070	.175***	(.049)	.068
Country group				-.003	(.005)	-.013
<i>Constant</i>	.009	(.019)		.001	(.026)	
adjusted R ²	.097			.097		
N	5,573			5,573		

Note: * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents migrants weighted by design and population size weight.

This time, there was more multicollinearity, which is still acceptable with the VIF averaging 3.44. The impact of the country group was found insignificant in the multivariate regression of the influence of the majority population integrative attitudes on migrants' integration. An important impact of country group here would have meant some sort of a threshold with particularly high levels of trust by the majority will over-proportionally increase migrants integration. The insignificance of country group in this regression seems to point to a clear linear relationship between the majority's and the migrants' level of trust that was already found above. Further, the country group seemed not to matter when looking at the group interaction between majority and minority in ingroup (own ethnic group) orientation (table 63).

Table 63: Ethnic closure in the extended model: Introducing the macro-level

	Ethnic closure _{IM} : Model 1			Ethnic closure _{IM} : Model 2		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Ethnic closure (xenophobia) _{MA}	.975***	(.053)	.238	.852***	(.062)	.208
Country group				-.013***	(.003)	-.058
<i>Constant</i>	-.039	(.027)		.059	(.037)	
adjusted R ²	.057			.059		
N	5,583			5,583		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents migrants weighted by design and population size weight.

In the case of ingroup-outgroup interaction, there was a rather strong correlation between the country group and the majority population's level of ethnic closure ($r = -.517$) leading to a notable degree of multicollinearity, which is still acceptable for the analysis with the VIF reaching 1.37, but it might lead to a slight underestimation of the impact of the weaker factor of the two, which is the country group. As the country variable carries potential threats to identity, it can be concluded that under more threatening conditions, the relationship between the ethnic closure (xenophobia) of the larger group raises the migrants' level of ethnic closure to a larger degree – thus, place plays a significant role here.

3.5 Supplementary analysis

This section is devoted to several questions arising from the model in the context of integration policy. First, there is a descriptive part on how identity resources and potential identity threats are distributed among the majority and the migrant population and among men and women. As much of SIT and IT research concerns people's membership in devalued social groups and their effects, looking at how group related discrimination and group identity devaluation influence threat perception, threat response, and the development of trust is of interest here, too. Additionally, circumstances of successful coping with identity threat are explained.

3.5.1 Distribution of identity resources and identity threats

In this section the distribution of identity resources and identity threats among several population subgroups have been considered. Additionally, one may argue that immigration experience will have an impact on identity resources. For example, the lack of orientation at the new place is often accompanied by difficulties to master day-to-day challenges which may severely impact feelings of self-esteem or self-efficacy. Likewise, it may be difficult to make contacts at first thus having a serious impact on the much-needed social interactions impairing people's chances for self-verification. Similarly, there will be a higher barrier for immigrants to join voluntary organizations of the established population. On the other hand, having mastered the challenge of immigration may provide people with an additional identity resource and strengthen their level of self-efficacy in terms of the confidence to take on new challenges successfully. Lack of contacts may also make other tasks such as finding an appropriate employment opportunity more difficult and may thus place a migrant in a less favorable social position that may even threaten his or her identity. A gender perspective was adopted as men and women differ in their identities and life situation. For the case of migrants, men and women also often differ in their migration motivation.

Identity resources

When looking at the distribution of identity resources among migrants, bi-nationals realize the highest level of resources. As such, it seems to be an advantage to be strongly tied to two cultures, as the multiple identity concept suggests in the light of an additional identity resource. SIT suggests that identity strain from different and potentially opposing cultural identities will not occur as an individual shifts its cultural self-definitions on an identity hierarchy making the component salient that best fits an actual situation whereas any other simultaneously held identity moves to the bottom of the hierarchy and will be activated once another situation may require it.

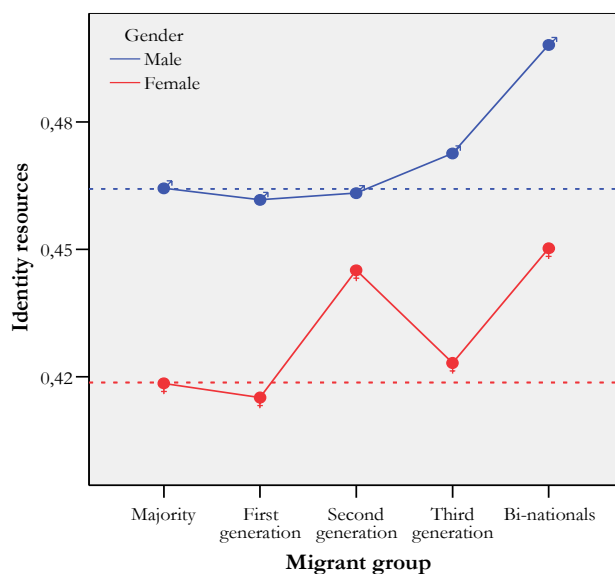
Table 64: Distribution of identity resources among the majority and migrants

		Majority	First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Bi-nationals
Self-efficacy	Men	0.446	0.421	0.435	0.457	0.480
	Women	0.365	0.350	0.382	0.378	0.394
Multiple strong identities	Men	0.617	0.614	0.605	0.621	0.619
	Women	0.608	0.614	0.621	0.625	0.618
Social support	Men	0.526	0.528	0.552	0.541	0.584
	Women	0.497	0.514	0.530	0.528	0.546
Education	Men	0.349	0.362	0.326	0.349	0.366
	Women	0.320	0.310	0.354	0.285	0.334
Overall coping resources	Men	0.464	0.462	0.463	0.473	0.498
	Women	0.418	0.415	0.445	0.423	0.450

Note: Group means are reported; SE between .001 and .011; $N_{MA} = 25,530 \pm 6002$; $N_{FG} = 1,769 \pm 455$; $N_{SG} = 621 \pm 143$; $N_{BN} = 1,247 \pm 244$; $N_{TG} = 859 \pm 176$. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Interestingly, all migrant groups – except for first generation immigrants – scored a bit higher on identity resources than the majority population in general. This was even the case, when the comparison considered the respective countries.

Figure 24: Overall identity resources

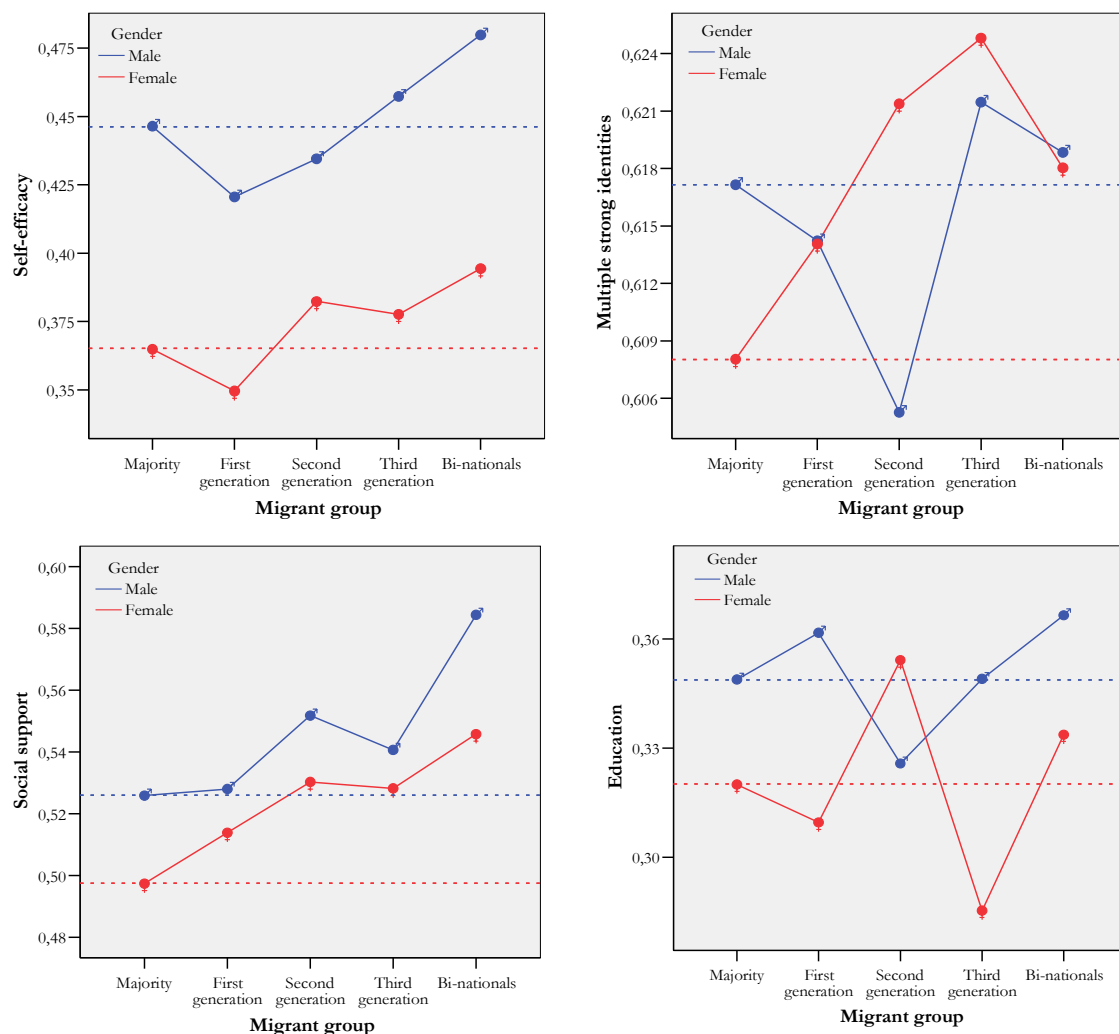


Note: Data points present group means of overall identity resources for men and women. The analysis was based on $N = 17,678$ for men and $N = 19,469$ for women ($N_{MA} = 31,628$; $N_{FG} = 2,224$; $N_{SG} = 763$; $N_{TG} = 1,037$; $N_{BN} = 1,494$). Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

However, profound differences in the distribution of coping resources were found between men and women. Women scored much lower on self-efficacy and somewhat lower on social support and education across the subpopulations. Only in the case of multiple strong identities, no significant gender difference could be found. Whereas second generation

women even fared slightly better in education than second generation men, third-generation women did much worse than third-generation men. Whereas first, second, and third-generation migrant men realized a comparable level of coping resources to majority men, first and third-generation migrant women realized about equal levels as majority women; and second generation women even fared a bit better. The second generation women almost reach the level of bi-national women faring quite well in all categories and realizing a better formal education and stronger identities than second generation men.

Figure 25: Specific identity resources



Note: Data points present group means of overall identity resources for men and women. The analysis was based on $N = 17,678$ for men and $N = 19,469$ for women ($N_{MA} = 31,628$; $N_{FG} = 2,224$; $N_{SG} = 763$; $N_{TG} = 1,037$; $N_{BN} = 1,494$). Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Recent mastery of a challenge to identity

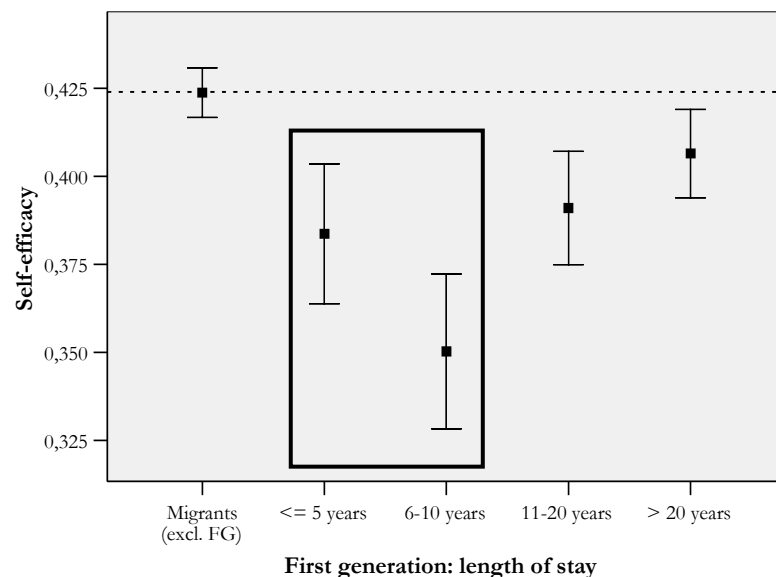
It may be argued that recently experienced efficacy in managing identity threat will additionally support coping processes. Recent experience of mastering identity crisis strengthens an individual's confidence in its attempt to make all necessary change and

accommodation arrangements for a more secure identity since mastery relates to perceptions of general self-efficacy, self-esteem, and self-confidence. Identity threats can therefore be expected to be less meaningful to those individuals who have recently coped successfully with other threats and can still recall it.

Managing immigration and going through the ordeal of primary adjustment at the new place of residence is such an experience. Thus, levels of self-efficacy should be higher for newly immigrated people despite diverse initial problems of adjustment that undoubtedly create unfavorable conditions for the perception of self-efficacy. However, it will not be attempted to assess the effect of this initial increase in self-efficacy on integration for it cannot easily be measured, because the initial immigration motivation – such as the choice of country – strongly pushes people’s integrative attitudes. Nevertheless, one could expect that the experience of mastery and higher self-confidence may translate into confidence and trust in other people, institutions, and the new country itself as they are all part of the immigration related mastery experience.

Immigrants and particularly new immigrants participating in the ESS survey are those individuals that have succeeded in their primary adjustments – they have mastered to speak the language of their interviewer, they have not returned to their country of origin when so many others did. When looking at the first generation immigrants, this experience of mastery can be accounted for. Even though, mastery may not be an independent additional coping resource – it should be highly related to self-efficacy.

Figure 26: Self-efficacy and recent mastery of immigration



Note: Group means are shown. Error bars present the 95% confidence interval of the mean. Cases weighted by design and population size weight. Newly arrived immigrants were combined with those staying in country between 1 and 5 years because of low case numbers (N = 65).

Indeed, a significantly higher level of self-efficacy could be found in immigrants who have come to their current country of residence five or less than five years ago compared to those living in the country between 6 and 10 years, $F(1, 725) = 4.9, p < .05, \eta^2 = .007$. The group of the immigrants coming five or less years ago, had an average self-efficacy of $M = .384$ ($SE = .010$) based on $N = 398$ versus the immigrants coming 6 to 10 years ago who average $M = .350$ ($SE = .011$) based on $N = 329$ cases.⁶¹⁰ Noteworthy, however, is that a gradual long term adjustment in the level of self-efficacy to the migrant control group occurs beyond 10 years of stay (see figure 26).

Identity threats

The risks of experiencing certain threats are rather unevenly distributed. Discrimination experience occurs much more often in the migrant population than in the majority, particularly, because more migration related categories of discrimination were included.

Table 65: Distribution of threats among the majority and migrants

Threats		Majority	First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Bi-nationals
Discrimination	Men	3.4%	19.8%	24.2%	59.7%	11.3%
	Women	3.3%	20.1%	18.2%	47.8%	8.0%
Poor health	Men	20.9%	17.0%	17.6%	25.5%	18.0%
	Women	23.0%	20.9%	13.9%	31.2%	24.2%
Perceived low income	Men	18.0%	23.0%	30.5%	21.1%	15.7%
	Women	21.6%	23.4%	27.2%	28.8%	20.3%
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	Men	36.6%	48.0%	47.5%	47.3%	40.5%
	Women	42.5%	50.8%	43.0%	51.6%	43.1%
Unemployment	Men	41.0%	37.1%	35.9%	36.4%	35.9%
	Women	54.1%	55.0%	49.6%	57.1%	46.2%
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	Men	15.4%	19.0%	17.4%	19.5%	16.2%
	Women	36.8%	39.4%	39.3%	38.1%	36.8%
Social isolation	Men	11.3%	12.5%	6.3%	10.6%	9.6%
	Women	8.8%	9.0%	6.1%	6.7%	9.3%
Loss of primary relationship	Men	9.0%	11.7%	4.9%	8.5%	11.5%
	Women	18.7%	19.4%	14.8%	12.3%	18.8%
Overall level of identity threat (weighted)	Men	.209	.239	.254	.235	.203
	Women	.295	.306	.306	.348	.289

Note: Group percentages reported; SE between .001 and .029; $N_{MA} = 28,794 \pm 2,936$; $N_{FG} = 1,941 \pm 298$; $N_{SG} = 630 \pm 135$; $N_{BN} = 1,281 \pm 216$; $N_{TG} = 917 \pm 123$. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

⁶¹⁰ Considering immigrants who arrived one year or less than a year ago as a separate group, its average level of self-efficacy would reach $M = .420$ ($SE = .024, N = 65$) which is even higher than that of the combined group, however, it might not be as trustworthy for the small case number that represents only 44 unweighted cases.

Over half of the third-generation members reported to have experienced discrimination as opposed to only 3 percent of the majority. Men faced discrimination a bit more often than women did.

Concerning health, most migrants have a lower risk to be hampered in their daily activities than the majority. However, first generation migrant women who have lived in the country more than 20 years and members of the third generation have a higher health risk. For the elder first generation migrants, age seems to be a factor explaining the increased risk. In general, women have a higher risk than men to be ill or disabled.

The threat of experiencing a low household income is greater for migrants than for members of the majority, and clearly greater for women than for men, since poverty relates to gender as women work less often full time than men, and particularly those from the more “traditional” migration backgrounds. The exception are first generation women with up to 10 years of residence who are at a lower risk than their male counterparts, perhaps due to their family reunion migration motive and the late change of reference group when regarding one’s own income when stuck inside the family and minority group for years of child rearing. After all, the family income in Europe will be higher after migration than before as most migrating women come from outside the EU or move from poorer to richer EU countries.

The anticipation of not being able to borrow money in case of a personal emergency is also strongly related to real incomes, however, the fear of not being able to borrow is even wider spread than the perception of having a low income. Again, this threat is experienced more often by women than by men; and first generation women are an exception to this rule, too. This time, for up to 20 years of residence, first generation women were a bit more optimistic than their male counterparts (table 66).

Regarding unemployment, women were at a greater risk than men across all categories of migration. However, comparing the majority and migrant population, the ESS sample reveals a higher degree of the majority population being unemployed, which is not in accordance with employment statistics from the surveyed countries showing clearly lower numbers of unemployment and should therefore be treated with caution for potential sampling bias.

The risk of being afraid of walking alone after dark in one’s residential area strongly coincided with perceived low income and anticipated difficulties to borrow money and thus reflected the discrepancy between income and safe neighborhoods. Women felt much more often threatened by what is perceived to be an insecure neighborhood than men.

Social isolation was not more common for migrants than for members of the majority population and neither was the risk to lose a primary relationship. However, first generation individuals who had just recently arrived, displayed a higher risk to feel isolated, whereby women overcame this phase more quickly than men. First generation migrants with more than 20 years of residence showed the normal age related increase in social isolation.

It has to be noted that bi-nationals experience even fewer threats than majority members do and are the “securest” migrant group to belong to. Only in terms of discrimination, they bridge the gap between the majority and the other migrant groups.

Table 66: Threat risks among first generation migrants

Threats		First generation migrants by years of residence				
		< 1 year	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	> 20 years
Discrimination	Men	33.5%	21.0%	35.4%	17.1%	12.8%
	Women	34.3%	28.8%	24.7%	14.3%	14.0%
Poor health	Men	0.0%	10.9%	14.4%	6.7%	22.0%
	Women	13.2%	12.4%	7.2%	14.5%	29.0%
Perceived low income	Men	26.4%	43.3%	30.0%	18.7%	14.9%
	Women	9.4%	28.0%	22.8%	27.3%	19.9%
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	Men	51.7%	61.8%	60.9%	56.3%	36.4%
	Women	49.4%	56.1%	56.0%	45.2%	48.7%
Unemployment	Men	65.0%	37.4%	30.8%	33.3%	35.6%
	Women	57.8%	50.9%	55.8%	50.0%	55.9%
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	Men	28.5%	18.7%	15.3%	28.5%	16.7%
	Women	31.9%	28.8%	45.6%	39.1%	41.7%
Social isolation	Men	5.3%	22.7%	6.6%	6.2%	13.6%
	Women	13.2%	6.5%	4.7%	9.8%	11.7%
Loss of primary relationship	Men	0.6%	3.0%	11.6%	8.0%	13.3%
	Women	0.0%	12.5%	10.5%	12.3%	28.3%
Overall level of identity threat (weighted)	Men	.244	.307	.258	.219	.209
	Women	.205	.277	.304	.287	.326

Note: Group percentages and overall averages reported; SE between .0015 and .011; N = 5,214±675. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The table above shows that certain threats seem to relate to migration (unemployment, discrimination) whereas others relate to age (loss of primary relationship, poor health, social isolation) and gender (being afraid of walking after dark, loss of primary relationship, poor health, unemployment).

Discrimination and perceived low income also exhibited a great degree of subjectivity. Discrimination strongly reduced after the first year in the new country. Even though, the ESS was not a repeated sample test, one could assume that discrimination incidences were simply not recalled immediately in the interview a long time after they occurred but were strongly linked to the immigration experience of feeling different. Logically, one would also expect that low income should be related to unemployment. However, *perceived* low income is rather low initially when unemployment is highest, but increased when unemployment actually decreased after the first year of residence.

3.5.2 Threat perception, threat responses, and integration

Membership in devalued social groups/categories has been discussed in section 2.2.4.3. Being a member of a devalued or stigmatized group, makes a person more perceptive and more sensitive to identity threats even though this membership may not represent a strong threat to identity in itself, if at all. However, the ESS does not provide clear social categories carrying stigma. Instead, the categories utilized here for comparison – migration and gender – are or at least may be identity resources in the first place. It has also been argued that even stigmatized groups have means of defending themselves against such stigma and unfavorable comparisons, for example by shifting the criteria towards more favorable traits or categories. Nevertheless, we do have gender and migration related discrimination experience that could serve as group identity devaluation condition, particularly for the few available cases when both categories overlap. When individuals are categorized into the “potentially stigmatized” group, intergroup differences will emerge that do not necessarily have to be linked to group identity devaluation.

If indeed, women and migrants are stigmatized or at a disadvantage for other reasons, they should generally perceive more potentially threatening conditions to their identity than men and members of the majority population. Also, they should exhibit higher levels of ethnic closure or ingroup orientation, narrowed identity, salience of religious identity, and lower levels of integration. These effects should increase further when both devaluation categories overlap.

However, one needs to recognize that gender gaps in Europe are much less pronounced today than in the 1980s when much important gender identity research was completed. Similarly, migration and the interaction between people of diverse social and cultural backgrounds are much more of a day-to-day experience now than twenty or thirty years ago. Therefore, it largely depends on specific circumstances and local conditions whether or not people actually perceive being female or being of foreign origin as being a personal disadvantage. After all, these perceptions seem to have a greater impact on behavioral choices and opportunity structures than the reality of how well members of the mentioned social categories do as a group.

It is argued that discriminated women and members of ethnic minorities will generally perceive more potentially threatening conditions to their identity than men and members of the majority population, because felt insecurity – to which group identity devaluation is supposed to contribute – makes a person more sensitive towards threats. People who are more perceptive to threats should therefore report more threats than those who are not as there is a strong subjective factor in the reporting of threats.

Therefore, the risk of experiencing threats should be higher for individuals who belong to a group the identity of which is devalued compared to people who do not belong to this group. The risk of experiencing certain threats should then be still higher when the individual belongs to two of such groups. Consequently, when considering several

threatening conditions, the number of threats reported will be higher for individuals in the simple or double group devaluation condition.

(H8) If a person is a member of a stigmatized group, this person is more perceptive to identity threats and exhibits stronger defense reactions.

Some of the threats to identity discussed in the context of the ESS are undoubtedly gender or migration specific for different reasons than group identity devaluation. For example, as women generally have a higher life expectancy than men, they are more prone to losing their spouse through death. Also, throughout Europe, women realize lower incomes than men. This increases their risk of perceiving that their income is too low to meet life's needs as well as it inhibits their capability to borrow money in comparison to men. Lower income as such, however, is at least partly due to the devalued group status of women, when "traditional" distributions of gender roles within the family force them into part time jobs or exclusive house wife duties. At the job, they are often discriminated against when men are preferred for promotions and placement into leading company positions.

Table 67: Personal risk for the experience of particular threats by group membership

		Majority		Migrants		Total
		Men	Women	Men	Women	
Discrimination	%	3.4	3.3	26.6	20.9	6.4
	N	15,008	16,524	2,658	2,865	37,055
Poor health	%	20.9	23.0	19.3	22.7	21.4
	N	15,042	16,618	2,683	2,883	37,226
Perceived low income	%	18.0	21.6	21.7	23.9	20.3
	N	13,223	14,593	2,069	2,211	32,096
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	%	36.6	42.5	45.9	47.5	40.7
	N	14,277	15,576	2,549	2,759	35,161
Unemployment	%	41.0	54.1	36.4	52.2	47.4
	N	15,009	16,561	2,672	2,884	37,126
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	%	15.4	36.8	18.2	38.7	26.9
	N	14,988	16,429	2,673	2,864	36,954
Social isolation	%	11.3	8.8	10.4	8.3	9.9
	N	14,945	16,542	2,671	2,886	37,044
Loss of primary relationship	%	9.0	18.7	10.3	17.5	14.1
	N	15,076	16,652	2,687	2,895	37,310

Note: The probability of reporting identity threats represents group percentages. N represents group size weighted by design and population size weight.

The personal ability to recall incidents of discrimination or the feeling of being subjected to discrimination as well as the judgment about one's health, the sufficiency of one's income, the anticipation of difficulties when a need to borrow money arises, and – to a large extent – even the impression of social isolation are highly subjective. When looking at the perceptivity to threats, these six will be most valuable. On the other hand, unemployment

and the loss of a primary relationship refer to more objective conditions and should not be included in this discussion on increased threat perception.

The group identity devaluation condition was defined by the experience of group related discrimination. “Group membership” was still based on a comfortably large case number ($N = 37310$) consisting of $N = 15077$ for majority men, $N = 16652$ for majority women, $N = 2895$ for migrant men and $N = 2686$ for migrant women. The discrimination condition greatly reduced case numbers to $N = 15875$. These were $N = 15077$ for non-discriminated majority men, $N = 176$ for discriminated women of the majority, $N = 599$ for migrant men discriminated on migration grounds and $N = 24$ migrant women experiencing migration and gender based discrimination.

As the following analysis shows, the discrimination condition proved more severe than the “membership” condition even though the double devaluation condition was rather unreliable due to a very small case number.

On average, women perceived more threats than men and migrants more than members of the majority did. Migrant women perceived even more threats. When comparing the devaluation effects of gender and migration on the perception of threat, the gender effect, $F(1, 37306) = 548.5, p < .001, \eta = .120$ was slightly greater than that of migration $F(1, 37326) = 290.3, p < .001, \eta = .088$.

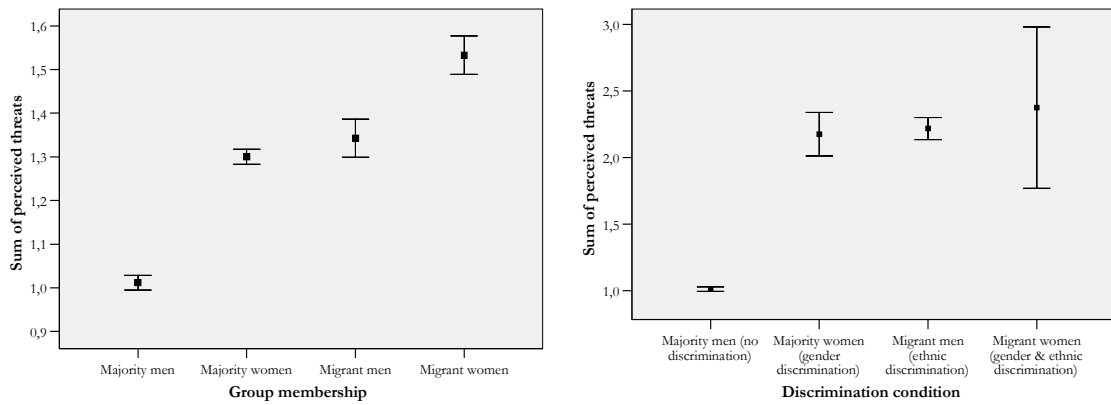
Table 68: Group membership and increased perceptivity to threats

Membership condition		Majority	Migrants	Discrimination condition		Majority	Migrants
Gender	Male	1.01 (.009) N = 15077	1.34 (.022) N = 2,686	Gender	Male	1.01 (.009) N = 15077	2.22 (.043) N = 597
	Female	1.30 (.009) N = 16652	1.53 (.022) N = 2,894		Female	2.18 (.083) N = 176	2.38 (.293) N = 24

Note: The group devaluation condition is marked in gray, double devaluation in a darker shade. Group means of the sum of six possible experienced threats (and SE) are reported. The calculation was based on $N = 37,309$ cases for the membership condition and $N = 15,875$ cases for the discrimination condition. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

These differences were even more pronounced for the additional discrimination condition. However, one has to take into account that discrimination was already one of the perceived threats. In the membership condition, only an *increased risk* of discrimination was included in the sum of perceived threats. Thus both tables appear quite similar in their result and it appears questionable if the discrimination condition produced a more accurate result of group identity devaluation with the ESS data than the membership condition already did.

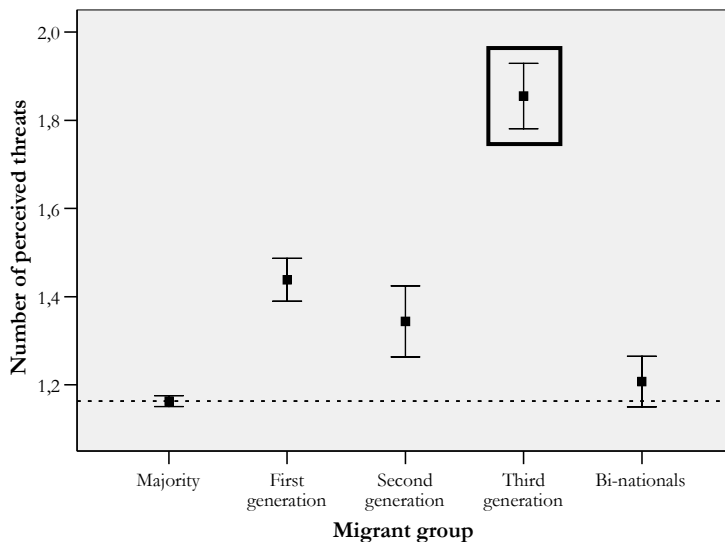
Figure 27: Group membership, group devaluation, and threat perception



Note: Error bars show 95% confidence interval of the group mean referring the sum for the six potential threats to identity that could be perceived. The calculation was based on N = 37,309 cases for the membership condition and N = 15,875 cases for the discrimination condition. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

When now distinguishing between the different migrant groups, the third generation bears the greatest risk for an increased perceptivity to identity threats. This may be one of the reasons for third-generation migrants to react more sensitive to discrimination than the other migrant groups. Nevertheless, one should also acknowledge that ethnic minorities, such as Sinti or Roma – who are clearly more excluded and separated in most European countries – are part of this group by definition.

Figure 28: Threat perception by migration group (1)



Note: Error bars show the group mean's 95% confidence interval of the sum of six possibly perceived threats. The analysis was based on N = 37,284 cases (N_{MA} = 31,740; N_{FG} = 2,241; N_{SG} = 764; N_{TG} = 1,039; N_{BN} = 1,499) weighted by design and population size weight.

In the previous section, it was argued that the proposed threatening conditions to individual identity varied from individual to individual and from threat to threat. Now, it is reasoned that group devaluation will not only affect a person’s perceptivity to threat but may also increase the effects of these threats.

As pointed out in section 2.2.4.3.2, men and women vary in their identities due to the differences in meaning they attach to specific roles and memberships often shaped by their socialization regardless and because of their status in a more or less valued group. Thus, they are also differently affected by certain threats. As pointed out before, some of the discussed threats apply to a substantially larger degree to women than to migrants. Therefore, group devaluation along the gender line matters much more than group devaluation on the grounds of migration group. However, the effect size of the model will be underestimated here, because group assignment is based on pure belonging, not on a more specific measure of experienced group devaluation. Thus, the significance of the outcome will have to suffice for the meaningfulness of the model.

In section 3.2.3.3 (table 26) a simplified measure of identity threat has been introduced which included six particularly strong threats combined with a factor of association with happiness. When this measure of identity threat is compared for the proposed group memberships, it becomes clear that group devaluation along the lines of gender and migration not only increases people’s perceptivity to threats, but also increases people’s general level of experienced identity threat, $F(3, 24400) = 257.6, p < .001, \eta^2 = .031$.

Table 69: Group identity devaluation and increased strength of identity threat

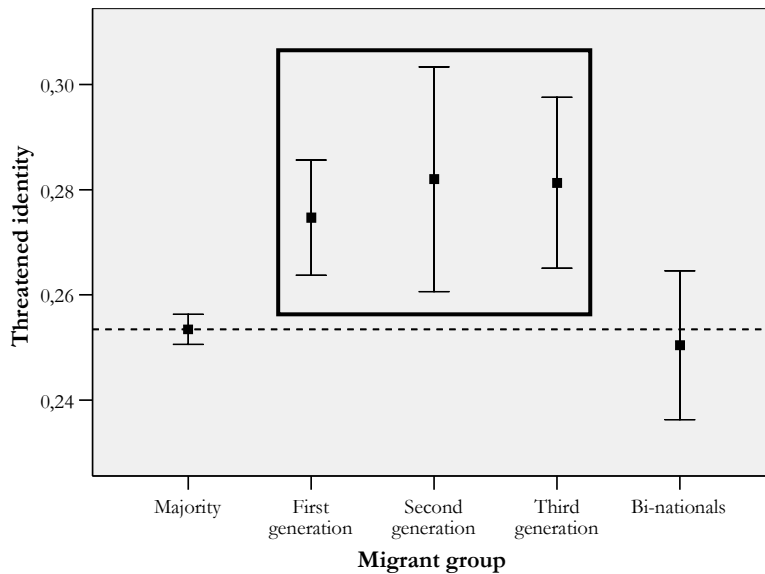
Membership condition	Majority	Migrants	Discrimination condition	Majority	Migrants
Gender	Male N = 12,406	.209 (.0019) .231 (.0050) N = 1,950	Gender	Male N = 12,406	.209 (.0019) .253 (.010) N = 471
	Female N = 13,452	.295 (.0021) .309 (.0052) N = 2,081		Female N = 132	.252 (.021) .291 (.066) N = 19

Note: The group devaluation condition is marked in gray, double devaluation in a darker shade. Group means of the summary threat variable, i.e. the combination of eight potential threats with a factor for each correlation with happiness, (and SE) are reported. The calculation was based on N = 29,890 cases for the membership condition and N = 13,028 cases for the discrimination condition. Cases were weighted by design and population size weight.

Again, the effect for gender, $F(1, 29888) = 1016.9, p < .001, \eta^2 = .033$, was by far greater than that of migration, $F(1, 29900) = 20.2, p < .001, \eta^2 = .001$. Again, considering members of the third generation separately for the stronger group devaluation condition, they are more subjected to identity threat than migrants as a whole group. The group mean

increased particularly strong for women ($M = .348$, $SE = .013$, $N = 329$), but only slightly for men ($M = .235$, $SE = .010$, $N = 464$).

Figure 29: Threat perception by migration group (2)



Note: Error bars show the group mean's 95% confidence interval of combined identity threat variable. The analysis was based on $N = 29867$ cases ($N_{MA} = 25865$; $N_{FG} = 1644$; $N_{SG} = 495$; $N_{TG} = 795$; $N_{BN} = 1,068$) weighted by design and population size weight.

The combined identity threat variable was a bit less useful for the analysis as the number of perceived threats as the majority and the migrant population vary a bit in the occurrence and strength of identity threats (see section 3.4.1.1). Nevertheless, figure 29 shows all migrants except the bi-nationals at a higher level than the majority population.

As being female or having a background of migration seems to be linked to either group identity devaluation or a disadvantage of some other kind in the context of being more prone to identity threats, one could expect these memberships and discrimination conditions to affect people's identity related response or defense reactions and integration as well. As such, members of devalued groups should have higher expressions of ethnic closure (xenophobia), may hold narrower identities, and exhibit higher levels of religious identity salience. Subsequently, members of such disadvantaged groups should also realize a lower level of integration.

Ethnic closure

Again, great heterogeneity in the group of migrants as well as their differing choices of belonging renders the comparison on ethnic closure between the majority and migrants as a whole group meaningless. However, men and women of the majority might be compared. When arguing that the third generation is the most established migrant group

using the established-outsider paradigm, a comparison between the majority population and the third generation on their level of ethnic closure might be attempted. This comparison is also useful in the context of group identity devaluation for the third generation realized by far the greatest number of perceived threats to their identity.

On average, women displayed a slightly higher level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) than men, $F(1, 37240) = 6.8, p < .01, \eta^2 = .000$, and third-generation migrants were a bit more prone to ethnic closure than members of the majority population, $F(1, 32713) = 11.7, p < .001, \eta^2 = .000$. The discrimination condition was not considered in the table below for the *outgroup empathy* effect of women who have experienced discrimination would render a comparison between the subpopulations untrustworthy.

Table 70: Group identity devaluation and ethnic closure

Membership condition	Majority	Third generation
Gender	Male	.516 (.0074) N = 572
	Female	.531 (.0082) N = 464

Note: The group devaluation condition is marked in gray, double devaluation in a darker shape. Group means of ethnic closure (and SE) were reported. The calculation was based on N = 32,703 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Outgroup empathy

Interestingly, when facing discrimination, women tend to react with a decrease in ethnic closure rather than an increase even though hypothesis 8 would support exactly the opposite. This phenomenon has been described in the literature under the term of outgroup empathy.

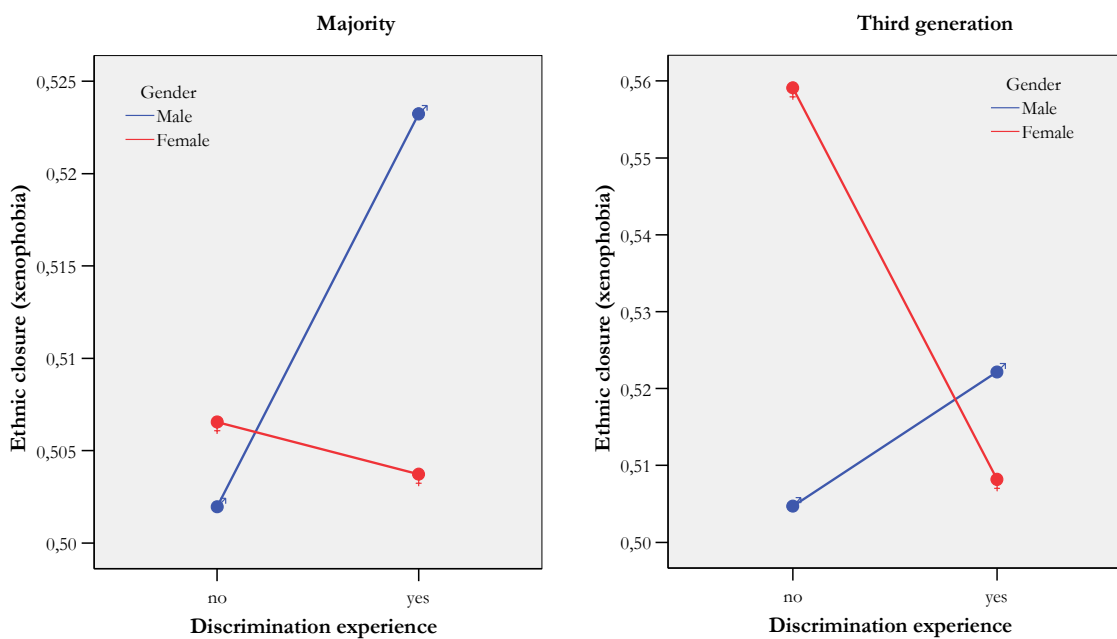
Due to their stronger relational identity, women are different from men in their capability to empathize with a devalued outgroup when they are themselves subjected to devaluation. As part of someone's relational identity, feeling pity for the weak is a personality trait mostly attributed to women. The way, in which the ESS survey 2002/2003 was administered by placing the question about personal discrimination experience right before the questions on the respondents attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, it neatly reproduced the laboratory experiment for outgroup empathy. It made belonging with a discriminated group salient. Migrants as a group are quite often perceived to experience discrimination. This perception is (re-) activated as several migration related categories for discrimination such as language, culture, nationality, ethnicity, and race are provided to the respondents. In fact, one's own discrimination experience thus constitutes a cross cutting category (see section 2.1.3) with migrants.

Because women define themselves through their relationships with others, they are more likely to empathize with a worse-off other, even at the risk that this may bring down their own self-evaluations. Men, however, rather place their focus on personal uniqueness,

which makes downward comparison a source of self-enhancement. Instead of empathy, another person's misery helps men to highlight their superior qualities and elevate their self-evaluations.⁶¹¹

It has also been argued previously that people with low social dominance orientation are more in favor of policies increasing equality between immigrants/ethnic minorities and members of the receiving society.⁶¹² Favoring equality enhancing policies is clearly linked to expressing fewer anti-immigrant/anti-immigration attitudes. The stronger relational orientation and identification makes women a lot less prone to social dominance orientation.⁶¹³

Figure 30: Outgroup empathy



Note: Outgroup empathy is presented by the interaction between discrimination experience and gender in the factorial ANOVA explaining ethnic closure (xenophobia) by discrimination experience and gender. For the majority population, the analysis was based on N = 26,642; for the third generation on N = 853 cases weighted by design and population size weight.

A factorial ANOVA was conducted to evaluate the outgroup empathy effect in the ESS data separately for the majority population and the third generation, whereby the outgroup empathy effect is represented by the interaction between discrimination and gender. The overall ANOVAs were significant for the majority population, $F(1, 26638) = 4.2, p < .01, \eta^2 = .000$; and for the third generation, $F(1, 849) = 3.8, p < .01, \eta^2 = .013$ (see figure). For the majority population, the interaction between discrimination and gender was significant at the $p < .05$ level ($\eta^2 = .000$) and for the third generation at the $p < .01$ level ($\eta^2 = .009$).

⁶¹¹ Markus Kimmelmeier and Daphna Oyserman, "Gendered influence of downward social comparisons on current and possible selves" *Journal of Social Issues* 57.1 (2001): 129-148.

⁶¹² Felicia Pratto and Anthony F. Lemieux, "The psychological ambiguity of immigration and its implications for promoting immigration policy" *Journal of Social Issues* 57.3 (2001): 413-430.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

Due to the more natural “ingroup” solidarity of third-generation women with immigrants and ethnic minorities, the empathy effect is much steeper than for the majority women. In both groups, there was no empathy effect for men. Instead, when reporting discrimination experience, men of both groups showed a higher level of ethnic closure, i.e. ingroup orientation. This increase was roughly equal for men of both groups.

Narrowed identity

Regarding the membership condition, men displayed a slightly higher level of narrowed identity than women, $F(1, 37308) = 9.8, p < .01, \eta^2 = .000$, and members of the majority population scored a little bit higher on narrowed identity than migrants, $F(1, 37330) = 4.5, p < .05, \eta^2 = .000$.

Table 71: Group identity devaluation and narrowed identity

Membership condition		Majority	Migrants	Discrimination condition		Majority	Migrants
Gender	Male	1.60 (.010) N = 15,077	1.58 (.023) N = 2,686	Gender	Male	1.60 (.010) N = 15,077	1.55 (.049) N = 599
	Female	1.56 (.009) N = 16,652	1.50 (.022) N = 2,895		Female	1.70 (.090) N = 176	1.46 (.215) N = 24

Note: The group devaluation condition is marked in gray, double devaluation in a darker shade. Group means of the summary threat variable, i.e. the combination of eight potential threats with a factor for each correlation with happiness, (and SE) are reported. The calculation was based on N = 37,310 cases for the membership condition and N = 15,875 cases for the discrimination condition. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The discrimination condition revealed a similar difference between members of the majority and people with a background of migration. However, majority women experiencing gender related discrimination displayed a higher degree of narrowed identity than non-discriminated men, but the few women in the double discrimination condition exhibited a remarkably lower degree of identity denial than any of the other groups. As the SE of the mean for the double discrimination was very high, this result may not be trusted.

Against the hypothesis, which stated that general group devaluation leads to an increase in narrowed identity, the analysis revealed a more genuine gender difference in threat response whereby women seemed more likely to react through ethnic closure (xenophobia) – but only when not experiencing discrimination – whereas narrowed identity seemed to present a predominantly male response. The lower levels of narrowed identity among immigrants and members of ethnic minorities were a bit of a surprise, too. It may be possible that belonging to more than one culture and potentially associated social networks reduces individuals’ risk of producing a narrowed identity structure.

The observed gender difference is in line with current research on psychological disengagement. Schmader, Major, and Gramzow described psychological disengagement as a strategy of detaching a particular identity from a person's self-esteem.⁶¹⁴ Further, there were different studies showing that self-esteem was completely detached from academic achievement as a result of psychological disengagement for African-American male students, and at least partly also for African-American female students who as a group often performed worse than European-American peers.⁶¹⁵ However, for ethnic minorities in Europe the measured disidentification effects were less strong; nevertheless the described relationship was similar: Ethnic minorities perceiving discrimination in school showed psychological disidentification from the academic domain and their global self-esteem was less based on academic performance.⁶¹⁶ For the gender difference in achievement orientation and thus varying importance of self-esteem – narrowed identity is the result of psychological disengagement for several areas of life, which is a predominantly male response mechanism seeking to stabilize or protect a person's self-esteem. A study by Cokley and Moore examined these gender differences in detail for the academic domain where the disidentification response of African-American male college students was much stronger than for female students.⁶¹⁷

Salience of religious identity

It was suggested to look at the salience of religious identity as a third defense mechanism of threatened or injured identity. Religious identity become of great importance as a group boundary marker when groups differ in religious beliefs and practices but also in the context of potential cross categorization when migrants share religious beliefs and identities of the receiving society.

Again, gender also seemed to play a role in religious identity, as women displayed a slightly higher level of religious identity salience than men, $F(1, 4281) = 13.5, p < .001, \eta^2 = .003$, and migrants were a bit, though not significantly more likely to show a higher degree of religious identity salience, $F(1, 4282) = 1.5, n. s., \eta^2 = .000$.

⁶¹⁴ Toni Schmader, Brenda Major, and Richard H. Gramzow, "Coping with ethnic stereotypes in the academic domain: Perceived injustice and psychological disengagement" *Journal of Social Issues* 57.1 (2001): 93-111.

⁶¹⁵ Brenda Major, Steven Spencer, Toni Schmader, Connie Wolfe, and Jennifer Crocker, "Coping with negative stereotypes about intellectual performance: the role of psychological disengagement" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 24 (1998): 34-50; Jason W. Osborne, "Race and academic disidentification" *Journal of Educational Psychology* 89.4 (1997): 728-735; Jason W. Osborne, "Academics, self-esteem, and race: A look at the underlying assumptions of the disidentification hypothesis" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 21 (1995): 449-455.

⁶¹⁶ Maykel Verkuyten and Jochem Thijs, "Psychological disidentification with the academic domain among ethnic minority adolescents in The Netherlands" *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 74.1 (2004): 109-125.

⁶¹⁷ Kevin Cokley and Paula Moore, "Moderating and mediating effects of gender and psychological disengagement on the academic achievement of African American college students" *Journal of Black Psychology* 33.2 (2007): 169-187.

Table 72: Group identity devaluation and the salience of religious identity

Membership condition		Majority	Migrants	Discrimination condition		Majority	Migrants
Gender	Male	1.37 (.010) N = 1,160	1.41 (.024) N = 388	Gender	Male	1.37 (.010) N = 1,160	1.35 (.019) N = 174
	Female	1.43 (.010) N = 2,165	1.43 (.018) N = 569		Female	1.39 (.119) N = 9	1.52 (.114) N = 3

Note: The group devaluation condition is marked in gray, double devaluation in a darker shape. Group means of the summary threat variable, i.e. the combination of eight potential threats with a factor for each correlation with happiness, (and SE) are reported. The calculation was based on N = 4,283 cases for the membership condition and N = 1,347 cases for the discrimination condition. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The second part of the table above cannot be analyzed with confidence for the extremely small case numbers for individuals having reported discrimination.

When considering the third generation – as it represents the group that is most threatened of all migrants – no significant group difference between the majority population and the third generation in the salience of religious identity could be found. However, within the third generation there was a clearer gender difference, $F(1, 220) = 5.1, p < .05, \eta^2 = .023$. Third-generation women ($M = 1.46, SE = .036, N = 110$) averaged higher than men ($M = 1.36, SE = .025, N = 112$). Similar to ethnic closure (xenophobia), the salience of religious identity seems to be a predominantly female response to identity threat.

Integration

Men and women slightly differed in their group mean of integration, whereby men score higher than women, $F(1, 37166) = 16.4, p < .001, \eta^2 = .000$. However, there was no difference between the majority population and migrants as a whole group, even when controlled for the four country groups. Thus, it would be absolutely wrong to suggest that being an immigrant or a member of an ethnic minority automatically leads to integration problems.

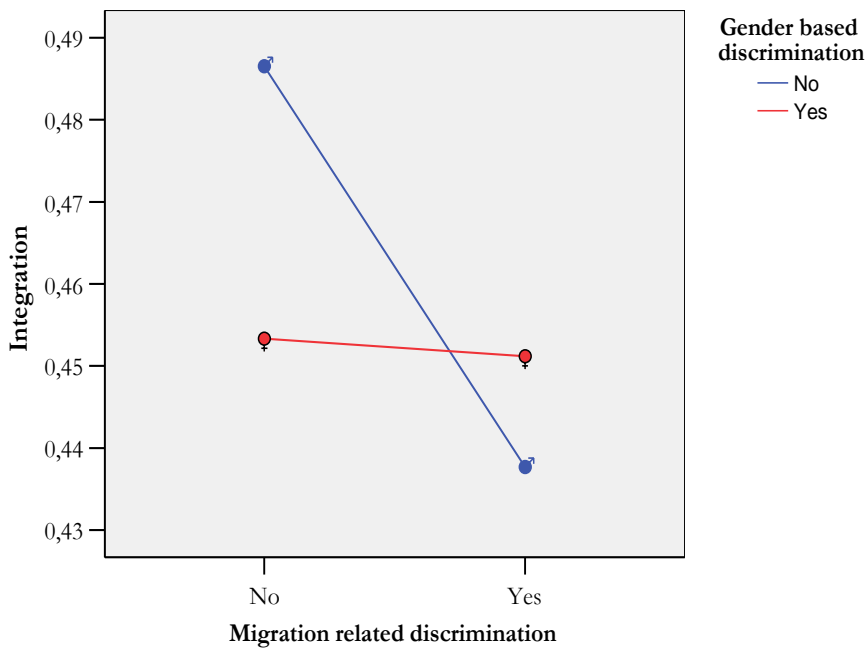
Table 73: Group identity devaluation and integration

Membership condition		Majority	Migrants	Discrimination condition		Majority	Migrants
Gender	Male	.497 (.0012) N = 15,031	.461 (.0061) N = 2,680	Gender	Male	.497 (.0012) N = 15,031	.437 (.0059) N = 598
	Female	.490 (.0011) N = 16,573	.455 (.0074) N = 2,884		Female	.467 (.0108) N = 176	.451 (.0235) N = 22

Note: The group devaluation condition is marked in gray, double devaluation in a darker shape. Group means of integration (and SE) are reported. The calculation was based on N = 37,168 cases for the membership condition and N = 15,826 cases for the discrimination condition. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

The discrimination condition revealed a drop in integration scores, even though the double discrimination group has to be treated with caution for the very small case number.

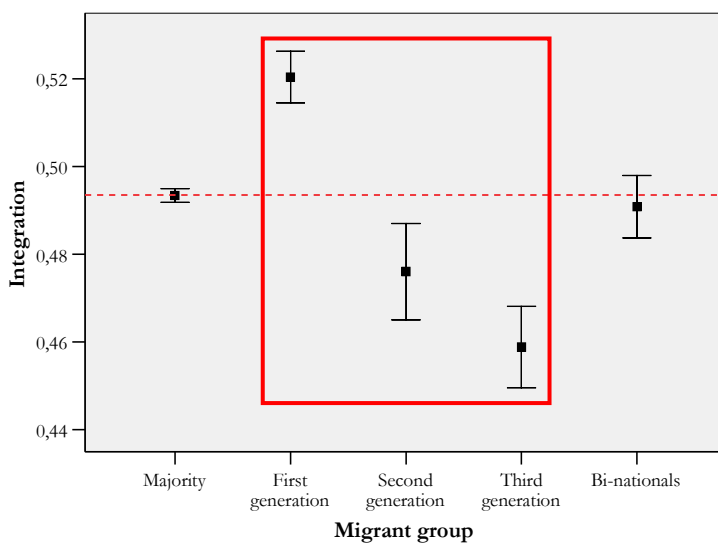
Figure 31: The impact of discrimination on integration



Note: Group means of integration were reported. The analysis was based on $N_{MA\ Men} = 15,031$; $N_{MA\ Women} = 176$; $N_{IM\ Men} = 598$; and $N_{IM\ Women} = 22$ cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Under the condition of migration related discrimination, integration dropped remarkably for men but only slightly for women. Also, the contrast between members of the majority and third generation migrants reproduced the drop in integration relating to group devaluation was even stronger there, $F(1, 32650) = 59.8, p < .001, \eta^2 = .002$.

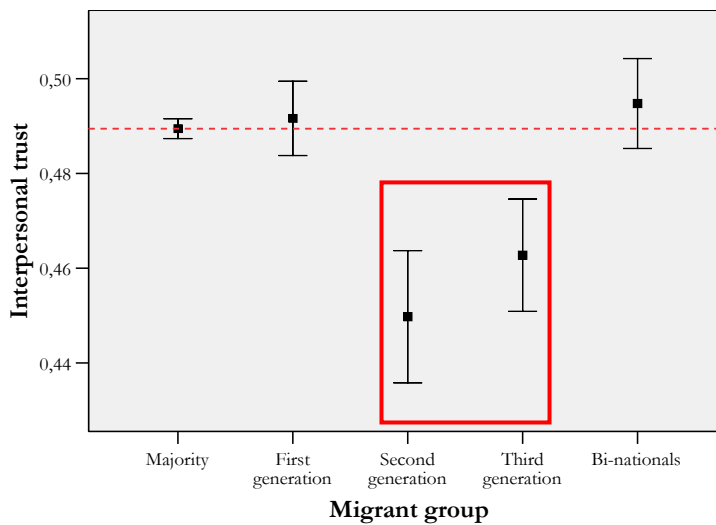
Figure 32: Integration by migration group



Note: Error bars show the group mean's 95% confidence interval of integration. The analysis was based on $N = 37,144$ cases ($N_{MA} = 31,615$; $N_{FG} = 2,232$; $N_{SG} = 764$; $N_{TG} = 1,037$; $N_{BN} = 1,497$) weighted by design and population size weight.

When looking at the different migrant groups and their level of integration, there was a pronounced drop from the first generation – that actually realized higher levels of interpersonal and political trust than the majority – to the second and third generation. Instead of an improvement of the situation from the first generation to the third, the data reveal just the opposite. Thus, in today’s Europe, integration cannot be regarded as an automatic three-generational process. Particularly, the third generation shows unsatisfactory group levels of trust compared to the majority population and the first generation of immigrants.

Figure 33: Interpersonal trust by migration group

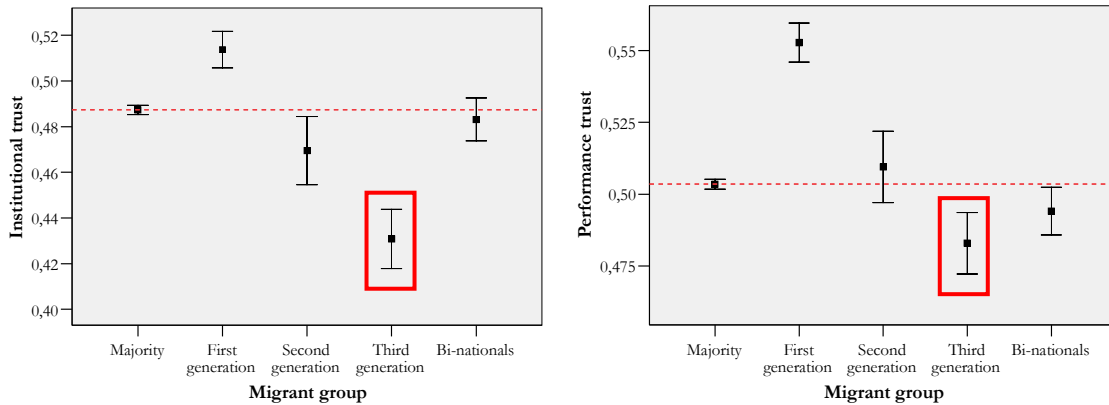


Note: Error bars show the group mean's 95% confidence interval of integration. The analysis was based on N = 37,137 cases (N_{MA} = 31,626; N_{FG} = 2,209; N_{SG} = 764; N_{TG} = 1,038; N_{BN} = 1,499) weighted by design and population size weight.

In terms of interpersonal trust, the third generation did a bit better than the second generation but there was still a deficit of both migrant groups. In terms of political trust, the continuous decline from the first generation to the second and third was revealed again. The third generation is by far the group with the lowest levels of institutional and performance trust.

As this lack of trust could not be explained as a result of fewer identity resources, a closer look at identity threats was proposed here. When comparing threat impacts on integration for the different migrant groups, there was a considerably stronger impact of discrimination for the third generation than all other groups. Socio-economic threats were stronger for the third generation and bi-nationals in comparison to the first and second generation. Thus, the experience of being discriminated and economically disadvantaged may produce feelings of deprivation and should therefore contribute to the decline in political trust exhibited by the third generation.

Figure 34: Political trust by migration group



Note: Error bars show the group mean's 95% confidence interval of integration. The analysis was based on $N = 36,940$ cases ($N_{MA} = 31,431$; $N_{FG} = 2,219$; $N_{SG} = 760$; $N_{TG} = 1,035$; $N_{BN} = 1,495$) for institutional trust and $N = 37,031$ cases ($N_{MA} = 31,513$; $N_{FG} = 2,226$; $N_{SG} = 764$; $N_{TG} = 1,034$; $N_{BN} = 1,494$) for performance trust. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Further, social isolation played a considerable role for the bi-nationals. Perhaps dual cultural belonging sometimes leads to the perception of no *real* cultural belonging. Only the second generation was affected by the loss of a primary relationship, whereas unemployment was meaningless to all migrant groups.

Table 74: Threat impact on integration by migration group

Threats	Integration							
	First generation		Second generation		Third generation		Bi-nationals	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
(1) Discrimination	-0.061***	-.176	-0.040*	-.109	-0.069***	-.220	-0.053***	-.105
(2) Poor health	-0.007	-.019	-0.025	-.062	-0.012	-.033	-0.011	-.031
(3) Perceived low income	-0.034***	-.104	-0.037*	-.110	-0.068***	-.188	-0.069***	-.184
(4) Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-0.015*	-.055	0.004	.013	-0.037***	-.117	-0.036***	-.120
(5) Unemployment	-0.006	-.022	0.002	.007	-0.006	-.020	0.005	.015
(6) Being afraid of walking alone after dark	-0.031***	-.103	-0.031**	-.094	-0.047***	-.130	-0.048***	-.148
(7) Social isolation	-0.024*	-.048	-0.044	-.072	-0.002	-.003	-0.087***	-.173
(8) Loss of primary relationship	-0.004***	-.011	-0.063**	-.124	-0.025	-.049	-0.007	-.017
Constant	0.574***		0.522***		0.553***		0.548***	
adjusted R ²	.074		.051		.130		.152	
N	1,603		492		791		1,060	

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents cases weighted by design and population size weight.

3.5.3 Excuse: Identity strength and the experience of threat

When searching for ways of coping with threat and when trying to assess how severe the impact of certain types of discrimination is on an individual, the strength of the threatened identity has to be considered. When an identity is particularly strong, the individual will be more resistant to identity change or denial. As such, the experience of threat to a strong identity will affect an individual more severely. However, the strength of any identity is bound to the particular person and is extremely hard to capture with the ESS data. Therefore, it was attempted here to demonstrate the relationship between the threat to a strong identity and the resulting impact on integration and defense reactions at the example of gender identity. It is reasoned that gender identity will be stronger among migrants for gender socialization is more traditional in non-European societies and many women who migrate do it for motives of family reunion, which additionally relate to female roles and gender identity regardless of one's cultural background.

Immigration of men is often driven by work related motives. Thus, the motivation to immigrate often reflects aspects of gender identity – achievement and self-efficacy orientation for men, social identities for women. Gender role socialization is much more traditional for most migrant groups than for the European majorities thus rendering gender identity more important to large parts of the migrant population in comparison to the majority. In addition, ethnic minority communities and mono-ethnic family structures often reinforce stricter gender socialization than most mainstream European societies long after immigration. A person's bond with the ethnic community or mono-ethnic family relations cannot be captured by the means of ESS. Thus, the simple distinction between the majority and the immigrant and minority population will not be the best possible approximation. Many individuals of foreign origin or immigrant descent may not interact with any ethnic community at all and are thus freer in their identity choices including gender identity. The approach does not account for the differences between various ethnic communities that might be substantial in the way that some communities enforce extremely conservative gender roles whereas others are more liberal and show no substantive difference from the majority population.⁶¹⁸ The approach also ignores substantial intra-group differences – there are of course young migrant women studying and working abroad having a much higher achievement orientation than women following their husbands. Important individual determinants such as one's parents' formal education and egalitarian value orientations⁶¹⁹ cannot be taken into account with the ESS data.

⁶¹⁸ For example, Eva Bernhardt, Frances Goldscheider, and Calvin Goldscheider, "Integrating the second generation: Gender and family attitudes in early adulthood in Sweden" *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung: Beiträge zu Haushalt, Verwandtschaft und Lebenslauf* 19.1 (2007): 55-70; Barbara Remmlinger, "Geschlechtsidentität in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft", diss. University Würzburg, 2009.

⁶¹⁹ See Hanna Idema and Karen Phaet, "Transmission of gender-role values in Turkish-German migrant families: The role of gender, intergenerational and intercultural relations" *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung: Beiträge zu Haushalt, Verwandtschaft und Lebenslauf* 19.1 (2007): 71-105.

Considering this and acknowledging the strong variations within each gender group, the expected differences between the genders are rather small and will be somewhat underestimated for the reasons presented above.

(H9) The stronger a person's group identification, the more pronounced will be this person's experience of group specific identity threat which can be measured in stronger defense reactions and a stronger impact of such a threat on integration.

Whether the difference in the effects of threats supposedly related to gender identities is indeed wider for migrants than for the majority can be easily answered by comparing the gender effects in both subpopulations.

The defense reactions to identity threat already showed a link to gender in the analysis of group identity devaluation and double devaluation. Ethnic closure (xenophobia) and the salience of religious identity were predominantly “female” responses to group identity devaluation, whereas narrowed identity was stronger related to men.

Now it would be interesting to measure the gender gap for the specific identity threats in terms of their impact on specific threat responses and integration. Gender related threats should produce a wider gap for the minority population as a whole than for the majority even without any additional condition for group identity devaluation for the reasons already mentioned.

These gender related threats are perceived low income, unemployment, being afraid to walk alone in residential area after dark – all referring to male related achievement and self-efficacy, anticipated difficulties to borrow money, and social isolation as well as the loss of a primary relationship – all being linked to the female relational orientation. However, as social isolation was introduced here as a threat to self-verification crucial to both men and women, the evident link of social isolation to social or relational identity might be misleading and the variable may instead be gender neutral.

When looking at potential gender differences in the responses to particular threats in the majority and the migrant population, only those operationalized response reactions should be considered that did already show a strong enough reaction to identity threats. As such, it appears useful to exclude narrowed identity, for it was very weakly linked to the eight discussed identity threats – in a multivariate regression, the adjusted R^2 only reached .025 for the majority and .016 for migrants. Ethnic closure revealed a considerably stronger relationship with identity threat, adjusted $R^2 = .070$ for the majority and $R^2 = .065$ for migrants. The salience of religious identity fared even better in relating with threats, adjusted $R^2 = .106$ for the majority and $R^2 = .081$ for migrants. Integration is also moderately impaired by the eight identity threats, adjusted $R^2 = .119$ for the majority and $R^2 = .094$ for migrants and may therefore be suitable for a gender comparison.

As another requirement for the interpretability of results, both groups – the majority and the minority population – should have a comparable level of the response variable and respond in a similar fashion to the threats. A roughly equal level of the dependent variables

between the majority and the migrant population was found for the salience of religious identity and for integration, where the existing differences were insignificant despite the very large sample size. In case of ethnic closure (xenophobia), the third generation will be contrasted with the majority for having the smallest difference – nevertheless the third generation averaged significantly higher on ethnic closure (xenophobia) than the majority, $\Delta M = .0164$, $F(1, 32713) = 11.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta = .000$.

Of the six threats, perhaps unemployment may have a different impact on the majority and on the migrant population. Whereas employment outside the home is a rather established fact of life for most majority women in European societies and the wish to work in paid jobs might not differ anymore for men and women, this might not be the case at the same level for migrant men and women. In migrant families, couples often split their family roles into that of the male provider and the female care taker. However, this difference in the effect of unemployment – if confirmed – would be totally in line with the proposed hypothesis of greater gender differences in the migrant population.

Table 75: Gender differences in threat responses for the majority and migrants

		Ethnic closure (xenophobia)		Salience of religious identity		Integration	
		Majority	Third gen.	Majority	Migrants	Majority	Migrants
Threats to male identity	Perceived low income	.0031	.0084	-.1090***	-.0463	.0050	.0088
	Unemployment	-.0159**	.0478	-.0654**	.0834	-.0133***	.0079
	Being afraid of walking alone	.0137***	.0178	-.0352*	.0659	.0233***	.0132**
Threats to female identity	Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-.0063*	-.0564**	-.0245*	.0642	-.0054**	-.0066
	Social isolation	-.0127**	-.0204	-.0510*	-.0403	-.0007	.0045
	Loss of primary relationship	-.0124*	.0151	-.0510	-.0441	-.0058*	-.0003

*Note: Gender differences are presented as differences in the group mean of the threat effect on ethnic closure (xenophobia), salience of religious identity, and integration between men and women. Positive values indicate a stronger reaction to threat by men, whereas negative values present a stronger reaction by women – independent from the fact that each threat increases the level of ethnic closure (xenophobia) as well as salience of religious identity and decreases the level of integration. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ one-tailed for gender difference in the threat condition. Ethnic closure (xenophobia): $N_{MA} = 29716 \pm 1952$ and $N_{TG} = 939 \pm 97$; Salience of religion: $N_{MA} = 3187 \pm 140$ and $N_{IM} = 861 \pm 97$; Integration: $N_{MA} = 29658 \pm 1946$ and $N_{IM} = 4916 \pm 650$.*

When comparing the upper and the lower part of table 72 that refer to conditions threatening male identity or female identity, the mostly positive values in the upper half (12 out of 18) and the negative values of the lower half (15 out of 18) seem to confirm the gender relatedness of certain threats. However, the result is somewhat mixed, suggesting that the gender differences in identity that were still very pronounced in the 1980s and 1990s are melting away when looking at newer data. As reasoned above, there was indeed a difference in the reaction to unemployment between majority women and migrant women. Whereas majority women were even stronger affected by unemployment than majority men, unemployment proved to be a men rather than women related threat for migrants. In

the case of social isolation, the results were also ambiguous. Even though, women reacted slightly stronger to social isolation than men in terms of ethnic closure (xenophobia) and religious identity salience, both men and women responded roughly equal in terms of their level of integration.

Confirming hypothesis 9, the gender difference was indeed more pronounced for migrants than for the majority for most cases (12 out of 18). The increase of the gender difference was captured either by a greater difference in the score of men and women or alternatively defined by reverting a positive into a negative or negative into positive score according to the kind of threat. The latter occurred for example in the case of unemployment. Additionally, also the decrease of a “falsely” positive or negative score according to the predicted gender specific direction was counted. However, in the case of integration, the gender specific difference between the majority and the migrant population seems not to hold since an equal number of increases as decreases was found.

There was also an obvious anomaly for the salience of religious identity where all values for the majority population were negative. As already mentioned above, the majority reacts stronger than the migrant population in terms of making religious identity more salient when facing threat. However, this is only true for a rather small proportion of the population, since only 10 percent of the majority and 17 percent of the migrant population realized a high salience of religious identity. Among those highly religious people in the majority, the ratio between men and women is 1:2. For the migrants, it is a bit more even with 2:3. Thus, the stronger reaction of the majority to threats is rather logical, and because making religious identity salient was already found to be a female rather than male response mechanism, it is unsurprising that all threats lead to a stronger response by majority women compared to majority men. The effects relating to the threats to gender identity were nevertheless evident for migrants, where two of the three threats to male identity had positive values and two of the three threats to female identity had negative values.

The presented analysis on group identity showed that group identity devaluation and particularly double devaluation posed a threat to person’s identity as well and was similar to other identity threats in the way that it made people more perceptive to threats. The more group identity devaluation a person experienced, the stronger this person was affected by identity threats. As a result, people’s response reactions to identity threats also increased through group identity devaluation.

At the example of gender identity in the majority and the migrant population, it was demonstrated that a strong group identification lead to stronger experience of group specific identity threats. As another result of this stronger experience of group related threats, people’s general response reactions to these threats were observed to become stronger.

3.5.4 Coping with identity threat

When thinking about policies to support integration by increasing people's identity security, threats to people's identities will have to deserve their proper attention. Related to these threats coping potentials and strategies should be considered also. The general model introduced identity resources as component of identity security. However, these identity resources should also be regarded as potential buffers for threats.

At the individual level, the relationship between identity resources and integration was rather weak but nevertheless highly significant, $F(1, 37110) = 2343.0, p < .001, R = .244$ accounting for 5.9 percent of the variance. Considering the two subpopulations, the relationship improved for the majority, $F(1, 31551) = 2109.6, p < .001, R = .250$ accounting for 6.3 percent of the variance. It revealed a similar but weaker trend for the more heterogeneous immigrant and ethnic minority populations, $F(1, 5557) = 250.2, p < .001, R = .208$ accounting for only 4.3 percent of the variance. At the country level – where many macro-level variables were automatically controlled by using aggregated means – this relationship was by far stronger for the whole population, $F(1, 19) = 41.7, p < .001, R = .829$, and for the two subpopulations: For the majority, the trend was very strong, $F(1, 19) = 45.9, p < .001, R = .841$ explaining 70.7 percent of the total variance. For the migrant population it was weaker but still very meaningful, $F(1, 19) = 19.6, p < .001, R = .712$ accounting for 50.7 percent of the variance.

Therefore, identity resources also deserve consideration in integration policy making. Where macro-level conditions may pose threats to individuals' identity and integration, which may not be easily changed at the political level, local policies may still very well protect and develop people's identity resources as they are based within the individual while threats often arise from the outside. Of course, identity resources are manifold, even including a good sense of humor.⁶²⁰ Nevertheless, the identity resources operationalized with the ESS – self-efficacy, multiple strong identities, supportive relationships, and general cognitive ability – will suffice here to illustrate the point exemplarily.

It is reasoned that identity resources are coping resources. As such, they moderate the perception and the effects of potential threats to identity on integration and reduce related defense reactions. Therefore, they should counteract ethnic closure (xenophobia) and a narrowed identity, make the salience of religious identity less likely, and contribute to integration.

A reduction of ethnic closure (xenophobia) and narrowed identity would seem a worthwhile pursuit for the simple reason that the impact of experiencing threat on both response mechanisms was smaller than the impact of both responses on integration (sections 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.3). Thus, increases in ethnic closure (xenophobia) and narrowing one's identity structure – even though they might have a positive impact on maintaining

⁶²⁰ Thomas E. Ford, Mark A. Ferguson, Jenna L. Brooks, and Kate M. Hagadone, "Coping sense of humor reduces effects of stereotype threat on women's math performance" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 30.5 (2004): 643-653.

positive self-perceptions and self-esteem – seemed not to contribute to coping with these threats in a meaningful way. Only the discussed response that made religious identity salient appeared to moderate the impact of identity threats on integration, for the impact of threats on the salience of religious identity was by far greater than the negative effect of religious identity salience on integration (section 3.4.1.4).

As coping efficacy is strongly tied to an individual’s perceptions of threat, it seems useful to consider the moderating impact of identity resources on threat perception. Just as in the analysis of devalued identities, threat perception will be operationalized by the number of the six more subjectively reported threats of the ESS – discrimination experience, poor health, perceived low income, anticipated difficulties borrowing money in case of a personal emergency, being afraid of walking alone in one’s residential area after dark, and social isolation.

(H10) The higher a person’s level of identity resources, the lower will be that person’s number of perceived threats.

Linear regression between threat perception and overall identity resources showed a moderate reduction of threat perception with higher levels of resources for the majority, $F(1, 31636) = 4119.3, p < .001, R = .339$ as well as for migrants, $F(1, 5568) = 425.0, p < .001, R = .266$.

Table 76: Identity resources and threat perception

	Threat perception _{MA}			Threat perception _{IM}		
	B	(SE)	Beta	B	(SE)	Beta
Self-efficacy	-0.594***	(.039)	-.114	-0.436***	(.102)	-.078
Multiple strong identities	-0.504***	(.051)	-.075	-0.051	(.142)	-.007
Social support	-0.603***	(.046)	-.099	-0.590***	(.122)	-.088
Education	-0.409***	(.033)	-.092	-0.647***	(.082)	-.141
Constant	2.030***	(.034)		2.132***	(.093)	
adjusted R ²	.064			.045		
N	19,134			3,406		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Table 76 shows the relative impact of each identity resource on threat perception in a multivariate regression. All four contributed to the reduction of threat perception. Unsurprisingly, self-efficacy – as probably strongest link to coping efficacy – is the best individual factor for the reduction of threat perception. However, it revealed this strength only for the majority. For immigrants and ethnic minorities, education had the strongest tie to threat perception. Nevertheless, education may rather contribute to the avoidance of threat as it enables the individual to take on better socio-economic positions in society.

(H11) The better an identity resource “matches” a potentially threatening position, the less likely will be the actual experience of threat and the smaller will be its impact on integration when such a threat is experienced.

Avoiding identity threats and reducing their impact

As most of the defined threats reside in the greater social structure whereas identity or identity resources are based within the individual, there is a very small relationship between such resources and the occurrence of the discussed threats. The effect size of the regression models (adjusted R^2) between the combination of all four identity resources and the occurrence of each of the eight threats varied between .003 for discrimination and .037 for social isolation.

Table 77: The impact of identity resources on the occurrence of specific threats

		Anticipated difficulties to borrow money			Unemployment			Social isolation		
		B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Majority	Self-efficacy	-0.321***	(.019)	-.133	-0.169***	(.019)	-.067	-0.043***	(.010)	-.032
	Multiple strong identities	-0.188***	(.025)	-.060	-0.152***	(.025)	-.046	-0.098***	(.014)	-.055
	Social support	-0.050*	(.022)	-.018	-0.009	(.023)	-.003	-0.237***	(.012)	-.148
	Education	-0.089***	(.016)	-.043	-0.291***	(.016)	-.135	-0.019*	(.009)	-.016
	Constant	0.644***	(.016)		0.699***	(.017)		0.296***	(.009)	
	adjusted R^2	.033			.034			.036		
	N	18,261			19,086			19,049		
Migrants	Self-efficacy	-0.359***	(.045)	-.147	-0.170***	(.044)	-.070	-0.001	(.025)	.000
	Multiple strong identities	-0.066	(.063)	-.020	-0.180**	(.061)	-.054	-0.328***	(.034)	-.176
	Social support	-0.095*	(.055)	-.033	0.004	(.053)	.001	-0.154***	(.030)	-.095
	Education	-0.078*	(.036)	-.039	-0.283***	(.035)	-.143	-0.028	(.020)	-.025
	Constant	0.692***	(.041)		0.681***	(.040)		0.385***	(.022)	
	adjusted R^2	.031			.038			.053		
	N	3,269			3,397			3,399		

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; one-tailed. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Table 77 shows those threats the occurrence of which may be best explained by the four discussed identity resources. Reducing the impact of identity threats on integration by coping mechanisms – here framed as the availability of identity resources – is about matching a particular threat with the suitable resource(s). As showed above, anticipated difficulties to borrow money are best matched with high levels of self-efficacy. Unemployment could be come by with education, and social isolation could be met by high degrees of social support for members of the majority population and many strong identities for immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. This last difference between the subpopulations is not very surprising as even those migrants who objectively have high

levels of social interactions with other people may not feel that way in the given context of migration as people still consider themselves to be cut off their original social networks. For them, multiple strong identities should also link to social networks and ties to other people regarding different areas of life.

Moderation of identity threat impacts on integration

The “matching” between identity resources and threats mentioned in hypothesis 11 will not only buffer against the occurrence but also the magnitude of the impact that these threats may have on integration.

In addition to the matching resources for the threats presented above, also perceived low income, poor health, and being afraid of walking alone after dark seem to have matches among the four discussed identity resources.

Perceived low income appears similar to unemployment, as higher self-efficacy and education should place the individual into a better socio-economic position relating to higher income and better skills relating to a wise handling of finances.

Poor health could perhaps best be met by education – or the knowledge about a healthy lifestyle and realizing the best possible quality of life even with a chronic disease or disability. Social support may also be of much help as frequent visits of friends and relatives are known to raise the spirit of an ill person and thus helps him or her to get well more quickly.

Being afraid of walking alone after dark is somewhat associated with self-efficacy or the notion “I can.” However, even a high general level of self-efficacy will not be of much help when the danger is perceived to be factual.

In the case of the loss of a primary relationship no convincing match is feasible. Nothing can protect against the death of a spouse, and even self-efficacy in terms of the confidence to find a new partner will probably not suffice to ease the pain of experiencing loss.

No good match can be given for avoiding discrimination either. Nevertheless, it is known from research that subtle discrimination may even benefit an individual’s integration for increasing the person’s achievement motivation.⁶²¹

Accordingly, hypothesis 11 can be tested by comparing the moderating effects of the supposedly better matching resources against the others in analyses of variance for each of the threats impact on integration. In order to conduct such an analysis of variance for each of the four resources, a high and a low condition will be defined splitting the sample in roughly equally large parts. However, as all four identity resources raise the level of integration independent of the threats whereby multiple strong identities and self-efficacy have the greatest impact. The moderating impact of a coping resource on a threat is represented by the interaction between the threat and the identity resources under scrutiny when explaining integration in a factorial ANOVA. However, it is not only the interaction

⁶²¹ See Waldinger and Feliciano.

between the threat and the “best matching” identity resource that has to be considered, but also the plain impact of each individual identity resource.

By moderation of the threat it is meant that the respondents in the high coping resource condition should experience a smaller negative impact of a threat on integration than the respondents in the low coping resource condition. Now looking at the eight threats and the potential moderating effects of the four identity resources, it quickly becomes evident that the resource logically linked to the avoidance of the threat is not the best in moderating the effect size of the threat on integration, instead multiple strong identities emerge as the best identity resource to buffer each of the mentioned threats’ impact on integration.

Table 78: Moderation of identity threats by multiple strong identities

		Multiple strong identities							
		LOW				HIGH			
Threats		Δ INT	(SE)	η ²	N	Δ INT	(SE)	N	Moderation
Majority	Discrimination	-.078	(.008)	.011	259	-.055	(.007)	302	29,5%
	Poor health	-.016	(.004)	.002	1,599	-.021	(.003)	1,629	
	Perceived low income	-.082	(.004)	.048	962	-.068	(.005)	713	17,1%
	Anticipated difficulties to borrow money	-.045	(.003)	.027	2,732	-.025	(.003)	2,316	44,4%
	Unemployment	-.001	(.003)	.000	3,511	-.003	(.003)	3,306	
	Being afraid of walking alone	-.050	(.003)	.029	2,090	-.035	(.003)	1,829	30,0%
	Social isolation	-.049	(.005)	.013	786	-.029	(.006)	450	40,8%
	Loss of primary relationship	-.010	(.004)	.001	1,110	-.005	(.004)	844	50,0%
Migrants	Discrimination	-.065	(.009)	.041	323	-.079	(.007)	459	
	Poor health	-.043	(.009)	.016	294	-.033	(.009)	279	23,3%
	Perceived low income	-.044	(.011)	.016	186	-.028	(.011)	167	36,4%
	Anticipated difficulties to borrow money	-.015	(.008)	.003	547	-.035	(.007)	605	
	Unemployment	-.006	(.008)	.001	574	-.006	(.007)	569	
	Being afraid of walking alone	-.034	(.008)	.012	360	-.044	(.005)	422	
	Social isolation	-.053	(.011)	.016	73	-.038	(.016)	73	28,3%
	Loss of primary relationship	-.027	(.010)	.005	209	-.004	(.012)	147	85,2%

Note: Δ INT shows the difference in integration scale points when the threat was reported or not reported. All contrasts were found highly significant. N represents individuals in threatening conditions. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

However, when the initial effect of a threat to integration was small in the “low” condition of multiple strong identities or the case number was rather low, the solution was often unstable with the tendency becoming a mere matter of chance. When no moderation impact could be found, the cell in the table below was left blank.

The last column of the table showed considerable moderation effects as expressed in the reduction of the negative impact of any given threat on integration. There were differences between the two subpopulation. While multiple strong identities reduced six threats for the majority while the two remaining threats were weak initially, it succeeded to reduce only four for the immigrant and ethnic minority population. Of the four unmoderated threats in the migrant population, discrimination and being afraid of walking alone in one’s residential area after dark were the most important. As discrimination was buffered by

multiple strong identities for the majority, there might be a rather pronounced difference in the experience and magnitude of discrimination between the two subpopulations. Also, concerns about one's physical safety in a residential area seemed to be much more severe for the immigrants and members of ethnic minorities, which might explain, why the buffer of multiple identities appeared to be too weak to make a difference there, too. When comparing threat avoidance and threat moderation, one finds a clear difference in the mechanisms behind the two. Where there is an area related link between the occurrence of a threat and an identity resource, identity threats are best moderated by multiple strong identities and non of the other three modeled here.

Protecting the self against non-adaptive response mechanisms

All of the three response mechanisms adversely affect integration representing indirect expressions of threat. Therefore, it appears to be quite useful to check whether or not these mechanisms could be offset along the same lines as the already discussed identity threats.

(H12) The higher a person's level of identity resources, the lower will be the person's levels of ethnic closure, narrowed identity, and religious identity salience.

Table 79 presents the results of the multivariate regression between the four discussed identity resources and the three threat responses.

Table 79: Identity resources and the strength of threat responses

	Ethnic closure (xenophobia)			Narrowed identity			Salience of religious identity			
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	
Majority	Self-efficacy	-.057***	(.006)	-.074	-0.424***	(.037)	-.070	-0.194***	(.035)	-.105
	Multiple strong identities	-.076***	(.007)	-.076	---			---		
	Social support	-.102***	(.007)	-.112	-1.106***	(.041)	-.162	-0.558***	(.039)	-.264
	Education	-.160***	(.005)	-.242	-0.299***	(.032)	-.055	-0.133***	(.032)	-.075
	Constant	.672***	(.005)		2.418***	(.022)		1.773***	(.019)	
	adjusted R ²	.123			.049			.125		
	N	19,126			30,721			3,200		
Migrants	Self-efficacy	.019	(.014)	.025	-0.465***	(.082)	-.083	-0.242***	(.072)	-.118
	Multiple strong identities	-.064***	(.019)	-.061	---			---		
	Social support	-.126***	(.017)	-.136	-1.241***	(.092)	-.187	-0.543***	(.079)	-.223
	Education	-.130***	(.011)	-.206	-0.104	(.070)	-.021	-0.130*	(.064)	-.070
	Constant	.599***	(.013)		2.426***	(.053)		1.818***	(.043)	
	adjusted R ²	.074			.054			.096		
	N	3,406			5,396			925		

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; one-tailed. For the regressions concerning narrowed identity and salience of religious identity, only organizational identities were considered as multiple strong identities for their is too great of a conceptual overlap between multiple important areas of life with narrowed identity and salience of religious identity. N represents individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Multiple strong identities were omitted for narrowed identity and salience of religious identity. Narrowed identity was defined as just the opposite of multiple strong identities. Obviously, when people hold multiple strong identities they have the best possible safeguard against identity denial of a large scale that would lead to a very limited structure of identity choice for an individual. The omission was necessary as there was too much overlap in the mathematical definition of the two terms. Similarly, the religious identity becomes more salient to a person, when other identities the person holds are weak.

When looking at the three response mechanisms, ethnic closure was explained best. It fed on the lack of all identity resources, first of all education. Education was followed by deficits of social support and multiple strong identities. For migrants, self-efficacy has produced a positive relationship with ethnic closure that might reflect the effect of outgroup derogation on self-esteem as regression models are unclear about the direction of the causality. On the other hand, narrowed identity could be reduced best by social support. Likewise, social support was the key in the reduction of religious identity salience, though self-efficacy also contributed at a considerable degree.

When drawing attention to the fact that the three threat responses are non-adaptive ways of coping, they themselves might pose a long-term threat to a person's identity despite their realization of short-term stabilizing effects. As such, they do have a negative impact on integration as was already shown above. Now, treating threat responses as identity threats, the moderation of their impact on integration by the availability of identity resources becomes an important issue for understanding the role of coping or identity resources on integration a bit better.

(H13) A high level of identity resources can also moderate the negative impact of threat responses on integration.

When comparing the impact of threat responses on integration to the specific identity threats discussed here, the level of impact of threat responses and threats were quite similar. However, as a comparison between tables 79 and 80 shows, identity threats and threat responses differ in their relationship to the four identity resources. While multiple strong identities buffered all threats relatively well, they played little role in the moderation of the negative impact threat responses have on integration. Education and social support were the best buffers against the negative impact of threat responses on integration. These were the same identity resources that were already found to reduce the strength of the threat responses (see table 79).

However, there is obviously no urgency to protect an individual against religion, for religious identity salience was much stronger related to identity threats than to a lack of integration. As such, the stabilizing effects for an individual's personality is much more important than potentially weak impacts on integration. Also, many religions provide believers material for cross-categorization, for example as catholic immigrants join catholic

religious services in their receiving country and build ties to the receiving country regardless of catholics being a majority or minority group there.

Table 80: Moderating the negative impact of threats responses on integration

Threat responses	Moderating identity resources	LOW				HIGH				
		Δ INT	(SE)	η^2	N	Δ INT	(SE)	N	Moderation	
Majority	Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	1) Education	-.055	(.002)	.036	8816	-.046	(.002)	4678	16.4%
		2) Social support	-.051	(.002)	.031	8037	-.045	(.002)	5710	11.8%
		3) Self-efficacy	-.049	(.002)	.030	9076	-.044	(.002)	4682	10.2%
	Narrowed identity	1) Education	-.045	(.002)	.026	7473	-.039	(.002)	5175	13.3%
		2) Self-efficacy	-.044	(.002)	.025	8033	-.040	(.002)	4868	9.1%
		3) Social support	-.044	(.002)	.024	7279	-.040	(.002)	5610	9.1%
	Salience of religious identity	1) Social support	-.077	(.008)	.056	889	-.036	(.009)	409	53.2%
		2) Multiple strong identities	-.061	(.008)	.007	291	-.041	(.009)	241	32.8%
		3) Self-efficacy	-.072	(.007)	.050	959	-.051	(.010)	319	29.2%
4) Education		-.068	(.008)	.042	881	-.064	(.009)	394	5.9%	
Migrants	Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	1) Education	-.066	(.006)	.048	1080	-.042	(.007)	572	36.4%
		2) Multiple strong identities	-.047	(.007)	.028	980	-.031	(.008)	705	34.0%
		3) Social support	-.068	(.007)	.051	827	-.047	(.006)	834	30.9%
		4) Self-efficacy	-.061	(.006)	.039	1035	-.050	(.006)	645	18.0%
	Narrowed identity	1) Social support	-.042	(.007)	.020	1109	-.034	(.006)	1026	19.0%
	Salience of religious identity	1) Social support	-.025	(.019)	.005	228	-.010	(.016)	185	60.0%
2) Self-efficacy		-.016	(.014)	.002	327	-.007	(.020)	100	56.3%	

Note: Δ INT shows the difference in integration scale points when the threat was reported or not reported. Moderation is the percentual reduction of the threat from the low to the high identity resource condition. All contrasts were found highly significant. N represents individuals in the high threat response condition. Cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Generally speaking, hypothesis 13 was confirmed. Identity resources did buffer the negative impact of threat responses on integration. However, not all identity resources had that power for all threat responses in both subpopulations. Multiple strong identities fared particularly poor only helping to moderate the salience of religious identity for the majority and ethnic closure for the immigrants and ethnic minorities. Table 80 shows the positive moderating impact of each identity resource on each threat response for both subpopulations.

The effects of narrowed identity could only be buffered by social support for the migrant population and additionally by education and self-efficacy for the majority. The difficulties to moderate the impact of narrowed identity could stem in the rather small effect it had initially. For the majority, narrowed identity was the less damaging threat response regarding integration. For immigrants and ethnic minorities it had a quite comparable impact.

Table 80 also shows that the salience of religious identity played a small to negligible role for the migrant population but produced the strongest decline of integration of all three discussed threat responses for the majority population. Thus, the popular assumption that immigrants' religious identities posed a problem to integration appears to be quite wrong in

the light of the analyzed data. Instead, one should consider the role of religious identity salience for the majority population for which it embodied similar effects on integration as discrimination did.

Ethnic closure had the greatest problem potential towards integration for the immigrant and ethnic minority population. However, all four discussed identity resources considerably reduced it and did so in a more meaningful way than for the majority population.

4. Implications for integration policy and theory development

4.1 *Integration policy*

According to the proposed model of integration, it should be possible to increase people's trust in others, in institutions, and in the country itself by means of stabilizing and protecting people's identities. As such, it is important that people will be placed into the center of political attention and become respected as individuals with their particular lifestyles, preferences, needs, and identity contents. Considering the strong interaction between the trust variables of different population groups, improving overall integration in a particular country requires the consideration of the entire population. As such, members of the receiving society or majority group have to be paid attention to as well as diverse minority groups that may have shown specific integrative needs. As this paper addressed integration in attitudinal terms only, the policy recommendations derived from the analysis should be regarded as complimentary to already existing integration policy approaches, not as their replacement. The implications of the empirical results for integration policy presented here can be addressed in the level of policy making, the target populations for such policies, and the policy content.

4.1.1 The level of policy making

From the point individual identity needs, the lowest level of government is the one most suitable to address them. Considering the local level as most important for integration policy, municipalities can do a lot for turning disadvantaged residential areas into safer and friendlier places and thus reducing fears of residents to move about in their neighborhoods. They can provide institutional support in terms of incentives and networking aids to active voluntary organizations and rewards for civic engagement. Municipalities can also provide public spaces where people with their many identities are welcome. They can also encourage empowerment approaches through the funding of social projects.

In recent years, there has been a wave of recognition for the paramount importance of local conditions for the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe. It started out with the attempts of municipalities to make up for what was perceived to be "failures of the national governments."⁶²² In addition, also the national governments increasingly recognized the importance of active municipalities. Finally, the EU commission itself said "integration takes places primarily at local level."⁶²³ Accordingly, it

⁶²² Council of Europe, Proceedings from the European Conference on The integration and participation of migrants into European cities 15 & 16 September 2003 in Stuttgart (Strasbourg: COE, 2004) 20.

⁶²³ European Commission, Directorate-General Justice, Freedom and Security, Directorate B: Immigration, Asylum and Borders, Unit B2: Immigration and Asylum; Immigration and Asylum, Issue Paper for INTI

provided funding for an exchange network of European municipalities on issues of integration policy initiated by the City of Stuttgart.⁶²⁴ Nevertheless, each level of decision-making may contribute towards an accepted and successful integration policy. In addition, consistency of the approaches of various levels of government is needed.

The change of perspective from national to local responsibility for integration has also been reflected in the research literature. Crul pointed out that national policies may be rather limited in their significance for individual integration success – how successful immigrants and members of ethnic minorities are integrated into a local community.⁶²⁵

Several comparative studies have revealed that local circumstances are much more important than regional or national official policy approaches.⁶²⁶

These conditions are manifold reaching from housing segregation and the strength of the local labor market to the percentage of ethnic minorities in socially disadvantaged living quarters and districts, personal relationships (family and peers), the wealth of social networks and activity settings in the local communities, schools and neighborhoods, voluntary associations, and public spaces. These determinants might be rather independent from official national policies.⁶²⁷ Comparative studies by Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder show a discrepancy between official immigration policy and the local integration of migrants in all four places: California, Finland, the Netherlands, and Israel.⁶²⁸

Therefore, comparing countries may rather mean comparing complex sets of conditions – more or less incidentally found along the lines of national boundaries – rather than effects of national policies. The overestimation of official policy in the integration process of immigrants has also been criticized by Geoghegan, pointing at the powerful barriers to individual integration posed by the Turkish community and Turkish families in Germany.⁶²⁹

Local and individual conditions have already played a role in qualitative analysis of migration and integration processes.⁶³⁰ A number of authors have also looked at identity and identity changes at the core of these individual conditions determining integration processes.⁶³¹

Technical Seminar: Integration Infrastructure: How to Organize the Integration of Migrants? (Brussels: European Commission, 2005) 3.

⁶²⁴ Friedrich Heckmann and Wolfgang Bosswick, Feasibility Study for a Network on Migrant Integration in the Urban Context (Bamberg: European forum for migration studies, U of Bamberg, 2005).

⁶²⁵ Maurice Crul, De sleutel tot success: Over hulp, keuzes en kansen in schoolloopbaan van Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren van de tweede generatie (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis 2000).

⁶²⁶ Tricia Danielle Keaton, “Muslim girls and the ‘other France’: an examination of identity construction” Social Identities 5 (1999): 47-64; Steven J. Gold, Refugee Communities: A Comparative Field Study (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992).

⁶²⁷ Michel Oriol, “Modeles ideologiques et modeles culturels dans la reproduction des identities collectives en situation d’emigration” Revue Internationale d’Action Communautaire 21 (1989): 117-123.

⁶²⁸ Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder.

⁶²⁹ Geoghegan.

⁶³⁰ E.g., Bartal; Marius Dietrich, “Zuwanderung und kommunale Integrationspolitik: Multikulturelle Stadtpolitik in Toronto und Frankfurt am Main”, Diplomarbeit (Berlin: Humboldt U, 2002), online, <https://zope.sowi.hu-berlin.de/lehrbereiche/stadtsoz/abschlussarbeiten/Dietrich_Diplomarbeit.pdf>, retrieved on 3 Oct. 2008; Konstantinos Goutovos, Psychologie der Migration: Über die Bewältigung vom Migration in der Nationalgesellschaft, (Hamburg: Argument-Verlag, 2000).

⁶³¹ Gabriele Haeger, Wächst wirklich zusammen, was zusammen gehört? Identität und Wahrnehmung der Intergruppensituation in Ost- und Westdeutschland, Sozialpsychologische Studien, vol. 5 (Münster: LIT-

4.1.2 Target groups

According to the model, identity security relies on 1) the greatest possible absence of particular threats to identity motives, processes, and components; 2) a person's possession of identity resources; as well as 3) the reduction of non-adaptive threat responses.

When trying to identify target groups to which integration policy should be primarily addressed, the group level of threat risks and threat impact as well as the distribution of identity resources among the groups should be considered. Assessing non-adaptive threat responses is more difficult.

The group comparison did not yield very convincing results for defining "the one" target population. Nevertheless, the analysis revealed fewer identity resources for women than for men in general, a higher perceptivity to identity threats by migrants vs. members of the majority population and particularly for **third generation migrants**, as well as a differences between men and women, migrants and non-migrants in experiencing certain threats. However, regarding great intra-group differences in both the majority population and the migrant groups in each of the countries, a more individualistic approach to integration policy should be considered instead of attaching the stigma of being "needy" to any group as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

One insight that can be safely gained from the previous analysis is the necessity to pay respect to the particular situation of women with and without a background of migration and specific needs that may arise from them both in terms of identity threats and identity resources.

Regarding the threats people may face and counteracting integration problems associated to them requires a thorough understanding of the life situation of the person: Migrants are not just migrants, but somehow this quality seems to make people more vulnerable to a number of threats than non-migrants. In improving particularly local integration policy and municipal services, paying tribute to these individual circumstances and life situations is a very basic necessity. Some European cities, such as Stuttgart,⁶³² formulated this as a principle against which actual practice might be evaluated. Alternatively, target groups could be defined independently from migration group according to socioeconomic status threats or the risk of social isolation. Great care is necessary here as well since facing potentially threatening conditions and experiencing identity threats are to be distinguished. The avoiding of stigmatization is already a key towards better social and political integration.

Verlag, 1998); Kofler; Kirsten Ricker, Migration, Sprache und Identität: Eine biographieanalytische Studie zu Migrationsprozessen von Französischen in Deutschland (Bremen: Donat-Verlag, 2000); Hupka; Gaby Voigt, Selbstbilder im Dazwischen. Wie afghanische Migranten ihre Identität konstruieren, diss. Friedrich Alexander U Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2001 (Frankfurt a. M.: IKO, 2002).

⁶³² Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, Stabsabteilung für Integrationspolitik, ed., Ein Bündnis für Integration, Reinhard Schlossnikel and Gari Pavkovic, Stuttgarter Bündnis für Integration: Weiterentwicklung 2007 (Stuttgart: LHS Stuttgart, 2007): 6f.

4.1.3 Policy contents

The model suggests 1) the reduction of identity threats relating to identity motives, processes, and components, 2) a person's possession of identity resources, and 3) the reduction of potential non-adaptive threat responses.

Ethnic closure (xenophobia) is not only relevant to integration as an individual non-adaptive response mechanism to threat, but also develops strong dynamics at the intergroup level tying to ingroup-outgroup relations. Group interactions are very central to integration as interpersonal trust needs to reach beyond one's ingroup and trust in institutions and one's country is more global, too. Integration will benefit from increasing identity security – as the reduction of threats, the possession identity resources, and the reduction of non-adaptive threat response. It is unsurprising that integration and ethnic closure (narrowed identity, and the salience of religious identity) have their own sets of determinants creating different policy fields.

Separate multivariate linear regressions were conducted to frame these sets of determinants (1) for integration and (2) for ethnic closure. In order to derive clear policy recommendation, only the strongest determinants from each of the three categories are retained, excluding those from the model that showed weak correlations with integration and ethnic closure ($r < 0.1$) from the start.

4.1.3.1 Improving integration

The retained indicators of identity resources, identity threats, and threat responses explained more than 15 percent of the total variance in the model and thus constitute a medium effect size of the model's explanatory power for both the majority, $F(10, 15813) = 289.4$, $p < .001$, $R = .393$, and migrants, $F(10, 2550) = 50.8$, $p < .001$, $R = .407$. The average VIF in the multivariate regressions was found at 1.19 for the majority and 1.18 for migrants which was quite acceptable.

From the table below one can conclude, that integration will be served best when reducing individuals' ethnic group orientation and supporting individuals in their multiple identities. Avoiding the experience of discrimination also proved crucial to the integration of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. For the majority populations in Europe, factors of economic deprivation appeared considerable. Interestingly, these two factors – the perception of a low household income and the fear of walking alone in one's residential area after dark – played a smaller (but not negligible) role for migrants.

The integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe could be a bit better explained by the proposed theoretical model than the integration of majority members despite the supposedly strong heterogeneity of the migrant groups within European countries.

Table 81: Main identity security determinants for integration

	INT _{MA}			INT _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
<i>Identity resources</i>						
Self-efficacy	.032***	(.005)	.046	-.002	(.014)	-.003
Multiple strong identities	.105***	(.008)	.116	.129***	(.021)	.138
Education	-.037***	(.005)	-.062	-.008	(.011)	-.014
<i>Identity threats</i>						
Discrimination	-.039***	(.005)	-.062	-.036***	(.003)	-.198
Perceived low income	-.056***	(.003)	-.138	-.029***	(.007)	-.078
Anticipated difficulties borrowing money	-.022***	(.002)	-.075	-.018***	(.006)	-.063
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	-.037***	(.002)	-.118	-.030***	(.006)	-.092
Social isolation	-.025***	(.004)	-.049	-.014	(.010)	-.026
<i>Threat response</i>						
Ethnic closure (xenophobia)	-.182***	(.007)	-.199	-.192***	(.018)	-.201
Narrowed identity	-.006***	(.001)	-.049	-.011***	(.003)	-.090
Constant	.577***	(.008)		.576***	(.019)	
adjusted R ²	.154			.163		
N	15,824			2,561		

Note: *** $p < .001$; two-tailed. N represents the number of individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

Many suitable tools are available at the local level:

- the improvement of disadvantage neighborhoods seeking to reduce crime, to ameliorate the quality of housing and developing a functioning public infrastructure including public spaces, shops, charity institutions, affordable public transportation, or supporting solidarity and civic courage among the residents;
- policies to foster work-life balance and leisure; institutional support for voluntary organizations and voluntary engagement in social or sport clubs as well as other common good oriented associations;
- fighting social exclusion and promoting equal status of all population groups within a municipality and nurturing a climate of mutual recognition and interest thus bridging gaps between generations, genders, cultures, ethnicities, religions, between the healthy and the disabled, diverse interest groups etc.

The proposed measures will not only help to reduce incidences of discrimination, provide opportunities for cross categorizations, but also recognize and support individuals and their many identities. Improving the quality of municipal services to all residents according to their individual needs will further improve credibility, legitimacy, and trust in institutions and systemic performance.

4.1.3.2 Reducing ethnic group orientation

The reduction of ethnic closure is an important requirement for improving a country's general level of integration as it is the strongest single determinant in the model above.

Framed as threat response reaction, the reduction of identity threats should not only increase integration directly, but should also lower ethnic closure (xenophobia). However, the identity threats with the greatest impact on integration are considerably different from those that most affect ethnic closure (xenophobia). According to table 57 ethnic closure was stronger related to interpersonal trust than to institutional and performance trust. Thus, it affects the core of integration as one could argue that trust in other people is required for developing trust in institutions and performance – what may be perceived as people made and people based.

Only seven identity security determinants have been retained after excluding all those variables that correlated weakly with ethnic closure. Again, the salience of religious identity was excluded for the large conceptual overlap with narrowed identity and for the otherwise catastrophic reduction of case numbers. Thus, the proposed model had a somewhat smaller, but still medium explanatory power. Overall ANOVA revealed a moderately strong relationship between the included independent variables and integration for both the majority, $F(7, 18904) = 434.6$, $p < .001$, $R = .372$, and migrants, $F(7, 3366) = 57.2$, $p < .001$, $R = .326$. The average VIF in the multivariate regressions was found at 1.11 for the majority and 1.13 for migrants, which is acceptable.

Table 82: Main identity security determinants for ethnic closure

	Ethnic closure _{MA}			Ethnic closure _{IM}		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
<i>Identity resources</i>						
Self-efficacy	-.051***	(.006)	-.066	.017	(.014)	.022
Multiple strong identities	-.071***	(.007)	-.071	-.060***	(.019)	-.056
Social support	-.089***	(.007)	-.097	-.104***	(.017)	-.112
Education	-.155***	(.005)	-.234	-.114***	(.011)	-.180
<i>Identity threats</i>						
Poor health	.028***	(.003)	.075	.058***	(.006)	.149
Being afraid of walking alone after dark	.029***	(.002)	.082	.026***	(.006)	.073
Social isolation	.021***	(.004)	.037	.025**	(.010)	.043
<i>Constant</i>						
adjusted R ²	.642***	(.005)		.558***	(.013)	
N	.138			.104		
	18,912			3,374		

Note: ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ two-tailed. N represents the number of individual cases weighted by design and population size weight.

From the table above one can conclude that the reduction of ethnic closure will be most promising, when identity resources – particularly education and social support are strengthened. Nevertheless, concerns about existential security – such as health and the ability to move about freely in one’s residential area need to be considered as well, though the latter is considerably smaller.

As such, the development of disadvantage neighborhoods with all of the features described for the improvement of integration will also have its merits here; and intergenerational work seems particularly crucial to improve the security feelings of the aged and disabled. Fighting social exclusion and promoting the equal status of all groups within the municipal population will decrease the level of ingroup-outgroup accentuation and make group boundaries more penetrable which will support individual choices of assimilation and integration as opposed to separation and marginalization.

The utmost importance of education has several ways of interpretation. One would be the common practice of schooling against ethnic closure by means of lessons and public projects. This could help to reduce the salience of the group boundary between the established and the newcomers and perhaps lead to a shift towards another non-adaptive ingroup-outgroup accentuation response to replace it with, as often is the case for individuals at the political left who support multiculturalism but hate the “bourgeois” lifestyle and “the establishment.” This of course would rather lead to a decrease in institutional and performance trust.

Another interpretation, and this would be closer to the original link between education and cognitive resources, education will promote individual’s general ability to make more adaptive identity adjustments as a reaction to threat experiences aiming at eliminating the threat instead of just not perceiving it anymore. Education in its classic humanist meaning can be seen as the formation of the mind, which becomes more flexible and more open toward new ideas in the process. Thus, tolerance is a learned virtue and cognitive resources may be developed and trained. This latter interpretation of the centrality of education in reducing ethnic closure (xenophobia) is the more promising for providing more than short-term benefits.

Social support to individuals can softly be promoted by municipalities through providing public spaces where people can meet – nice squares and parks, cafés and bars. It can support more or less formal groups and voluntary organizations. It is also important not to forget those individuals inside the community that are at risk of social isolation – e.g. elder people, widows, and ill or disabled individuals who live alone. Social work particularly with adolescent risk groups may also be a good way of promoting solidarity and social support within the community as they are the ones in which the more direct and violent forms of ethnic closure and xenophobia develop.

4.1.3.3 Multiple identities and integration

Touching on the heated discussion of “lead” culture, and the proposition of assimilationist vs. multicultural policy, a middle path would be suggested from the perspective of this work. Identity security will be served best when people can freely choose their own way of adjustment and adaptation. Claiming the incompatibility of cultures and value systems

makes group boundaries salient and very unnecessarily forces each group to constantly apologize and justify its position. As we know, this activates the mutual mechanism of ingroup appreciation-outgroup devaluation, leading to intergroup conflict and decreases integrative attitudes and behavior of all groups.

This is not to justify criminal practices of forced marriages, domestic violence or honor killings as universal human needs and values are at stake here.⁶³³ When it is claimed that people should be free to choose their identity and their own way of life, the possibility to become an accepted member of the majority group is just as essential as the freedom of individuals to leave behind any group they no longer feel attached to. Alternatively, people should also be allowed to belong to more than one group if they wish to do so. At the individual level, otherwise insurmountable intergroup differences are readily managed by means of the situational character of identities and temporary adjustments in the salience hierarchy. Forced assimilation adversely affects people's need for positive distinctiveness and continuity as well as self-efficacy and self-esteem. An appreciation of ethnic, religious, or cultural diversity does in fact imply the equal status of the groups presented in the local community which is a precondition that intergroup contacts will actually contribute to the integration of these groups as a whole as well as their members as individuals.

The popular Lebanese-French novelist Amin Maalouf has put forward a similar argument for identity choice and how it serves the integration of culturally diverse communities:

And when, as happens so often nowadays, our contemporaries are exhorted to "assert their identity," they are meant to seek within themselves that same alleged fundamental allegiance, which is often religious, national, racial or ethnic, and having located it they are supposed to flaunt it proudly in the face of others. Anyone who claims a more complex identity is marginalized. But a young man born in France of Algerian parents clearly carries within him two different allegiances or "belongings," and he ought to be allowed to use both. For the sake of argument I refer to two "belongings," but in fact such a youth's personality is made up of many more ingredients. Within him, French, European and other western influences mingle with Arab, Berber, African, Muslim and other sources, whether with regard to language, beliefs, family relationships or to tastes in cooking and the arts. This represents an enriching and fertile experience if the young man in question feels free to live it fully – if he is encouraged to accept it in all its diversity. But it can be traumatic if whenever he claims to be French other people look on him as a traitor or renegade, and if every time he emphasizes his ties with Algeria and its history, culture and religion he meets with incomprehension, mistrust or even outright hostility. This situation is even more difficult on the other side of the Rhine. I'm thinking of the case of a Turk who might have been born near Frankfurt 30 years ago and who has always lived in Germany. He speaks and writes German better than the language of his ancestors. Yet, for the society of his adopted country, he isn't German, while for that of his origins he is no longer completely a Turk. Common sense dictates that he should be able to claim both allegiances. But at present neither the law nor people's attitudes allow him to accept his composite identity tranquilly.

(...) By virtue of this situation [having a dual or multiple identity along the same category – culture, nationality, ethnicity etc.] they have a special role to play in forging links, eliminating misunderstandings, making some parties more reasonable and others

⁶³³ For a discussion of universal human values and the responsibility of receiving cultures for their protection see e.g. Necla Kelek, *Die fremde Braut: Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2005) 261.

less belligerent, smoothing out difficulties, seeking compromise. Their role is to act as bridges, go-betweens, mediators between the various communities and cultures. And that is precisely why their dilemma is so significant: if they themselves cannot sustain their multiple allegiances, if they are continually being pressed to take sides or ordered to stay within their own tribe, then all of us have reason to be uneasy about the way the world is going. I talk of their being “pressed” and “ordered” – but by whom? Not just by fanatics and xenophobes of all kinds, but also by you and me, by each and all of us. And we do so precisely because of habits of thought and expression deeply rooted in us all; because of a narrow, exclusive, bigoted, simplistic attitude that reduces identity in all its many aspects to one single affiliation, and one that is proclaimed in anger. I feel like shouting aloud that this is how murderers are made – it’s a recipe for massacres! (...) What determines a person’s affiliation to a given group is essentially the influence of others: the influence of those about him – relatives, fellow-countrymen, co-religionists – who try to make him one of them; together with the influence of those on the other side, who do their best to exclude him. Each one of us has to make his way while choosing between the paths that are urged upon him and those that are forbidden or strewn with obstacles. He is not himself from the outset; nor does he just “grow aware” of what he is; he becomes what he is.⁶³⁴

The multiplicity of identities has pointed out to be the strongest identity resource looked at in this analysis and Maalouf has framed it as a contemporary writer from his own experience and a common sense perspective. Nevertheless, the arguments for recognizing people as multifaceted and diverse could not be expressed any better. Acknowledging people for many characteristics, interests, memberships and other features they may have provides useful ways of finding identities people share with others and thus smoothes the way for the acceptance of individuals by others and simultaneously for the integration or assimilation by these individuals into the larger community. On the other hand, failure to do so contributes to felt insecurities on both sides, with the dividing dominating the common, which enhances mistrust and hostility and creates a rather strong but unnecessary barrier to integration.

4.2 Theory development

The research aim of this dissertation was to relate a concept of personal security to integration. This was done with a focus on the security of personal self-perception. This extended Davies, Spencer, and Steele’s⁶³⁵ concept of creating identity safe environments under laboratory conditions. It further considered some aspects of the contemporary discussion of personal security in political science and transported them to this micro-level perspective. It nevertheless fit in well with previous identity research tying identity security to the overall satisfaction of the identity construction motives, identity balance and identity accumulation.

⁶³⁴ Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001) 2f., 4f., 25.

⁶³⁵ Davies, Spencer, and Steele.

Adopting an attitudinal approach to integration is a response to the need to look at additional features of integration beyond the already very well researched notion of structural integration or the great number of ethnological or anthropological migration related studies. Nevertheless, the proposed definition of integration of this dissertation is still a bit offbeat.

This dissertation aims to contribute to the quantitative empirical research on identity in a real world setting inspired by a merger of the two influential theoretical schools of social identity theory and identity theory in the area of a person's secure perception of self. The empirical analysis was based upon already existing data not originally intended to address the needs of identity research. Thus, the rather "sociological" operationalizations of an originally psychological concept may even help to link social identity theory to political phenomena, which so far has had little impact on political psychology "because of social identity theorists' disinclination to examine the sources of social identity in a real world complicated by history and culture."⁶³⁶

The suggested explanatory model has attempted to connect the concepts of integration and ethnic closure (xenophobia) even though they are mainly treated isolated from each other in the research literature, which is mostly concerned with either one of the concepts but not with both simultaneously. However, the great impact that each has on the other is quite obvious and suggests their simultaneous discussion. As ethnic closure (xenophobia) was covered only one-dimensional focusing on the ingroup-outgroup accentuation, further research should consider the different dimensions of ethnic closure (xenophobia) and how they relate to integration. Surprisingly, integration and ethnic closure (xenophobia) considerably differed in their primary explanatory factors even though both are influenced by both identity threats and identity resources. Thus, education was the weakest resource for integration when related to self-efficacy, multiple strong identities, and social support. In order to reduce ethnic closure (xenophobia), however, education was the best available resource of the ones discussed here. Similarly, unemployment had a very small impact on integration when compared to the perception of low income, the anticipation of difficulties for borrowing money in case of an emergency or concerns of physical safety, but a significant impact on ethnic closure (xenophobia). There was also a profound difference for dealing with threats and threat responses.

There were further limitations to the empirical tests conducted here. Particularly, as integration is merely defined in structural terms by practitioners – which is completely justified for example when facing the challenge of offering the same high quality municipal services to all segments of the population and removing access barriers – concepts of personal security or the security of people's self-perception should also be related to the well established structural aspects of integration.

In terms of elaborating the identity concepts, it would be of value to address the identity principles and construction processes more completely. Thus, it seems recommendable to also cover the distinction and the continuity motive as well as some others that have been

⁶³⁶ Huddy 127.

suggested in the literature and simultaneously concentrate on the processes of assimilation and adjustment when considering identity change. These aspects of identity – so far mainly covered isolated from each other – should find their way into more comprehensive models and empirical tests.

Further research connecting SIT and IT should additionally investigate the relationship between identity hierarchy and identity balance, which would be worthwhile to do as SIT and IT address them differently. Through the operationalization of identity security proposed here, no distinction between identity hierarchy and balance as underlying organizational principles of a structure of multiple identities within the self could be made, as lower scores on identity security can result from either low centrality or from imbalance of the individual identities.

In terms of the suggested concept of narrowed identity, it is necessary to examine the critical range as there is no reason to believe that minor increases should have much of a negative impression on the stability of the self-concept for it is argued that a devaluation of threatened identifications will even be beneficial to the individual. The simple operationalization used here does not hold against serious evaluation for the effects produced in the analysis were rather small.

The model proposed here also holds a supplementary explanation why the mechanisms of cross categorization and common ingroup identity models may work – they deliver additional material for identification and the reconstruction of damaged or devalued identities. In addition, cross categorization and the development of a common ingroup identity are tied to concrete social experiences often providing further means for self-verification.

The empirical tests were based on several statistical methods and found sound support for the proposed model of a relationship between identity security and integration including defense reactions to threatening conditions – ethnic closure (xenophobia), narrowed identity, and making religious identity salient. Additionally, they revealed differences between men and women, members of the majority and migrants in the availability of identity resources and the risk to experience particular threats, the inclination towards certain threat responses, and possibilities to moderate their negative impact on integration. Some of the defined identity resources and threats concerned structural variables such as education, income, and unemployment so that the results of this work can be readily related to other studies and concepts regarding integration research. Thus, the traditional role of relative deprivation (as it may be linked to the perception of an income too low to meet life's ends), class theory (low income, difficulties to borrow, education), and social capital (engagement in voluntary organizations) in the understanding of integration and ethnic closure (xenophobia) could be likewise supported by this identity based work.

5. Summary and conclusions

Research aim and approach

Migration phenomena are not only relevant in today's global economy but also in the political and cultural self-definition of countries. Growing integration problems from the first to the third generation of migrants in many countries question existing beliefs about integration as an automatic adjustment over time. In the context of heated emotional and highly symbolic debates on migration and integration, this work proposes an alternative theoretical approach to the understanding of integration beyond the widespread structural theories, which have been criticized for overemphasizing indicators of social deprivation such as education and income that have so far produced rather unsatisfactory empirical results.

Thus, social psychological and micro sociological approaches to integration developed in recent years that appear to be more promising but are often limited to qualitative and experimental designs. This work sought to combine two very influential schools of thought in the construction of a more comprehensive concept of a person's secure self-perception as both share the focus on the individual in the context of the social world. These two theories were *Social Identity Theory* (from social psychology) and role based *Identity Theory* (from micro sociology).

The security of a person's self-perception (identity security) was understood here as the positive and certain feeling about oneself, which is related to the certainty of one's self-concept in terms of the self-knowledge of what one is and what one does. Security of one's self-perception was then addressed as the satisfaction of identity principles, the general cognitive ability to construct and reconstruct identity, and the opportunity to self-verify. It was conceptualized through the presence of identity resources and the absence of identity threats – both aspects relating to identity principles, cognitive ability, and self-verification.

The proposed explanatory concept stated that secure self-perceptions support people to adjust to the experience of migration. From the perspective of the migrant, this means adjustments to a new social, economic, and cultural environment. From the perspective of the receiving society this means living with larger migrant communities that are often more assertive concerning their own cultures and ways of life than immigrants who came a generation or two ago. Thus, integration is understood as a two-way process demanding adjustments from both migrants and members of the receiving societies. In this paper, integration has been defined in attitudinal terms expressing people's ties to their country of residence through interpersonal and political trust.

Ethnic closure (xenophobia) has been included as one of the basic defense mechanisms to threatened or injured identity for its negative impact on integration. Alternative reactions to threatened identity have also been included – the devaluation or denial of threatened

identity components (narrowed identity), and making unthreatened identity components more salient (religious identity salience).

It was hypothesized that identity security would support a person's ability to get along with others and would increase its ties to the social and political system of one's present country of residence (integration). Ethnic closure (xenophobia), narrowed identity, and the salience of religious identity as non-adaptive responses to threatened identity should relate negatively to integration.

Additionally, the relationship between the integration of the majority population and the immigrant and ethnic minority population was acknowledged as mutual. However, the impact of the larger group on the smaller could be expected to be stronger than the impact of the smaller on the larger. The extension of the model also gave room to capture ethnic closure (xenophobia) in its meaning for intergroup processes.

On the note of identity differences between men and women, the impact of gender on identity security and integration was explored and potential differences between majority and minority populations were assessed including the impact of experiencing group devaluation.

The empirical results

For the empirical test, the European Social Survey round one from 2002/2003 was selected for its variety of items relating to identity and integration including a special module on opinions and attitudes towards immigration and ethnic minorities and the satisfactory representation of people with a personal or family background of migration. Close to 40,000 cases from 21 countries were included in the analysis making it possible to detect small relationships and allowing a generalization of the results on the whole European population.

The ESS variables allowed addressing some aspects of identity relevant to people's security of self-perception. Of the identity motives driving identity construction, self-efficacy could be represented well, but none of the others, which should also be considered important, such as continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem, or belonging. Identity processes of assimilation-adaptation and evaluation can be positively influenced by cognitive abilities, which were related to education. Identity enactment in terms of self-verification strongly depends on social support – a dimension that was also available from the ESS variables. The most interesting expression of identity security in this paper was the availability of many sources of identity to a person. This was linked to the possession of many highly valued areas of life such as work, family, religion, or leisure as well as the person's engagement in diverse voluntary organizations and activities. This latter notion of identity security was reasoned to be strongly linked to the concept of balanced identity, which could not be related to the ESS data satisfactorily. Identity threats could be covered rather well through circumstances discussed at length by the research literature on undesirable life events including unemployment, divorce, or death of a spouse, social isolation, low income

etc. As indirect expression of identity threat, three possible response reaction were discussed: 1) the strengthening of group boundaries resulting in ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation here covered as ethnic closure, 2) identity denial of a threatened component of identity leading to a narrowed identity structure and hence smaller flexibility in identity construction, and 3) making religion as an unthreatened component of a person's identity more salient to counteract the loss or depreciation of other identity components.

The analysis of the ESS data supported the hypothesis that identity security as the possession of identity resources and the absence of identity threats strengthened a person's ability to get along with others and increased its ties to the social and political system of one's present country of residence. Thereby, identity threats proved to be more damaging to integration than the possession of identity resources supported integration. Interestingly, the impact of identity threats on integration was not as severe for migrants as for members of the majority population. For both the majority population and migrants, multiple strong identities were by far the most important of the four presented identity resources in the development of trust and also as a buffer to the negative impact of various threats to identity to integration. Interestingly, education which is treated as the most important factor in integrating migrants from municipal to national authorities in most European countries, only reached the $p < .01$ level of significance for migrants in a multivariate linear regression of all four identity resources. For the majority, no relationship between integration and education was found in the data.

Identity threats affected members of the majority and immigrants or members of ethnic minorities somewhat differently. Whereas low income was the strongest threat to the majority members' integration, migrants were most affected by discrimination. Nevertheless, low income was also of importance there.

Ethnic closure (xenophobia), narrowed identity, and the salience of religious identity as non-adaptive response mechanisms and indirect measures of threatened identity related negatively to integration. However, the salience of religious identity was by far stronger related to identity threat than to a lack of trust, meaning that it in fact did contribute to the stabilization of a personality. This could not be said of ethnic closure. Being a clear expression of threat, it tended to make things for the individual worse by deteriorating intergroup relations – thus making it harder for migrants to develop trust in other people and in the institutions and socio-economic system of the majority group. Similarly, the majority group also showed stronger negative effects on trust than immigrants and ethnic minorities did when the inclination towards ethnic closure increased.

Treating integration as an interaction process between the majority and its immigrants and ethnic minorities, the analysis also showed that high trust in the majority population strongly influenced the level of trust in the migrant population, whereas high degrees of ethnic closure and outright xenophobia of the majority group also contributed to an ingroup orientation of migrants.

Supplementary analysis contained descriptions of the distribution of identity resources and identity threats among majority and migrant populations, the impact of this distribution on integration and thus the definition of potential target groups for integration policy. Additionally, the impact of group identity devaluation on threat response and integration was discussed adopting a gender sensitive approach as men and women generally identify themselves differently even apart from their gender identity.

From the distribution of identity resources and the probability to experience threats to one's identity, members of the third generation migrants fared particularly poor and should therefore be considered as a special target group in integration policy making.

The background of migration by itself posed no threat to a person's integration. Instead, having a dual national or cultural identity – as usually is the case for people who have parents from different countries – all of the four discussed identity resources were higher for the group of bi-nationals than for members of the majority. Potential difficulties in the development of trust should be considered for migrant women who had lower integration scores than men, exhibited greater perceptivity to identity threats, found themselves at a higher risk to experience low income, anticipated difficulties to being able to borrow money in an emergency situation, were more afraid to walk alone in their residential area after dark, and were more prone to lose their spouse. Migrant women also had considerably lower levels of self-efficacy – the identity motive argued to relate to the propensity to overcome such threats successfully.

Multiple strong identities turned out to be the strongest identity resource variable for all three dimensions of integration. Their impact was particularly strong for institutional trust. Considering identity threats, the perception of a low income mostly affected performance trust and to a smaller extent institutional trust, whereas the anticipation of difficulties revealed its relational characteristic by having its strongest impact on interpersonal trust and being much less meaningful in terms of institutional and performance trust. Discrimination affected interpersonal trust more strongly than institutional trust and performance trust. Being afraid of walking alone in one's residential area after dark had a considerable impact on all three dimensions of trust.

Of the discussed threat responses, narrowed identity was the least severe in terms of its impact on integration. However, it also related rather weakly to identity threat. Even though the argument is plausible that narrowed identity as a non-adaptive response makes things worse for the person's integration by increasing the impact of the original threats, the conceptualization of narrowed identity of counting an individual's unimportant areas of life appears rather rudimentary.

Additional gender and migration specific comparisons revealed differences in the identity resources and both the occurrence and the effect of identity threats for men and women as well as persons with and without a background of migration. However, the differences within the defined groups were by far larger than the differences between the groups. Factorial analysis of variance also showed that women reacted to identity threat with a

stronger increase in ethnic closure (xenophobia) and salience of religious identity than men did whereas men choose the devaluation or denial of identity components more often.

Bringing the different aspects of the proposed model together, the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe could be a bit better explained by the proposed theoretical model than the integration of majority members at the individual level, even though migrant populations in Europe are greatly heterogeneous. At the country level, however, the model produced more impressive effect sizes for members of the majority population.

Concerning both subpopulations, integration will be served best when individuals' ethnic group orientations are reduced and when individuals are free to live their multiple identities. Avoiding the experience of discrimination also proved crucial to the integration of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. For the majority populations in Europe, factors of economic deprivation appeared considerable. Interestingly, these two factors – the perception of a low household income and the fear of walking alone in one's residential area after dark – played a smaller (but not negligible) role for migrants. Even though, education related negatively for both population groups with education in the large multivariate regression, it had its merits in the reduction of ethnic closure.

A major drawback of the presented analysis were the difficulties to address aspects of identity strength, individual identity choice, identity balance as well as identity motives and processes more fully. Further research should also pay more respect to the differences in each country's migrant and ethnic minority population. A better model for people's individual perceptions of ethnic closure of one's respective outgroup than the aggregated national "self-assessment" of the majority group should be found. Micro- and macro determinants of integration should be combined in more detail than was attempted here for merely illustrative purposes. Additionally, it might be worth to look at other than attitudinal dimensions of integration with the model at hand.

Conclusions

According to the presented analysis, integration will be served best when reducing ethnic closure (xenophobia) and supporting individuals in their multiple identities. Relating to Social Identity Theory, this enables people to cross-categorize more frequently and makes intergroup contacts and social engagement more likely. Letting people live their many identities also takes away attention from dividing categories such as nationality or ethnicity. Policies that help people to balance identities and live up to the different demands they have from the different social roles they hold, such as work-life-balance models, will also be very useful in strengthening people's multiple identities. Nevertheless, the reduction of identity threats should also be paid proper respect, as trust is easier and faster to destroy than to develop. As such, anti-discrimination policies and the reduction of crime in disadvantaged residential areas are suitable approaches just as the attention to people

suffering from social isolation from the adolescent to the old. As the negative impact of ethnic closure on integration is quite considerable, softening group boundaries by any other means should be welcomed. Even though integration and ethnic closure are interrelated, measures supporting the former and fighting the latter need to look at different sets of conditions and thus be kept differentiated from each other.

Having adopted an identity perspective on integration, the most suitable level of government for efficient integration policy is the one closest to the residents, their life situations and needs – the municipality. Identity based integration policy is thus strongly affiliated with city planning and development seeking to reduce crime, to improve the quality of housing and building a functioning public infrastructure including public spaces, shops, charity institutions, affordable public transportation, as well as supporting solidarity and civic courage among the residents. It must provide institutional support for voluntary organizations and voluntary engagement in social or sport clubs as well as other common good oriented associations. Another target should be the fight of social exclusion and promoting equal status of all population groups within a municipality and nurturing a climate of mutual recognition and interest thus bridging gaps between generations, genders, cultures, ethnicities, religions, between the healthy and the disabled, diverse interest groups etc.

The suggested policy approaches to improving integration will also have their merits for the reduction of ethnic closure (xenophobia), particularly the fight against social exclusion and the avoidance of discrimination and stigmatization of any group by local authorities. Additionally, education – understood as the training of cognitive abilities – can be expected to promote individuals' options to make more adaptive identity adjustments as a reaction to threat experiences aiming at eliminating the threat instead of just not perceiving it anymore and opening the mind toward new ideas and perspectives. Social support has also shown crucial to the reduction of ethnic closure. As such, paying attention to risk groups for social isolation – from poorly adjusted adolescents to elder people, the ill or disabled who live alone – seems to be a promising path.

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(2) Questions from the European Social Survey⁶³⁷

Questionnaire contents

Section A	Media; social trust
Section B	Politics, including: political interest, efficacy, trust, electoral and other forms of participation, party allegiance, socio-political evaluations/orientations, multi-level governance
Section C	Subjective well-being and social exclusion; religion; perceived discrimination; national and ethnic identity
Section D	Immigration and asylum issues, including: attitudes, perceptions, policy preferences and knowledge
Section E	Citizen involvement: including organizational membership, family and friendship bonds, citizenship values, working environment
Section F	Socio-demographic profile, including: household composition, sex, age, type of area, education & occupation details of respondent, partner, parents, union membership, household income, marital status
Section G	Human values scale
Section H	Test questions
Section I	Interviewer questions

⁶³⁷ The questions from ESS utilized in this work were copied from “The European Social Survey: Source Questionnaire, Round one”, online, <<http://www.ess.org>>, retrieved on 7 Jul. 2007.

A8: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful⁶³⁸ in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted.

<i>You can't be too careful</i>		<i>Most people can be trusted</i>	<i>(Don't know)</i>								
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

A9: Do you think that most people would try to take advantage⁶³⁹ of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?

<i>Most people would try to take advantage of me</i>		<i>Most people would try to be fair</i>	<i>(Don't know)</i>								
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

A10: Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful⁶⁴⁰ or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?

<i>People mostly look out for themselves</i>		<i>People mostly try to be helpful</i>	<i>(Don't know)</i>								
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

B2: How often does politics seem so complicated that you can't really understand what is going on?

- Never 1
- Seldom 2
- Occasionally 3
- Regularly 4
- Frequently 5
- (Don't know) 8

⁶³⁸ "Can't be too careful": need to be wary or always somewhat suspicious.

⁶³⁹ "Take advantage": exploit or cheat; "fair": in the sense of treat appropriately and straightforwardly.

⁶⁴⁰ The intended contrast is between self-interest and altruistic helpfulness.

B3: Do you think that you could take an active role⁶⁴¹ in a group involved with political issues?

- Definitely not 1
- Probably not 2
- Not sure either way 3
- Probably 4
- Definitely 5
- (Don't know) 8

B4: How difficult or easy do you find it to make your mind up⁶⁴² about political issues⁶⁴³?

- Very difficult 1
- Difficult 2
- Neither difficult nor easy 3
- Easy 4
- Very easy 5
- (Don't know) 8

B5: Do you think that politicians in general care what people like you think?

- Hardly any politicians care what people like me think 1
- Very few care 2
- Some care 3
- Many care 4
- Most politicians care what people like me think 5
- (Don't know) 8

B6: Would you say that politicians are just interested in getting people's votes rather than in people's opinions?

- Nearly all politicians are just interested in votes 1
- Most politicians are just interested in votes 2
- Some politicians are just interested in votes, others aren't 3
- Most politicians are interested in people's opinions 4
- Nearly all politicians are interested in people's opinions 5
- (Don't know) 8

⁶⁴¹ "Take an active role": in the sense of participate in discussion/debates and decisions.

⁶⁴² Forming an opinion.

⁶⁴³ "Political issues" in this context refer to political debates, policies, controversies etc.

B32: And on the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy⁶⁴⁵ works in [country]?

Extremely Dissatisfied												Extremely satisfied	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10			88

B33: Now, using this card, please say what you think overall about the state of education⁶⁴⁶ in [country] nowadays?

Extremely Dissatisfied												Extremely satisfied	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10			88

B34: Please say what you think overall about the state of health services in [country] nowadays?

Extremely dissatisfied												Extremely satisfied	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10			88

C1: Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?

Extremely unhappy												Extremely happy	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10			88

C2: How often do you meet **socially**⁶⁴⁷ with friends, relatives or work colleagues?

- Never 01
- Less than once a month 02
- Once a month 03
- Several times a month 04
- Once a week 05
- Several times a week 06
- Every day 07
- (Don't know) 88

⁶⁴⁵ The democratic system 'in practice' is meant, as opposed to how democracy 'ought' to work.

⁶⁴⁶ The "state of education" (see too, "state of health" in B35) covers issues of quality, access and effectiveness/efficiency.

⁶⁴⁷ "Meet socially" implies meet by choice rather than for reasons or either work or pure duty.

C3: Do you have anyone with whom you can discuss intimate and personal⁶⁴⁸ matters?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- (Don't know) 8

C4: Compared to other people of your age, how often would you say you take part in social activities⁶⁴⁹?

- Much less than most 1
- Less than most 2
- About the same 3
- More than most 4
- Much more than most 5
- (Don't know) 8

C5 Have you or a member of your household been the victim of a burglary or assault⁶⁵⁰ in the last 5 years?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- (Don't know) 8

C6 How safe do you – or would you – feel walking alone in this area⁶⁵¹ after dark? Do – or would – you feel...

- Very safe, 1
- Safe, 2
- Unsafe, 3
- Or, very unsafe? 4
- (Don't know) 8

⁶⁴⁸ "Intimate" implies things like sex or family matters, "personal" could include work or occupational issues as well.

⁶⁴⁹ Events/encounters with other people, by choice and for enjoyment rather than for reasons of work or duty.

⁶⁵⁰ Physical assault.

⁶⁵¹ Respondent's local area or neighborhood.

C7 How is your health⁶⁵² in general? Would you say it is ...

- Very good, 1
- Good, 2
- Fair, 3
- Bad, 4
- Or, very bad? 5
- (Don't know) 8

C8 Are you hampered⁶⁵³ in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

- Yes a lot 1
- Yes to some extent 2
- No 3
- (Don't know) 8

C16: Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in this country?

- Yes 1 (ask C17)
- No 2 (go to C18)
- (Don't know) 8

C17: On what grounds is your group discriminated against?

- Color or race 01
- Nationality 02
- Religion 03
- Language 04
- Ethnic group 05
- Age 06
- Gender 07
- Sexuality 08
- Disability 09
- Other (write in)_____ 10
- (Don't know) 88

⁶⁵² Physical and mental health.

⁶⁵³ "Hampered" = limited, restricted in your daily activities.

C18: Are you a citizen of [country]?

- Yes 1 (go to C20)
- No 2 (ask C19)
- (Don't know) 8

C19: What citizenship do you hold?

- Write in _____
- (Don't know) 88

C20: Were you born in [country]?

- Yes 1 (go to C23)
- No 2 (ask C21)
- (Don't know) 8 (go to C23)

C21: In which country were you born?

- Write in _____
- (Don't know) 888

C22: How long ago did you first come to live in [country]?

- Within the last year 1
- 1-5 years ago 2
- 6-10 years ago 3
- 11-20 years ago 4
- More than 20 years ago 5
- (Don't know) 8

C23: What language or languages do you speak most often at home?

- Write in up to 2 languages

- (Don't know) 888

C24: Do you belong⁶⁵⁴ to a minority ethnic group in [country]?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- (Don't know) 8

C25: Was your father born in [country]?

- Yes 1 (go to C27)
- No 2 (ask C26)
- (Don't know) 8 (go to C27)

C26: From which of these continents does your father originally come⁶⁵⁵?

- Europe 01
- Africa 02
- Asia 03
- North America 04
- South America and the Caribbean 05
- Australasia 06
- (Don't know) 88

C27: Was your mother born in [country]?

- Yes 1 (go to D1)
- No 2 (ask C28)
- (Don't know) 8 (go to D1)

C28: From which of these continents does your mother originally come?

- Europe 01
- Africa 02
- Asia 03
- North America 04
- South America and the Caribbean 05
- Australasia 06
- (Don't know) 88

⁶⁵⁴ "Belong" refers to attachment or identification.

⁶⁵⁵ Father's country of birth is intended. Same applies for mother in C28.

People come to live in [country] from other countries for different reasons. Some have ancestral ties. Others come to work here, or to join their families. Others come because they're under threat. Here are some questions about this issue.

D1: Thinking of people coming to live in [country] nowadays from other countries, would you say that...

- Most are of the same race or ethnic group as the majority of [country]⁶⁵⁶ people, 1
- Most are of a different race or ethnic group, 2
- Or, is it about half and half? 3
- (Don't know) 8

D2: Now thinking about people coming to live in [country] nowadays from other countries within Europe, would you say that...

- Most come from the richer countries of Europe, 1
- Most come from the poorer countries of Europe, 2
- Or, is it about half and half? 3
- (Don't know) 8

D3: And what about people who come to live in [country] nowadays from countries outside Europe, would you say that...

- Most come from the richer countries outside Europe, 1
- Most come from the poorer countries outside Europe, 2
- Or, is it about half and half? 3
- (Don't know) 8

D4: Now, to what extent do you think [country] should⁶⁵⁷ allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people to come and live here⁶⁵⁸?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4
- (Don't know) 8

⁶⁵⁶ “[country]” here requires the adjectival form, e.g. “British people.”

⁶⁵⁷ “Should” in the sense of ‘ought to’; not in the sense of ‘must’.

⁶⁵⁸ “Here” = country throughout these questions.

D5: How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4
- (Don't know) 8

D6: Now, to what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the richer countries in Europe to come and live here?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4
- (Don't know) 8

D7: And how about people from the poorer countries in Europe?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4
- (Don't know) 8

D8: To what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the richer countries outside Europe to come and live here?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4
- (Don't know) 8

D9: How about people from the poorer countries outside Europe?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4
- (Don't know) 8

Please tell me how important you think each of these things should be in deciding whether someone born, brought up and living outside [country] should be able to come and live here. How important should it be for them to ...

Extremely unimportant		Extremely important	(Don't know)								
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

- D10:** Have good educational qualifications?
- D11:** Have close family⁶⁵⁹ living here?
- D12:** Be able to speak [country's official language(s)]?⁶⁶⁰
- D13:** Come from a Christian background?
- D14:** Be white?
- D15:** Be wealthy?
- D16:** Have work skills that [country] needs?
- D17:** Be committed⁶⁶¹ to the way of life in [country]?

Please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Agree strongly		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree strongly	(Don't know)			
1		2		3	4	5		8

- D18:** Average wages and salaries are generally brought down⁶⁶² by people coming to live and work here.
- D19:** People who come to live and work here generally harm⁶⁶³ the economic prospects of the poor⁶⁶⁴ more than the rich.
- D20:** People who come to live and work here help to fill jobs where⁶⁶⁵ there are shortages of workers.
- D21:** If people who have come to live and work here are unemployed for a long period, they should be made to leave.
- D22:** People who have come to live here should be given the same rights as everyone else.
- D23:** If people who have come to live here commit a serious crime, they should⁶⁶⁶ be made to leave.
- D24:** If people who have come to live here commit any crime, they should be made to leave.

⁶⁵⁹ Close relatives: such as siblings, parents, spouses.

⁶⁶⁰ Where countries have more than one official language, the question should ask whether someone should "be able" to speak at least one of them (e.g. Switzerland 'be able to speak German, French or Italian).

⁶⁶¹ "Committed" in the sense of embracing, fully accepting the way of life.

⁶⁶² Become lower.

⁶⁶³ Affect negatively.

⁶⁶⁴ The poor in [country] are intended.

⁶⁶⁵ That is, in job sectors where...

⁶⁶⁶ "Should" in D23 and D24 have the sense of 'must'.

D25: Would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away from workers in [country], or generally help to create new jobs?

Take jobs away	Create new jobs	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D26: Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out?

Generally take out more	Generally put in more	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D27: Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?

Bad for the economy	Good for the economy	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D28: And would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?

Cultural life undermined	Cultural life enriched	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D29: Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?

Worse place to live	Better place to live	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D30: Are [country]'s crime problems made worse or better by people coming to live here from other countries?

Crime problems made worse	Crime problems made better	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D31: When people leave their countries to come to live in [country], do you think it has a bad or good effect on those countries in the long run?

Bad for those countries in the long run	Good for those countries in the long run	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Agree strongly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree strongly	(Don't know)		
1	2	3	4	5	8

D32: All countries benefit if people can move to countries where their skills are most needed.

D33: Richer countries have a responsibility to accept⁶⁶⁷ people from poorer countries.

Now thinking again of people who have come to live in [country] from another country who are of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people, how much would you mind or not mind if someone like this...

Not mind at all	Mind a lot	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D34: Was appointed as your boss?

D35: Married a close relative of yours?

⁶⁶⁷ "Accept" in the sense of admit them to the country.

And now thinking of people who have come to live in [country] from another country who are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people. How much would you mind or not mind if someone like this...

Not mind at all	Mind a lot	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

D36: Was appointed as your boss?

D37: Married a close relative of yours?

D38: Suppose you were choosing where to live. Which of the three types of area would you ideally wish to live in?

- An area where almost nobody was of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people 1
- Some people were of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people 2
- Many people were of a different race or ethnic group 3
- It would make no difference 4
- (Don't know) 8

D39: And how would you describe the area where you currently live?

- An area where almost nobody is of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people 1
- Some people are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people 2
- Many people are of a different race or ethnic group 3
- (Don't know) 8

Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

Agree strongly		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree strongly	(Don't know)
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1	2	3	4	5	8
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D40: It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions.

D41: It is better for a country if there are a variety of different religions.⁶⁶⁸

D42: It is better for a country if almost everyone is able to speak at least one common language.

D43: Communities of people who have come to live here should⁶⁶⁹ be allowed to educate their children in their own separate schools if they wish.

D44: If a country wants to reduce tensions it should⁶⁷⁰ stop immigration.

How good or bad are each of these things for a country?

Extremely bad		Extremely good	(Don't know)
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00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

D45: A law against racial or ethnic discrimination in the workplace.

D46: A law against promoting racial or ethnic hatred.

D47: Do you have any friends who have come to live in [country] from another country?

- Yes, several 1
- Yes, a few 2
- No, none at all 3
- (Don't know) 8

D48: Do you have any colleagues at work who have come to live in [country] from another country?

- Yes, several 1
- Yes, a few 2
- No, none at all 3
- (Not currently working) 4
- (Don't know) 8

⁶⁶⁸ This is meant narrowly: if there are a variety in the country.

⁶⁶⁹ "Should" in the sense of 'ought to be.'

⁶⁷⁰ "Should" in the sense of 'must.'

Some people come to this country and apply for refugee status on the grounds⁶⁷¹ that they fear persecution in their own country. Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Agree strongly		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree strongly	(Don't know)
1	2	3	4	5	8

D49: [Country] has more than its fair share⁶⁷² of people applying for refugee status.

D50: While their applications for refugee status are being considered, people should be allowed to work⁶⁷³ in [country].

D51: The government should be generous⁶⁷⁴ in judging people's applications for refugee status.

D52: Most applicants for refugee status aren't in real fear of persecution⁶⁷⁵ in their own countries.

D53: While their cases are being considered, applicants should⁶⁷⁶ be kept in detention centers.⁶⁷⁷

D54: While their cases are being considered, the [country] government should give financial support to applicants.

D55: Refugees whose applications are granted should be entitled to bring in their close family members.

D57: Compared to other European countries of about the same size as [country], do you think that more or fewer people to come and live here from other countries?

- Far more people come to live in [country] 1
- More people come to live in [country] 2
- About the same number of people come to live in [country] 3
- Fewer people come to live in [country] 4
- Far fewer people come to live in [country] 5
- (Don't know) 8

⁶⁷¹ "On the grounds": in the sense of both 'because' and 'stating that.'

⁶⁷² "Fair share" in the sense of 'the appropriate proportion', as opposed to 'more than their fair share.'

⁶⁷³ "Allowed to" in the sense of 'be given permission to' work.

⁶⁷⁴ "Generous": 'liberal'.

⁶⁷⁵ In the sense of people making bogus or exaggerated claims.

⁶⁷⁶ "Should" in the sense of 'must.'

⁶⁷⁷ "Detention centers": in the sense of secure accommodation.

D58: How do you think the number of people *leaving* [country] nowadays compares to the number *coming to live* in [country]?

- Many more people leaving 1
- More people leaving 2
- About the same arriving and leaving 3
- More people arriving 4
- Many more people arriving 5
- (Don't know) 8

The next few questions are about the organizations some people take part in.

E1-12 a) For each of the voluntary organizations I will now mention, please use this card to tell me whether any of these things apply to you now or in the last 12 months, and, if so, which.

E1-12 b) Do you have personal friends within this organization? (for each organization⁶⁷⁸ coded 1-4 at a))

a)					b)		
None	Member	Participated	Donated money	Voluntary work	Personal friends?		
0	1	2	3	4	Yes	No	(Don't know)
					1	2	8

- E1:** A sports club or club for outdoor activities?
- E2:** An organization for cultural or hobby activities?
- E3:** A trade union?
- E4:** A business, professional, or farmers' organization?
- E5:** A consumer or automobile organization?
- E6:** An organization for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities, or immigrants?
- E7:** An organization for environmental protection, peace or animal rights?
- E8:** A religious or church organization?
- E9:** A political party?
- E10:** An organization for science, education, or teachers and parents?
- E11:** A social club, club for the young, the retired/elderly, women, or friendly societies?
- E12:** Any other voluntary organization such as⁶⁷⁹ the ones I've just mentioned? (Which others?)

⁶⁷⁸ Most of the categories of organizations have not been annotated. Giving examples may be misleading since the kind of organization which falls under a given category may differ from country to country. If translators are in doubt, contact translate@zuma-mannheim.de.

⁶⁷⁹ "Such as" in the sense of 'similar to.'

How important is each of these things in your life.

Extremely unimportant	Extremely important	(Don't know)
00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10		88

E13: Family?

E14: Friends?

E15: Leisure time?

E16: Politics?

E17: Work?

E18: Religion?

E19: Voluntary organizations?

E20: Not counting anything you do for your family, in your work, or within voluntary organizations, how often, if at all, do you actively provide help for other people?

- Every day 01
- Several times a week 02
- Once a week 03
- Several times a month 04
- Once a month 05
- Less often 06
- Never 07
- (Don't know) 88

E21: How often would you say you discuss⁶⁸⁰ politics and current affairs?

- Every day 01
- Several times a week 02
- Once a week 03
- Several times a month 04
- Once a month 05
- Less often 06
- Never 07
- (Don't know) 88

⁶⁸⁰ "Discuss" in the sense of discussing with friends or chatting about politics or policies at for example one's workplace or in bus queues to relative strangers.

E29: Can I just check, are you currently ...

- Employed 1 (ask E30)
- Self-employed 2
- Or, not in paid work? 3 (go to F1)
- (Don't know) 8

I am going to read out a list of things about your working life. Please say how much the management at your work allows you...

I have no influence	00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10	I have complete control	(Don't know)
			88

E30: To be flexible in your working hours?⁶⁸¹

E31: To decide how your own daily work is organized?

E32: To influence⁶⁸² your environment?

E33: To influence decisions about the general direction of your work?

E34: To change your work tasks⁶⁸³ if you wish to?

How difficult or easy would it be for you...

Extremely difficult	00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10	Extremely easy	(Don't know)
			88

E35: To get a similar⁶⁸⁴ or better job with another employer if you wanted to?

E36: To start your own business if you wanted to?

And finally, I would like to ask you a few details about yourself and others in your household.

F2: Code sex

F3: And in what year were you born? (Don't know = 8888)

⁶⁸¹ In the sense of working times and how they are distributed.

⁶⁸² "To influence": here to have some say or effect.

⁶⁸³ "Tasks": both concrete tasks and responsibilities.

⁶⁸⁴ "Similar" in the sense of 'as good as.'

F6: What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

- No qualifications 01
- CSE grade 2-5/GCSE grades D-G or equivalent 02
- CSE grade 1/O-level/GCSE grades A-C or equivalent 03
- A-level, AS-level or equivalent 04
- Degree/postgraduate qualification or equivalent 05
- Other (write in)_____ 06
- (Don't know) 88

F7: How many years of full-time education have you completed? (To be reported in full-time equivalents, including compulsory/mandatory years of schooling)

- Write in: _____
- (Don't know) 88

F30: If you add up the income from **all** sources, which letter describes your household's total **net** income? If you don't know the exact figure, please give an estimate. Use the part of the card that you know best: weekly, **monthly** or annual income.

- J 01 (<150 €)
- R 02 (<300 €)
- C 03 (<500 €)
- M 04 (<1,000 €)
- F 05 (<1,500 €)
- S 06 (<2,000 €)
- K 07 (<2,500 €)
- P 08 (<3,000 €)
- D 09 (<5,000 €)
- H 10 (<7,500 €)
- U 11 (<10,000 €)
- N 12 (>10,000 €)
- (Refused) 77
- (Don't know) 88

F31: Which of the descriptions on this card comes closest to how you feel⁶⁸⁵ about your household's income nowadays?

- Living comfortably on present income 1
- Coping on present income 2
- Finding it difficult on present income 3
- Finding it very difficult on present income 4
- (Don't know) 8

F32: If for some reason you were in serious financial difficulties and had to borrow money to make ends meet⁶⁵, how difficult⁶⁶ or easy would that be?

- Very difficult 1
- Quite difficult 2
- Neither easy nor difficult 3
- Quite easy 4
- Very easy 5
- (Don't know) 8

F58: Could I ask about your current legal marital status? Which of the descriptions applies to you?

- Married 01
- Separated (still legally married) 02
- Divorced 03
- Widowed 04
- Never married 05
- (Refused) 77
- (Don't know) 88

⁶⁸⁵ "Feel": 'describe', 'view', or 'see'.

Erklärung

Ich erkläre, dass ich die Arbeit abgesehen von den ausdrücklich bezeichneten Hilfsmitteln selbständig verfasst und dass alle Stellen, die dem Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach anderen Werken entnommen sind, durch Angaben der Quellen kenntlich gemacht wurden.

Stuttgart, 2009

Yvonne Hapke