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Social Identity in Contexts of Migration.
The Interplay of National, Ethnic, and Religious Group Identities with
Contact Experiences and Acculturation Attitudes

Dissertation

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Abstract

The number of international migrants has been increasing for years. As a result, many modern societies are becoming more diverse, making the question of how new and old residents can live together successfully – the process of integration – ever more important. When integration succeeds, both the individuals who find their place in society and the societies as a whole benefit. This dissertation aims to help understand when persons with a migration background feel they belong to the society in which they live and when they decide to actively participate in societal life as a whole without giving up their personal history.

Coexistence of different social groups, social belonging and identification with different social groups are all major topics in social psychology. Theories such as contact theory, social identity theory, and acculturation theory view the phenomenon of integration from different angles. The research often examines ‘small’ psychological processes. By elaborating a more comprehensive understanding of processes such as integration and acculturation – understood here as the orientation towards the culture of the national and the respective ethnic group –, social psychology can attract greater attention in politics and the public sphere. Ideally, it can thereby guide politics and civil society in developing and improving measures in the field of integration.

This dissertation aims to contribute to a better understanding of the integration process by bringing together different strands of social psychological theory into an integrative framework. The framework takes into account that people interact with others in everyday life (contact theory), that these experiences are related to how they perceive different social groups and how strongly they identify with these groups (social identity theory), and that this, in turn, is related to how much they orient to group-specific behaviors and beliefs (acculturation theory).

In three articles, the dissertation analyses the connections between contact experiences, social identity, and acculturation in the integration process. Special attention is given to the interplay of different social identities. In the first article, I develop a theoretical framework based on existing research to examine the role of social identification with respect to contact experiences and acculturation attitudes. The focus is on how different types of contact experiences are related to orientation toward the culture of the national or ethnic group, and what roles national, ethnic, and religious group identifications play in this context. In the second article, I test this framework in two studies with samples of persons with Greek and Turkish migration backgrounds in Germany. In the third article, I further modify the original model and examine the role of identity-related cognitions, rather than identification with individual groups. These constructs describe the perceived relationship between social groups. I test the modified model in two further studies with samples of persons with Hungarian and Palestinian migration backgrounds.

The dissertation adds to the existing literature on social identity, contact, and acculturation in several ways. It brings together different theories that have for the most part been otherwise studied separately. The dissertation also underscores the diversity of contact experiences and shows how these may be related to social identification and acculturation attitudes. Furthermore, it highlights the importance and complexity of the interplay of different social identities in the process of acculturation and integration. Finally, by using four different samples, the dissertation demonstrates the importance of considering the context in which integration takes place in each individual case. The results of the dissertation thus contribute to a better understanding of the overall process of integration and indicate important issues that future research should investigate in more depth.

Keywords: intergroup contact, positive contact, negative contact, social identity, national and ethnic identity, religious identity, identity-related cognitions, acculturation.

Zusammenfassung

Die Zahl der Menschen, die international migrieren, die also ihren Lebensmittelpunkt in ein Land verlegen, in dem sie nicht geboren wurden, steigt seit Jahren an. In der Folge gewinnen viele moderne Gesellschaften an Diversität. Und so stellt sich immer dringlicher die Frage, wie das Zusammenleben neuer und alter Bewohner:innen – also Integration – erfolgreich gestaltet werden kann. Wenn die Integration gelingt, profitieren davon sowohl die Menschen, die ihren Platz in der Gesellschaft finden, als auch die Gesellschaften als Ganze. Die vorliegende Dissertation soll zum Verständnis beitragen, wann sich Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund der Gesellschaft, in der sie leben, zugehörig fühlen und wann sie sich dazu entscheiden, aktiv am gesamtgesellschaftlichen Leben teilzuhaben, ohne dabei ihre persönliche Geschichte aufzugeben.

Die Koexistenz verschiedener sozialer Gruppen, soziale Zugehörigkeit und die Identifikation mit verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen sind Kernthemen der Sozialpsychologie. Theorien wie die Kontakttheorie, die Theorie der sozialen Identität und die Akkulturationstheorie blicken aus verschiedenen Perspektiven auf das Phänomen Integration. Dabei untersucht die Forschung häufig kleinteilige Zusammenhänge. Wenn es gelingt, stärker als bisher ein umfassendes Verständnis von Prozessen wie der Integration und Akkulturation – hier verstanden als die Orientierung an der Kultur der nationalen und der jeweiligen ethnischen Gruppe – herauszuarbeiten, kann die Sozialpsychologie mehr Aufmerksamkeit in Politik und Öffentlichkeit erhalten und im besten Fall auch mehr noch als bisher wichtige Impulse dabei geben, etwa politische und zivilgesellschaftliche Maßnahmen im Bereich der Integration zu entwickeln und zu verbessern.

Die vorliegende Dissertation soll zu einem besseren Verständnis des Integrationsprozesses beitragen, indem sie verschiedene sozialpsychologische Theoriestränge in einem integrativen Rahmenkonzept zusammenbringt. Das Rahmenkonzept berücksichtigt dabei, dass Menschen im Alltag mit anderen Menschen interagieren (Kontakttheorie), dass

diese Erfahrungen damit zusammenhängen, wie sie verschiedene soziale Gruppen wahrnehmen und wie sehr sie sich mit diesen Gruppen identifizieren (Theorie der sozialen Identität) und dass dies wiederum damit in Zusammenhang steht, wie sehr sie sich an gruppenspezifischen Verhaltensweisen und Überzeugungen orientieren (Akkulturationstheorie).

Die Dissertation nähert sich in drei Artikeln dem Ziel, die Zusammenhänge zwischen Kontakterfahrungen, sozialer Identität und Akkulturation im Integrationsprozess besser zu verstehen. Besonderes Augenmerk liegt dabei auf dem Zusammenspiel verschiedener sozialer Identitäten. Im ersten Artikel entwickle ich basierend auf existierender Forschung ein theoretisches Rahmenkonzept, um die Rolle sozialer Identifikation im Zusammenhang von Kontakterfahrungen und Akkulturationseinstellungen zu untersuchen. Dabei steht die Frage im Mittelpunkt, wie verschiedenartige Kontakterfahrungen mit der Orientierung gegenüber der Kultur der nationalen beziehungsweise der ethnischen Gruppe zusammenhängen und welche Rollen die Identifikationen mit nationaler, ethnischer sowie religiöser Gruppe in diesem Zusammenhang spielen. Im zweiten Artikel teste ich dieses Rahmenkonzept in zwei Studien mit Stichproben von Menschen mit griechischem und türkischem Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland. Im dritten Artikel entwickle ich das ursprüngliche Modell weiter und untersuche statt der Identifikation mit einzelnen Gruppen die Rolle identitätsbezogener Kognitionen. Diese Konstrukte beschreiben das wahrgenommene Verhältnis zwischen sozialen Gruppen. Das weiterentwickelte Modell teste ich in zwei weiteren Studien mit Stichproben von Menschen mit ungarischem und palästinensischem Migrationshintergrund.

Die Dissertation ergänzt die existierende Literatur zu sozialer Identität, Kontakt und Akkulturation damit in mehrfacher Weise. Zunächst bringt sie verschiedene Theorien zusammen, die zuvor in der Regel getrennt voneinander untersucht wurden. Sie verdeutlicht außerdem die Vielfältigkeit von Kontakterfahrungen und zeigt auf, inwiefern diese auch mit

sozialer Identifikation und den Einstellungen gegenüber Akkulturation zusammenhängen können. Darüber hinaus unterstreicht sie die Bedeutung ebenso wie die Komplexität des Zusammenspiels verschiedener sozialer Identitäten im Prozess der Akkulturation und der Integration. Und nicht zuletzt zeigt die Dissertation durch die Verwendung vier unterschiedlicher Stichproben auf, wie wichtig es ist, den Kontext, in dem Integration jeweils stattfindet, zu berücksichtigen. Die Ergebnisse der Dissertation tragen damit dazu bei, den Gesamtprozess der Integration besser zu verstehen und geben wichtige Hinweise darauf, welche Fragestellungen zukünftige Forschung vertieft untersuchen sollte.

Schlagwörter: Intergruppenkontakt, Positiver Kontakt, Negativer Kontakt, Soziale Identität, Nationale und ethnische Identität, Religiöse Identität, Identitätsbezogene Kognitionen, Akkulturation

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

“It is not always possible to answer the question whether one belongs to those or to these – perhaps one belongs to both. I would not get into an inner conflict if I moved between two identities (as if they were chairs to sit on), but if I had to commit myself to one identity.”¹ This is how Navid Kermani, a writer born in the German city of Siegen as the child of Iranian immigrants and winner of the most important German literary prizes in recent years, sums up the attitude of many people with a migration history. Astonished, he notes that in Germany it still “rouses amazement” that “people can live simultaneously with and in different cultures, loyalties, identities, and languages” (Kermani, 2017).² To understand social coexistence in modern, increasingly plural societies and the integration of new (or not so new) members into this society, it is important to accept that people can reconcile different cultures and identities. However, to further improve the social coexistence of people who have always lived in a country and people who have immigrated from a wide variety of other countries, it is essential to understand which group affiliations and identities matter when groups of individuals having different cultures meet, how these identities interact, and what these interactions are related to. Kermani’s observations thus touch on the central questions of this dissertation: How do different group affiliations and social identities of people with a migration background interact? How does this interplay relate to how much people want to participate in the respective groups and cultures? And what role do contact experiences with the national majority or with the own ethnic group have in this? In times of increasing worldwide migration, making many societies more multicultural, these questions gain in importance.

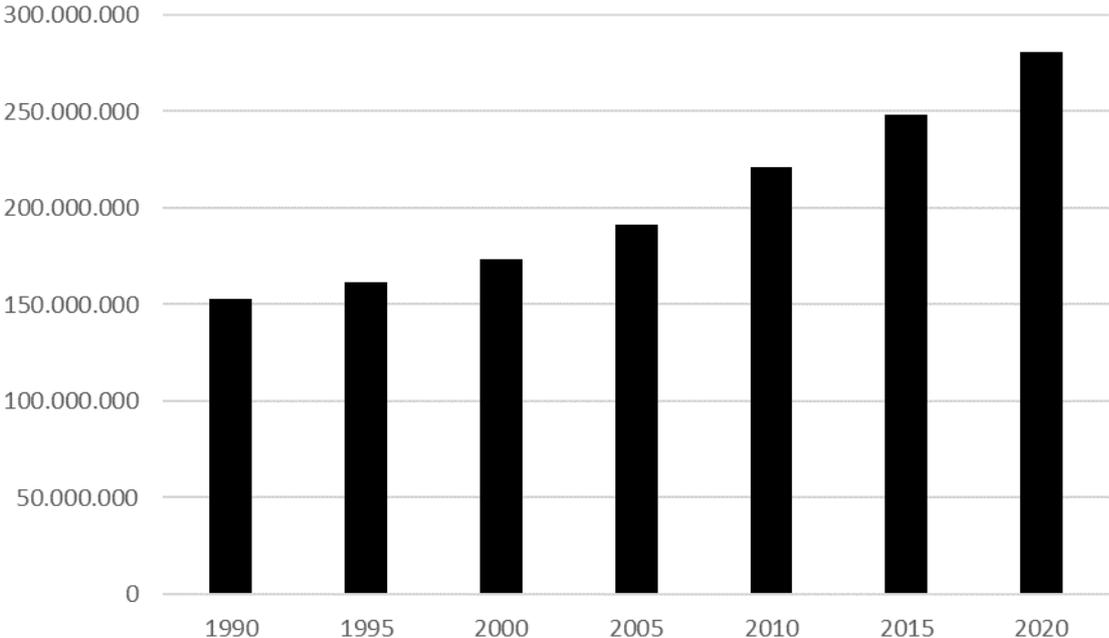
¹ „Nicht immer lässt sich die Frage beantworten, ob man zu jenen oder zu diesen gehört – vielleicht gehört man zu beiden. In einen inneren Konflikt geriete ich nicht, wenn ich mich zwischen zwei Identitäten bewegte (als ob es sich dabei um Stühle handelte, auf die man sich zu setzen hat), sondern wenn ich mich auf eine Identität festzulegen hätte.“ (p. 134f.; translation by Frederick Sixtus)

² „Dass Menschen gleichzeitig mit und in verschiedenen Kulturen, Loyalitäten, Identitäten und Sprachen leben können, scheint in Deutschland immer noch Staunen hervorzurufen – dabei ist es kulturgeschichtlich eher die Regel als die Ausnahme.“ (p. 12; translation by Frederick Sixtus)

Globally, around 281 million people lived outside their country of birth in 2020. Over the past three decades, the number of international migrants has almost doubled (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs - Population Division, 2021; see Figure 1). For good reason, officials from major international organizations call migration a megatrend of our time (e.g., Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2021; Swing, 2015). And it is likely that migration will remain an important subject in the decades to come (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019).

Figure 1

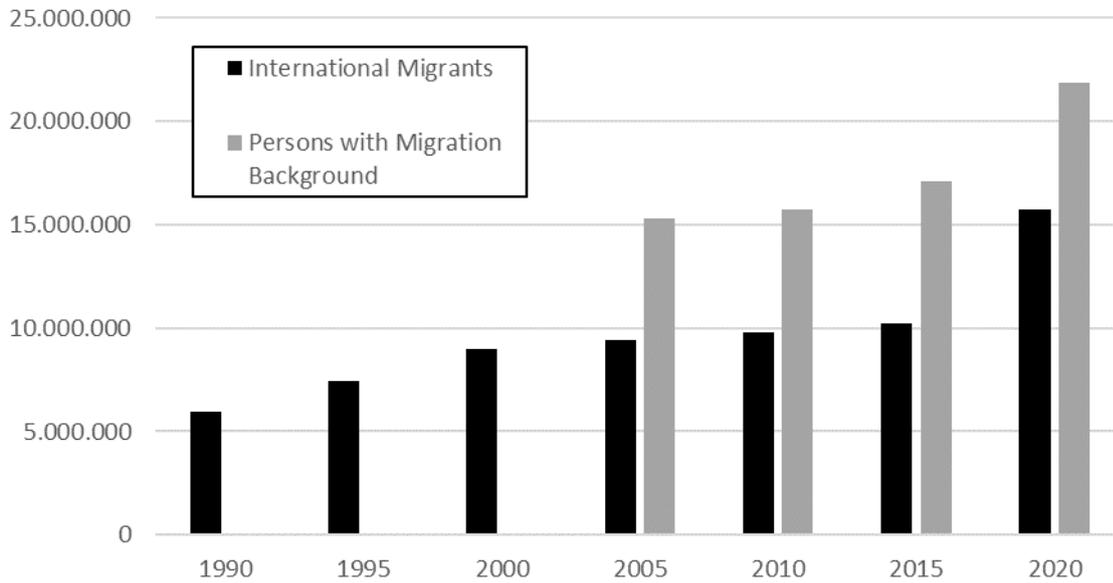
Number of International Migrants, Worldwide



Note. Number of persons living outside their country of birth, worldwide, 1990-2020 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs - Population Division, 2021).

Figure 2

Number of International Migrants and of Persons with Migration Background in Germany



Note. Number of international migrants in Germany, 1990-2020 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs - Population Division, 2021), and number of persons with migration background in Germany, 2005-2020 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022).

People migrate for many reasons. Some do it in search of work and a happy life. Others follow a loved one. And some flee war and persecution (Oltmer, 2017). Depending on their country of origin, the nature of their migration and therefore their legal status, they have very different entitlements and rights (Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2019; Sixtus, Kiziak, et al., 2019). What they all have in common is that their lives are fundamentally changing. They must find their way in a new environment and come to terms with the society of which they are now a part. Many have to learn a new language, adopt new behavior and manners, and recognize specific values and norms (Hoesch, 2018). Possibly, they eventually become full members of society in their new home countries.

Migration not only demands a lot from the migrating individuals, but it also changes the receiving societies. People bring their traditions and habits; they influence culture and language, and some look different. Long-time residents and newcomers must approach each other, overcome their mutual reservations, and shape their coexistence. This process is commonly referred to as integration³ (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; El-Mafaalani, 2018; Foroutan, 2019).

Managing integration successfully is one of the greatest challenges of modern, increasingly plural societies. Whether it succeeds, in the individual case as well as on a societal level, depends on many factors – for example, the education and legal status of migrants as well as the prevailing attitudes towards immigration and the law on foreigners in the receiving country. Integration can take a long time and span several generations (Hoesch, 2018; Sachverständigenrat für Integration und Migration, 2021).

Many countries refer to the descendants of immigrants without own migration experience as second- or higher-generation immigrants. In Germany, where the studies presented here were conducted, the term *persons with a migration background* is commonly used. According to the definition used by the German Federal Bureau of Statistics, individuals have a migration background when they were or at least one parent was born without German citizenship (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). Therefore, the term *persons with a migration background* (PMB) includes individuals with own migration experiences as well as descendants of individuals with own migration experiences. In the following, I will use this inclusive term to appropriately describe the group of people studied in this and other research.

Global migration will most likely remain a crucial issue in the future. Old and new industrialized countries, with their mostly aging societies, will continue to need immigration,

³ Integration refers to the process of immigrants and their descendants becoming members of the society of their country of residence. However, the term also refers to one of the four acculturation strategies (see below). Of course, both uses of the term are interrelated. However, to avoid confusion, I will explicitly indicate in the following when the acculturation strategy is meant.

especially to meet the growing demand for skilled workers in many sectors of the economy (Tuccio, 2019). And reasons for forced displacement such as war and persecution are also unlikely to disappear. To ensure social cohesion and to prevent discrimination, it is – and will continue to be – necessary to understand how the integration of immigrants and their descendants into a society can succeed and which factors influence successful integration (Benton et al., 2018).

Social psychology contributes crucially to this understanding. Numerous social psychological studies investigate what happens when people from different social groups meet. How does self-perception and the perception of others change and how do individuals deal with each other afterward? Topics such as intergroup contact, discrimination, ethnic and national identity, cultural diversity, attitudes towards immigrants, and outgroup threat are important subjects in this research discipline (Cabaniss & Cameron, 2018; Verkuyten, 2018).

The studies in this dissertation contribute to the understanding of PMB integration. The focus is on understanding the role of PMB's social identity in their process of integration and acculturation, or more precisely: how the interplay of different social identities relates to their attitudes towards acculturation. To this end, I have designed a framework that brings together different strands of social psychological theory that are usually treated in isolation. The framework is based on the assumption that social contact with members of the national group and with members of the ethnic group influence the acculturation attitudes of PMB, and that social identity mediates this association. My research thus combines contact theory, acculturation research, and social identity theory.

Contact, Acculturation, and Identity

Contact with fellow human beings is a fundamental way in which the social environment affects an individual's self-image and attitudes. The research on contact goes back to Allport (1954), whose contact hypothesis states that contact with members of certain

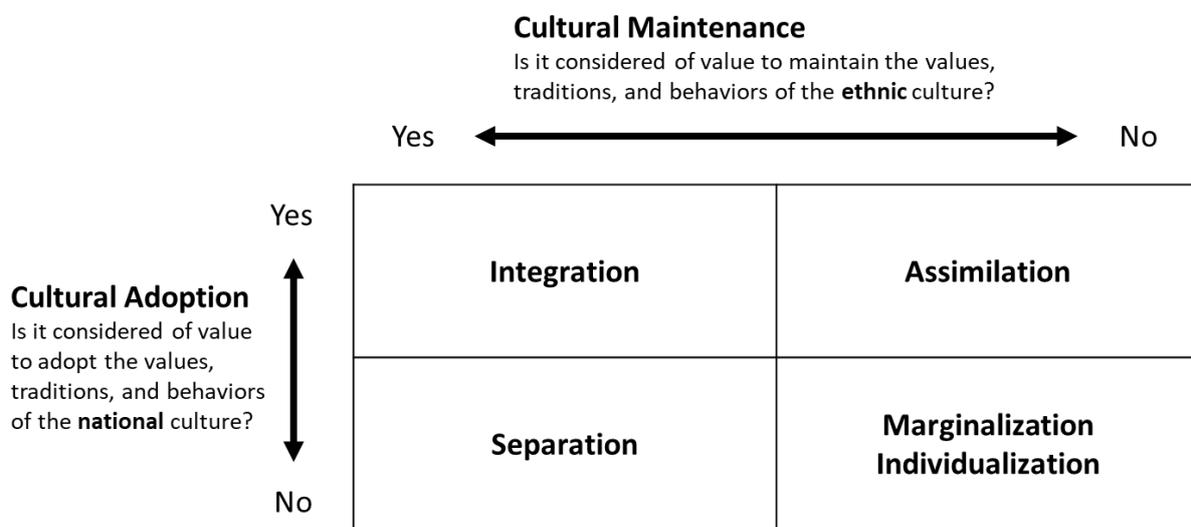
social groups can, under certain conditions, change attitudes towards all members of that group. A large number of studies have since provided evidence for this relation (for a comprehensive meta-analysis, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Different approaches explain the process of generalization from individuals' specific contact experiences to general attitudes towards whole groups. Brown and Hewstone (2005) summarize these approaches and bring them together in an integrative theory. In recent years, numerous studies have shown that indirect variants of contact, such as extended contact, have similar effects on intergroup attitudes as actual contact. In this context, it is sufficient for individuals to know about positive contact between in-group and out-group members. In their recent meta-analysis, Zhou et al. (2019) addressed the state of research.

Acculturation was originally conceptualized as the result of social contact in intercultural settings, for example, when immigrants interact with non-immigrants. Redfield et al. (1936, p. 149) defined acculturation as comprising “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups”. To acculturate means, for example, to adopt – or to be willing to adopt – values, traditions, and behaviors of the majority society. Surprisingly, very few studies have examined the effect of contact on acculturation. Instead, many studies see contact (or the willingness to make contact with the other group) as a result of acculturation processes. This applies, for example, to Berry's widely used acculturation model (for example, see Berry et al., 2006a). However, Bourhis et al. (1997) revised Berry's model (and in this dissertation I use their revised version). Their bidimensional model organizes the attitudes that guide the behavior of individuals in the acculturation process along two independent dimensions (see Figure 3). Cultural adoption refers to the orientation toward the values, traditions, and behaviors of the national culture (i.e., the culture of the country of residence), while cultural maintenance refers to the orientation toward the values, traditions, and behaviors of the ethnic culture (i.e., the culture

of the country of origin). Numerous studies have found that PMB adapt best to life in the country of residence, both psychologically and socioculturally, when they pursue both acculturation attitudes (Berry & Hou, 2016; Bourhis et al., 1997).

Figure 3

Schematic Representation of the Acculturation Attitudes Cultural Adoption and Cultural Maintenance and the Resulting Acculturation Strategies According to Bourhis et al. (1997).



As to *social identification* processes, I examine their role as mediators of the relationship between contact and acculturation attitudes. The social identity approach defines 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” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). In PMB’s integration process, first of all, identification with their ethnic group (e.g., Hungarians in Germany) and with the national group (e.g., Germans in Germany) play a central role (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012a).⁴ On the one hand, people negotiate group memberships

⁴ Different terms exist for these groups. In my dissertation I use the terms “host/heritage group” (Article 1), “majority/minority group” (Article 2), and “national/ethnic group” (Article 3). The different terms are mainly

when they come into contact and interact with each other (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 1997; Wimmer, 2008). Contact influences intergroup attitudes and relations by changing social representations of in- and outgroups (Dovidio et al., 2003). On the other hand, individuals who self-categorize as members of a group are more likely to aim to be a part of that group and participate socially and adopt typical behaviors and attitudes (Ashmore et al., 2004).

The Articles Included in this Dissertation

The three articles in my dissertation help understand the relations of contact, social identity, and acculturation attitudes in the context of migration. The articles include the theoretical elaboration of the framework as well as four empirical studies with four different samples consisting of a total of 658 PMB in Germany. In Article 1: “*Psychological and social conditions of successful migration: Towards an integrative framework*”, I develop and theoretically derive the basic framework. Article 1 was published in *Politische Psychologie – Journal of Political Psychology* in 2018 (Sixtus et al., 2018; see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). With the two studies in Article 2: “*How positive and negative contact experiences relate to identification and acculturation of persons with a migration background: Differentiating between majority, minority, and religious group identity*”, I test and provide evidence for the basic model. Article 2 was published in the *European Journal of Social Psychology* in 2019 (Sixtus, Wesche, Tsantila, et al., 2019; see Chapter 3). In Article 3: “*Identity multiplicity, national group contact, and acculturation: The role of identity-related cognitions*”, I develop the model further and especially focus on the relationships between different social identities by examining identity-related cognitions in two further studies. Article 3 was published in the *Journal of Social Issues* in 2019 (Sixtus, Wesche, & Kerschreiter, 2019; see Chapter 4).

due to the journals’ preferences. However, they all refer to the same type of groups. In the Introduction and the General Discussion I use the terms “national/ethnic group”.

Together, the three articles make important theoretical contributions to social psychological research on PMB integration specifically and intergroup relations in general. In the following, I will outline the four most relevant aspects that this dissertation adds to social psychological research. 1) The framework I developed in my dissertation brings together different strands of theory that have mostly been treated separately. In this way, it allows for a more comprehensive understanding of PMB integration and acculturation. 2) The framework and, correspondingly, the conducted studies are based on a broad understanding of contact. I consider both PMB's contact with the national and ethnic group and positive and negative contact respectively. This differentiated understanding of contact reflects the complex reality of PMB's lives better than many studies that exclusively examine specific contact experiences, and usually only with the national majority – and therefore allows for a better understanding of how contact relates to identification and acculturation. 3) My research takes a highly differentiated look at PMB's social identity. In addition to identification with the national group, the framework also includes identification with the ethnic group and allows for the inclusion of other groups, which I exemplify using identification with the religious group. Finally, I focus on the perceived relationship *between* the groups or, respectively, identities. The dissertation, therefore, allows a unique view of the complex interplay of different social identities in the integration process. 4) I test the two models – with the first model examining identification with different groups (Article 2), and the second model focusing on the perceived relationships between identities and groups (Article 3) – in a total of four studies using four diverse samples: in Article 2, Orthodox Christian persons with a Greek migration background and Muslim persons with a Turkish migration background, and in Article 3, Muslim persons with a Palestinian migration background and Christian persons with a Hungarian migration background. On the one hand, this allows me to test whether the assumptions hold in different immigration groups. On the other hand, it allows finding

differences between these specific groups. I will elaborate on these four aspects in the following chapters.

A Framework That Brings Together the Different Strands of Theory

Social scientific research should contribute to a better understanding of social phenomena such as the societal integration of PMB. However, Verkuyten (2018) has noted that social psychology is often criticized for dealing primarily with individual problems rather than societal issues and for focusing on very specific and ‘small’ psychological processes. This is one reason, he says, why voices from other academic disciplines, such as sociology, more often receive attention in the integration debate. To broaden the social psychological perspective on acculturation, the framework developed in the present dissertation brings together different social psychological theories that previously have been examined mostly separately. It thereby allows for a more comprehensive understanding of PMB’s integration process.

Few studies to date have examined how experiences in the social realm affect PMB’s acculturation attitudes and the role social identity plays in this process. However, various studies have looked at specific relationships. Some studies found evidence for a relationship between PMB’s positive or negative contact experiences with their ethnic and national groups and their acculturation attitudes (e.g., Badea et al., 2011; Berry et al., 2006b; Neto, 2002; Ramos et al., 2015). Other studies investigated relationships between different forms of contact experiences and PMB’s social identification (e.g., Bobowik et al., 2017; Branscombe et al., 1999; de Vroome et al., 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Lubbers et al., 2007; Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001; Ramos et al., 2016; te Lindert et al., 2008; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Wiley, 2013; Wiley et al., 2013), and between social identification with the national and ethnic groups and PMB’s acculturation attitudes (e.g., Christ et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2007).

Badea et al. (2011) investigated the relationship between a specific contact experience, social identification, and acculturation, examining how immigrants' perceived rejection by members of their ethnic and national groups was associated with their identification with these groups, and how their identification in turn related to their acculturation strategies. This provided an excellent working basis, which I substantially adapted and extended in this dissertation:

First, I proposed a broader understanding of interaction experiences. Instead of looking only at rejection experiences, the proposed framework includes the concept of intergroup contact. Contact can include social experiences of all kinds. To accommodate this, the proposed framework differentiates between positive and negative contact experiences. The basic framework proposed by Badea et al. (2011) includes contact with both the national group and the ethnic group. In this way, it takes into account that not only do PMB's experiences in interacting with members of the national group influence their acculturation attitudes (i.e., cultural adoption as well as cultural maintenance), but also their experiences in interacting with members of their ethnic group.

Second, the proposed framework allows complementing national and ethnic group identifications with other relevant identifications, such as religious group identification (see Article 2). In Article 3, using identity-related cognitions rather than identification with specific social groups, I examined the perceived relationships between these groups. The openness of the framework allows to study the interplay of different social identities in the acculturation process. I will discuss this in more detail in the next sections.

Third, the framework includes the acculturation attitudes of cultural adoption and cultural maintenance as dependent variables. Badea et al. (2011) instead examined the four acculturation strategies of integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (see

Figure 3).⁵ The choice to include the two acculturation attitudes is in line with the critique by Rudmin (2009) and Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) that the direct measurement of the four acculturation strategies leads to double-barreled and ipsative measures (see the theoretical implications section of Article 2).

The proposed framework establishes a clear outline to study the process of PMB acculturation. Experiences in the social world when interacting with national and ethnic group members are associated with PMB's acculturation attitudes. Processes of social identity and identification mediate this relationship. However, the framework is both broad and flexible to meet the demands of specific research interests. For example, the framework also allows for the inclusion of cross-group effects, such as the Rejection-Identification Model first described by Branscombe et al. (1999). Negative experiences with members of one group then negatively affect identification with another group (see Articles 1 and 2). The framework is also open to being extended, for example, by sociocultural and psychological adaptation as consequences of acculturation attitudes, as I argue in Article 1. Figure 4 provides an overview of the initial model by Badea et al. (2011), the proposed framework from Article 1, and the models I empirically tested in Articles 2 and 3. In the following, I will discuss several important aspects the model adds to existing research.

⁵ The combination of the two acculturation attitudes results in the four acculturation strategies integration (both adoption and maintenance high), assimilation (adoption high, maintenance low), separation (adoption low, maintenance high), and marginalization (both adoption and maintenance low; Bourhis et al., 1997).

Figure 4*Overview of the Different Models*

	Interaction experiences	Identity	Acculturation	Adaptation
Initial Model by Badea et al. (2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> rejection by national group rejection by ethnic group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> identification with national group identification with ethnic group 	<u>acculturation strategies:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> integration assimilation separation marginalization 	
Proposed Framework (Article 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> positive contact with national group negative contact with national group positive contact with ethnic group negative contact with ethnic group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> identification with national group identification with ethnic group <i>optional</i> : identification with further groups 	<u>acculturation attitudes:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> cultural adoption cultural maintenance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sociocultural adaptation psychological adaptation
Model 1 (Article 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> positive contact with national group negative contact with national group positive contact with ethnic group negative contact with ethnic group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> identification with national group identification with ethnic group identification with religious group 	<u>acculturation attitudes:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> cultural adoption cultural maintenance 	
Model 2 (Article 3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> positive contact with national group negative contact with national group 	<u>identity-related cognitions:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> permeability of boundary between national and ethnic group compatibility of ethnic and national group identities overlap of religious and ethnic group identities 	<u>acculturation attitudes:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> cultural adoption cultural maintenance 	

Note. Overview of the variables used in the model by Badea et al. (2011), in the framework proposed in Article 1, and in the models tested in Articles 2 and 3. For an overview of the instruments used to measure the variables, see Appendix A. For a detailed account of the assumed relationships between the variables, see the following chapters.

A Broad Understanding of Contact

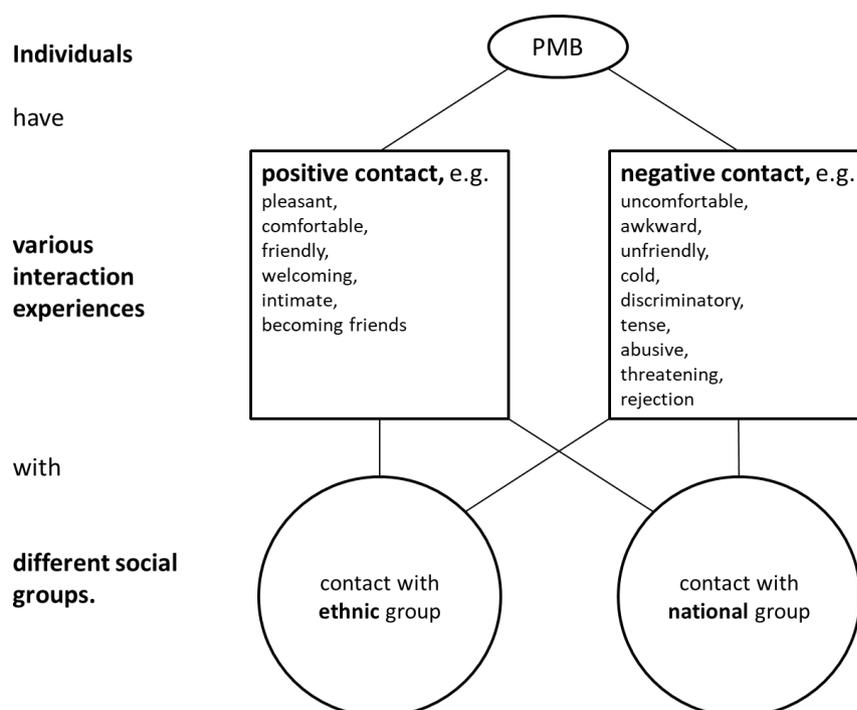
PMB meet many different fellow human beings. Among them are usually members of the national group who have no migration background, as well as immigrants and their descendants who have a migration background. It is reasonable to assume that members of one's own ethnic group exert a particular influence when it comes to forming attitudes toward acculturation and adaptation (e.g., Badea et al., 2011; Ramos et al., 2015). At the same time, contact experiences differ. They can be, for example, short or long, formal or informal, voluntary or not, loving or hateful, respectful or encroaching, pleasant or annoying (e.g., Harwood, 2021; Hayward et al., 2017). To at least begin to appropriately address this diversity of experience in social space, the proposed framework and subsequently, the tested models capture it in a way that is as general as possible but still differentiated.

First, the framework takes into account that PMB do not only interact with members of the national group, but also with members of their own ethnic group (Articles 1 and 2). Since, as noted above, most contact research focuses on the effects of contact on intergroup attitudes, most studies are limited to examining contact between PMB and members of the national group. In the context of integration and acculturation, however, contact with members of one's own ethnic group can also be important. Contact strengthens ties to the ethnic group; members maintain customs and traditions and sometimes convey ingroup norms that address outgroup attitudes and acculturation attitudes (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). Few studies to date have examined how PMB's positive (e.g., Lubbers et al., 2007; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001) or negative contact (e.g., Wiley, 2013) with their ethnic group affect their identification with that group or their acculturation attitudes (e.g., Badea et al., 2011; Ramos et al., 2015). The presented framework builds on these findings and integrates ethnic group contact in addition to contact with the national group into research on PMB identification and acculturation.

Second, the framework recognizes that contact situations differ. As described above, people meet in a wide variety of contact settings. The distinction between positive and negative contact categorizes this diversity according to how participants experience it (e.g., Hayward et al., 2017). The two forms of contact are independent constructs, so the quantity of an individual's negative contact does not depend on how much positive contact he or she experiences. Usually, positive and negative contact influence attitudes toward certain groups in different ways (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Limiting studies to one form of contact risks blind spots and fallacies about the impact of contact. Pettigrew and Hewstone (2017) call for studying both positive and negative contact whenever possible rather than generally analyzing the quantity of contact, and looking at the interplay between the two types of contact. Accordingly, the present studies always investigate both positive and negative contact with members of the relevant groups (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

Different Forms of Contact PMB Experience



Note. Cf., Hayward et al. (2017).

In summary, to draw as complete a picture as possible of PMB's contact experiences, I examine contact experiences with both national and ethnic group members (Articles 1 and 2), differentiating between positive and negative contact experiences. The studies analyze the relationships between the various forms of contact with identification with the corresponding groups (and religious groups) and acculturation attitudes toward them, and respectively, in Article 3 with identity-related cognitions. Also, I examine some cross-group effects (i.e., rejection-identification effects, see Articles 1 and 2; Branscombe et al., 1999).

A Differentiated Look at Social Identity

Social identity takes on a special meaning for immigrants. They come from another country with familiar customs and norms and normally identify with that society. They are not familiar with life in their new country of residence at first, and it takes time for them to become part of the new society. In the new country of residence, their background suddenly takes on a special meaning, as it now distinguishes them from most other people (e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001).

They can learn the language, values, and behaviors. However, a sense of belonging and identification with the new home must develop over time. These develop with familiarity with the new environment, but above all in dealings with fellow human beings. In social interactions, they negotiate questions of belonging (Dovidio et al., 2003; Wimmer, 2008). This is one reason why even descendants of immigrants who were born in the country of residence, speak the language fluently, and are naturally familiar with the customs and behaviors are often still considered immigrants (of the second or higher generation; or as PMB), that is, not fully belonging. Their sense of belonging depends, among other things, on whether the members of the majority society with whom they interact accept them as full members of society and treat them as such (e.g., Berry & Hou, 2017; Berry et al., 2006b). The sense of belonging to a group plays a special role in whether individuals turn to that group and

behave in a group-specific way (Ashmore et al., 2004; Badea et al., 2011; Christ et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2007). Social identity and the change of identifications are therefore central aspects of the integration process of PMB from a psychological point of view.

Identities as Relational Constructs

Social identities are always relational constructs (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). They can only exist in relation to other, equivalent social identities. An ingroup cannot exist without at least one outgroup. The ingroup is defined primarily by its distinction from the outgroup. An ethnic identity becomes salient only when an individual comes to a new country and his or her identity (only now called ethnic identity) loses its self-evidence because another identity (then called national identity) prevails here. Stereotypes shape mutual perceptions, sympathies, feelings of threat, and behaviors (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2009; Rios et al., 2018). The two identities have a specific relationship to each other. For example, Simon et al. (2013) found that dual identity, in combination with perceived incompatibility between ethnic and national identities, affects the willingness to engage in political action among Turkish PMB in Germany in a different way than among Russian PMB.

Many factors may influence this relationship, including, for example, perceived social or cultural distance, or the history of immigration from a particular country (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2020; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). Persons with a specific migration background may have to overcome more or different hurdles to become full members of the society of the country of residence than persons with another migration background. This dissertation, therefore, examines the interplay of different ethnic identities with national identity.

Other Identities in the Integration Process - Religious Identity as an Example

Moreover, national and ethnic identities are not the only social identities that play a role in the integration process. Other social identities that PMB either separate from or share

with many people in the country of residence interact with their ethnic and national identities and can influence their acculturation attitudes. This includes for example identification with residents of a particular city, region, or neighborhood, as well as political, sexual, or religious identities (e.g., Chung & Szymanski, 2006; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016; Güngör et al., 2013; Hindriks et al., 2015).

In the present dissertation, I focus on identification with a religious group as an example of another important identity in the integration process. For many people, religious affiliation is a core element of their identity and self-image. Religion gives them a foothold and provides them with a worldview, values, and convictions (Seul, 1999), providing an “eternal” group membership, unmatched by identification with other social groups (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). If their religion is the same as the majority religion in the country of residence, religious identity may connect PMB to the majority population, or at least play no particular role in the integration process. However, if PMB are not of the majority religion, then religious identity may play a critical role. Religion is often linked to culture or is even perceived as a part of culture, and religious identity is often intertwined with ethnic identity (e.g., Hammond, 1988; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). This association can further increase for PMB whose religion is not a majority religion in the residence country, especially when their religious group is seen as foreign (Gans, 1994).

In many Western, predominantly Christian societies, such as in Germany, this has been particularly true of Islam for some years (e.g., Foner & Alba, 2008; Sixtus, 2017). Right-wing populist parties have been stirring up anti-Muslim sentiment. In polls, a considerable proportion of the population expresses the opinion that Islam does not fit into the Western world or is incompatible with the respective national identity, and that the Muslim faith is an obstacle to integration (Canan & Foroutan, 2016; Hafez & Schmidt, 2015; Pickel, 2019). A specific religious identity can thus have a completely different relationship to a national identity depending on the country of residence.

In the two empirical articles of my dissertation, I approach the interplay of national, ethnic, and religious identities in different ways. In Article 2, I directly assess identification with the three social groups. The model predicts that identifications with the three groups mediate the relationship between PMB's contact experiences and their acculturation attitudes (for a detailed account of the assumed associations between the variables, see Article 2). In Article 3, I instead focus on the perceived relations between the groups or respectively, between the identities. For this, I examine how *identity-related cognitions* influence the relationship between interaction experiences and PMB's acculturation attitudes.

Identity-Related Cognitions

Identity-related cognitions describe how individuals conceive certain social identities, especially in relation to other relevant social identities (see Figure 6). They allow us to understand the interplay of different social identities in the acculturation process even better than is the case by directly assessing identification with specific social groups. In Article 3, I included three identity-related cognitions in the model:

Perceived permeability of the ethnic and national group boundary represents the perceived possibility of attaining membership in the national group for members of a particular ethnic group (Armenta et al., 2017; Mummendey et al., 1999; Ramos et al., 2016).

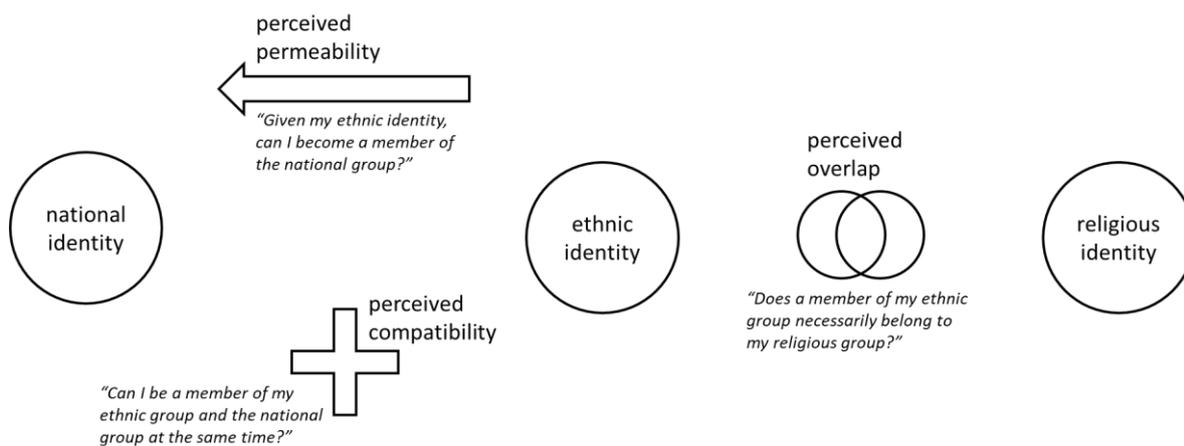
Perceived compatibility of ethnic and national group identities refers to the degree to which PMB perceive simultaneous membership in the ethnic and the national group as possible (Fleischmann et al., 2013; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012b). Perceived compatibility thus presupposes some degree of perceived permeability and asks whether PMB must leave their ethnic group to achieve membership in the national group.

Perceived overlap of religious and ethnic group identities refers to PMB's perceptions of the overlap and convergence of their ethnic and their religious group identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). If an individual perceives both identities as completely overlapping, then

membership in one group necessarily implies membership in the other. If there is no overlap, the memberships in the individual groups are independent of each other.

Figure 6

The Social Identities Examined in This Dissertation and Their Relations to Each Other (i.e., Identity-Related Cognitions)



Perceived permeability and compatibility both refer to the relationship between ethnic and national identity. In my dissertation, I assume that PMB negotiate this relationship in social interactions (i.e., positive and negative contact) primarily with members of the national group (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 1997; Ramos et al., 2016; Wimmer, 2008). Furthermore, PMB are more likely to orient themselves to the culture of the country of residence and adopt specific behaviors (i.e., cultural adoption) if they consider it possible to become members of the national group (permeability). They will also rather maintain the culture and behaviors of their ethnic group (i.e., cultural maintenance) if they also consider membership in both groups as possible (compatibility). Via perceived overlap, religious identity also plays into this relationship. As discussed above, certain religious affiliations, especially Islam, are increasingly seen as incompatible with belonging to the national group. If PMB – in this case Muslim PMB – also perceive their religious identity as overlapping with their ethnic identity,

then their ethnic identity is also likely to appear to them as incompatible with their national identity, and the boundary between the two groups as rather impermeable. For – in this case Christian – PMB who share their religious identity with the majority, perceived overlap should not matter or even contribute to a more open relationship between ethnic and national identities.

Testing the Framework in Diverse Samples

Identities, as shown, are relational constructs and two or more specific identities always have a specific relationship to each other. With reference to social identity theory (Turner, 1999), Verkuyten and Martinovic (2012a) argue that identification processes always take place in a specific historical, political, and ideological context. The nature of the social boundary between ethnic and national groups always depends on the specific socio-structural conditions. For example, as shown above, Muslim PMB in Western countries often have a different relationship with the national group than non-Muslim PMB. In a similar vein, Fleischmann and Phalet (2018) found that Muslim adolescents in several European countries showed lower national identification than their non-Muslim minority peers, mediated in part by religious commitment, discrimination, and the number of majority friends. Therefore, it is instructive to test the assumptions in samples of diverse immigrant groups. Studies that test their assumptions in only one sample may overlook or generalize characteristics of that group. Differences between immigrant groups can thus be missed.

To address this issue, I tested the assumptions in this dissertation with a total of four different samples: in Article 2, Orthodox Christian persons with a Greek migration background and Muslim persons with a Turkish migration background, and in Article 3, Muslim persons with a Palestinian migration background and Christian persons with a Hungarian migration background.

All studies were conducted in Germany. The country has experienced different phases of immigration in recent decades. In 2020, nearly 16 million international migrants lived in Germany (see Figure 2 on p. 4). This made the country the second most popular immigration country in the world after the United States (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). In the same year, 27 percent of the German population had a migration background, meaning that at least one parent was born without a German passport (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). For a long time, the country did not see itself as a country of immigration, unlike the United States or Canada. A general view was that only those who had German ancestors could be German. Immigrants, for example the so-called *Gastarbeiter* of the late 1950s to early 1970s, were supposed to leave the country again after a few years. Integration was not intended (e.g., Yildiz, 2019). Only in recent years has there been a change in thinking. More and more politicians and large parts of the population accept that many immigrants will stay – and that the German economy will continue to need immigration to meet the growing shortage of skilled workers (e.g., Faus & Storks, 2019). Germany passed a law for skilled labor immigration in 2020. And since the turn of the millennium, naturalization legislation has also been liberalized. Nevertheless, the old idea that only those with ethnic German ancestors could be German persists, which often makes the integration of immigrants more difficult (e.g., Heckmann, 2013). However, certain characteristics of immigrants such as their country of origin or their religious affiliation can make a big difference.

In 2020, about 467,000 people with a *Greek* migration background lived in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). People of Greek origin are thus among the top-ten immigration groups. Many Greeks came to Germany as guest workers after 1960. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Greek military dictatorship drove many Greeks abroad. Most recently, many young Greeks came to Germany in the wake of the European financial crisis, which hit Greece particularly hard. Since both countries are members of the European Union, Greeks enjoy freedom of movement in Germany and have largely the same rights in the labor

market as German citizens. The overwhelming majority of Greeks are Orthodox Christians. Thus, although they share the affiliation to Christianity with the majority of Germans, as Orthodox Christians they are nevertheless a religious minority.

Persons with a *Turkish* migration background are the largest immigration group in Germany, with a total of 2,757,000 in 2020 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). The majority also originally came to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s as guest workers and their relatives. Since the 1980s, and increasingly in recent years, a significant number of people from Turkey have been coming to Germany in search of asylum. 99 percent of Turkey's population are at least nominally Muslim (U.S. Department Of State, 2017).

The number of *Palestinians* in Germany is difficult to determine, as this group includes people of different nationalities. Wari (2017) assumes that Germany has the largest Palestinian community in Europe. Estimates vary widely and go as high as 80,000 persons. Since the 1950s, Palestinians have come to Germany in large numbers as students and skilled workers, or as refugees (Koch & Ragab, 2018). Around 90 percent of Palestinians are Muslims (Auswärtiges Amt, 2019).

About 296,000 persons with a *Hungarian* migration background lived in Germany in 2020 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). The majority came to Germany as labor migrants in the past decade. Today, Germany is the most popular destination for Hungarians working abroad (Sarnyai, 2018). As citizens of the European Union, Hungarians enjoy freedom of movement in Germany just like Greek citizens. The majority of the Hungarian population is Christian, mostly Roman-Catholic. In the 2011 Census survey, 54 percent professed to be Christian, while the remainder said they did not belong to any religion or made no statement (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2013).

The four samples allow me to test whether the assumptions of my dissertation hold in different immigration groups. The brief introduction above has made it clear that they differ considering many characteristics, such as immigration history or the legal status of many

group members. And since I examine the influence of religious identity in addition to the interplay of ethnic and national identity, they allow me to compare groups of different religious affiliations.

Interim Conclusion

Research on intergroup contact, intergroup relations, and acculturation has a decades-long tradition. The present studies aim to develop and test a framework that brings together different strands of theory. In doing so, the studies examine the specific role of social identities as central variables between interaction experiences and acculturation attitudes. In the following chapters, I present and discuss the framework (Article 1), develop two consecutive models based on the framework, and test them with a total of four samples from different immigration groups (Articles 2 and 3).

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Chapter 2

Psychological and Social Conditions of Successful Migration: Towards an Integrative Framework

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Psychological and social conditions of successful migration: Towards an integrative framework

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Abstract

Successful migration implies that immigrants adapt psychologically and socioculturally to the host society, which is crucial for both immigrants and the host society. To better understand the process of migration and to derive systematic recommendations, we review and extend a model that considers both social and psychological factors originally proposed by Badea et al. (2011). Specifically, our integrative framework features positive and negative contact with members of the host and heritage group as predictors of acculturation attitudes and acculturation outcomes, mediated by identification with the host and heritage groups. Recommendations for successful migration are discussed.

Keywords: immigration, acculturation, adaptation, social identity, contact

Psychologische und soziale Bedingungen erfolgreicher Migration: Zu einem integrativen Rahmenmodell

Zusammenfassung

Erfolgreiche Migration impliziert, dass MigrantInnen sich psychologisch und soziokulturell an die Aufnahmegesellschaft adaptieren, was sowohl für MigrantInnen als auch für Aufnahmegesellschaften bedeutend ist. Um den Migrationsprozess besser zu verstehen und systematisch Empfehlungen ableiten zu können, diskutieren und erweitern wir ein Modell von Badea et al. (2011), das sowohl soziale als auch psychologische Einflussfaktoren berücksichtigt. Konkret postuliert unser integratives Rahmenmodell, dass positiver und negativer Kontakt mit Mitgliedern der Aufnahme- und Herkunftsgruppe als Prädiktoren der Akkulturationseinstellungen und der Akkulturationsergebnisse wirken, und dies durch Identifikation mit der Aufnahme- und Herkunftsgruppe vermittelt wird. Empfehlungen für erfolgreiche Migration werden diskutiert.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Migration, Akkulturation, Adaptation, Soziale Identität, Kontakt

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Zusammenfassung

Erfolgreiche Migration, also eine gelungene psychologische und soziokulturelle Adaptation von MigrantInnen an das Leben in der Aufnahmegesellschaft, ist sowohl für MigrantInnen selbst als auch für Aufnahmegesellschaften von entscheidender Bedeutung. Um den Prozess der Migration besser zu verstehen und eine systematische, evidenzbasierte Ableitung von Empfehlungen zu ermöglichen, wird im vorliegenden Beitrag ein integratives Rahmenmodell postuliert. Grundlage ist das Modell von Badea, Jetten, Iyer und Er-Rafiy (2011), welches soziale und psychologische Faktoren kombiniert, um die Akkulturation von MigrantInnen vorherzusagen. Unter Rückgriff auf verschiedene sozialpsychologische Theorien, unter anderem die Kontakthypothese (Allport, 1954) und die Theorie der sozialen Identität (Tajfel, 1981), werden Erweiterungen des Modells von Badea et al. (2011) abgeleitet. Folgend werden alle Annahmen sowohl des ursprünglichen Modells als auch der postulierten Erweiterungen systematisch anhand von empirischen Befunden begründet und verdeutlicht.

Badea et al. (2011) fokussieren in ihrem Modell auf die Vorhersage von Akkulturation aus erfahrener Zurückweisung durch die Aufnahme- und Herkunftsgesellschaft sowie der dadurch beeinflussten Identifikation mit der jeweiligen Gesellschaft. Als zentrale Erweiterung schlagen wir *erstens* empirisch begründet vor, die psychologische und soziokulturelle Adaptation der MigrantInnen als Ergebnisvariable der Akkulturation in das Modell mitaufzunehmen. *Zweitens* legen wir ebenfalls evidenzbasiert dar, dass eine umfassendere Berücksichtigung von Erfahrungen mit Mitgliedern der Aufnahme- und Herkunftsgruppe, das heißt positive und negative Kontakterfahrungen, eine sinnvolle Erweiterung des Modells darstellt. Schließlich und *drittens* zeigen wir ebenfalls anhand von empirischen Befunden auf, dass neben den von Badea et al. (2011) berücksichtigten Facetten sozialer Identifikati-

on, nämlich die Identifikation mit der Herkunfts- und der Aufnahmegruppe, weitere Facetten sozialer Identifikation im Kontext von Migration relevant sein können und von daher im Modell Berücksichtigung finden sollten. Exemplarisch wird hier die religiöse Identität diskutiert. Konkret wird im integrativen Rahmenmodell postuliert, dass positiver und negativer Kontakt mit Mitgliedern der Aufnahmegruppe die Identifikation mit der Aufnahmegruppe stärkt bzw. schwächt und dass diese wiederum die Akkulturationseinstellung der kulturellen Annahme (d.h., Orientierung an der Aufnahmegruppe) fördert. Diese wiederum ist mit den Akkulturationsergebnissen, also mit der psychologischen und soziokulturellen Adaptation der MigrantInnen, assoziiert. In ähnlicher Weise wird angenommen, dass positiver und negativer Kontakt mit Mitgliedern der Herkunftsgruppe die Identifikation mit der Herkunftsgruppe stärkt bzw. schwächt und dass diese wiederum die Akkulturationseinstellung der kulturellen Aufrechterhaltung (d.h., Orientierung an der Herkunftsgruppe) fördert, welche mit psychologischer Adaptation assoziiert ist. Darüber hinaus wird angenommen, dass negativer Kontakt mit Mitgliedern der Aufnahmegruppe zu einer stärkeren Hinwendung zur Herkunftsgruppe führt, was sich in einer gesteigerten Identifikation mit dieser und der Akkulturationseinstellung der kulturellen Aufrechterhaltung äußert. Schließlich werden aus diesen Annahmen des integrativen Rahmenmodells praktische Empfehlungen für erfolgreiche Migration abgeleitet und diskutiert.

1. Introduction

In the last years, Germany has been the most preferred country of immigration in Europe (Eurostat, 2015). About 11 % of the people living in Germany hold a foreign citizenship (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017a) and about 21% have a migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017b). This puts questions regarding the process of migration, namely acculturation and adaptation of immigrants, in the spotlight of scientific (e.g., Berlinghoff, Kleist, Krause & Oltmer, 2017), political and societal discussions (e.g., Frindte, Geschke, Schurz & Schmidt, 2012; Zeit Online, 2016). Typical questions are: 'How do welcoming experiences with members of the host society impact immigrants' acculturation attitudes?', 'What can buffer the effect of negative experiences with members of the host society (e.g., rejection or discrimination) on immigrants' well-being?', 'What kind of changes in immigrants' self-categorization need to take place for successful adaptation?', 'Do close ties with members of the immigrants' heritage group further or hinder successful adaptation?', We advocate that such questions should not be looked at in isolation or applied to singular cases but need to be analyzed holistically and systematically.

To this end, we present, discuss, and adapt a model by Badea et al. (2011) that considers both social and psychological influence factors of immigrant acculturation and thus points out conditions for successful migration. We will review empirical evidence in support of the assumptions of this model and propose several extensions that will help to systematically derive practicable recommendations regarding how to promote and facilitate successful migration. First, we will introduce our conception of successful migration. Second, we discuss the social and psychological conditions of

successful migration that are examined in the model by Badea et al. (2011) and the extensions we propose. Finally, we will delineate practical implications from the presented model that can help to facilitate and promote successful migration.

2. Successful migration

What do we mean, when we talk about successful migration? Three aspects of successful migration are especially important from a social psychological perspective: in addition to (1) acculturation we will therefore focus on two distinct aspects of immigrant adaptation, namely (2) sociocultural adaptation and (3) psychological adaptation.

2.1 Acculturation

Acculturation constitutes one of the most important facets of successful migration and is a condition for other, related aspects, like psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Acculturation is defined as the sum of "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton & Herskovitz, 1936, S. 149)². These cultural patterns comprise, for example, specific attitudes, values, or behaviors attributed to the host or the heritage culture. According to the bidimensional model of acculturation, which was first established by Berry and colleagues (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989) and later revised by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault und Senécal (1997), attitudes guiding individuals' behavior in the process of acculturation can be arranged along two

² According to this definition, acculturation encompasses a bidirectional process, i.e., cultural changes occur for both host and immigrant groups. Note that the processes described in this contribution focus on the immigrant group.

dimensions: *cultural adoption* and *cultural maintenance*. While *cultural adoption* indicates an orientation toward the host culture, *cultural maintenance* indicates an orientation toward the heritage culture. These two acculturation attitudes are postulated to be independent of each other and can be combined to yield four different acculturation strategies: *integration* (strong pursuit of cultural adoption/strong pursuit of cultural maintenance), *assimilation* (strong pursuit of cultural adoption/weak pursuit of cultural maintenance), *separation* (weak pursuit of cultural adoption/strong pursuit of cultural maintenance), or *marginalization/individualization* (weak pursuit of cultural adoption/weak pursuit of cultural maintenance). Research shows that different acculturation strategies yield different acculturation outcomes (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010), namely sociocultural and psychological adaptation.

2.2 Immigrant adaptation

Ward and colleagues (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) examined the changes immigrants undergo during cross-cultural transitions and differentiated two interrelated, yet conceptually distinct domains: psychological and sociocultural adaptation. While *sociocultural adaptation* refers to the ability to acquire culturally appropriate skills and to 'fit in' with the host environment, *psychological adaptation* refers to psychological well-being or satisfaction with life in the host society. The two domains of adaptation may develop differently in the migration process: while sociocultural problems usually steadily decrease over time, psychological distress is more variable over time (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Sociocultural adaptation can be regarded as the result of the acculturation attitude of cultural adoption. While cultural adoption describes immigrants' attitude toward

the host culture and its acquisition, sociocultural adaptation indicates the actual degree of successful host culture acquisition. Consequently, sociocultural adaptation usually refers to immigrants' capability in managing their daily life in the host society and their ability to 'fit in' (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Indicators of sociocultural adaptation are for example the number host group friends, dealing with everyday challenges (e.g., with bureaucracy or the transport system in the host society), understanding the locals' values and world views, language proficiency, etc. (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Sociocultural adaptation depends on variables such as length of residence in the new culture, language ability, cultural distance, or the quantity of contact with host nationals (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) and is influenced by immigrants' acculturation attitude of cultural adoption (Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010).

Psychological adaptation in migration contexts refers to immigrants' psychological and emotional well-being (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). It comprises psychological symptoms (e.g., depressive symptoms or psychological well-being), physical symptoms, acculturative stress and life satisfaction (Zhang & Goodson, 2011). Psychological adaptation is strongly affected by personality, life changes, and social support (e.g., Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) and is influenced by both acculturation attitudes: cultural adoption and cultural maintenance (e.g., Berry et al., 2006).

3. Conditions of successful migration

There are different conditions for successful migration. From a social psychological point of view, two categories of conditions are particularly important: (1) social conditions and (2) psychological conditions. A model examining the influence of both

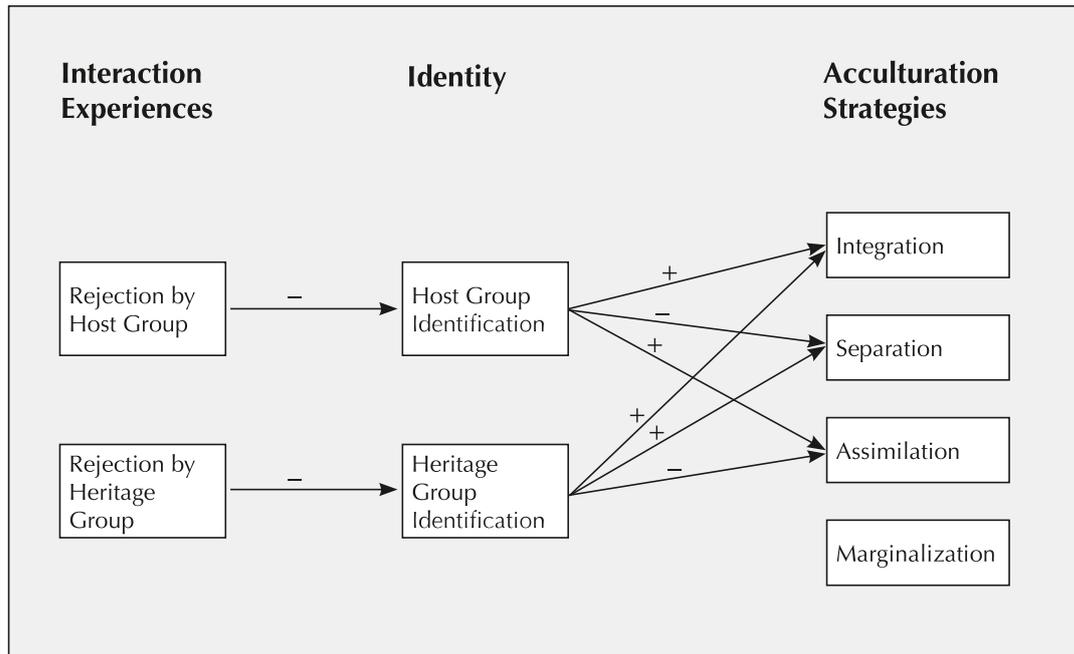


Figure 1. Initial Model by Badea and colleagues (2011)

these categories of conditions of successful migration on immigrant acculturation was developed by Badea et al. (2011). The authors examined how immigrants' interaction experiences with members of their host and heritage groups influenced their identification with these groups, and how their identification in turn affected their acculturation strategies. The model is displayed in Figure 1.

Building on the model by Badea et al. (2011), we propose several extensions that we deem can increase the models' scope of application in a reasonable way: (1) examining immigrants' interaction experiences with host and heritage groups in a more inclusive way, i.e., examining not only negative experiences but also positive, (2) examining additional associations between interaction experiences and identification variables, and (3) including immigrant adaptation as result of acculturation attitudes and as an important aspect of successful migration.

4. Social conditions of successful migration: Positive and negative contact

Successful migration and its psychological conditions are affected by experiences made in everyday social life. We argue that different experiences of contact made in social interactions with members of the host group, but also with members of the own heritage group, affect identification with the different groups and acculturation attitudes, and thus psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

In its initial conception, the model by Badea et al. (2011) was confined to immigrants' negative interaction experiences (i.e., perceived rejection) with members of the host and the heritage groups as predictors of identification with the respective groups and therefore also of their acculturation strategies. Results from their studies largely support their assumptions, namely that negative interaction experiences in the

form of perceived rejection by members of the host respectively the heritage group negatively relate to identification with the respective group. Other studies further support these assumptions. For instance, Verkuyten und Yildiz (2007) found that perceived rejection by members of the Dutch host society was negatively associated with host group identification of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. In a similar vein, Wiley, Lawrence, Figueroa und Percontino (2013) found that perceived rejection of Latino immigrants by Americans in the United States was negatively related to identification with Americans. Furthermore, in accordance with Badea et al. (2011), Wiley (2013) found that perceived rejection by the heritage group of Latino immigrants in the United States was negatively related to identification with the heritage group.

However, while Badea et al. (2011) limit their model to perceived rejection as a form of negative interaction experiences, we advocate to broaden this rather narrow specification and propose to open it up to include a wider range of experiences immigrants make in interaction with members of the host and heritage groups. A well-established concept in social psychology and acculturation research is the concept of intergroup contact. Depending on its operationalization intergroup contact either describes the nature of (intergroup) interactions or captures experiences resulting from (intergroup) interactions (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). There is ample evidence that positive and negative contact experiences with members of a specific group influence the attitudes toward this group (e.g., Graf, Paolini & Rubin, 2014).

Psychological research on intergroup contact traces back to Allport's (1954) work on the *contact hypothesis*, which predicates that (positive) intergroup contact can lead to a reduction of intergroup prejudice and conflict, given that certain favorable conditions are in place (e.g., equal group status within the interaction). Accordingly, research on intercultural or interethnic con-

tact most often focused on the improvement of the relations between different cultural or ethnic groups (see the meta-analysis by Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; as well as the meta-analysis of real-world contact interventions by Lemmer & Wagner, 2015), but, especially regarding migration contexts, contact can also affect immigrant identification and acculturation.

Recent research (Hayward, Tropp, Hornsey & Barlow, 2017a, 2017b; Tropp, Mazziotta & Wright, 2017) defines *positive contact experiences* to include pleasant, comfortable, friendly, welcoming, and intimate interactions, or becoming friends with members of a specific group. A number of studies indicate that immigrants' positive contact experiences with the *host group* relate positively to their identification with the host society, for example perceived acceptance (Te Lindert, Korzilius, Van de Vijver, Kroon & Arends-Tóth, 2008), or friendships with members of the host group (de Vroome, Coenders, van Tubergen & Verkuyten, 2011; Sabatier, 2008). There is also evidence that experiences of positive contact with members of the *heritage group* relate positively to their identification with this group. For example, several studies found that the number or percentage of heritage group friends positively predicts immigrants' identification with this group (Lubbers, Molina & McCarty, 2007; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001). Regarding the association between positive interaction experiences and acculturation, Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher und Haslam (2015) found that the willingness of Polish immigrants to participate in the British host community was positively predicted by their relative amount of British friends (i.e., the amount of positive contact with members of the host group). Conversely, the relative number of friends from their Polish heritage group was related to lesser willingness to participate in the host culture and a greater willingness to maintain the heritage culture. Thus, building on and extending the model by Badea et al. (2011), we propose:

Proposition 1: Positive interaction experiences with members of a group (i.e., host or heritage group) are positively associated with identification with this group and with the acculturation attitude toward this group (i.e., cultural adoption or cultural maintenance, respectively).

However, intergroup contact can also be experienced as negative, characterized by feelings of threat and anxiety (e.g., Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011). *Negative contact experiences* include for instance uncomfortable, awkward, unfriendly, cold, discriminatory, tense, and abusive interactions, and being threatened or rejected by members of a specific group (Hayward et al., 2017a, 2017b; Tropp et al., 2017). As positive contact does, negative contact with members of a specific group also affects identification with this group and orientation toward its culture. Accordingly, Berry et al. (2006) conclude that when immigrants experience negative contact with members of the host society (i.e., discrimination), they are likely to reject close involvement with the host society and be more oriented to their heritage group or be confused or ambivalent about their involvement. In a longitudinal study among immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Finland, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind und Solheim (2009) found that perceived discrimination by the host society negatively predicted identification with the Finnish host group. Moreover, regarding the association between negative interaction experiences and acculturation, Neto (2002) found that perceived discrimination by the Portuguese host society positively predicted immigrants' preference for cultural maintenance and refusal of cultural adoption. Again, building on and extending the model by Badea et al. (2011) that only considered rejection out of the realm of negative contact experiences, we propose:

Proposition 2: Negative interaction experiences with members of a group (i.e., host or heritage group) are negatively associated with identification with this group and with the acculturation attitude toward

this group (i.e., cultural adoption or cultural maintenance, respectively).

Another extension we would like to propose to the model by Badea et al. (2011) is to take into account cross-group effects. Experiences with one group do not only affect an individual's identification with this specific group but can also affect identification with other groups. The *rejection-identification model* (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999) proposes that minority members compensate the decrease in personal self-esteem and well-being caused by perceived rejection by the majority (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) by increased identification with their minority group. Accordingly, Verkuyten und Yildiz (2007) found that Turkish immigrants' perceived rejection by the Dutch host group in the Netherlands increased their identification with the heritage group. Therefore, we propose that negative contact with members of the host group will increase immigrants' identification with their heritage group and orientation toward their heritage culture.

Proposition 3: Negative interaction experiences with members of the host group are positively associated with identification with the heritage group.

5. Psychological conditions of successful migration: Immigrants' social identifications

Research on social identity and identification has a long tradition in social psychology. Social identity describes "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" (Tajfel, 1981, S. 255; see also Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Based on this approach, Dovidio, Gaertner und Kawaka-

mi (2003) proposed that changing social representations of in- and out-group is one psychological process by which intergroup contact can improve intergroup attitudes and relations. In concordance with Badea et al. (2011), we argue that identification with host and heritage groups, and possibly with other relevant groups, are crucial conditions for successful acculturation and adaptation, and therefore for successful migration.

5.1 Identification with host and heritage group

Globalization and increasing international migration led (and are still leading) to a pluralization of the modern societies of immigration countries (Dickinson, 2016). In these diverse societies, ethnicity and ethnic belonging attain a special significance. Both determine social categorization, on the one hand within a society, and on the other hand regarding who is perceived and accepted as a genuine member of a society at all. Ethnic identity constitutes a manifestation of social identity. Therefore, referring to the general definition by Tajfel (1981), we understand ethnic identity as relating to membership in (an) ethnic group(s) and the value and emotional significance attached to it.

Identification with the country of immigration and its society is usually referred to as *national* identification, while identification with the heritage country and with individuals of the same heritage is referred to as *ethnic* identification. In cross-cultural social psychology, national identity is usually understood as a more inclusive identity, including individuals of different ethnic heritages (Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2009). This is most notably the case in classic immigration societies (e.g., the United States or Canada), and less in societies

which traditionally are defined rather ethnically (e.g., Poland or Germany; see, for example, Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009)³. Research has shown that identification with the host group and identification with the heritage group are not mutually exclusive, but that the two are independent and may be positively or negatively correlated or even uncorrelated (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Dovidio et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Marti-novic, 2012a).

Identifications with host and heritage group are important predictors of acculturation attitudes and adaptation, and therefore constitute a fundamental condition for successful migration. Building on social identity theory and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), Ashmore, Deaux und McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) differentiated the various aspects of collective identities. The authors identified (self-) categorization as a member of a specific group, (positive) evaluation of that membership, personal importance of the membership for the self-concept, and emotional involvement felt with this group as *preconditions* for two further elements of collective identity, namely *behavioral involvement*, that is the degree to which individuals engage in actions that implicate a specific collective identity; and *self-attributed characteristics*, that is the degree to which traits and dispositions that are associated with a specific ingroup are endorsed as self-specific. Applied to a migration context, individuals first have to self-categorize as a member of the host and/or the heritage group and perceive these memberships as meaningful and positive (i.e., immigrants must identify first), before being able to form positive attitudes about adopting or maintaining the culture of the respective groups (i.e., host and/or heritage culture).

Badea et al. (2011) set immigrants' identification with the host and heritage group as the core variable in their model and pro-

³ To avoid confusion, we will refer to national identification as identification with the host group, and to ethnic identification as identification with the heritage group.

pose that social identification with the host and heritage groups function as mediators in the relationship between interaction experiences with these groups and immigrants' acculturation attitudes. Their findings support the assumption that identification with the host and heritage groups predict the pursuit of the four acculturation strategies. Building on the finding that perceived rejection by the host and heritage groups decreased identification with the respective groups, the authors argue that especially rejection by members of the host group intensifies 'us' versus 'them' perceptions and perceived intergroup distinctiveness. These intergroup perceptions then shape immigrants' preferred interaction goals with this group. Accordingly, Badea et al. (2011) found that identification with the host group was positively associated with the acculturation strategies of integration and assimilation – both implying an orientation toward the host culture. Identification with the heritage group was positively associated with the strategies of integration and separation, which both imply an orientation toward the heritage culture. Additionally, heritage group identification was negatively associated with the strategy of assimilation. Other studies support these findings. For instance, Christ, Asbrock, Dhont, Pettigrew und Wagner (2013) found that non-Western immigrants' identification with the host country Germany positively predicted their desire to participate in and adopt the German host culture. Similarly, Schwartz, Zamboanga und Jarvis (2007) found a positive association between heritage group identification and orientation towards the heritage culture in a sample of Hispanic immigrants living in the United States. We concord with the assumptions by Badea et al. (2011), and propose that identification with the host or heritage group will promote orientation toward the respective culture (i.e., cultural adoption or cultural maintenance, respectively).

Proposition 4: Identification with a group (i.e., host or heritage group) is posi-

tively associated with the acculturation attitude toward this group (i.e., cultural adoption or cultural maintenance, respectively).

5.2 Identification with other social groups

Identification with social groups beyond host and heritage group can also be important in the context of migration and acculturation. Conceivable other social groups include, for example, identification with the religious group (e.g., Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) or identification with the inhabitants of a city, region, or neighborhood immigrants live in (e.g., Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016).

To pick up the first example, religious affiliation and identification play a major role for many individuals (e.g., Seul, 1999), and can play an important role in the process of immigrant acculturation, especially regarding a match or mismatch of host and heritage religion (e.g., Awad, 2010). Given a match, religious identification can serve as a shared group membership and identity with members of the host group and thus can facilitate and promote participation, the acculturation attitude of cultural adoption, and sociocultural and psychological adaptation (e.g., Gore, 2015; Steffen & Merrill, 2011). Yet, given a mismatch of the immigrants' religion and the predominant religion in the host country, identification with the religious group might play the very opposite role – especially if the respective religion is seen as 'foreign' by large parts of the host society (e.g., like Islam in Western countries currently; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012). Religious identity and national identity are then perceived as rather incompatible (i.e., that a member of a specific religious group cannot be a member of the host group; e.g., Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012a). Moreover, religion is often interconnected with culture. Therefore, religious identity can be strongly related with ethnic identity

or even perceived as overlapping (i.e., a member of a specific ethnic group must also be a member of a specific religious group – sometimes even independently of actual religiosity; e.g., Hammond, 1988; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012b; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). That way, identification with a religious group can function as a predictor of the acculturation attitude of cultural maintenance (e.g., Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet & Maliepaard, 2013).

Proposition 5: Identification with relevant other groups is associated with cultural adoption and/or cultural maintenance (and therefore, with psychological and/or sociocultural adaptation) depending on the relationship of these groups with the host respectively the heritage group (shared/compatible vs. not shared/incompatible group memberships).

Of course, identification with relevant other groups can as well be influenced by interaction experiences with the host and heritage group. Returning to the example of religious identification, we propose a cross-group effect (parallel to Proposition 3) based on the *rejection-identification model* (Branscombe et al., 1999). Religious identification might serve immigrants to compensate the negative consequences of negative interaction experiences with the host group (e.g., the feeling of being rejected, the decrease in self-esteem and well-being). Accordingly, Verkuyten und Yildiz (2007) found a positive relationship between perceived discrimination by the host group and identification with Muslims among a sample of Muslims of Turkish heritage living in the Netherlands. In a similar vein, Maliepaard, Gijsberts und Phalet (2015) found that for Muslims of different ethnic heritage in the Netherlands perceived discrimination by the host group was positively related to religious identification (regardless of whether discrimination was reported as being on religious, ethnic, or other grounds). Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 6: Negative interaction experiences with members of the host group

are positively associated with identification with relevant other groups.

6. Including psychological and sociocultural adaptation in the model

As stated in the beginning, from a social psychological perspective the three core aspects of successful migration are acculturation attitudes, psychological adaptation, and sociocultural adaptation. While acculturation attitudes describe the orientations of immigrants toward the acquisition of the host culture and/or the maintenance of their heritage culture, immigrant adaptation refers to the outcomes of acculturation processes (Berry et al., 2006; Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Vedder, Sam & Liebkind, 2007). The model by Badea et al. (2011) seeks to predict immigrant acculturation from interaction experiences and identification with the host and the heritage groups. We propose to extend this model to further predict immigrants' psychological and sociocultural adaptation. There is ample evidence, that immigrants' acculturation attitudes and social identification predict both forms of adaptation. For example, Berry et al. (2006) examined immigrant youths in 13 countries and found significant differences between the immigrant sub-groups that each pursued one of the four acculturation strategies. Results showed that immigrant youths pursuing the strategy of integration scored highest, and those pursuing marginalization scored lowest regarding both forms of adaptation. Immigrant youths pursuing the strategy of separation showed good psychological but poor sociocultural adaptation, and those pursuing assimilation had relatively poor psychological adaptation, but were not clearly distinct from immigrants pursuing other acculturation strategies with respect to sociocultural adaptation. Similarly, Ward und Rana-Deuba (1999) found that immigrants pursuing the

acculturation strategy of integration showed better psychological adaptation than others. Yet, immigrants pursuing the acculturation strategy of assimilation showed better sociocultural adaptation. Kosic (2002) found that the acculturation strategies of integration and assimilation showed both similar positive associations with sociocultural as well as psychological adaptation. Participants pursuing the acculturation strategy of separation showed significantly lower sociocultural and psychological adaptation. Based on these findings, we propose:

Proposition 7: The acculturation attitude of cultural adoption is positively associated with psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Proposition 8: The acculturation attitude of cultural maintenance is positively associated with psychological adaptation.

Summarizing our propositions, the adapted model is displayed in Figure 2.

7. Discussion

The present contribution builds on the model of Badea et al. (2011) which examined negative interaction experiences with members of host and heritage groups (i.e., perceived rejection) as predictors of immigrant identification with these groups and acculturation strategies. To increase the models' scope of application and be able to make wider-reaching propositions for taking positive influence on immigrant acculturation, we adapted the model by Badea et al. (2011) to include (1) both positive and negative interaction experiences with members of the host and heritage groups, (2) additional associations between interaction experiences and identification variables, and (3) immigrant sociocultural and psychological adaptation as results of acculturation.

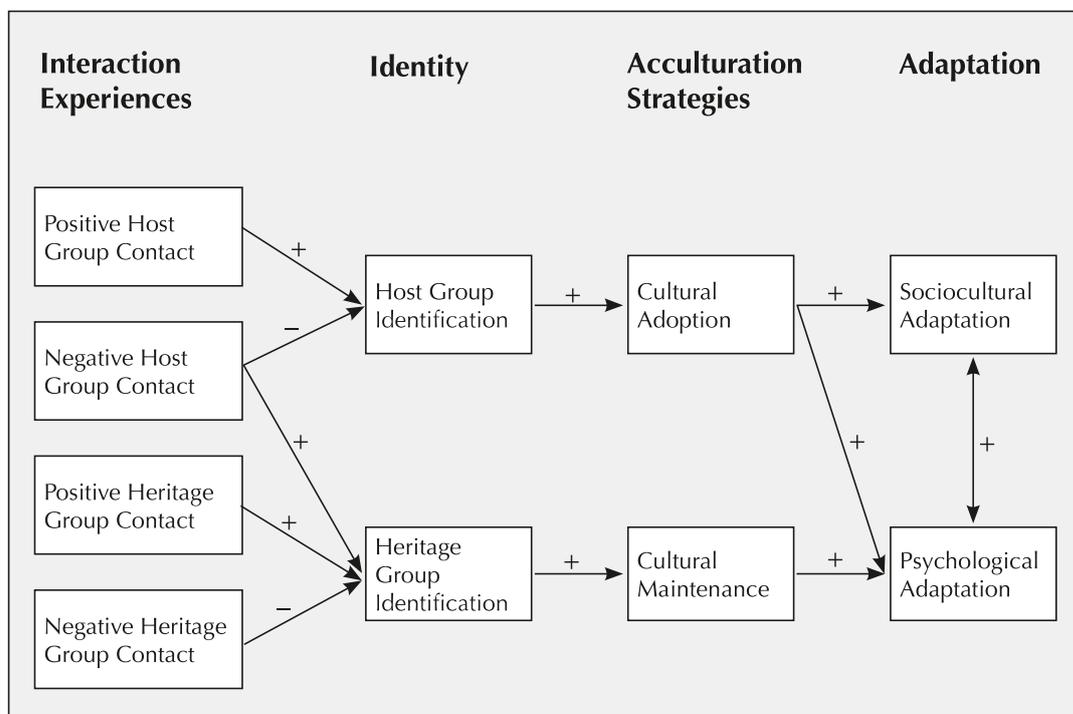


Figure 2: Integrative Framework of Successful Migration

Notes: Identification with other social groups (e.g., identification with the religious group) would be inserted in the *identity*-column. Associations with other variables depend on the relationships between the specific group and the host and heritage groups.

7.1 Practical implications

Positive *contact with members of the heritage group*, in form of family members, friends, or members of the religious group can be a crucial source of emotional and social support during the challenging process of migration. Families typically present the closest social relationships of individuals and can bring a range of strengths to the acculturation process (Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart & Kus, 2010). Unfortunately, often-times families become separated during or by migration (Suárez-Orozco, Todorova & Louie, 2002). In this case, friends from the heritage group or members of religious groups might function as substitutes for an intact family.

We posit that positive contact with members of the heritage group increases identification with the heritage group, which in turn relates positively to the attitude of cultural maintenance. Conversely, negative contact experiences with members of the heritage group in form of rejection or social exclusion lead to reduced identification with the heritage group. Moreover, feelings of belonging, acceptance, safety, and stability in times of change that result from positive contact with family members or close friends are important for individuals' well-being (e.g., Dolan, Peasgood & White, 2008) and thus contribute to the psychological adaptation of immigrants (e.g., Jibeen & Khalid, 2010).

Taking this into account, it seems essential to also target immigrants' foothold in their heritage group. Most integration programs focus on teaching immigrants the language, rules, laws, and values of the host society and aim at integrating them into social groups of the host society. While these are important goals in their own right, it is essential not to push immigrants into the acculturation strategy of assimilation (i.e., an exclusive orientation to the host culture, associated with lower well-being and more psychological problems, see Berry et al., 2006) and make them loose contact with

their heritage group. Thus, in order to support successful migration, it seems reasonable to support reunion of immigrant families to enable immigrants to live in intact as possible families and to support immigrants in building social networks not only with members of the host society but also with members of their heritage group.

Positive *contact with members of the host society*, in form of school- or work-mates, teammates, and partners in sports and leisure activities, or neighbors from the host society, that at best turn into friendships can have a powerful influence on successful migration (e.g., Ramos et al., 2015). Besides providing feelings of acceptance and social and emotional support, members of the host group can provide immigrants with instrumental help regarding language, customs and unwritten rules, or bureaucracy. Moreover, host group friends can use their networks to support immigrants, for example in the search for jobs or housing. Conversely, negative contact with members of the host group, in form of rejection and social exclusion (e.g., being rejected when trying to make friends, being not allowed to join social clubs due to being an immigrant), or discrimination (e.g., when experiencing unwarranted distrust or when not getting jobs or housing due to being an immigrant) negatively impacts immigrants' well-being (e.g., Mesch, Turjeman & Fishman, 2008) and undermines their identification with the host group and their orientation toward the host society (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Moreover, it can lead to dysfunctional beliefs about the permeability of group boundaries, which is related to sociocultural adjustment (e.g., Terry, Pelly, Lalonde & Smith, 2006). Considering the proposed model, successful migration can be fostered by promoting positive contact between host group members and immigrants. This can be achieved by integrating immigrants into regular schools and workplaces, social and sports clubs, and prevent segregation.

As detailed above, research has shown that pursuing an acculturation strategy of integration (i.e., pursuing cultural adoption and cultural maintenance in a balanced and positive way) leads to the most positive results in psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006). However, immigrants might hold dysfunctional beliefs about the compatibility of social identities and the feasibility of successful migration due to experienced or heard of negative contact with members of the host group. Getting in contact with or learning about already successfully adapted migrants might help to alleviate such dysfunctional beliefs. Research on *role modeling* shows that individuals chose role models that are successful with their behavior and that they can relate to, oftentimes because they share similarities regarding their backgrounds (Bandura, 1977). In this regard, the role modeling of celebrities with migration background, for instance in national soccer teams, in political offices, or in entertainment business, plays an important role in demonstrating opportunities and feasibility of successful sociocultural and psychological adaptation to new immigrants. In everyday life, members of their families and religious groups, friends, teachers, and colleagues with migration background serve as role models (e.g., Karunanayake & Nauta, 2004) and thus have a key role in influencing immigrants' beliefs about the feasibility of adaptation to the host group and their acculturation attitudes – in positive or negative ways. Providing immigrants with positive role models, for instance by means of community workers with migration background in religious groups, youth clubs, or sports clubs, might be a way to support successful adaptation.

7.2 Conclusion

Building on the model proposed by Badea et al. (2011) the present contribution reviews evidence for this model and for our

proposed extensions. Our extended model provides a theoretical framework integrating previously separate social psychological approaches with regard to successful migration (i.e., acculturation, and sociocultural and psychological adaptation), namely intergroup contact theory, social identity theory, and the rejection-identification models. We delineate practical implications and suggest some possible directions for facilitating and promoting successful migration. We hope that our model helps on the one hand to better understand the interplay of the various variables involved in the process of migration, and on the other hand, to support immigrants in their individual process of successful migration.

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Chapter 3

How Positive and Negative Contact Experiences Relate to Identification and Acculturation of Persons with a Migration Background: Differentiating between Majority, Minority, and Religious Group Identity

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Chapter 4

Identity Multiplicity, National Group Contact, and Acculturation: The Role of Identity-Related Cognitions

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Chapter 5

General Discussion

General Discussion

In the following discussion, I will revisit the main topics I presented in the Introduction. I will first provide a brief summary of the major research findings from the theoretical (Article 1) and empirical work (Articles 2 and 3). I will then discuss the respective findings, limitations, and future research opportunities. These reflections introduce additional aspects not considered in this detail in the corresponding sections of the articles. Last, I will provide an overarching perspective and a final conclusion.

A Comprehensive Model of PMB Acculturation

With migration as a major trend of our time and subsequently increasingly diverse societies, the need to understand the process of PMB acculturation and integration grows. To understand and describe this process comprehensively enables policymakers and institutions from the civil society to derive measures to promote integration and positively shape societal coexistence.

Social psychology studies key phenomena in the field of integration, such as the interaction between individuals, their identification with various social groups, and their will or unwillingness to adopt or maintain societal values and behaviors. However, many studies deal with very small-scale questions, which is why the policy community and the public do not consider the discipline very relevant for the integration debate (Verkuyten, 2018). This dissertation aims to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of acculturation and integration by bringing together different strands of theory, and therefore to contribute to be able to also consider larger questions.

Therefore, in Article 1, I reviewed literature on contact theory, social identity theory, acculturation theory, and immigrant adaptation theory. Based on this literature, I developed a framework to describe and examine PMB integration. The framework assumes that PMB's

positive and negative contact with the national group and with their ethnic group influences identification with these groups. Identification with these groups then affects the acculturation attitudes of cultural adoption and cultural maintenance. These in turn affect sociocultural and psychological adaptation. The framework is deliberately open in design, so that it is applicable in various contexts, also when, for example, other identity variables, or specific dependent variables need to be considered.

In Articles 2 and 3, I developed and tested two models that build on the framework developed in Article 1. The models assume that positive and negative contact with the national group (Articles 2 and 3) and with the ethnic group (Article 2) are related to the acculturation attitudes *cultural adoption* and *cultural maintenance*. The findings of Article 2 confirm the assumption that identification with the national group, with the ethnic group, and with the religious group mediate this relationship. In Article 3, I instead examined (and showed) the role of the identity-related cognitions *perceived permeability of the boundary between national and ethnic group*, *perceived compatibility of ethnic and national group identities*, and *perceived overlap of religious and ethnic group identities*. Importantly, the empirical results support the assumptions of the comprehensive framework.

Future Research Regarding Comprehensive Models of Acculturation

In my dissertation, I brought together contact theory (e.g., Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), and acculturation theory (e.g., Berry et al., 1989; Bourhis et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011) into a comprehensive framework and was able to support the assumptions with empirical studies. The fact that the framework is designed in an open way offers a variety of future research opportunities, some of which I would like to present in the following.

Cultural adoption and cultural maintenance are attitudes towards acculturation. And from attitudes, actions, individual changes, or adaptations can follow (Ajzen et al., 2018; Berry, 2011; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). I have already discussed one possible extension in Article 1: psychological and sociocultural adaptation as consequences of acculturation attitudes. While psychological adaptation refers to psychological well-being or satisfaction with life in the country of residence, sociocultural adaptation refers to the ability to acquire culturally appropriate skills and to ‘fit in’ with the social environment and daily life in the country of residence (Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Sociocultural adaptation is a direct consequence of the acculturation attitude *cultural adoption*. Psychological adaptation, in contrast, reflects a good balance of both acculturation attitudes (see also te Lindert et al., 2021).

Instead of examining adaptation to life in the new society in general (by looking at psychological and sociocultural adaptation), future research can also focus its attention on specific areas of life, such as education, employment, or health behaviors. The framework can then help to understand why, for example, groups of people with a particular migration background show deficits in those areas of life. It can show the influence of contact experiences and identification and thus, in the best case, point out possible courses of action for decision-makers.

One possible outcome of acculturation attitudes is **educational success** and PMB’s performance in educational institutions. Several studies have already been able to show this association. In that respect, Sheikh and Anderson (2018) found in a meta-analysis, that refugee’s and asylum seeker’s acculturation strategies of integration and assimilation, which both imply cultural adoption, were positively related with positive education outcomes, such as level of education, school adaption, school attachment or academic achievement. Moreover, in a study of Pontian student PMB from the former Soviet Union and Albanian student PMB in Greece, Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2008) found that involvement with national

(Greek) culture positively predicted school grades, conscientiousness, and non-disruptive behavior, and negatively predicted absenteeism. Schachner et al. (2017) found that both acculturation attitudes of students with a migration background in six European countries were associated to their feeling of school belonging, which in turn went along with better achievements in mathematics and a more positive attitude towards school, and less truancy.

Future studies may also expand the framework with an emphasis on **employment** and labor market success. Here, too, existing studies indicate an association. For example, Nekby and Rödén (2010) found that acculturation respectively identification towards the national group was positively related to employment probabilities. Furthermore, Samnani et al. (2013) have argued that PMB's acculturation strategies influence in which organizations they find work and which social networks they form. Both ultimately affect their income, career advancement, and employability.

A major area of existing research looks at the links between acculturation and **health** behaviors and health outcomes (for an overview, see Schwartz & Unger, 2017). Future studies could also add these variables to the framework. Failing PMB integration can cause or increase psychological and even physical suffering. In contrast, a positive and harmonious coexistence can contribute to well-being and promote a healthier lifestyle. For example, various studies have found associations between acculturation and dental health (Luo et al., 2018), depression (Meyer et al., 2023; Torres, 2010), or cardiovascular risk factors (López et al., 2014).

A Broad Understanding of Contact

The proposed framework is intended to include a broad understanding of interaction experiences. With the general concept of intergroup contact, I have gone beyond the basic model by Badea et al. (2011), which examines the very specific construct of perceived rejection. Nevertheless, the framework captures contact experiences in a differentiated way by

distinguishing between positive and negative experiences. The two are independent phenomena (e.g., Graf et al., 2014; Hayward et al., 2017), and should be measured independently (Pettigrew & Hewstone, 2017). Accordingly, the empirical studies in Articles 2 and 3 suggest that it is useful to employ such a concept. I was able to show that positive and negative contact experiences relate to PMB's social identification and acculturation attitudes in different ways.

By looking at positive and negative contact experiences, I was able to integrate different strands of theory; regarding positive contact, for example, research on friendships (e.g., Ramos et al., 2015), perceived acceptance (e.g., te Lindert et al., 2008), or just positively perceived everyday interactions (e.g., Hayward et al., 2018); and regarding negative contact, for example, research on perceived rejection (e.g., Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), discrimination (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), or negatively perceived everyday interactions (e.g., Hayward et al., 2018).

In Article 2, I found that for both samples positive contact with members of the national group was positively associated to cultural adoption, and that the association was partly mediated by identification with the national group. Negative contact with members of the national group showed considerably lower or no associations with cultural adoption. The results from Article 3 are consistent with these findings. Positive contact with members of the national group was associated with cultural adoption, directly and indirectly via perceived permeability of the boundary between national and ethnic group and was associated with perceived compatibility of membership in both groups. Again, negative contact showed lower or no associations with acculturation attitudes and identity-related cognitions.

Furthermore, the results of the studies in Article 2 highlighted that not only social interactions with the national majority group are related to social identity and acculturation attitudes of PMB, but also interaction experiences with members of their own ethnic group. I found (direct and indirect) associations between both positive and negative contact with

members of the ethnic group and cultural maintenance. Again, the associations including positive contact were stronger. The findings emphasize that future research on integration and acculturation should pay more attention to the influence of one's ethnic group on PMB than has been the case in the past.

Limitations and Future Research Regarding Contact

The consistently stronger total effects of positive contact compared to negative contact on identification with the respective group and the acculturation attitude toward it are noteworthy. This finding does not correspond to the findings of several previous studies, based on which the positive-negative contact asymmetry hypothesis was formulated (e.g., Barlow et al., 2012; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hayward et al., 2017). The hypothesis states that negative contact predicts increased prejudice more than positive contact predicts reduced prejudice. However, other studies also have contested the contact asymmetry hypothesis, finding stronger effects of positive contact (e.g., Pettigrew et al., 2011) or no or only little differences between the two forms of contact (e.g., Árnadóttir et al., 2018; Bekhuis et al., 2013). Fuochi et al. (2020) recently argued that these contrasting results may be due to different measures of contact, capturing more intimate or superficial contact. The rather general measures I used in the studies were intended to capture a broad range of contact experiences and therefore did not allow such a distinction. Moreover, in my dissertation, I examined the links of contact with *identification* with the respective groups and *acculturation* attitudes toward them (instead of prejudices and intergroup attitudes). As already discussed in detail in Article 2, it is therefore an opportunity for future research to examine more closely when and why positive contact shows stronger effects than negative contact, and when it is the other way around. Also, future studies may explore what difference it makes whether prejudice towards or belonging to a group is at stake.

Another future research opportunity concerns the specific manifestations of contact. The broad understanding of contact that I based the studies on reflects well the wide range of experiences that PMB encounter in their daily lives. However, it does not allow to draw conclusions about which specific types of experiences have a stronger or weaker impact on identification and acculturation attitudes. An indication that the nature of the experience might play an important role is provided by the already mentioned study by Fuochi et al. (2020), who found differences between more intimate and rather superficial contact experiences. The authors showed that positive contact shows stronger effects in intimate situations and negative contact in rather superficial encounters. A friendship with a member of a certain group probably has a stronger effect than a mere friendly encounter on the street. And regular experiences of rejection by complete strangers may have a stronger negative effect than a quarrel with an individual.

However, not all positive contact experiences are necessarily positively related to identification and cultural adoption, and conversely, not all negative experiences are necessarily related to weaker identification and less desire to adopt the national culture. In Article 3, I already referred to dependency-oriented helping as an example of positive contact tending to reinforce group differences (Nadler & Halabi, 2006; see page 100 of this dissertation). Regarding positive effects of negative contact, El-Mafaalani (2018) describes a phenomenon that he calls the integration paradox: that successful integration leads to more conflicts. Only when a certain degree of integration has been achieved can people with and without a migration background interact as equals. PMB are beginning to demand full social recognition and equal rights. This leads to conflicts, or rather, makes certain conflicts possible in the first place. Those involved may perceive such conflict situations as negative contact. However, they are based on a certain level of mutual acceptance as members of society, without which a discussion of certain topics would not be possible - and may strengthen PMB's sense of belonging and social identification.

Future research should therefore examine more closely the effects of different manifestations of positive and negative contact. Some recent studies already take this into account (for a review, see O'Donnell et al., 2021). For example, Keil and Koschate (2020) examine which encounters participants actually perceive as contact situations, and find a great personal and contextual variability. Harwood (2021) emphasizes the context of contact, arguing that the participants' degree of choice if and how to have contact influences its outcome. Therefore, as structural inequalities in society are linked to the ability for some groups to control their contact experiences more than others, contact has different effects in different settings. To give an obvious example, a PMB's friendly encounter with a caseworker at the immigration office when applying for a residence permit renewal may reduce rather than strengthen the sense of belonging. It is relevant with whom from the national or even their ethnic group PMB experience contact and in which setting, and whether the contact is voluntary. Moreover, future studies could examine the extent to which indirect forms of contact, such as extended contact (Zhou et al., 2019), are related to PMB's identification with specific groups and to acculturation attitudes. Altogether, future studies may take greater account of the nature of the contact and its context.

The Interplay of Different Social Identities

A major goal of the studies in this dissertation was to show that different social identities interact in the acculturation process of PMB, and to examine this interaction. The studies focus on PMB's identification with the national group, the ethnic group, and the religious group. Both models from Articles 2 and 3 conceptualize social identities as central variables in the relationship between contact and acculturation attitudes, but they examine their interplay in different ways.

It is a peculiarity of migration contexts that (first generation) PMB come to a new country where they encounter a group - the national group - that is initially an outgroup, but

of which they themselves become members in the process of integration. This process can span generations, and in its course PMB may or may not leave their original ingroup - the ethnic group (Dovidio et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). While most of the existing research on intergroup contact focuses on its effects on intergroup attitudes, I was able to show that contact is also related to identification with these groups (Article 2) and to the perception of the relationships between different groups (Article 3) – at least in migration contexts. Both are in turn related to acculturation attitudes. Furthermore, using religious identity as an example identity, I was able to show that not only national and ethnic identities play a role in the acculturation process.

In Article 2, I directly assessed national, ethnic, and religious identities. I was able to show that identifications with the three groups function as mediators in the relationship between contact with national and ethnic groups and acculturation attitudes. Building on these findings, I explored the role of identity-related cognitions in Article 3. I hypothesized that contact experiences would be related not only to identifications with different groups, but also to how PMB perceive social identities in relation to each other. I showed that contact experiences with the national group are related to how permeable PMB perceive the boundary between national and ethnic group and to how compatible they perceive membership in both groups. Both, in turn, are related to acculturation attitudes. Finally, I was able to show that perceived overlap of ethnic and religious identity is related to both the other two identity-related cognitions as well as cultural adoption - if the PMB's religion is a minority religion.

The findings shed light on the role that social identity plays in PMB's acculturation process. The studies' results go beyond the existing research and indicate that contact not only affects intergroup attitudes, but that contact with members of the national and ethnic groups is also related to PMB's identification with those groups, and how they perceive the groups in relation to each other. Furthermore, the results highlight that identification with additional

groups (e.g., the religious group) can lead to a complex interplay of social identities in the process of acculturation and integration.

Limitations and Future Research Regarding the Interplay of Social Identities

In the present studies, I have examined identification with specific social groups and certain relationships between social identities. In future studies, it would be insightful to look at other social identities and their interplay in an even more nuanced way.

In addition to or instead of religious identity, the framework may include *other social identities* in future studies. As mentioned above, examples include identification with residents of a particular city, region, or neighborhood, as well as political or sexual identities (Chung & Szymanski, 2006; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016; Hindriks et al., 2015). In the following, I will briefly address the identification with residents of a particular city, region, or neighborhood as an additional example.

The idea is that PMB, regardless of how much they identify or feel accepted as members of the national group, may identify as citizens of their city, residents of their quarter, or part of their neighborhood - that they feel they belong to a community. They then feel connected to the people in their immediate environment, regardless of whether these people belong to the national group or their own or another ethnic group. This also is a form of belonging and integration (into the local community). Community belonging will probably be related to contact with fellow neighborhood residents. In this process, they also acquire community-specific behaviors, i.e., acculturate.

Previous studies have shown that *community identity* can play a significant role in the integration process and that it can interact with other social identities in complex ways. For example, Fleischmann and Phalet (2016) have studied the interrelationships of national, city, ethnic, and Muslim identification of Turkish and Moroccan PMB in several European cities. They found that for PMB who perceived more personal discrimination (i.e., negative contact)

national and city identifications (which they shared with national majority group members) were conflicting with their (distinct) ethnic and religious identifications (i.e., negatively correlated). Moreover, Mannarini et al. (2018) found that a sense of community with the territorial community (i.e., the neighborhood) on the one hand and with the ethnic community on the other hand were related to PMB's acculturation strategies. Other studies have shown positive effects of community identification (or, respectively, neighborhood sense of belonging), for example, psychological empowerment (Lardier Jr., 2018) or well-being (Heath et al., 2017).

Another research opportunity regarding *the relationship of the different identities* concerns the understanding of *dual identity*. Like in many other studies, I measured identification with ethnic and national groups independently. Dual identifiers are those participants who identify with both groups. However, other understandings of dual identity exist. Some researchers understand dual identity as a blended (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) or merger identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Dual identity is then not the sum of its partial identities (national and ethnic), but more than that. For example, instead of asking about the participants' identification as German and as Greek separately, one would ask about their identification as Greek-German.

Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016) empirically compared the different conceptions of dual identity. They found that both conceptualizations of dual identity overlapped greatly, both in who is considered a dual identifier and in terms of specific intergroup relationships and psychological outcomes that they included in their analysis. In line with these findings, Martiny et al. (2017) found that PMB's dual identification was mainly driven by national identification, and less respectively not by ethnic identification. The authors also showed that positive national group contact positively affected dual and national identification, which in turn increased their feeling of being at home in the residence country. It would be interesting to see which results the direct assessment of a dual identity would show in the present

framework and how such a blended dual identity would interact with other identities, such as different (e.g., majority and minority) religious identities.

Another specific form of identity, in some ways related to dual identity, was developed as a construct in organizational psychology and is called *intergroup relational identity* (e.g., Hogg et al., 2012; Rast et al., 2020). This identity concept refers to identity content and comprises a self-definition in terms of one's group membership that incorporates the group's relationship with another group as part of the group's identity. Applied to the context of immigration, it would mean that PMB see themselves as part of the society of the country of residence. Specifically, their identity as society members with a specific (e.g., Hungarian) migration background includes their relationship with other society members with no or other migration backgrounds, which can be rather positive, constructive and friendly, or neutral, or rather negative, competitive and hostile.

It could be highly fruitful to integrate this identity concept into the present framework. Positive and negative contact would then presumably affect the relational part of identity, that is, the relationship to other societal groups (i.e., identity content). Moreover, it would be interesting to explore the pattern of relationships between intergroup relational identity and acculturation attitudes.

This concept of identity recognizes that PMB, too, are naturally members of the society of the country they live in – even if they do not identify with the national group. The concept is based on a strictly civic understanding of societal belonging (Brubaker, 1992; Pehrson et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Verkuyten et al., 2019). Studies have shown, that at least in organizational contexts, promoting an intergroup relational identity could be more successful and effective than promoting a collective identity, if members of the majority group felt their identity was threatened (Rast et al., 2018). Especially in countries defining national belonging in ethnic terms of heritage, like Germany (see Introduction, page 23), studying intergroup relational identity in the context of immigration can potentially help

to better understand how to live well together, without PMB necessarily identifying with the national group, in this case as Germans.

Last but not least, future studies may also integrate *other identity-related cognitions* into the framework that describe the relationships between different identities, especially between ethnic and national identities. For example, the socio-structural variables of *perceived stability and perceived legitimacy of group boundaries and group hierarchy*. If PMB, who are often a low-status group compared to people without a migration background, perceive group status as stable, then it seems rather impossible for them to improve the status of their ethnic group as a whole. Perceived legitimacy in migration contexts refers to whether PMB perceive status differences between national and ethnic identities as justified or unjust (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987).

Together with perceived permeability of group boundaries, stability and legitimacy are derived from the original social identity theory and are often studied together (Ellemers, 1993; Mummendey et al., 1999). Previous research has shown that the variables interact with each other and that they affect PMB's individual and collective social mobility strategies. Findings by Verkuyten and Reijerse (2008) support the assumptions made by social identity theory. The authors found that for persons with Turkish migration background in the Netherlands a legitimate interethnic structure meant rather unstable relations and permeable group boundaries. If participants considered ethnic intergroup relations as legitimate and stable, permeability was negatively related to Turkish identification and positively to Dutch identification. Thus, participants then chose a strategy of individual social mobility when possible.

It can be assumed that interaction experiences with members of the national and ethnic groups also influence perceptions of legitimacy and stability. Furthermore, strategies of social mobility resulting from perceived stability, legitimacy, and permeability are reflected in the acculturation attitudes of PMB. Augmenting additional identity-related cognitions like the two

mentioned into the framework in future research may therefore contribute to a deeper understanding of individual integration processes.

The Benefits of Diverse Samples

It proved useful to test each of the models in two different samples of PMB. In this way, I was on the one hand able to find commonalities between the samples and thus validate important parts of the model. Commonalities include, for example, the finding that positive contact with a particular group is more strongly related to the acculturation attitude toward that group than negative contact (Articles 2 and 3); or that perceived permeability mediates the association between positive contact and cultural adoption, and perceived compatibility moderates the relationship between cultural adoption and cultural maintenance (Article 3).

On the other hand, I found differences between the samples. One notable difference in Article 2, for example, was that I found the assumed negative association between identification with the religious group and cultural adoption only in the Muslim-Turkish sample. In the article's discussion (see page 72), I assumed that this association was related to a perceived incompatibility between Muslim and German identities and group affiliations that does not exist with respect to Christian Orthodox individuals.

In Article 3, I examined this difference between ethnic groups with different religious affiliations in more detail. And indeed, I found the hypothesized differences: The more Muslim Palestinian participants perceived their religious identity to overlap with their ethnic identity, the less they perceived the boundary between national and ethnic identity to be permeable and the less compatible they saw the two identities – and the less they aspired to adopt the national culture. As expected, there were no significant associations for Christian Hungarian participants.

Testing the assumptions in diverse samples does justice to the fact that social identities are always relational and context-dependent constructs (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al.,

1987). Migration contexts depend both on characteristics of the immigration group and on the situation in the country of residence. The use of diverse samples helps to distinguish general from sample-specific associations.

Methodological Limitations and Future Research

I examined the samples mainly for differences based on their religious affiliation. But, of course, different immigrant groups differ with respect to many other characteristics. Thus, future studies should examine further differences among immigrant groups. This includes, for example, the situation in the country of origin and the relationship between the country of origin and the country of residence and the PMB's legal status that may result from this. In Article 3, I have already discussed this aspect in relation to Palestinians, many of whom are refugees or who cannot easily return to their country of origin for other reasons, and Hungarians, who enjoy freedom of movement as citizens of an EU country (unless they have German citizenship anyway). In addition, future studies might address other differences in national and ethnic culture, such as differences between collectivistic and individualistic cultures (see discussion of Article 3) or differences in perceived cultural distance between ethnic and national culture (e.g., Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). Moreover, examining differences between countries of origin and residence regarding, for example, political systems, educational systems, or economic performance could allow drawing conclusions about different types of acculturation. What difference does the political system make in which individuals were socialized? Which values and knowledge they were taught in school, university or vocational training?

Other limitations and future research opportunities concern rather methodological aspects of the studies. First, since the studies were cross-sectional in nature, I was unable to draw conclusions about causal relationships among the studied variables. Although existing research supports the hypotheses, only future longitudinal studies would allow evidence of

causal relationships. Second, the use of single source data bears the risk of overestimating associations between the studied variables. Future studies could draw on additional data sources. In addition to PMB, their friends with and without a migration background could be asked for their assessment, or - in the case of recently immigrated PMB - teachers of their welcome classes or integration courses, depending on their age. Third, a self-report bias as well as a social desirability bias cannot be ruled out. All answers were self-reported, and the studies were carried out by German researchers at a German university, and respondents were asked about their experiences and attitudes toward Germans and the German culture. To minimize possible biases, future studies could, for example, record the frequency of actual contact situations over a period of time rather than query them (Keil et al., 2020). And instead of asking about acculturation attitudes, future studies might capture indicators that point to acculturation, such as the number of national and ethnic friends, club memberships, participation in specific events, or typical behaviors. And finally, sample sizes were too small to allow calculating complete multigroup structural equation models and test the equivalence of the corresponding measurement models, limiting the validity of comparisons across groups. Future studies should use larger samples if possible.

Integration of Findings and Overall Conclusion

In the current dissertation, three articles were presented that address the acculturation of persons with a migration background with a focus on contact experiences and social identification. Special attention was paid to the interplay of different social identities. In the first article, based on existing research (esp. Badea et al., 2011), a comprehensive framework was developed that brings together previously separate strands of theory: contact theory, social identity theory, and acculturation theory. The framework helps to better understand and improve PMB integration and acculturation and provides opportunities for prospective research. In the two empirical articles, the framework was tested using two models that build

on each other. The results highlight that PMB's acculturation attitudes are related to the experiences they make in interactions with members of the relevant groups and that processes of social identification play an important role in this relationship.

The results of the dissertation suggest that especially the ways in which identity processes work in the integration process of PMB should be investigated more closely in future studies. Future research should examine how various forms of interaction experiences influence the interplay of different social identities, and how this in turn influences the acculturation attitudes and integration success of the individuals involved. A comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms at work can help those responsible in academia, politics, and civil society to develop effective integration measures, policies, and interventions (some suggestions are already formulated in the three articles).

To sum it up, the dissertation makes several important contributions to the existing literature. First, it brings together social psychological theories previously studied mostly separately. Second, it shows that contact is not only related to intergroup attitudes but also to individuals' identification and acculturation attitudes, and in doing so it emphasizes the need to study contact in a differentiated way. Third, it highlights in a particular way the importance and complexity of the interplay of different social identities in the process of PMB acculturation and integration. And fourth, by using diverse samples, it points to the need to consider group-specific differences and cross-group similarities when examining migration-related hypotheses.

As Navid Kermani, quoted at the beginning of the Introduction, noted, people can identify with different groups at the same time, and can live with and in different cultures, loyalties, identities, and languages. This must be understood and acknowledged to constructively shape coexistence in an increasingly diverse society. Social psychology has contributed decisively in the past to the understanding of the coexistence and interaction of

individuals and social groups, of old and new citizens. This dissertation aimed to advance this understanding by bringing together social psychological theories into a framework.

As an overall conclusion of the dissertation, the studies showed that PMB attitudes toward acculturation are a result of the complex interplay of various interaction experiences and identification processes. The dissertation has shown in a particular way the extent to which different social identities contribute to acculturation. Future research should take more account of this complexity rather than looking solely at specific associations. The framework presented here provides a foundation for this.

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Appendix A

Overview of the Measures Used in this Dissertation

All answers were given either on 4-point Likert scales or on 7-point Likert scales (if not noted otherwise).

4-point Likert scale:

- English: never, seldom; sometimes; often
- German: nie; selten; gelegentlich; oft
- Greek: Ποτέ; Σπάνια; Μερικές φορές; Συχνά
- Turkish: hiç; nadir; bazen; sık sık
- Arabic: غالبا; احيانا; نادرا; ابدا
- Hungarian: soha; ritkán; alkalomadtán; gyakran

7-point Likert scale:

- English: disagree strongly; disagree; disagree slightly; neither agree nor disagree; agree slightly; agree; agree strongly
- German: stimme überhaupt nicht zu; stimme nicht zu; stimme eher nicht zu; teils, teils; stimme eher zu; stimme zu; stimme völlig zu
- Greek: Διαφωνώ σε μεγάλο βαθμό; Διαφωνώ; Μάλλον διαφωνώ; Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ; Μάλλον συμφωνώ; Συμφωνώ; Συμφωνώ σε μεγάλο βαθμό
- Turkish: hiç katılmıyorum; katılmıyorum; katılmamayı tercih ederim; ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum; katılma eğiliminde; katılıyorum; tamamen katılıyorum
- Arabic: موافق جزئيا على; على الارجح غير موافق على; غير موافق على; غير موافق اطلاقا على; موافق تماما على; موافق على; على الارجح موافق على
- Hungarian: egyáltalán nem értek egyet; nem értek egyet; kevésbé értek egyet; részben egyetértek; többnyire egyetértek; egyetértek; teljes mértékben egyetértek

Contact Measures

Positive and Negative Contact with the National [Ethnic] Group (Chapter 3, Sample 1)

Adapted from Heitmeyer, W. (2004). Deutsche Zustaende. Folge 3 [The German situation, Part 3]. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Suhrkamp Verlag. English version by Pettigrew, T. F. (2008). Future directions for intergroup contact theory and research. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32, 187–199.

Answers were given on 4-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

Now we would like to know about your experiences interacting with **Germans [Greeks] in Germany**. Please indicate your response by ticking the box that best describes your own experience.

- How often has a German [Greek] in Germany helped you?
- How often have you had interesting conversations with a German [Greek] in Germany?
- How often has a German [Greek] in Germany pestered you?

Now think about encounters with **Germans [Greeks] in Germany**. How often have you experienced the following feelings?

- Satisfied
- Cheerful
- Angry
- Irritated
- Fearful

German Version (Chapter 3, Sample 1)

Jetzt würden wir gerne etwas über Ihre Erfahrungen im Umgang mit **Deutschen [Griechen] in Deutschland** erfahren. Bitte antworten Sie, indem Sie jeweils das Feld markieren, das Ihre Erfahrung am besten wiedergibt.

- Wie oft hat Ihnen ein/e Deutsche/r [Grieche/in] in Deutschland geholfen?
- Wie oft hatten Sie interessante Gespräche mit einer/m Deutschen [Griechen/in] in Deutschland?
- Wie oft hat Sie ein/e Deutsche/r [Grieche/in] in Deutschland belästigt?

Denken Sie nun an Begegnungen mit **Deutschen [Griechen] in Deutschland**. Wie oft haben Sie sich folgendermaßen gefühlt?

- Zufrieden
- Froh
- Verärgert
- Gereizt
- Ängstlich

Greek Version (Chapter 3, Sample 1)

Τώρα θα θέλαμε να μάθουμε για τις εμπειρίες σας κατά την αλληλεπίδρασή σας με **Γερμανούς/-ίδες [Ελληνες/-ίδες] στη Γερμανία**. Παρακαλούμε δώστε την απάντησή σας σημειώνοντας με X το κουτί που περιγράφει καλύτερα την προσωπική σας εμπειρία.

- Πόσο συχνά σας έχει βοηθήσει ένας/μία Γερμανός/-ίδα [Ελληνας/-ίδα] στη Γερμανία;
- Πόσο συχνά είχατε ενδιαφέρουσες συζητήσεις με έναν/μία Γερμανό/-ίδα [Ελληνα/-ίδα] στη Γερμανία;
- Πόσο συχνά σας έχει ενοχλήσει ένας/μία Γερμανός/-ίδα [Ελληνας/-ίδα] στη Γερμανία;

Τώρα σκεφτείτε τις συναντήσεις σας με **Γερμανούς/-ίδες [Ελληνες/-ίδες] στη Γερμανία**. Πόσο συχνά έχετε βιώσει τα παρακάτω συναισθήματα;

- Ικανοποιημένος/-η
- Εύθυμος/-η
- Θυμωμένος/-η
- Εκνευρισμένος/-η
- Φοβισμένος/-η

Positive and Negative Contact with the National [Ethnic] Group (Chapter 3, Sample 2; Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

Adapted from Dhont, K., & Van Hiel, A. (2009). We must not be enemies: Interracial contact and the reduction of prejudice among authoritarians. Personality and Individual Differences, 46, 172–177.

Answers were given on 4-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

Positive Contact

- How often do you have pleasant contact with Germans [Turks] in Germany?
- How often did you have positive experiences with Germans [Turks] in Germany up till now?
- How often do you have constructive contact with Germans [Turks] in Germany?
- How often do you have friendly contact with Germans [Turks] in Germany?

Negative Contact

- How often do you have unpleasant contact with Germans [Turks] in Germany?
- How often did you have negative experiences with Germans [Turks] in Germany until now?
- How often do you have a conflict with Germans [Turks] in Germany?
- How often do you have hostile contact with Germans [Turks] in Germany?

German Version (Chapter 3, Sample 2; Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

Positive Contact

- Wie oft haben Sie angenehmen Kontakt mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland?
- Wie oft haben Sie bisher positive Erfahrungen mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland gemacht?
- Wie oft haben Sie konstruktiven Kontakt mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland?
- Wie oft haben Sie freundlichen Kontakt mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland?

Negative Contact

- Wie oft haben Sie unangenehmen Kontakt mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland?
- Wie oft haben Sie bisher negative Erfahrungen mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland gemacht?
- Wie oft haben Sie Konflikte mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland?
- Wie oft haben Sie feindseligen Kontakt mit Deutschen [Türken] in Deutschland?

Turkish Version (Chapter 3, Sample 2)

Positive Contact

- Almanya'daki Almanlarla [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta olumlu temasta bulunuyorsunuz?
- Bugüne dek Almanya'daki Almanlarla [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta pozitif tecrübeleriniz oldu?
- Almanya'daki Almanlara [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta yapıcı ilişkileriniz oldu?
- Almanya'daki Almanlarla [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta dostane temasta bulunuyorsunuz?

Negative Contact

- Almanya'daki Almanlarla [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta olumsuz temasta bulunuyorsunuz?
- Bugüne dek Almanya'daki Almanlarla [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta olumsuz tecrübeleriniz oldu?
- Almanya'daki Almanlarla [Türklerle] ne sıklıkta çatışma yaşıyorsunuz?
- Ne sıklıkta Almanya'daki Almanlar [Türklerle] tarafından düşmanca bir tutumla karsilasiyorsunuz?

Arabic Version (Chapter 4, Sample 1)

Positive Contact

- كم مره حظيت بتواصل لائق مع الالمان في المانيا؟
- كم مره حتى الان حظيت بتجارب اجابيه مع الالمان في المانيا؟
- كم مره حظيت بتواصل بناء مع الالمان في المانيا؟
- كم مره حظيت بتواصل ودي مع الالمان في المانيا؟

Negative Contact

- كم مره حظيت بتواصل غير لائق مع الالمان في المانيا؟
- كم مره حتى الان حظيت بتجارب سلبيه مع الالمان في المانيا؟
- كم مره حظيت بخلافات مع الالمان في المانيا؟
- كم مره حظيت بتواصل عدواني مع الالمان في المانيا؟

Hungarian Version (Chapter 4, Sample 2)

Positive Contact

- Milyen gyakran kerül kellemes kapcsolatba a németekkel Németországban?
- Milyen gyakran volt pozitív tapasztalata Németországban a németekkel?
- Milyen gyakran van konstruktív kapcsolata Németországban a németekkel?
- Milyen gyakran van barátságos kapcsolata Németországban a németekkel?

Negative Contact

- Milyen gyakran kerül kellemetlen kapcsolatba Németországban a németekkel?
- Milyen gyakran volt negatív tapasztalata Németországban a németekkel?
- Milyen gyakran van konfliktusa Németországban a németekkel?
- Milyen gyakran kerül ellenséges kapcsolatba Németországban a németekkel?

Social Identity Measures

Identification with the religious group (Chapter 3; Samples 1 & 2)

Adapted from Verkuyten, M., & Yildiz, A. A. (2007). National (dis)identification and ethnic and religious identity: A study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33, 1448–1462.

Answers were given on 7-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

- My Orthodox Christian [Muslim] identity is an important part of myself.
- I identify strongly with Orthodox Christians [Muslims].
- I feel a strong attachment to Orthodox Christians [Muslims].
- Being an Orthodox Christian [a Muslim] is a very important part of how I see myself.
- I am proud of my Orthodox Christian [Muslim] background.
- I feel a strong sense of belonging to Christian Orthodoxy [Islam].

German Version (Chapter 3, Samples 1 & 2)

- Meine christlich-orthodoxe [muslimische] Identität ist ein wichtiger Teil von mir.
- Ich identifiziere mich stark mit orthodoxen Christen [Muslimen].
- Ich empfinde eine starke Bindung zu orthodoxen Christen [Muslimen].
- Ein orthodoxer Christ [Muslim] zu sein ist ein sehr wichtiger Teil dessen, wie ich mich selbst sehe.
- Ich bin stolz auf meinen christlich-orthodoxen [muslimischen] Hintergrund.
- Ich empfinde ein starkes Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zur orthodoxen Christenheit [zum Islam].

Greek Version (Chapter 3, Sample 1)

- Η Χριστιανική Ορθόδοξη ταυτότητά μου είναι ένα σημαντικό κομμάτι του εαυτού μου.
- Ταυτίζομαι σε μεγάλο βαθμό με τους Χριστιανούς Ορθοδόξους .
- Νιώθω ένα δυνατό δεσμό με τους Χριστιανούς Ορθοδόξους.
- Το γεγονός ότι είμαι Χριστιανός Ορθόδοξος είναι ένα πολύ σημαντικό κομμάτι του πώς βλέπω τον εαυτό μου.
- Είμαι περήφανος/-η για το Χριστιανικό Ορθόδοξο υπόβαθρό μου.
- Νιώθω ένα ισχυρό αίσθημα του ανήκειν στη Χριστιανική Ορθοδοξία.

Turkish Version (Chapter 3, Sample 2)

- Benim müslümanım kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.
- Kendimi diğer müslümanlarla oldukça özdeşleştiriyorum.
- Diğer müslümanlara karşı güçlü bir bağlılık hissediyorum.
- Müslüman olmak benliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.
- Müslüman kökenimden gurur duyuyorum.
- İslama karşı güçlü bir aidiyet duygusu hissediyorum.

Identification with the National [Ethnic] group (Chapter 3, Samples 1 & 2)

Adapted from Verkuyten, M., & Yildiz, A. A. (2007). National (dis)identification and ethnic and religious identity: A study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33, 1448–1462.

Answers were given on 7-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

- I identify with the Germans [Greeks/Turks].
- I feel myself to be German [Greek/Turkish].
- I feel connected to the Germans [Greeks/Turks].
- I feel emotionally involved with the Germans [Greeks/Turks].
- I sometimes feel proud of the Germans [Greeks/Turks].

German Version (Chapter 3, Samples 1 & 2)

- Ich identifiziere mich mit den Deutschen [Griechen/Türken].
- Ich fühle mich selbst deutsch [griechisch/türkisch].
- Ich fühle mich den Deutschen [Griechen/Türken] verbunden.
- Ich fühle mich bei den Deutschen [Griechen/Türken] emotional beteiligt.
- Ich bin manchmal stolz auf die Deutschen [Griechen/Türken].

Greek Version (Chapter 3, Sample 1)

- Ταυτίζομαι με τους Γερμανούς [Έλληνες].
- Νιώθω Γερμανός/-ίδα [Έλληνας/-ίδα].
- Νιώθω συνδεδεμένος/-η με τους Γερμανούς [Έλληνες].
- Νιώθω συναισθηματικά εμπλεκόμενος/-η με τους Γερμανούς [Έλληνες].
- Μερικές φορές νιώθω περήφανος/-η για τους Γερμανούς [Έλληνες].

Turkish Version (Chapter 3, Sample 2)

- Kendimi Almanlarla [Türklerle] özdeşleştiriyorum.
- Kendimi Alman [Türk] hissediyorum.
- Almanlarla [Türklerle] bağım olduğunu hissediyorum.
- Almanlarla [Türklerle] duygusal bir bağım olduğunu hissediyorum.
- Bazen Almanlarla [Türklerle] gurur duyuyorum.

Perceived Overlap of Religious and Ethnic Group Identities (Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

Adapted from Shamir, B., & Kark, R. (2004). A single-item graphic scale for the measurement of organizational identification. Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 77, 115–123.

Answers were given as described below.

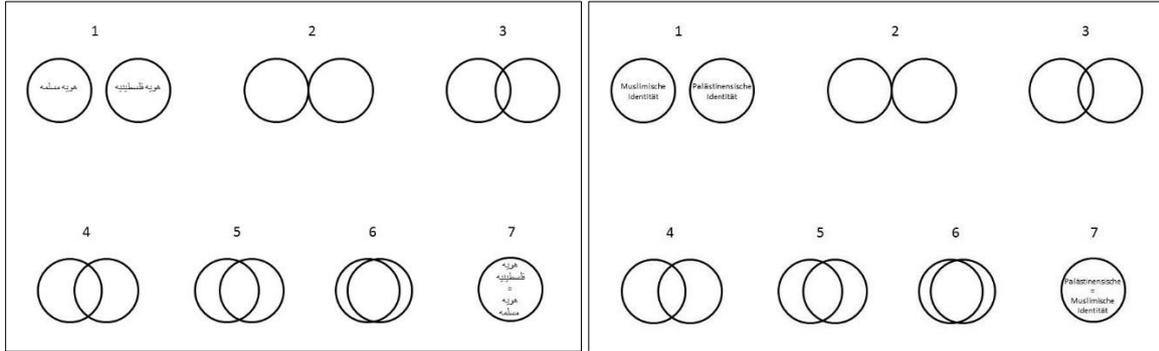
German Version (Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

Wir bitten Sie nun, an das von Ihnen wahrgenommene Verhältnis von muslimischer [christlicher] Identität und palästinensischer [ungarischer] Identität zu denken. Einer der unten abgebildeten Kreise symbolisiert jeweils die muslimische [christliche] Identität, der andere Kreis jeweils die palästinensische [ungarische] Identität. Berühren sich die beiden Kreise nicht (Darstellung 1), bedeutet dies, dass die beiden Identitäten vollkommen unabhängig voneinander sind. Liegen die beiden Kreise direkt aufeinander (Darstellung 7), dann entsprechen sich die beiden Identitäten: Palästinensisch [Ungarisch] zu sein ist dann gleichbedeutend damit, muslimisch [christlich] zu sein. Bitte geben Sie an, welche Darstellung Ihrer Meinung nach das Verhältnis der beiden Identitäten am besten abbildet, indem Sie das Feld mit der entsprechenden Nummer ankreuzen.

Arabic Version (Chapter 4, Sample 1)

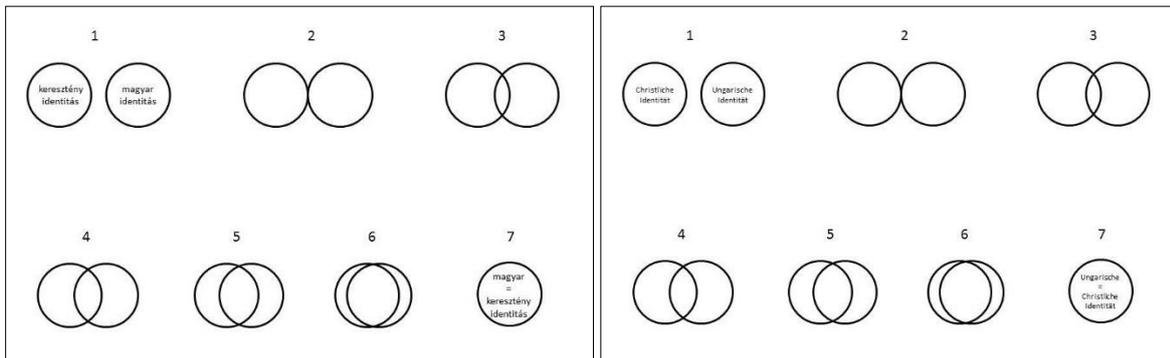
رجاء التفكير باستيعابك للعلاقة بين الهوية الاسلاميه والهويه الفلسطينيه احدى الدوائر امامك ترمز

الى الهوية الاسلاميه بينما الاخرى ترمز للهويه الفلسطينيه في حاله عدم التماس الدائرتين (الشكل رقم 1) يعني ذلك ان الهويتين غير مرتبطتين تماما في حاله تطابق الدوائر فوق بعض في هاذه الحاله تتساوى الهويتين (الشكل رقم 7): انت تكون فلسطيني يعني نفس الشيء ان تكون مسلم. رجاء اشر الى الشكل الذي يعكس راعيك على الوجه الافضل بالنسبه للعلاقه بين الهويتين عن طريق وضع اشاره على الخانه مع الرقم المناسب



Hungarian Version (Chapter 4, Sample 2)

Kérjük, gondoljon az Ön által megfigyelt magyar, illetve keresztény identitás közötti viszonyra. Az alább lerajzolt körök egyike a magyar identitást, a másik a keresztény identitást szimbolizálja. Amennyiben a két kör nem érinti egymást (1. ábra), az azt jelenti, hogy a két identitás teljes mértékben független egymástól. Amennyiben a két kör teljesen fedi egymást (7. ábra), akkor a két identitás egyenlő: magyarnak lenni annyit tesz, mint kereszténynek lenni. Kérjük, adja meg a megfelelő szám beikszelésével, hogy véleménye szerint melyik ábra mutatja leginkább a két identitás viszonyát.



Perceived Permeability of the Boundary Between National and Ethnic Group (Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

Adapted from Mummendey, A., Klink, A., Mielke, R., Wenzel, M., & Blanz, M. (1999). Socio-structural characteristics of intergroup relations and identity management strategies: Results from a field study in East Germany. European Journal of Social Psychology, 29, 259–285.

Answers were given on 7-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

- No matter what effort s/he makes, a Palestinian [Hungarian] will never become a German.
- In principle, it is not difficult for a Palestinian [Hungarian] to be considered as a German.
- For a Palestinian [Hungarian] it is nearly impossible to be regarded as a German.

German Version (Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

- Egal, wie sehr er oder sie sich bemüht, ein Palästinenser/eine Palästinenserin [ein Ungar/eine Ungarin] wird nie ein Deutscher/eine Deutsche werden.
- Grundsätzlich ist es nicht schwierig für einen Palästinenser/eine Palästinenserin [einen Ungar/eine Ungarin], als Deutscher/Deutsche zu gelten.
- Für einen Palästinenser /eine Palästinenserin [ein Ungar/eine Ungarin] ist es nahezu unmöglich als Deutscher/Deutsche angesehen zu werden.

Arabic Version (Chapter 4, Sample 1)

- بغض النظر عن الجهد الذي يبذله الفلسطيني او الفلسطينيه لن يستطيع يصبح الماني او المانيه
- مبدئيا ليس من الصعب للفلسطيني او الفلسطينيه بان يعتبر او تعتبر الماني او المانيه
- بالنسبه للفلسطيني او الفلسطينيه فانه تقريبا غير ممكن بان يُنظر اليه كالماني او كالمانيه

Hungarian Version (Chapter 4, Sample 2)

- Mindegy, hogy egy magyar mennyire igyekszik, soha sem lesz belőle német.
- Alapvetően egy magyar számára nem nehéz németnek számítani.
- Egy magyar számára szinte lehetetlen, hogy németként tekintsenek rá.

Perceived Compatibility of National and Ethnic Group Identities (Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

Adapted from Martinovic, B., & Verkuyten, M. (2012). Host national and religious identification among Turkish Muslims in Western Europe: The role of ingroup norms, perceived discrimination and value incompatibility. European Journal of Social Psychology, 42, 893–903; and Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2012). Social identity complexity and immigrants' attitude toward the host nation: The intersection of ethnic and religious group identification. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 38, 1165–1177.

Answers were given on 7-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

- To what extent do you feel that being German is incompatible with being Palestinian [Hungarian]?
- German values and norms are contradictory to Palestinian [Hungarian] values and norms.
- Palestinian [Hungarian] and German ways of life are irreconcilable.

German Version (Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

- Inwieweit haben Sie das Gefühl, dass deutsch zu sein unvereinbar damit ist, palästinensisch [ungarisch] zu sein?
- Deutsche Werte und Normen stehen im Widerspruch zu palästinensischen [ungarischen] Werten und Normen.
- Palästinensische [ungarische] und deutsche Lebensweisen sind unvereinbar.

Arabic Version (Chapter 4, Sample 1)

- الى اي مدى تملك الشعور بان تكون الماني من الممكن ان يتعارض مع كونك فلسطيني
- القيم والمعايير الالمانية تتناقض مع القيم والمعايير الفلسطينية
- اساليب الحياة الالمانية والفلسطينية تتعارض مع بعضها البعض

Hungarian Version (Chapter 4, Sample 2)

- Mennyire érzi úgy, hogy egyszerre németnek és magyarnak lenni összeegyeztethetetlen?
- A német értékek és normák ellentmondásban állnak a magyar értékekkel és normákkal.
- A magyar és német életvitel összeegyeztethetetlen.

Acculturation Measures***Cultural Adoption [Maintenance] (Chapter 3, Samples 1 & 2; Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)***

Adapted from Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or bidimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-identity, and adjustment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79, 49–65.

Answers were given on 7-point Likert scales (see page VIII).

English Version

- I often participate in German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] cultural traditions.
- I would be willing to marry a German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] person.
- I enjoy social activities with German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] people.
- I am comfortable working with German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] people.
- I enjoy German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] entertainment (e.g., movies, music).
- I often behave in ways that are ‘typically German’ [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian].
- It is important for me to maintain or develop German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] cultural practices.
- I believe in German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] values.
- I enjoy German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] jokes and humor.
- I am interested in having German [Greek/Turkish/Palestinian/Hungarian] friends.

German Version (Chapter 3, Samples 1 & 2; Chapter 4, Samples 1 & 2)

- Ich nehme oft an deutschen [griechischen/türkischen/palästinensischen/ungarischen] kulturellen Traditionen teil.
- Ich wäre bereit eine deutsche [griechische/türkische/palästinensische/ungarische] Person zu heiraten.
- Ich mag soziale Aktivitäten mit deutschen [griechischen/türkischen/palästinensischen/ungarischen] Personen.
- Ich fühle mich wohl dabei, mit deutschen [griechischen/türkischen/palästinensischen/ungarischen] Personen zu arbeiten.
- Ich mag deutsche [griechische/türkische/palästinensische/ungarische] Unterhaltung (z. B. Filme, Musik).
- Ich verhalte mich oft 'typisch deutsch' [griechisch/türkisch/palästinensisch/ungarisch].
- Es ist mir wichtig, deutsche [griechische/türkische/palästinensische/ungarische] kulturelle Praktiken zu erhalten oder weiterzuentwickeln.
- Ich glaube an die deutschen [griechischen/türkischen/palästinensischen/ungarischen] Werte.
- Ich mag deutsche [griechische/türkische/palästinensische/ungarische] Witze und Humor.
- Es ist mir wichtig, deutsche [griechische/türkische/palästinensische/ungarische] Freunde zu haben.

Greek Version (Chapter 3, Sample 1)

- Συμμετέχω συχνά σε γερμανικές [ελληνικές] πολιτιστικές παραδόσεις.
- Θα ήμουν πρόθυμος/-η να παντρευτώ έναν/μία Γερμανό/-ίδα [Ελληνα/-ίδα].
- Απολαμβάνω τις κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες με Γερμανούς [Ελληνες].
- Νιώθω άνετα να δουλεύω με Γερμανούς [Ελληνες].
- Απολαμβάνω τη γερμανική [την ελληνική] ψυχαγωγία (π.χ., ταινίες, μουσική).
- Συχνά συμπεριφέρομαι με τρόπους που είναι "χαρακτηριστικά γερμανικοί" [ελληνικοί].
- Είναι σημαντικό για εμένα να διατηρήσω ή να αναπτύξω γερμανικές [ελληνικές] πολιτιστικές πρακτικές.
- Πιστεύω στις γερμανικές [ελληνικές] αξίες.
- Απολαμβάνω τα γερμανικά [ελληνικά] αστεία και χιούμορ.
- Είναι σημαντικό για μένα να έχω Γερμανούς/-ίδες [Ελληνες/-ίδες] φίλους/-ες.

Turkish Version (Chapter 3, Sample 2)

- Alman [Türk] kültürel geleneklerini sık sık uygularım.
- Bir Alman [Türk] ile evlenebilirim.
- Almanlarla [Türklerle] sosyal etkinliklere katılmayı seviyorum.
- Alman [Türk] kişilerle çalışırken kendimi iyi hissediyorum.
- Almanca [Türkçe] eğlenceyi severim (mesela film, şarkı).
- Sık sık "tipik bir Alman" [Türk] gibi davranırım.
- Benim için Alman [Türk] geleneklerini korumak veya geliştirmek önemlidir.
- Alman [Türk] değerlerine inanıyorum.
- Alman [Türk] fıkra ve mizahını seviyorum.
- Benim için Alman [Türk] arkadaşlarımın olması önemli.

Arabic Version (Chapter 4, Sample 1)

- اشارك غالبا بالتقاليد الثقافيه [الفلسطينيه] الالمانيه
- انا على استعداد بالزواج بشخص [فلسطيني] الماني
- ارغب بانشطه اجتماعيه مع [الفلسطينيين] الالمان
- اشعر بالراحه عند العمل مع اشخاص [اشخاص فلسطينيين] المان
- رغب في التسالي [الفلسطينيه] الالمانيه كالافلام والموسيقى
- اتصرف غالبا [كفلسطيني] كالماني بحت
- من المهم بالنسبه لي الحصول على الممارسات الثقافيه [الفلسطينيه] الالمانيه او السعي لتطورها
- اؤمن بالقيم [الفلسطينيه] الالمانيه
- احب النكت وروح الفكاهه [الفلسطينيه] الالمانيه
- من المهم بالنسبه الي ان يكون لي اصحاب [فلسطينيين] المان

Hungarian Version (Chapter 4, Sample 2)

- Gyakran veszek részt tradicionális német [magyar] kultúreseményeken.
- Hajlandó lennék egy némettel [magyarral] házasságot kötni.
- Szeretek németekkel [magyarokkal] társasági életet élni.
- Jól érzem magam, ha németekkel [magyarokkal] dolgozhatok együtt.
- Szeretem a német [magyar] szórakozási lehetőségeket (pl.: filmek, zene).
- Gyakran viselkedem 'tipikus németként' [magyarként].
- Fontosnak tartom a német [magyar] kulturális szokásokat elsajátítani illetve elmélyíteni.
- Hiszek a német [magyar] értékekben.
- Szeretem a német [magyar] vicceket és humort.
- Fontosnak tartom, hogy legyenek német [magyar] barátaim.

Appendix B

Individual Contributions to Research Papers

Chapter 2: Psychological and social conditions of successful migration: Towards an integrative framework

Frederick Sixtus: Conceptualization, Writing – Original draft preparation

Jenny S. Wesche: Conceptualization, Writing – Review & Editing (shared first-authorship)

Rudolf Kerschreiter: Conceptualization, Writing – Review & Editing, Supervision

Chapter 3: How positive and negative contact experiences relate to identification and acculturation of persons with a migration background: differentiating between majority, minority, and religious group identity

Frederick Sixtus: Conceptualization, Investigation, Data Curation, Methodology, Formal Analysis, Writing – Original draft preparation

Jenny S. Wesche: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal Analysis, Writing – Original draft preparation (shared first-authorship)

Katerina Tsantila: Conceptualization, Investigation (only Study 1), Formal Analysis (only Study 1), Writing – Review & Editing

Rudolf Kerschreiter: Conceptualization, Writing – Review & Editing, Supervision

The following thesis contributed to data collection:

Bergmann, M. (2016). *Untersuchung des Einflusses von wahrgenommener Ablehnung durch die Mehrheitsgesellschaft auf ethnische, nationale und religiöse Identifikation von Menschen mit türkischer Migrationsgeschichte in Deutschland* (unpublished bachelor's thesis). Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.

Chapter 4: Identity multiplicity, national group contact, and acculturation: The role of identity-related cognitions

Frederick Sixtus: Conceptualization, Investigation, Data Curation, Methodology, Formal Analysis, Writing – Original draft preparation

Jenny S. Wesche: Methodology, Formal Analysis, Writing – Review & Editing

Rudolf Kerschreiter: Conceptualization, Writing – Review & Editing, Supervision

The following theses contributed to data collection:

Eljarushi, I. (2018). *Einfluss von Kontakten mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft auf die nationale und ethnische Identität palästinensischer Migranten* (unpublished bachelor's thesis). Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.

Ladányi, J. (2018). *Acculturation attitudes in relation to intergroup contact among Hungarian immigrants living in Germany* (unpublished bachelor's thesis). Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.

Appendix C

Curriculum Vitae

Mein Lebenslauf wird aus Gründen des Datenschutzes in der elektronischen Fassung meiner Arbeit nicht veröffentlicht.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die vorgelegte Arbeit selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel verwendet habe. Die Arbeit ist in keinem früheren Promotionsverfahren angenommen oder abgelehnt worden.

Berlin, den 25.04.2023

Frederick Sixtus