

Collective Action of Immigrants from Turkey Living in Germany

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To all migrants

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ABSTRACT

This PhD project seeks to understand under which conditions immigrants in Germany engage in collective action in order to challenge the disadvantageous living conditions. Discrimination in employment, housing, and schooling might be some of the disadvantageous conditions which immigrants may face in everyday life in Germany (*e.g.*, Caglar, 2001; De Jong, 2001; Kalter & Granato, 2002). That is to say, the reciprocal desire to initiate migration processes after the WW-II, resulted in conflicting relations between immigrants and Germans when immigrants decided to settle down (Abadan-Unat, 2002; Cohen, 1987; Marshall, 2000; Soysal, 1994; Penninx, 1982). To date, the topic of migration and migrants has been the focus of various social scientific studies; however, there has not been much research on collective action of immigrants in general, and immigrants from Turkey, in particular. By “immigrants from Turkey”, we mean people who migrated from Turkey to Germany, but are not necessarily Turkish nationals.

We take collective action as any action that is done by a group member (*e.g.*, an immigrant) in order to favor the group interests or to enhance the collective status of a disadvantaged group (*e.g.*, Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997; Reicher, 2004; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000; Wright, 2001, 2003; Wright *et al.*, 1990), which does not necessarily exclude the individuals’ interests or status enhancement. To us, any action which is initiated to favor individual interests may also serve enhancing the collective interests or status. Therefore, independent from the initial motivation, collective action occurs when at the end a collective gain is reached. Related to this, collective action may be done either individually (*e.g.*, signing a petition) or within the group (*e.g.*, marching in a demonstration) as some scholars argue (*e.g.*, Wright, 2001, 2003).

The social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) puts forward that conflict between groups make group membership highly salient for the group members. In this respect, the intergroup relations between Germans and immigrants in Germany make the group membership salient to the immigrants. Beyond that the triadic relation between immigrants, their homelands, and the country of their settlement impacts the social identities of the immigrants (Koopmans & Statham, 2001). As ingroup identification with a disadvantaged group is one of the crucial factors affecting collective action (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), we measured ingroup identification with country of origin as well as with *Ausländer* in the present work. Besides, we assessed identification with Germans (*i.e.*, advantaged group) to

examine its effect on collective action. Following the distinction by some scholars (*e.g.*, Klandermans *et al.*, 2002, 2004) we furthermore distinguished ingroup identification into the affective and the behavioral components that we assume that different components affect on collective action either as a mediator or a moderator.

Relying on SIT, we are interested in the question how an individual immigrant values him or herself if the immigrant group is devaluated as low-status or disadvantageous in the host society. According to SIT, social change/competition is one of the strategies that might be chosen in order to maintain a positive social identity. This strategy refers to improving the overall societal situation of a group held in low status or esteem. It is necessary to consider three sets of conditions (belief system) in order to understand how members of disadvantaged groups will act: perception of permeability about the intergroup boundaries, perception of legitimacy and of stability about the intergroup status relations. Based on SIT conceptualization, we assume that if immigrants perceive the intergroup boundaries between immigrants and Germans as impermeable and the intergroup relations as insecure (illegitimate and unstable), then it is more likely for them to perceive conflict and engage in collective action. But, the few attempts having been conducted with other than immigrant groups which include all three belief system variables (perceived permeability, legitimacy, and stability) indicate inconsistent findings (*e.g.*, Ellemers *et al.*, 1993; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999b; Boen & Vanbeselare, 2000, 2002). Therefore, in the present work we tested these relations in the context of migration.

Another important factor affecting collective action is perceived grievances (*e.g.*, Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Pettigrew, 1986; Simon & Klanderman, 2001). One of the perceived grievances is the perception of discrimination and another is the relative deprivation. The level at which perceived discrimination occurs has specific behavioral implications: Perceived discrimination against the group as a whole leads to collective action, whereas perceived discrimination against the person is associated with individual behavior (*e.g.*, Foster & Matheson, 1995; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994). Similarly, two forms of relative deprivation (RD) have been shown as yielding fundamentally different responses: Personal RD is likely to elicit experience of stress, while group RD seems to be an important precursor for collective action (*e.g.*, Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987). Relatively few studies have investigated perceived group discrimination and group RD in relation with collective action; and they show inconsistent results.

Moreover, some scholars propose an integrative model that brings together the theories of self-categorization, social identity, and relative deprivation (Ellemers 2001; Kawakami & Dion, 1992; Wright 2001, 2003). To us another crucial factor is the causal attribution of grievances, because it has been shown that in promoting collective action it is decisive to attribute the causes of grievances to external factors (*e.g.*, Gurin *et al.*, 1969, Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984), which is called system-blame.

Consequently, in the present research we assume that the behavioral component of ingroup identification positively mediates between perceived discrimination and collective action, whereas the affective component of ingroup identification positively moderates this relationship. Moreover, in our model we think of perceived grievances (perceived group discrimination and group RD) to affect collective action of immigrants via attribution process (system-blame): The more an immigrant attributes the reasons of perceived grievances to system the more that person engages in collective action. Moreover, relying on SIT which argues that social and historical contexts influence the choice of mobility strategies (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1996), we suppose that citizenship is one of those important social contexts. Because citizenship is a key issue in terms of intergroup perceptions and behaviors (*e.g.*, Alba, 2005; Koopmans & Statham, 2001), and it leads to status differentiation within immigrant groups. Therefore, we assume that belief system of the immigrants (perception of less permeable intergroup boundaries, perception of less legitimate status of Germans, and perception of less stable intergroup relations) is moderated by citizenship status of them.

We conducted two cross-sectional studies in order to test our hypotheses. The first study involved a secondary analysis of the data from another resource (German Youth Institute). It was plausible to do the first analyses with this data set because this data (*Ausländersurvey97*) had been conducted with a relatively large sample of young immigrants from Turkey living in Germany, and it involved a set of variables (perceived discrimination, identification with one's country of origin, and collective action) that were of relevance to our research. The participants were young adult immigrants (N = 829) who were in the age range between 18 to 25 years. In the second study, we included further variables as relative deprivation, system-blame and belief system (perceived permeability, legitimacy, and stability) which were assumed to have effects on collective action. The second study involved immigrants (N = 193) in the age group of 18-31 years.

In the first study, we showed that the behavioral component of identification with country of origin mediates between perceived personal religious discrimination and collective action. However, in the second study this mediational relationship was not confirmed when we inserted perceived group discrimination into the relationship. Moreover, our findings of the first study showed that the affective component of identification with country of origin marginally moderates the effects of perceived discrimination (in public and due to nationality) on collective action. Apart from that, the results of Study 1 showed that interest in naturalization moderates the effect of the behavioral component of identification with the country of origin on collective action albeit weakly. These moderation effects were not confirmed in Study 2.

In the second study, we found that system-blame mediates between perceived group-level grievances (perceived group discrimination and group RD) and collective action; immigrants who weakly identify with their country of origin participate more in collective action when they have a Turkish citizenship. On the contrary, strong identifiers with their country of origin participate more in collective action when they hold a German citizenship.

We discuss our results regarding social psychology theories that we base ourselves in this research. However, in order to conclude the difference between the findings of Study 1 and 2 safely, and to identify the resource of the difference, we suggest measuring both personal and group levels of discrimination simultaneously with more appropriate measures. These measures should clearly differentiate between the levels of discrimination, especially when discrimination is about one's nationality and religion. Furthermore, testing one integrative model that simultaneously embraces both mediations and moderations is recommended to understand the actual processes and mechanisms leading to collective action of immigrants.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Mit dieser Dissertation wollen wir herausarbeiten, unter welchen Bedingungen in Deutschland lebenden ImmigrantInnen kollektiv Handeln, um die vorhandenen Benachteiligungen zu überwinden. Diskriminierung auf dem Arbeits- und Wohnungsmarkt sowie im Bildungssystem stellen nur einige der Benachteiligungen dar, mit denen ImmigrantInnen in ihrem alltäglichem Leben konfrontiert werden (z.B. Caglar, 2001; De Jong, 2001; Kalter & Granato, 2002). Das Interesse, nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg den Migrationsprozess zu initiieren, hat zu Konflikten zwischen ImmigrantInnen und Deutschen geführt, sobald die ImmigrantInnen sich dazu entschlossen haben, sich in Deutschland niederzulassen (Abadan-Unat, 2002; Cohen, 1987; Marshall, 2000; Soysal, 1994; Penninx, 1982). Migration und MigrantInnen sind bis heute Gegenstand von vielen sozialwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen. Allerdings gibt es nur wenige Untersuchungen, die sich mit kollektivem Handeln von ImmigrantInnen ganz generell, und ImmigrantInnen aus der Türkei im speziellen beschäftigt haben. Mit "ImmigrantInnen aus der Türkei" meinen wir Personen, die aus der Türkei nach Deutschland emigriert sind, die aber nicht unbedingt TürkInnen sind.

Kollektives Handeln definieren wir als eine Handlung, die von einem Mitglied einer Gruppe (z.B. ImmigrantInn) ausgeübt wird, um die Interessen der Gruppe zu begünstigen oder um den kollektiven Status der benachteiligten Gruppe zu erhöhen (z.B. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997; Reicher, 2004; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000; Wright, 2001, 2003; Wright et al., 1990), was nicht zwangsläufig die individuellen Interessen oder die Anhebung des individuellen Status ausschließt. Jede Handlung zugunsten der individuellen Interessen kann auch dazu dienen, die kollektiven Interessen zu bedienen oder den Status zu erhöhen. Daher sprechen wir immer dann von kollektivem Handeln, wenn am Ende ein kollektives Ziel erreicht wird, unabhängig von der anfänglichen Motivation. Kollektives Handeln kann, wie von einigen Forschern vertreten wird (z.B. Wright, 2001, 2003), eine individuelle Handlung sein (z.B. die Unterzeichnung einer Petition) oder innerhalb von Gruppen auftreten (z.B. die Beteiligung an einem Protestmarsch).

Nach der Theorie der sozialen Identität (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) wird die Salienz der Gruppenmitgliedschaft durch den Konflikt zwischen Gruppen erhöht. Daher sollten durch die konfliktäre Intergruppenbeziehung zwischen Deutschen und ImmigrantInnen in Deutschland die Gruppenmitgliedschaft für die ImmigrantInnen salient sein. Darüber hinaus wird die soziale Identität der ImmigrantInnen von der triadischen Beziehung zwischen ImmigrantInnen, ihrem Heimatland und dem Gastland beeinflusst (Koopmans & Statham,

2001). Da die Identifikation mit der benachteiligten Gruppe einer der entscheidenden Faktoren ist, die kollektives Handeln beeinflusst (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), haben wir die Identifikation mit dem Heimatland wie auch die Identifikation mit den in Deutschland lebenden Ausländern gemessen. Zusätzlich haben wir jedoch auch die Identifikation mit Deutschen (d.h. der nicht-benachteiligten Gruppe) gemessen, um ihre Effekte auf kollektives Handeln zu untersuchen. Darüber hinaus haben wir zwischen einer affektiven und einer behavioralen Komponente der Identifikation unterschieden (z.B. Klandermans et al., 2002, 2004), da wir davon ausgehen, dass diese verschiedenen Komponenten unterschiedliche Effekte auf kollektives Handeln, sowohl als Mediator wie auch als Moderator, ausüben.

Basierend auf der SIT interessiert uns die Frage, in welchem Ausmaß ImmigrantInnen sich selbst wertschätzen, wenn die Gruppe der ImmigrantInnen in der Aufnahmegesellschaft abgewertet bzw. benachteiligt wird. Nach der SIT ist sozialer Wandel/Wettstreit eine der Strategien, die gewählt werden können, um eine positive soziale Identität aufrecht zu erhalten. Diese Strategie zielt darauf ab, die soziale Situation einer Gruppe mit niedrigem sozialem Status insgesamt zu ändern. Hierbei ist es notwendig, drei Bedingungen (Glaubenssystem) zu berücksichtigen, um zu verstehen, in welcher Art und Weise Mitglieder von benachteiligten Gruppen sich verhalten: (Wahrgenommene) Permeabilität der Gruppengrenzen sowie die Legitimität und Stabilität der Statusbeziehungen zwischen den Gruppen. Abgeleitet aus der SIT nehmen wir an, dass ImmigrantInnen dann Konflikte wahrnehmen und kollektives Handeln zeigen, wenn sie die Intergruppengrenzen zwischen Immigranten und Deutschen als impermeabel und die Intergruppenbeziehungen als unsicher (illegitim und unstabil) wahrnehmen. Bisherige Untersuchungen, die nicht den Fokus auf ImmigrantInnen hatten, liefern hierzu allerdings inkonsistente Ergebnisse (e.g., Ellemers et al., 1993; Mummendey et al., 1996, 1999b; Boen & Vanbeselare, 2000, 2002). In der vorliegenden Arbeit prüfen wir diese Annahme im Kontext der Migration.

Die wahrgenommenen Missstände bilden einen weiteren wichtigen Faktor mit einem Einfluss auf kollektives Handeln hat (z.B. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Pettigrew, 1986; Simon & Klanderman, 2001). Eine dieser möglichen Missstände ist die Wahrnehmung von Diskriminierung, eine weitere die relative Deprivation. Die Ebene, auf der Diskriminierung wahrgenommen wird, hat spezifische Implikationen für das Verhalten: Wahrgenommene Diskriminierung der gesamten Gruppe führt zu kollektivem Handeln, wahrgenommene Diskriminierung der eigenen Person dagegen zu individuellem Verhalten (z.B. Foster & Matheson, 1995; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994). Ganz ähnlich erzeugen zwei verschiedene Formen relativer Deprivation (RD) unterschiedliche Verhaltensreaktionen:

Personale RD führt mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit zu Stress, fraternale RD scheint dagegen eine wichtige Voraussetzung für kollektives Handeln zu sein (z.B. Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987). Nur wenige Studien haben die wahrgenommene Diskriminierung der Eigengruppe und die fraternale RD als Prädiktoren von kollektivem Handeln untersucht, wobei sie zu unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen gelangten.

Schließlich hat eine Reihe von ForscherInnen ein integratives Modell vorgeschlagen, welches die Theorien der Selbstkategorisierung, SIT, und RD zusammenbringen soll (Ellemers 2001; Kawakami & Dion, 1992; Wright 2001, 2003). Unserer Ansicht nach ist die Attribution der Missstände ein weiterer wichtiger Faktor, da gezeigt werden konnte, dass kollektives Handeln wahrscheinlicher wird, wenn die Ursachen der Missstände auf externe Faktoren attribuiert werden (z.B. Gurin et al., 1969, Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984), was als „system blaming“ bezeichnet wird.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit nehmen wir an, dass die behaviorale Komponente der Identifikation positiv zwischen der wahrgenommenen Diskriminierung und kollektivem Handeln mediiert, dagegen die affektive Komponente der Identifikation diese Beziehung moderiert. Weiterhin nehmen wir an, dass die wahrgenommenen Missstände (wahrgenommene Diskriminierung der Gruppe und fraternale RD) kollektives Handeln der ImmigrantInnen über Attribuierungsprozesse („system blaming“) beeinflusst: Je mehr ein/e ImmigrantIn die Ursachen für die wahrgenommenen Missstände dem System zuschreibt, desto eher wird diese Person auch kollektives Handeln zeigen. Abgeleitet aus der SIT, die annimmt, dass der soziale und historische Rahmen die Mobilitätsstrategien beeinflusst (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1996), nehmen wir an, dass die Staatsbürgerschaft eine dieser wichtigen Rahmen bildet. Die Staatsbürgerschaft beeinflusst die Intergruppenwahrnehmungen und das Verhalten (z.B. Alba, 2005; Koopmans & Statham, 2001) und führt zu Statusunterschieden zwischen Immigrantengruppen. Wir nehmen daher an, dass das Glaubenssystem der ImmigrantInnen (Wahrnehmung geringer Permeabilität der Intergruppengrenzen, Wahrnehmung geringer Legitimität des Status der Deutschen und Wahrnehmung geringer Stabilität der Intergruppenbeziehungen) moderiert wird durch den staatsbürgerlichen Status der ImmigrantInnen.

Zur Prüfung der Annahmen haben wir zwei querschnittliche Untersuchungen durchgeführt. Die erste Studie ist eine Sekundäranalyse von Daten des Deutschen Jugendinstituts (Ausländersurvey 97). Dieser Datensatz beinhaltet eine relativ große Stichprobe junger ImmigrantInnen aus der Türkei (N = 829), die in Deutschland leben und zwischen 18 und 25

Jahren alt waren. Darüber hinaus beinhaltet der Datensatz eine Reihe von Variablen (wahrgenommene Diskriminierung, Identifikation mit dem Heimatland und kollektives Handeln), die für die vorliegende Arbeit von Relevanz sind. In einer zweiten eigenen Studie haben wir weitere Variablen aufgenommen wie relative Deprivation, „system-blame“ und das Glaubenssystem (wahrgenommene Permeabilität, Legitimität und Stabilität), die, wie oben ausgeführt, einen Effekt auf kollektives Handeln haben sollten. In dieser zweiten Studie wurden ImmigrantInnen (N = 193) befragt, die zwischen 18 und 31 Jahren alt waren.

In der ersten Studie konnten wir zeigen, dass die behaviorale Komponente der Identifikation mit dem Heimatland zwischen der wahrgenommenen, individuellen Diskriminierung aufgrund der Religionszugehörigkeit und kollektivem Handeln mediiert. Allerdings konnte in der zweiten Studie diese mediiierende Beziehung nicht bestätigt werden, wenn die wahrgenommenen gruppen Diskriminierung in die Beziehung aufgenommen wurde. Die Ergebnisse der ersten Studie zeigen weiterhin, dass die affektive Komponente der Identifikation mit dem Heimatland marginal die Effekte der wahrgenommenen Diskriminierung (in der Öffentlichkeit und aufgrund der Nationalität) und kollektiven Handeln moderiert. Zusätzlich zeigte sich in Studie 1 ein schwacher moderierender Effekt des Interesses an der Staatsbürgerschaft auf die Beziehung zwischen der behavioralen Komponente der Identifikation mit dem Heimatland und kollektivem Handeln. Diese moderierenden Effekte konnten in Studie 2 nicht bestätigt werden.

In der zweiten Studie konnten wir zeigen, dass „system-blame“ zwischen den wahrgenommenen Missständen auf Gruppenebene (wahrgenommene Diskriminierung der Gruppe und fraternal RD) und kollektivem Handeln mediiert. Daneben konnten wir herausfinden, dass ImmigrantInnen, die sich schwach mit ihrem Heimatland identifizieren, mehr an kollektiven Handlungen teilnehmen, wenn sie die türkische Staatsbürgerschaft besitzen. Dagegen nehmen ImmigrantInnen, die sich stark mit ihrem Heimatland identifizieren, mehr an kollektiven Handlungen teil, wenn sie die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft besitzen.

Wir diskutieren unsere Ergebnisse vor dem Hintergrund der sozialpsychologischen Theorien, die dieser Arbeit zugrunde liegen. Um die Unterschiede in den Ergebnissen von Studie 1 und 2 zu verstehen und die Ursachen hierfür zu identifizieren, schlagen wir vor, zwischen der personalen und gruppen Ebene der Diskriminierung zu unterscheiden und diese mit einer angemessenen Operationalisierung in ihrem Zusammenhang zu untersuchen, insbesondere wenn die Diskriminierung die Nationalität oder die Religionszugehörigkeit

betrifft. Darüber hinaus ist es notwendig, ein integratives Modell zu testen, welches sowohl mediierende als auch moderierende Prozesse umfasst, um die tatsächlichen Prozesse und Mechanismen zu verstehen, die zu kollektivem Handeln von ImmigrantInnen führen.

I. INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

To date, the topic of migration and migrants has been the focus of various social scientific studies. The very first question about this issue is what migration is and who immigrants are. Several definitions have been proposed so far. For example, according to the Oxford-Reference-Online-Dictionary “migration involves the (more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities”. Faist (2000) refers to immigrants as the people who stay abroad for more than three months.

The factors that initiate a migration process have been considered to be one of the important aspects in the migration literature. Do migrants initiate their migration voluntarily or involuntarily? Conventionally, labor migrants are considered to have voluntarily migrated, and refugees and asylum seekers are classified as forced migrants. Although this distinction is still under debate, taking structural factors into account, which influence individual decisions, is reasonable. Cohen (1987) argues that the decision to migrate can be taken only under certain conditions; therefore, it is not appropriate to consider migration as a mere individual decision (see Section 1.1.).

Another important aspect involves the issue about whether immigrants constitute a homogenous group or if they rather constitute a heterogenous group which includes people from various backgrounds (from different classes, genders, ethnicities, and religions *etc.*). Various immigrant groups arriving in receiving countries already have diverse backgrounds and existing identities. After migration, upward or downward mobility processes in their socio-economic conditions persist (Portes, 1994); and their ‘old’ and ‘new’ identities “negotiate” (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). These aspects are considered in more details in the sections 1.2. and 1.3.

Although this PhD project seeks a multi-disciplinary view on migration and migrants, social psychological frames and approaches will be used to understand under which conditions low-status people (in the present research immigrants in Germany) engage in collective actions in order to challenge the disadvantageous living conditions. The rationale and motivation behind this conduct is that there has not been much research on collective action of immigrants in general, and immigrants from Turkey¹, in particular. Rather, most of the studies about immigrants deal with the political (and social) integration of immigrants into the dominant

¹ By “immigrants from Turkey”, we mean people who migrated from Turkey to Germany, but who don’t necessarily own a Turkish nationality.

system of the host countries via examining migrants' voting behavior, and/or party identification (e.g., Diehl & Blohm, 2001). However, the focus of the present research is socially challenging action by immigrants.

Before introducing theories and the empirical background of this work, some important information on migration from Turkey to Germany will be given as it is the context in which this research takes place. To do so, the motivations of the two main forces involved in this migration will be depicted: Germany and its demands of its immigrants on the one hand and immigrants from Turkey on the other hand. Further, the negotiation of immigrants' multiple identities and the historical development concerning class divisions within immigrant communities will also be touched on. Eventually, the conflicting intergroup relations between Germans and immigrants will be dwelled upon.

1. A Quick View on Migration from Turkey to Germany

Labor recruitment in Germany can be traced back to the foundation of the *Kaiserreich* in 1870 and to the following period of industrialization (e.g., Sassen, 2000; Schönwälder, 2006). In 1886, however, at the height of Bismarckian efforts to build the nation state, 30.000 Polish workers were expelled from Germany (Soysal, 1994). In 1910, 1.26 million foreigners were recorded in the Reich (Schönwälder, 2006). Although the migration process in Germany goes back to the 19th century, migration from Turkey is a post WW-II phenomenon. Huge amounts of Turkish *Guestworkers* together with like-minded Mediterraneans were greeted with enthusiasm (e.g., White, 1997; Martin, 1998) after the world war to help Germany recover from the economical hardships and shortage of laborers (e.g., Cohen, 1987; Castles, Booth & Wallace, 1984; Penninx, 1982).

After 1945, the growing needs of Western Germany's (FRG) economy for laborers were met by the twelve million refugees from the annexed eastern territories (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). Later, escapes from Eastern Germany (GDR) provided labor force until the year of 1961 when the intra-German border was hermetically sealed (Bade & Oltmer, 2004; Cohen, 1987; Marshall, 2000). Afterwards, the main laborer recruitment process based on bi-national agreements, especially with Mediterranean countries (1955: Italy; 1960: Spain and Greece; 1961: Turkey; 1963: Morocco; 1964: Portugal; 1965: Tunisia; 1968: Yugoslavia; Castles *et al.*, 1984). On the other side, there were immigrants who were mainly motivated by the economical prospects Germany had to offer. But before dwelling on their motivations, the main characteristics of immigrants from Turkey will be described.

In the year of 1961, the official records show that 686.200 foreigners were living in Germany and 6.700 of them were of Turkish origin, whereas by 1998, 7.319.600 foreigners were officially registered and 28.8% of them (2.110.223) had come from Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2002). In 2003, the figure raised to 7.334.000 foreigners with a decrease of the Turkish population to 1.877.661 (Kaya & Kentel, 2005). This figure excludes the naturalized (about forty seven thousand) immigrants of Turkish origin, which is why the population seems smaller.

Beyond the numbers, it should be mentioned that the migration process from Turkey to Germany developed historically in different stages (*e.g.*, Abadan-Unat, 2002; Penninx, 1982). In 1950s, individual attempts were made and private mediators were providing Germany with labor power. The rapid growth of migration which had basically been managed by the governments and other agencies of two countries paved the way for mass migration from Turkey to Germany in the 1960s. On the base of a treaty, which was signed on 1 September 1961 (and in 1964), Germany administered mass “laborer import” from Turkey until the recruitment of foreign labor force was stopped due to the economical crisis in 1973 (for a review see Abadan-Unat, 2002 and Penninx, 1982).

However, recruitment stop was applied mainly for the unskilled non-EC foreign workers (Martin, 1998). Family unification and recruitment in transitional and seasonal sectors caused the flow of migration between two countries to continue (Penninx, 1982). In fact, the figures show only a moderate decline in foreign-worker employment in Germany after 1973 and an increase in the number of unemployed foreigners, together with an overall increase of the foreign population: the numbers of foreign residents increased from nearly 3 million in 1970 to 4.1 million in 1974 and 4.6 million in 1982 (Castles *et al.*, 1984). Increased family unification led to one million residents of Turkish nationality living in West Germany in September of 1974, about 600.000 of whom were workers (Penninx, 1982).

The most prominent issue after the 1970s was the decision of staying in Germany, which is contrary to expectations of both members of the host country and the immigrants themselves (*e.g.*, Abadan-Unat, 2002; Castles, 1985). Thus, a new era, which is characterized by citizenship debates, racism, institutional discrimination, unemployment, and cultural production, began (Abadan-Unat, 2002; Cohen, 1987; Marshall, 2000; Soysal, 1994; Penninx, 1982). Other relevant topics like an increase in xenophobia, ethnic business, ethnical and religious organizations, and immigrants demanding political rights were added to the agenda

in the 1990s. Today, these topics are still the main manifestations of migration in Germany in general and migration from Turkey in particular.

1.1. Motivations of Migrants to Initiate Migration

The most assumed motivation of migration has been the prospect of employment and better living conditions in the host societies which attract migrants to leave their own countries. It has been argued that hope for a better life with the help of the network, for e.g. relatives and friends, who already live in the receiving country and provide information, jobs, and housing for prospective newcomers, make migration more likely (*e.g.*, Abadan-Unat, 2002; Bierbrauer & Pedersen, 1994).

However, as Portes and Walton (1981, p. 25) argued, individuals migrate for a number of different reasons which operate in certain structural factors:

Quite clearly, individuals migrate for a number of different causes—desire to escape oppression and famine, financial ambition, family reunification, or education of children. Nothing is easier than to compile lists of such ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors and present them as a theory of migration. The customary survey reporting percentages endorsing each such ‘cause’ might be useful as a sort of first approximation to the question ‘who migrates’. In no way, however, does it explain the structural factors leading to a patterned movement, of known size and direction, over an extensive period of time.

It has been shown that the colonial and economical relations and recruitment of labor force are the main motivations behind the migration flow between sending and receiving countries which constitute the socio-structural context of individual migration processes (Cohen, 1987; Sassen, 1996; Williams, Balaz & Wallace, 2004). For example, sixty percent of the foreign population in Great Britain is from former colonies in Asia and Caribbean countries; most of the Algerian emigrants live in France, just as 86% of the Tunisians and 61% of Moroccans do (Sassen, 2000). Thus, it is apparent that

a freely reached decision can only operate within the constraints of the opportunities on offer. This general proposition applies with particular force to the decision to migrate, where opportunities are tightly constrained and structured by such factors as rural emiseration, employment and housing prospects, transport costs, international law, immigration policies, the practices of recruitment by agencies and employers, and the need for documents like passports, visas and work certificates. In short, the

individual's resolve to migrate cannot be separated from the institutional context in which that decision was reached. (Cohen, 1987, p. 35)

In respect to motivations of immigrants from Turkey, one early study showed that *a bad strait* was the first initiator of migration; 62.4% of the respondents indicated it as the first reason of their migration (TIB, 1975). And other reasons like making money (13.4%), job scarcity (11.4%), and paying debts (0.8%) were somehow related to the economical conditions as well. However, all these economically relevant reasons that individuals point out cannot be separated from the broader socio-structural factors, as argued by the scholars above. A very recent research (Kaya & Kentel, 2005) asked "Euro-Turks" who live in Germany (N = 1.065) for their reasons to migrate. Forty-four percent of the sample reported that they came for family reunification. The amount of immigrants who reported coming for work was twenty-one percent. Those born in Germany made up 26% of the sample, and the rest (8%) named education as their main reason. Thus, the historical change in motivations is visible.

Apart from these motivations, two studies, one experimental (Reicher, Hopkins, & Harrison, 2006) and the other interview-based (Hopkins, Reicher, & Harrison, 2006), have been shown how "construal of identity and of place" is linked to mobility decisions. The two studies showed that "fitting in"² is an important variable in terms of mobility decisions. In the experimental design "fitting in" was the only variable which mediated the effect of nationality salience on mobility preference. Authors argue that people's mobility may be affected by the degree to which particular places contribute to their sense of personal continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. However, mobility decisions may also be shaped by people's understandings of what movement means for their abilities to maintain and enact valued collective identities. In short, they argue that identities frame mobility considerations: all identities serve to put us in our place by telling us where we would fit and where we would not.

1.2. Negotiating Identities

Self-definition in terms of group membership is an ongoing process for immigrants. Most immigrants usually arrive to the receiving countries with several pre-existing identities that are overlapping, cross-cutting or competing (student, woman, and worker, rural-urban etc.). Besides, migrants may (continue to) identify with their religion (in a superordinate way as a Muslim or in a subordinate way as an Alevi or Sunni), and with their ethnicity or nationality

² Measured with two items: "I would not feel at home here" and "I feel that I would fit in to the way of life here".

of their home countries (Turks, Kurds, Laz, Armenians, Assyrians *etc.*). Additional to that, immigrants may identify with status categories offered by the receiving state's immigration and integration policies as *Ausländer*³, immigrants, asylum seekers, *etc.* And finally, they may identify with hybrid categories such as "German-Turks", "Euro-Turks", and so forth.

Along with self-definitions, social category definitions by either German or immigrant groups for immigrant groups from Turkey have been developed as well: minority (cultural, ethnical or religious; Pazarkaya, 1995; Sevimli, 2000; Uzun 1993), diaspora or third culture (Kaya, 2002a), transnational communities such as "Euro-Turks" (Abadan-Unat 2002; Caglar, 2001; Faist, 2000; Kaya 2002b), and even "Blacks" (Kanak-Attack). Mainly positive connotations are attributed to the social categories above. But, Kaya and Kentel (2005) explain the misrepresentation of people with Turkish origin both in Germany and in Turkey: whereas they are usually referred to as *Ausländer* in Germany, the labels attributed to them by the people in Turkey are usually derogatory such as "in between", "foreigner", "German-like" (Almanci), "degenerated", "lost generations". Officially, Turkey defines them as either "gurbetci" (synonym to emigrant but more sentimental) or "Almanya'daki vatandaslarimiz" (our citizens in Germany). The immigrants who live in Germany are aware of the negative connotations of their ascribed identities: "Here we are called *yabanci* (*Ausländer*) and there in Turkey they call us *Almanci*" (quotation taken from Kaya & Kentel, 2005: 8).

In sum, the triadic relation between immigrants, their homelands, and the country of their settlement (Koopmans & Statham, 2001) impacts the identities of the immigrants. Within social psychology literature, this process is termed as a process of 'remooing' by Deaux and his colleagues (*e.g.*, Ethier & Deaux, 1994): leaving one place in which identity has been enacted and supported, and coming to a new location where identity must be resituated and often redefined. Thus, one important issue in the investigation of identities is to what extent these threefold identities are accepted and internalized by immigrant individuals. Therefore, a scientific investigation about immigrants' identities and identity-related themes require attentive efforts.

1.3. Class Differentiation within Immigrant Population

Another important aspect of migration is the change in class structure. The current situation of immigrants from Turkey is substantially different than its predators. Østergaard-Nielsen

³ In Germany, foreigner as a term corresponds to *Ausländer*. However, particularly, guestworkers (*Gastarbeiter*) after the World War II have been referred to as *Ausländer*. Turkish workers have generally been addressed in the official German discourse as "guestworker", "foreigner" (*Ausländer*) or "co-citizen" (*Mitbürger*) as well (Kaya & Kentel, 2005).

(2003) indicates that, on the one hand, numbers of Turkish entrepreneurs, on the other hand, numbers of unemployed Turkish workers are increasing in Germany. Self-employment among immigrants from Turkey has been growing regularly (Pècoud, 2002). In 1970, less than two percent of non-German workers were self-employed, but by 1998 this figure climbed to 8.8% (Özcan & Seifert, 2000). A part of this development is due to the fact that many non-Germans had not, until a few years ago, been legally entitled to start their own business (Hönekopp, 2003). By 1998, there were 279.000 non-German entrepreneurs. The 51.000 of them who were Turkish origin provided jobs to 265.000 persons of which 40% were German workers (Özcan & Seifert, 2000). This represents 18.3% of the total number of economically independent non-Germans in Germany.

Thus, class divisions among immigrants from Turkey are apparent in all measures of class—income, occupation, wealth, and education. The differences stem, on the one hand, mainly from already existing class divisions (lower and upper classes) among immigrants before they migrated to Germany. And on the other hand, the historical development of the social life conditions of immigrants in Germany leads to unemployed immigrants on the one side, and to big business owners like Öger, on the other side. In other words, an immigrant individual has experienced either vertical (e.g., from worker in Turkey to worker in Germany) or horizontal (e.g., from worker in Turkey to business runner or unemployed worker in Germany) class differentiation due to mobilization processes.

2. Intergroup Relations and Conflict in Germany

The streams of international migrants after the Second World War led to the establishment of numerous new ethnic groups in Western European countries, such as the Turks in Germany. Thus, intergroup boundaries between “newcomers” and “natives” developed. Institutionalization (citizenship, religion, language, *etc.*) is a key issue in determining whether a boundary between groups is blurred or not (*c.f.* Alba, 2005). Citizenship is a fundamental aspect of intergroup boundary, because it governs access to fundamental rights in a society and “confers not only political rights but greater freedom to leave and re-enter a society along with protection from deportation. More subtly, it affects the sense of membership and the willingness to make claims asserting rights.” (Alba, 2005, p. 27).

In terms of bright versus blurred boundaries, Germany has until recently exemplified the former in the domain of citizenship. Until 1990, the *Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (Nationality Act of the German Empire and State) of 1913 was the only legal basis for

naturalization in Germany. The legislation is found to work very slow compared to other European countries (*e.g.*, Soysal, 1994; Kastoryano, 2002). After the change in the Nationality Act in 1990, thousands of Turkish citizens gradually became German citizens. For example, in 1993, 12.915 Turkish citizens naturalized; in the year of 1999 this figure climbed tremendously up to 103.900 (Kentel & Kaya, 2005). A new item was adopted in German citizenship law in 2000 which *symbolically* stopped the naturalization on the basis of blood kinship (*jus sanguinis*). The precondition for a German citizenship is an eight year residency of one of the parents or the holding of an unlimited residence permit since at least three years. Under the new law, children who fulfil the precondition acquire citizenship at birth (*jus soli*), but at the age 23, the youngster is expected to decide for one of their two nationalities. Thus, the new citizenship law permits the descendants of immigrants to acquire dual citizenship for at least a certain period of time which Kaya and Kentel (2005) call it as a limited “hyphenated” citizenship.

The citizenship policies as well as other social and political rights which have been gradually given to immigrants show that holding the status of a “foreigner” or “immigrant” does not enhance and facilitate their economic, social and political lives (for immigration and its aftermath see *e.g.*, Portes, 1994) or well-being (*e.g.*, Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999a). When the economic programs first began, migrants were conceived to be temporary, and their stay was defined by the constraints of economic cycles (Schönwälder, 2006). *Guestworkers* were denied many of the basic civil rights. The German Foreigner Law of 1965, for *e.g.*, declared that foreigners enjoy all basic rights, except for the basic rights of freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of movement and free choice of occupation, place of work and place of education, and protection from extradition abroad (Soysal, 1994). But the same law guaranteed the same labor market rights for EC nationals (Martin, 1998).

The extension of rights and the removal of the statutory obstacles for foreign workers to obtain an equal status have developed gradually. The first rights granted, early on, were trade-union and collective bargaining rights, and some social benefits (Abadan-Unat, 2002; Schönwälder, 2006; Soysal, 1994). Other economic and social rights followed, soon after *guestworkers* had established themselves in the host countries. But yet, apart from the foreigners’ councils (Ausländerbeirat), which has an advising character on the local level, foreigners in Germany have no institutionalized channels of access to the political process (Koopmans & Statham, 2001).

It has been shown that the reciprocal desire to initiate migration processes, as mentioned in the previous part, resulted in conflicting relations between groups (*e.g.*, Alba, 2005; Chryssochoou, 2000; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998). Conflict is simply defined as a perceived incompatibility of goals (Smith & Mackie, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The incompatibilities of goals might be diverse. One reason for conflict is assumed to be the unequal access for “newcomers” to socially valued resources such as income, property, and cultural products. That is to say, to serve the need by means of immigration does not imply for the receiving-country to provide better conditions for immigrants (Abadan-Unat, 2002; Bouchard & Chandler, 2001; Kastoryano, 2002; Martin, 1998; Soysal, 1994).

For example, immigrants might experience incompatibility when foreign workers are laid off in somewhat greater numbers than native workers, particularly during the periods of economic declines (*e.g.*, Zegers de Beijl, 2000). Since the beginning of the 1970s the differences in unemployment ratio among immigrant workers and workers who are German Federal citizens is unequal (Hönekopp, 2003; Marshall, 2000). For example, in 1991, the unemployment rate for foreigners was 10.7% whereas that for Germans was only 6.3% (Goldberg, Mourinho & Kulke, 1995). This figure doubled in 2001 for Turkish nationals: unemployment was highest⁴ among Turkish laborers, with about 21%, whereas 10% of the Germans were unemployed (Hönekopp, 2003).

Beyond the discrimination in employment, incompatibilities in housing, schooling, and geographical and/or occupational segregation (Caglar, 2001; De Jong, 2001; Kalter & Granato, 2002; Rogler, 1994; Sen, 1997) might be some of the problems which immigrants may face in everyday life in Germany. However, some of the host society members (Germans) might still, to some extent, perceive immigrants as competitors who will take away their jobs, houses *etc.* (*e.g.*, Fertig & Schmidt, 2001). They might perceive threat (Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2002; Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003; Jackson, Brown, Brown & Marks, 2001), hold attitudes as prejudice and discrimination against immigrants (Klink & Wagner, 1999; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Wagner, van Dick, Pettigrew & Christ, 2003), they might show xenophobic reactions (Boehnke, Hagan & Hefler, 1998), or they desire immigrants to assimilate to the system and culture of the host country (van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998).

⁴ Unemployment rate varies across different groups of immigrant laborers. For example, at present, unemployment rate for laborers from Portugal, Spain is about 11 and 12%, respectively, which is clearly above the total unemployment rate. Rates for Italians and Greeks are about 15% (Federal Statistical Office Germany).

On the other side, immigrants might, to varying extends, feel deprived of an equal access (e.g., Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992). Especially older ones might fear that their children and grandchildren will be assimilated and thus will lose their traditional culture in the new society. Immigrants might have difficulties in acculturation (Horenczyk, 1996; Dion & Dion, 2001; Klinger & Bierbrauer, 2001; Zick, Wagner, van Dick & Petzel, 2001) and have prejudices against the majority group (Dion, 2001). Some of them might live together closely in certain quarters of the cities such as Kreuzberg in Berlin, and Ehrenfeld in Köln.

So far, different aspect of conflict that stems from unequal socio-economical and political conditions between immigrants and host country group members was summarized. The social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) argues that conflict between groups make group membership highly salient for the group members. In the same way, the intergroup relations between so-called “natives” (Germans) and “newcomers” (immigrant, *Ausländer*, *Aussiedler*⁵, etc.) in Germany make the group membership salient to the immigrants. Moreover, it is reasonable to expect the salient group memberships to effect collective action of immigrants. It has been put forward by various theories and validated by several researchers that devalued or low-status group members are more likely to engage in actions in order to improve the group’s living conditions and favor for their group’s interests. A critical factor is the identification with low-status groups and how these unequal conditions and the intergroup relations are perceived by immigrants: perceived deprivation or gratification in individual or collective positions can either trigger or undermine the action of immigrants. In the next chapter, relevant theories on this issue will be presented. During the empirical work these relationships were investigated in relation with other factors.

⁵ Ethnic migrants (Germans) especially from the former East Block countries are referred to as *Aussiedler*.

II. COLLECTIVE ACTION

It has been argued that “stability or change in the intergroup hierarchy depends primarily on the actions of the disadvantaged group. Further, popular thinking and social science theory agree that social change is usually the result of people acting together.” (Wright, 2003, p. 409). In the psychological tradition, responses by individuals who experience social injustice have revealed the variability and multidimensionality of such acting (for a review see Lalonde & Cameron, 1994). Wright (2001) indicates that there is a vast array of specific behaviors that a disadvantaged group member might exhibit. This behavioral spectrum varies from inaction (when no action is taken at all) to violent protest. Between these ends a multitude of potential actions can be found. Therefore, when any investigation of disadvantaged group actions is planned, conceptual framework for categorizing these specific behaviors is required at the beginning. Wright, Taylor and Moghaddam (1990) have proposed a framework based on three distinctions: the first between inaction and action, the second between actions directed at improving one’s personal conditions (individual action) and actions directed at improving the conditions of one’s entire group (collective action). The third distinction is between actions that conform to the norms of the existing social system (normative action) and those that violate existing social rules (non-normative action). The result is a set of five discrete categories of behavior: inaction, individual normative versus non-normative action and collective normative versus non-normative action.

Wright (2001) argues that whereas inaction involves no overt attempt to alter the status quo, individual normative actions are socially accepted behaviors directed at improving one’s personal status (*e.g.*, educating oneself, asking for a raise). Individual non-normative actions are attempts at individual mobility to violate social rules (cheating with one’s taxes, criminal activity and so forth). Socially accepted acts intended to enhance group status like collective bargaining, political lobbying and voting are referred to as collective normative actions. But, the efforts to improve the status of one’s ingroup that violate the understood societal rules like illegal protests and civil disobedience are defined as collective non-normative actions. It is also argued that a single individual can engage in collective actions as long as he or she is acting on behalf of an ingroup. Consequently, a psychological framework is proposed in which categories are determined rather by the actor’s intentions than by the number of actors, the specific content or the eventual outcome of the action.

To date, the definition of collective action has been proposed by several researchers (*e.g.*, Foster & Matheson, 1995; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997; Reicher, 2004; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000; Wright, 2003). For example, Wright *et al.* (1990) refer to it as a behavior that one acts as a group member in order to improve the conditions of the entire group. The most common assumption in the different definitions is that collective action refers to any action that serves to enhance the collective status of disadvantaged, subordinated or low-status groups. The second common feature about the definitions is that collective action maybe done individually (signing a petition) or within the group (marching in a demonstration). This supports the view that collective action is not determined by the number of participants, or by the specific content or eventual outcome of the action. It can be engaged by a single individual. Wright (2003) argues that the demand of a sole hunger striker in prison for an improved treatment of all prisoners is a collective action, because the intent is to change the conditions of the whole group. On the other hand, for example, a large group of students gathering together to complain about an “unfair” exam to a professor may not be a collective action. Whether it is a collective action or not is determined by the question if an individual student’s or an entire group’s test score is targeted. Thus, collective action is a specific case of intergroup behavior that it intends to improve the circumstances of the ingroup.

Collective action has relatively recently become one of the major interests of the social psychological research. A number of potential explanations has been proposed for the lack of the attention to collective action: The focus on laboratory research and difficulties in designing of a research which elicit and measure meaningful collective action were the most attenuated ones (see *e.g.*, Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Reicher, 1996; Wright, 2001). Wright and Tropp (2002) argue that until recently, the study of collective action had been left up primarily to sociology. During the 1970s and 1980s, the resource mobilization approach (*e.g.*, McCarty & Zald, 1977) assumed that structural and organizational variables determine the likelihood of collective action. More recently, sociological perspectives have expanded to include more psychological concepts (see for *e.g.*, Gamson, 1992; McAdam, McGarthy, & Zald, 1996). And within psychology, self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and social identity theory (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) have formed the basis for a new perspective on groups and intergroup relations.

3. Intergroup Theories of Collective Action

3.1. Self-Categorization Theory

According to self-categorization theory (SCT: Turner, 1985; Turner *et al.*, 1987), individual needs, standards, beliefs and motives primarily determine the behavior, when personal identity is salient. On the contrary, when people's social identity is activated, people come to perceive themselves as more interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities defined by their individual differences from others. Under these conditions, collective needs, goals and standards are primary. For example, Verkunten and Hagendoorn (1998) have found that when the personal identity is salient, individual differences in authoritarianism are the major predictor of Dutch students' prejudices against Turkish migrants. In contrast, when social identity (*i.e.*, national identity) is primed, ingroup stereotypes and ingroup standards primarily predict attitudes toward Turkish migrants. It is important to clarify, whether the personal or the social identity is more salient, because this shapes how a person perceives, interprets, evaluates, and responds to situations and to other people.

Related assumptions are formulated by the SCT researchers in order to indicate the basic mechanisms underling the self-categorization process. One of the basic assumptions is that "the self-concept is the cognitive component of the psychological system or process referred as the self" (Turner *et al.*, 1987, p. 44). Further, self-concept comprises many different components and it functions as situation specific. Self-concepts are categories and they are based on the perception of intra-class similarities and inter-class differences between stimuli (category) – the principle of meta-contrast. Intergroup conflict and competition are more likely to produce a strong meta-contrast between ingroup and outgroup.

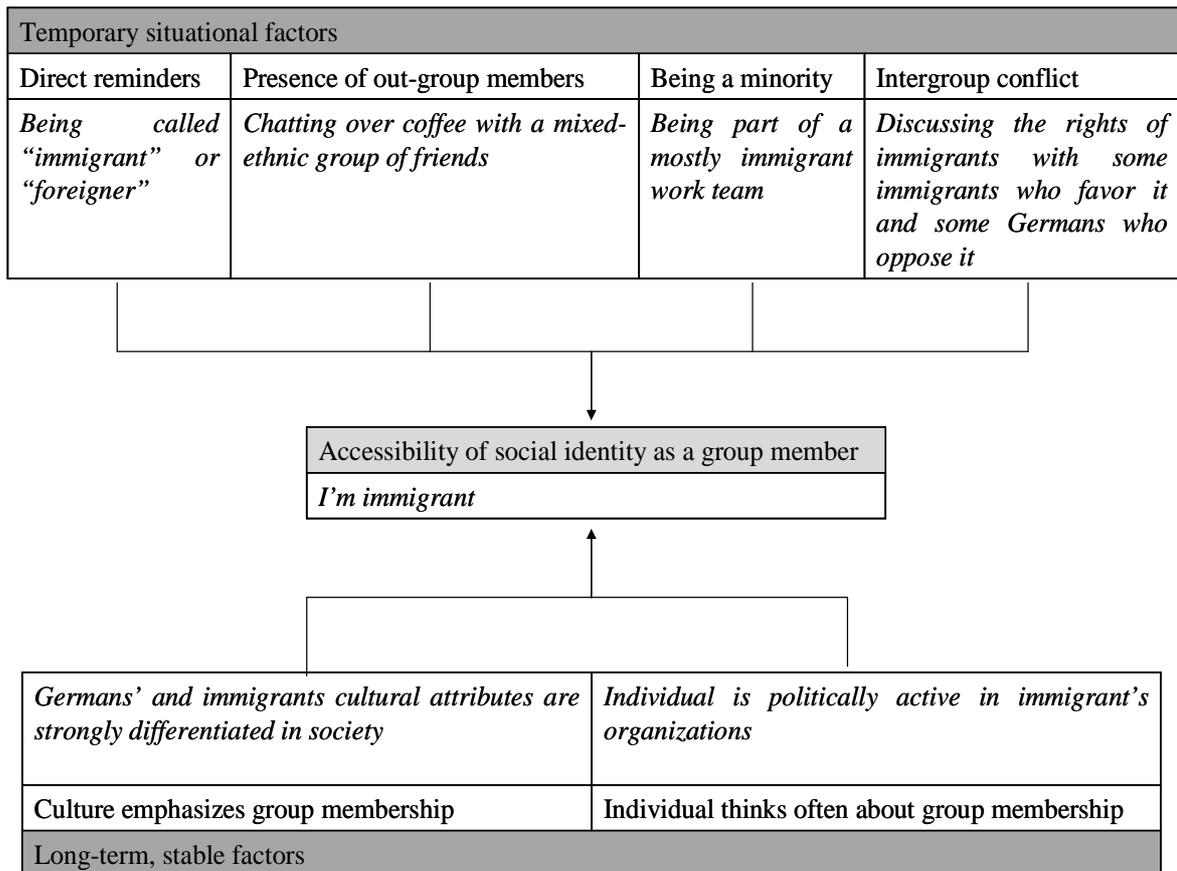
Self-categorizations exist as part of a hierarchical system of classification. There are at least three levels of abstraction of self-categorization: (a) the superordinate level of the self as human being; (b) the intermediate level of ingroup-outgroup categorizations based on similarities and differences between human beings that define one as a member of certain social groups; (c) the subordinate level of personal self-categorizations based on differentiations between one-self as a unique individual and other ingroup members that define one as a specific individual person. We will go more into the depth concerning the intermediate level of abstraction when we review social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

One key assumption about the formation of ingroup-outgroup categorizations is the salience of a specific category. It is proposed that category salience is a function of “accessibility” (perceiver’s readiness) and “fit”. Accessibility has to do with the extent to which certain categories are available within our cognitive system and the extent to which we are accustomed to use them; and accessibility reflects our past experiences (learned expectations about the environment), present expectations, and current motives, values, goals, and needs (see also Turner, Oakes, Haslam & McGarty, 1994).

Another key determinant of category salience is the “fit” between categories and the organization of stimuli in the world. Fit refers to the degree to which the criteria which define the category match reality (identical with the idea of meta-contrast; see also Oakes, 1987; Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994), and it underlies two conditions. First, for a social category to become psychologically activated the differences between ingroup members must be smaller than those between ingroup and outgroup members (the principle of *comparative fit*) and further, the similarities and differences must be consistent with a perceiver’s content-related expectations about ingroup and outgroup categories (the principle of *normative fit*). In this way, similarities and differences must be consistent with a person’s normative beliefs about the substantive social meaning of the social category (Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991). Thus, the two major features of a social category membership are the degree of internalization of or identification with an ingroup, and the centrality and evaluative importance of a group membership in the self-definition.

Being called an *immigrant* or a *Ausländer* (foreigner), being part of a mostly immigrant work team, discussing the rights of immigrants with some immigrants who favor it and some Germans who oppose it, all these experiences make the social category of immigrant or *Ausländer* salient to immigrants. Such factors are called transitional, situational factors by Smith and Mackie (2000) which make social identity accessible to immigrants. Cultural emphasis on the group membership through differentiation the cultural attributes (*e.g.* “Turks do not live in a western modern way” or “Turks do not fit in European values and culture”), and person’s participation in immigrant or ethnic organizations are identified as long-term, stable factors which make categories accessible, too. The process of accessibility is summarized in Figure 1 which is taken from Smith and Mackie (2000).

Figure 1. Factors that make the social identity accessible (from Smith & Mackie, 2000, ch. 6; fig. 6.2, p. 210)



As a result of these accessibilities, one can define the self, in terms of group membership, to the extent to which a person is identified with the immigrant group. Acquisition of immigrant identity goes along with cognitive and emotional processes that result with “we” (ingroup) and “they” (outgroup) categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Seeing the other ingroup members as similar (e.g., “We immigrants agree on most important issues”), liking the ingroup members (e.g., “I feel warmth for my immigrant group members”), and treating them with fairness and altruism (e.g., “I donate to immigrant organizations”) lead people to perceive the other immigrants as “we”. At the same time the outgroup is perceived as homogeneous (e.g., “Germans are all alike”). Category membership is extended by social identity theory which is summarized in the following.

3.2. Social Identity Theory

Individuals define themselves and are defined by others as members of a group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A group is conceptualized as a collection of individuals “who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the

evaluation of their group and of their membership in it.” (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 15). That is, social categories are conceived as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action. They create and define the individual’s place in society. According to theoretical principles of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 16):

1. Individuals strive to achieve or maintain positive social identity.
2. Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the ingroup and some relevant outgroups; the ingroup must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant outgroups.
3. When social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct.

Further, three classes of variables which influence intergroup differentiation in certain social situations were put forward by social identity theorists. First, group membership must be internalized as an aspect of self-concept. Second, the social situation must allow intergroup comparisons that enable the selection and evaluation of relevant attributes. Third, the outgroup must be perceived as a relevant comparison group.

Thus, SIT postulates that individuals define themselves to a large extent in terms of their social group memberships. Put another way, social identity consists of the individual’s self-image that derives from the social categories to which the individual perceives him- or herself to belong to, and from the value and emotional significance ascribed to that membership. Because people strive to maintain or enhance their positive self-concept, they are motivated to view their ingroup as more favorable than relevant outgroups. When the positive distinctiveness of one’s own group is not salient or is not reflected in the existing basis of comparison, members who maintain identification with their group may seek alternative dimensions for comparison that favor the ingroup or may attempt to regain feelings of positive distinctiveness by more active means. They may develop negative attitudes toward outgroups, show enhanced allegiance to their own group, or directly discriminate against other groups to regain a realistic advantage.

Then, how does an individual immigrant value him or herself if the immigrant group is devaluated as low-status and disadvantaged in the host society? According to SIT, one of the three following strategies will be chosen in order to maintain a positive social identity: individual mobility, social creativity, or social change/competition. Individual mobility is an

option for low identifiers and refers to the strategy for actually quitting –or, where this is not possible, psychologically dissociating from the low-status group. A Turkish immigrant who adopts the mainstream customs and values in Germany is an example for this. By contrast, the strategies of social creativity and social change/competition are both group solutions. Social creativity does not entail any actual change in the positions of the groups. Instead, group members are encouraged to change the nature of the intergroup comparisons, emphasizing new outgroups, new dimensions or new values. The slogan of “Black is beautiful” in the 1960s, and poor Turkish immigrants comparing themselves with the people in their home countries instead of with Germans are possible examples. Social change can be put into practice by individuals through working for the rights of the group of immigrants. That is, social change refers to the strategy of improving the overall societal situation of a group held in low status or esteem. Besides, some researchers (Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999b; Smith & Mackie, 2000) add another strategy called recategorization⁶ which can be exemplified as thinking of both Turks and Germans as Europeans.

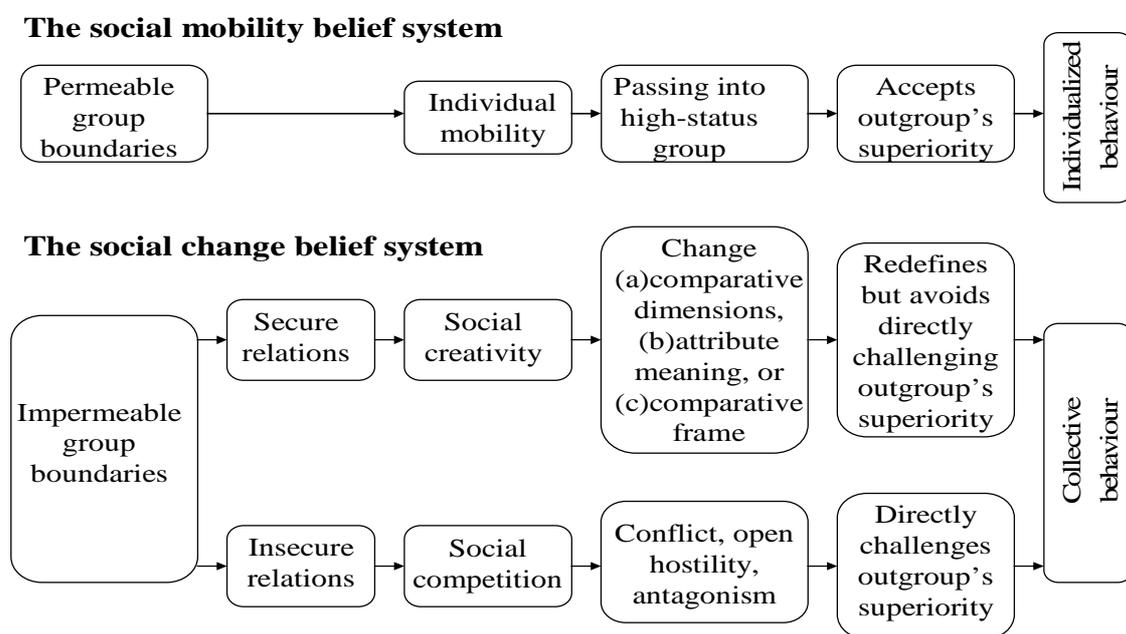
SIT assumes that especially social and historical contexts, beliefs about specific characteristics of intergroup situations (belief system) influence the choice of these strategies (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1996). According to SIT, it is necessary to consider three sets of conditions in order to understand how members of subordinated groups will act. The first relate to whether such people will act individually or collectively. Thus, when the boundaries between categories are seen as permeable so that people can succeed by distancing themselves from the group, they will indeed follow such individualistic paths – this would be the strategy of “exit”. However, when boundaries are seen as impermeable and where, no matter what one does, the persons fate will be tied to group membership, then people will act collectively – this would be the strategy of “voice”.

Put another way, the crucial factor which determines responses to low status is whether cognitive alternatives to the status quo are available – whether other solutions are conceivable. Where status relations are perceived to be immutable, social identity is assumed to be secure. Thus, the only way to improve social identity is through individual mobility. If instead, it is possible to conceive an alternative to the status quo – because the status hierarchy is perceived as illegitimate or unstable – then a strategy of social change becomes more likely. The relationship between the belief system (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; also called socio-

⁶ Recategorization model has been postulated by Gaertner and colleagues (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994).

structural variables by Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000 and Mummendey, Mielke, Wenzel, & Kanning, 1996; Mummendey *et al.*, 1999b) and strategies for achieving a positive social identity for members of low-status groups is shown in Figure 2 (taken from Haslam, 2001, p. 38). According to this conceptualization, if immigrants perceive the group boundaries as impermeable and the group relations as insecure (illegitimate and unstable), then it is more likely for them to perceive conflict and thus behave collectively to challenge outgroup's superiority.

Figure 2. Strategies for achieving a positive social identity for members of low-status groups (from Haslam, 2001, ch. 2; fig. 2.5a, p. 38)



3.3. Perceived Grievances

3.3.1. Perceived Discrimination

Given the assumption that most cases of discrimination are systematically constructed and are thus best understood in terms of imbalance of power between the advantaged and the disadvantaged social groups, theories of intergroup relations are appropriate for understanding discrimination and its related effects (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984; Reicher, 2004; Wright 2001; for institutionalized discrimination see Pettigrew, 1986). From an intergroup relations perspective, discrimination represents a situation where an individual is treated unjustly on the basis of membership in a disadvantaged group. Jones (1986, p. 289) states that “discrimination refers simply to differential treatment of individuals on the basis of their social category by people or the institutional policies they create and enforce”. The level at

which perceived discrimination occurs has specific behavioral implications: Perceived discrimination against the group as a whole leads to collective action (*e.g.*, social protest), whereas perceived discrimination against the person is associated with individual behavior (Foster & Matheson, 1995; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999a).

In the next section, two lines of research will be summarized: The first one is personal/group discrepancy and the second is about the attribution of discrimination. Within each research lines somewhat inconsistent findings about disadvantaged group members' responses to discrimination have been found.

3.3.1.1. Perceiving Personal versus Group Discrimination

One perspective suggests that members of disadvantaged groups tend to minimize subjective perceptions of discrimination. Accordingly, members of disadvantaged groups (for example women) concede that their group is a target of prejudice, yet tend to deny that prejudice affects them, personally (Crosby, 1982). This psychological phenomenon, which is referred to as the personal/group discrimination discrepancy, has been observed across several different minority samples (Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994; Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990). By minimizing perceptions of personal discrimination, people may maintain a sense of prediction and control over personal outcomes because perceiving oneself as a victim undermines feelings of self-efficacy and self-esteem (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997).

According to the review by Postmes *et al.* (1999) mainly three explanations in the literature could be distinguished: personally motivated explanations (*e.g.*, Crosby *et al.*, 1989), socially motivated explanations (Taylor *et al.*, 1990), and availability explanations (Moghaddam *et al.*, 1997). The first explanation accentuates the protection function of the denying or avoiding of painful emotional consequences that would result from the acceptance of the self as worse than others. The second explanation focuses on the amount of discrimination that is experienced by the group and emphasizes the gains that can be obtained by accentuating the disadvantaged group's position as the source of the discrepancy. The third explanation suggests that people use heuristics to arrive at their judgments: Because there are more people in their group, more discriminatory events should come to mind for the group rather than for the individual; and possible acts of discrimination (or of privilege) should be more available as the target group increases in size.

However, recently it has been proposed that the judgments at the group level and at the individual level are of a fundamentally different nature and hence not comparable (Major,

1994; Postmes *et al.*, 1999; Taylor *et al.*, 1994). The discrepancy results from the different comparison standards that are used to make judgments about the individual self and the groups, and the different motives that operate at each of these two identity levels. In other words, the personal judgments are made by means of an interpersonal comparison process, whereas the group judgments are made by means of an intergroup comparison. Thus, judgment mechanisms are different for personal- and group-level ratings of discrimination (Major, 1994; Postmes *et al.*, 1999).

3.3.1.2. Attribution of Discrimination

Apart from the personal/group discrepancy explanation, an alternative perspective posits that members of disadvantaged groups express suspicion about prejudice and discrimination. Accordingly, they tend to attribute ambiguous negative feedback to prejudice and discrimination (Major & Crocker, 1993). A well-known study by Crocker and her colleagues (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa & Major, 1991) illustrates this psychological phenomenon, referred to as *attributional ambiguity*. After receiving negative interpersonal feedback from a White confederate, African American participants varied in their reactions and attributions: Participants who believed the confederate was aware of their race attributed the feedback to prejudice, whereas participants who did not have this knowledge tended to internalize the feedback. By attributing ambiguous negative feedback to prejudice, minorities can avoid the debilitating effects of internalizing rejection and failure.

There are a number of benefits that stigmatized people may derive from attributing poor outcomes to discrimination: They can maintain their self-esteem when being confronted with failure by locating the cause of their failure in the prejudice of others rather than in their own actions (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker *et al.*, 1991). In doing so, stigmatized people can maintain their high-performance self esteem (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997) and low levels of depressed affect (Crocker *et al.*, 1991) relative to people who do not attribute their failure to discrimination. Despite the advantages gained from attributing failure to discrimination, there is evidence to suggest that stigmatized people are often reluctant to attributing to discrimination (Ruggiero & Marx, 1999; Ruggiero, Steele, Hwang, & Marx, 2000; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, 1997). In a series of experiments, Ruggiero and her colleagues demonstrated that stigmatized people attribute their failure to discrimination only when they are virtually certain that they have been discriminated against.

While attributions to discrimination may not be the primary choice of lower status group members, they can help to promote collective action when they do occur. Minority group

members engage in collective action only when they perceive discrimination according to Taylor and McKirnan (1984). It is argued that all intergroup relations pass through the same stages in the same sequential manner, though the length of time spent at any stage will depend on specific historical and social realities. According to the model, an immigrant's social position develops when social stratification takes place on the basis of ascribed membership. This membership will be seen as illegitimate and replaced when thinking of stratification as something based on individual achievement or worth. Within this new structure, it is legitimate to challenge the higher status group on the grounds of individual worth and merit.

The crucial factor in promoting collective action is a shift from internal attributions to external attributions. In respect to this point, Taylor and McKirnan suggest that an ideology of individualism in western cultures leads individuals to prefer internal over external attributions. Causal attributions and social comparisons are identified as key processes underlying changes in intergroup relations. Instead of attributing for lack of success to insufficient ability of individuals, attribution to external factors such as to discriminatory actions of the dominant group is required (Rappaport, 1977). Gurin, Gurin, Lao, and Beattie (1969) showed that Blacks attribute their social position to more discrimination than to personal causes, they aspire non-traditional Black jobs more and are more likely to engage in collective action. Attributions to discrimination should, however, not prevent group members from searching for other possible causes for their poor outcomes. Rather, Ellemers and Barreto (2003) argue that making internal attributions for failure may help identify problems and difficulties and may significantly contribute to the improvement of the situation of the group.

3.3.2. Relative Deprivation

In psychological studies, the feeling of relative deprivation (RD) has also been put forward in understanding and explaining collective action (*e.g.*, Gurr, 1979). The construct of RD was first articulated by Stouffer and his colleagues (Stouffer, Suchman, De Vinney, Star, & Williams, 1949). RD theory was developed during the Second World War to explain a series of unexpected relationships between feelings of satisfaction and one's position in the army. Studies showed that increasing objective income or raising living standards do not always increase satisfaction with these aspects. People's reactions to objective circumstances depend on their subjective comparisons.

The key issue: choice of comparison referents. Most social psychological research beginning with Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory focuses on comparisons to other

individuals or groups. Festinger's theory proposes that people prefer comparing their own situation to the situation of people who are like them, but in slightly better situations. According to the RD theory (Runciman, 1966), choice of comparison referents vary between individuals. A person (1) chooses the dimension on which to compare; (2) chooses to compare either to others or to oneself at other points in time; (3a) if comparing to oneself, chooses the points in time with which to compare; (3b) if comparing to others chooses those others; (4) chooses to compare oneself as an individual to other individuals or chooses to think of oneself as a group member and compare one's group to other groups; (5) chooses groups with which to identify; and (6) chooses groups with which to compare one's own group(s).

With whom do disadvantaged group members compare themselves? Following Festinger's (1954) proposal, it is more reasonable to expect members of disadvantaged groups to compare themselves to other disadvantaged group members, such as their family and friends, or to their personal experiences and expectations, rather than to advantaged group members. Consequently, they may not think of themselves as disadvantaged. Concurring, studies have shown that within disadvantaged groups it is often not the most disadvantaged members, but the more privileged ones who engage in collective action (Gurin & Epps, 1975; Pettigrew, 1972), since the latter are the most likely to make subjective social comparisons with members of more advantaged groups (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Contrary, Tyler and Smith (1998) argue that members of disadvantaged groups who enjoy personal advantages may prefer to compare downward to other, less fortunate members of their group rather than comparing their group's less fortunate situation to the situation for a more privileged group.

Social networks and contexts can either prevent or enforce particular comparison choices (Gartrell, 1987). For example, the bias toward similar others in wage comparison choices may reflect the segregation of the work environment (Major, 1994) and the tendency toward similarity in friendship networks (Gartrell, 1987). When members of an unfairly disadvantaged group work or live primarily with advantaged group members, they are more likely to choose an advantaged group member for social comparison (Major, 1994).

Distinction between egoistic and fraternal deprivation. The distinction between egoistic and fraternal RD⁷ is formally introduced into the sociology literature by Runciman in 1966. The first term refers to a sense of person-related disadvantage; the second refers to a sense of group-related disadvantage (see Table 1). Focusing on class, status, and power hierarchies in

⁷ Instead of original labels as "egoistic" and "fraternal" RD, recently "individual (-level)" or "personal" and "group (-level)" deprivation terms are used (*e.g.*, Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Tyler & Smith, 1998). Therefore, in further parts these terms will be used.

Britain, Runciman asked when inequality is translated into grievance and why so often it is not. In the original study, Runciman measured fraternal RD by asking British and Welsh people whether manual workers were doing much better than white-collar workers. When a person reports a willingness to rise out of his group membership, then, he is dissatisfied with his position as a member of what he perceived to be his group (egoistic RD). But if a person wants to rise with his group, then, he is dissatisfied with the position of what he perceived to be his group relative to other groups in the larger system (fraternal RD). This distinction is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Types of RD by Runciman (1966; taken from Dion, 1986, table 9.1, p. 167)

		Individual's position in the ingroup	
		Satisfied	Unsatisfied
Group's position in society	Satisfied	Doubly gratified	Egoistic RD
	Unsatisfied	Fraternal RD	Doubly deprived

Pettigrew (1967, 1978) have argued that group RD is an important concept for understanding ethnic and intergroup relations. Group RD was spotlighted in Pettigrew's (1967) integrative outline of social comparison processes. Vanneman and Pettigrew (1972) assessed the group RD by asking about the respondents' personal economic gains over the past five years in relation to their ingroup as well as to the outgroup in four American cities in which capable Black candidates ran for mayor in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their survey data from White residents confirmed Runciman's typology and proved that group, but not personal deprivation predicted "competitive racism". Later, Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) showed the same by asking respondents whether over the past five years people like themselves (in the country) have been better or worse off than most people of their minority group living there. They assessed the impact of group deprivation on blatant and subtle prejudice toward minorities in four European countries.

While the political power of deprivation appears to be located in a sense of collective disadvantage (Kinder, 1998), much research has examined the impact of personal RD on behavior or attitudes, however. As Walker and Pettigrew (1984) have noted, personal RD only involves intraindividual and interindividual comparisons and therefore cannot explain intergroup phenomena adequately. Personal RD is likely to elicit experience of stress, while group RD seems to be an important precursor for collective action (Dion, 1986; Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987). Relatively few studies have investigated group

RD in relation with behavioral outcomes such as readiness to participate in protests or other collective actions; and these non-experimental studies conducted with real social groups provided significant correlations between group RD and intergroup outcomes (*e.g.*, Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Grant & Brown, 1995; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Wright *et al.*, 1990).

Smith and Ortiz (2002) argue that unfortunately, the initial promise of RD as an explanation for collective behavior has not been fulfilled. Some investigations strongly support RD models (*e.g.*, Pettigrew, 1978; Runciman, 1966; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987) but others do not (*e.g.*, Gaskell & Smith, 1984; Thompson, 1989). However, as argued by Smith and Ortiz (2002) most of the negative reviews of the RD neglected the theoretical distinction between group RD and personal RD (*e.g.*, Finkel & Rule, 1986; McPhail, 1971). It is the feelings of group RD that promote political protest and active attempts to change the social system (Pettigrew, 1967; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987). In contrast, personal RD is related to personal reactions to disadvantage such as quitting one's job, juvenile delinquency or psychological depression (Kawakami & Dion, 1992; Mark & Folger, 1984).

In terms of the relationship between personal and group RD, Ellemers (2002, p. 247-248) argues as the following:

There is no logical or self-evident connection between two forms of deprivation. This can be illustrated by the literature on the so-called personal/group discrepancy, which reveals that people may be perfectly happy about their personal situation, even though they indicate that their group as a whole is disadvantaged (*e.g.*, Major, 1994; Martin, 1981). In other words, people can respond differently to the same situation, and to understand their behavior it is important to predict who will be most likely to perceive the situation in interpersonal or rather in intergroup terms.

Untangling the contradictory findings. In the first quantitative review by McPhail (1971), 32% of the studies were reported as nonsignificant, 61% indicated a low magnitude of association, 7% represented a moderate relation, and less than 1% represented a high relation between deprivation and participation in urban riots. However, the total 39 tests which were included in the review had a wide variety of measures. Subsequently, RD was dismissed as an explanation for collective behavior as researchers shifted toward resource mobilization models of collective behavior (Klandermans, 1989).

In their meta-analytic review Smith, Pettigrew and Vega (1994, cited in Smith & Ortiz, 2002) included research distinguishing between personal and group RD. Because of the subtle distinction or ambiguity in asking the respondents about their RD, the authors distinguished between three types of social comparisons: (1) interpersonal comparisons between oneself and another ingroup member (*e.g.*, a working woman compares her situation to another working woman), (2) comparisons between oneself and an outgroup member (*e.g.*, a working woman compares her situation to a working man), (3) intergroup comparisons between one's own group and another group (a working woman compares the situation for working women with working men). In the meta-analysis they determined five rules in order to include the research in the analysis. First, RD must be considered as a causal variable. Second, respondents must be asked directly about their experience. Third, RD must be defined as a comparative construct. Fourth, RD must refer to discrepancies that disadvantage the person or group. Finally, the relation between the respondent and the comparison target must be clear. After reviewing 350 studies published or presented between 1967 and 1995, 35 studies, mostly representing populations in the United States, were included.

The outcome measures included self-reported participation in riots, militancy, using violence to achieve political goals, readiness to block a road, block bulldozers, or spike trees, approval of violent politics or civil disobedience, and pressuring employers to hire more ingroup members. The analysis revealed that group-to-group comparisons ($d+(17) = .63$) were significantly higher related to collective behavior and attitudes than (a) comparisons between the respondent and an ingroup member ($d+(7) = .19, \chi^2 = 133.36, p < .05$), and (b) comparisons to personal experience ($d+(36) = .34, \chi^2 = 68.87, p < .05$). The researchers concluded that the findings support Runciman's original distinction and social identity interpretations of RD (Ellemers, 2002; Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Smith & Spears 1996; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984). In sum, the researchers suggested that when RD is measured correctly so that the level of comparison target and the feelings included in the question, it is related to important outcomes.

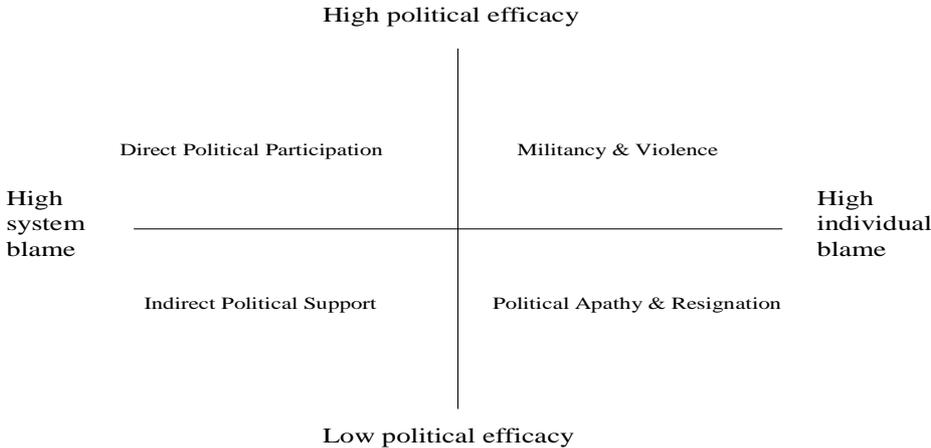
Further, it has been argued that it is not just the perception of the degree or magnitude of deprivation relative to another group (cognitive RD) that is important, but also the perceived illegitimacy or feeling of injustice (affective component; *c.f.* Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Martin, 1986; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972). Dube-Simard and Guimond (1986) have differentiated the cognitive component as the perception of inequality (economical gap), and the affective component as the feeling of discontent (dissatisfaction) when examining the motivations behind social protests. Each respondent is asked to indicate

to what extent s/he is satisfied with his or her own present situation and future prospects in comparison to other Francophones and in comparison to Anglophones. Researchers show that group discontent has a main effect on activism, which is not the case for either personal discontent or their interaction.

The role of attribution of deprivation in action participation. DeCarufel (1984, cited in Dion, 1986) has suggested that the concept of perceived control may help to explain why reactions to group RD run from militancy to resignation. Gurin *et al.* (1969) performed a series of factor analyses of Rotter’s I-E scale with the data collected from 1.600 Black American college students and found two orthogonal dimensions: personal versus system control. Whereas personal control refers to an individual’s own sense of efficacy concerning his or her influence on certain events, system control involves the respondents’ tendency to blame either him or herself or the social system for the social and economic problems confronting Black Americans. Those who blamed the system were more likely to favor group action to counter racial discrimination and have previously taken part in civil rights protests.

Extending Gurin *et al.*’s research Dion (1986) has proposed a two-dimensional model for predicting responses to group RD (an adapted model is presented in Figure 3). The two axes correspond to political efficacy (perceived personal control) and individual versus system blame (system control), respectively. Differences in political efficacy are assumed to be motivational in the sense of determining the activity or passivity of the response to group RD, whereas variations in individual versus system blame presumably influence whether the response is constructive or destructive. As can be seen from Figure 3, these two axes define four quadrants or categories of reactions to group RD: direct political participation, indirect political support, militancy and violence, political apathy and resignation.

Figure 3. Typology of responses to group RD (adapted from Dion, 1986, fig. 9.1, p. 175)



3.4. Integrated Models for Collective Action

Kawakami and Dion (1992) propose an integrative model that brings together the theories of self-categorization, social identity, and relative deprivation. The model begins with the determinants of category salience which influence whether personal or group identity is salient. Personal identity salience is associated with intragroup comparison, where negative and illegitimate outcomes lead to personal relative deprivation, a negative personal identity and individual actions. Conversely, group identity salience is associated with intergroup comparison, where negative and illegitimate outcomes lead to group relative deprivation, a negative group identity and group actions.

Ellemers (2001) considers how social identity and relative deprivation theories can complement and extend each other. Relying on the focus of these two different theories she concludes that the difference is to be found in the emphasis rather than in the underlying principle. RD theory and research has mainly focused on the behavioral consequences of (perceived) outcome of inequality and injustice, while SIT has a broader focus on intergroup perceptions. The second difference is that SIT is a psychological theory, while RD originated from a sociological / political science tradition, and has mainly been used in works on collective action. Another difference is that SIT has mostly focused on cognitive and motivational determinants of personal versus social identification, while RD has mainly addressed behavioral consequences of personal versus group deprivation. And there is also a methodological difference: SIT has been developed on the basis of laboratory experiments, whereas RD has constructed through behavioral observations in natural settings.

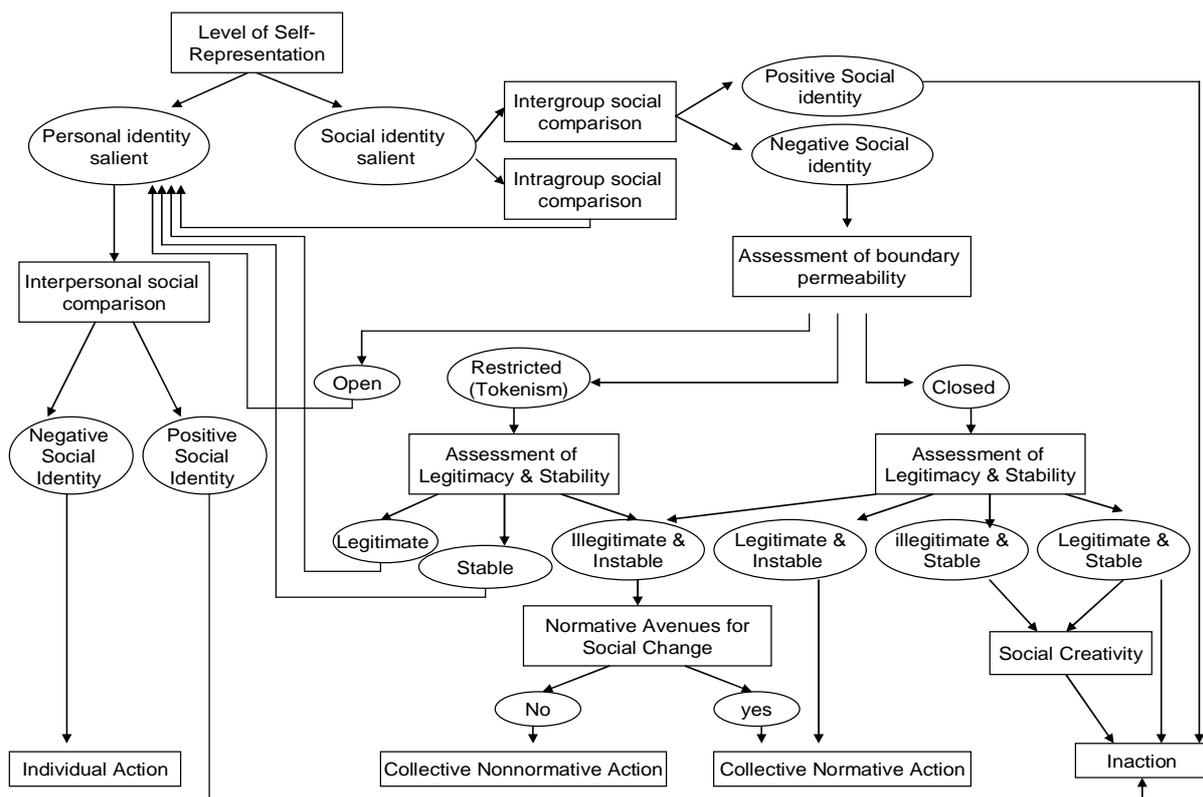
Considering these differences, Ellemers (2001) concludes that RD theory emphasizes the evaluation which depends on the referent outcomes; perceived injustice of a current outcome is an important motivator of behavioral action; and deprivation feelings may occur regardless of one's social status. According to SIT, the possibility that different comparisons can be made, depends on the salience in the social context resulting with personal or social identity; illegitimacy is an important factor in engaging in collective behaviors; the way people are treated can also affect people's self-definition (namely, legitimacy considerations may determine whether people are more likely to engage in interpersonal or intergroup comparisons which influences which action forms will be chosen); lower social status bolsters collective action.

Mummendey *et al.* (1999a) argue that SIT attenuates the cognitive aspect of identification, whereas RDT emphasizes the role of motivating emotions and expectations of improvement

in the conditions through collective efficacy. Based on this understanding, they aimed to show the difference in the strategy preference and to improve the explanatory power of the separate SIT and RDT models in their empirical work with East Germans. They found that the individual strategies directly and negatively related to identification, whereas the collective strategies were directly connected to strong negative feelings of fraternal resentment. Furthermore, the relation between identification and collective strategies was completely mediated through fraternal resentment.

Apart from integrative attempts as mentioned above, Wright (2001, 2003) suggests an integrated model in order to understand collective action and inaction as presented in Figure 4, below. Wright (1997; 2001) argues that, consistent with Tajfel (1978) and others (see Ellemers, 2001), assessment of boundary permeability may be the most important of the three belief structure assessments in determining disadvantaged group behavior. If the intergroup boundaries are perceived to be closed, the individual will adopt a “social change orientation” (Tajfel, 1981). This orientation is marked by increased identification with the ingroup, an enhanced motivation to improve the position of the ingroup, and an interest in collective action (see Ellemers, 1993; Wright & Taylor, 1998; Wright *et al.*, 1990). However, legitimacy and stability assessments in terms of intergroup relations are important predictors for actions.

Figure 4. Individual versus collective action and inaction (from Wright, 2003, fig. 20.1, p. 410)



Assessing legitimacy and stability when group boundaries are closed. It is clear that the assessments of legitimacy and stability are most accurately considered as continuous according to Wright (2001). That is, situations will be seen as more or less just and more or less stable. However, action and inaction represent discrete categories (one either takes action or one does not), that is, a relatively discrete point at which the situation is seen as “unstable enough” and/or “illegitimate enough”. Thus, the combination of the assessments of legitimacy and stability leads to four alternatives (see Table 2). At the one extreme, the relative position of the group is believed to be both legitimate and stable; that is the status differences are based on principles or norms that are accepted by disadvantaged group, and members of disadvantaged group do not question their place in the social structure. Speaking in terms of SIT, cognitive alternatives to the present situation are not recognized and collective action is not considered. The result is inaction. At the other extreme, the inequalities between the groups are seen as illegitimate and instable. Neither the principles that support the status hierarchy nor the inevitability of the hierarchy is accepted. Disadvantaged group members see unfairness, believe the situation can change, and believe that the ingroup has the necessary resources and capabilities to achieve that change. The result is collective action.

Assessing legitimacy and stability when group boundaries are highly restricted (tokenism). Although theories like SIT have represented boundary permeability as a continuous variable, most of the relevant research has operationalized boundary permeability as a dichotomous distinction between “open” (best represented by the Western *meritocratic* ideal) and “closed” (best represented by forced segregation) contexts according to Wright (2001). And he argues that in contemporary North American society, and in many other intergroup contexts, individual mobility is neither completely impossible (closed) nor entirely meritocratic (open). Instead, group boundaries are often restricted (*e.g.*, Pettigrew & Martin, 1987) so that access is systematically blocked for most qualified members of the disadvantaged group, whereas a small number of disadvantaged group members are accepted into advantaged positions. Extreme restrictions on boundary permeability result in a form of intergroup discrimination are referred to as “tokenism” (Wright & Tropp, 2002). In a number of studies (Wright, 1997; Wright & Taylor, 1998; Wright *et al.*, 1990) it has been shown that disadvantaged group members faced with an entirely closed context prefer disruptive forms of collective action. However, when as few as 2% of the qualified ingroup members are allowed to access to advantaged positions, individual actions become the response of choice. Thus, it appears that even the slightest hint of boundary permeability may undermine interest in collective action.

In other words, tokenism elicits a unique and potentially disturbing response pattern (see Table 3).

Wright (1997, 2001) argues that the tokenism effect is multifactorily determined. In part, tokenism leads to a preference for individual action by focusing attention on personal identities and encouraging interpersonal social comparisons with the few successful tokens holding high status positions. Tokenism may undermine collective action by refocusing attention away from the intergroup social comparisons with the advantaged outgroup, as well as by obfuscating the intergroup context regarding perceived legitimacy and stability of the intergroup status hierarchy. Consistently, Wright and Taylor (1998) found that participants in a laboratory experiment who were faced with a tokenism context perceived less collective injustice than those faced with completely closed intergroup boundaries. In addition, participants tended to prefer inaction or individual normative action in the open context, while those in the completely closed condition showed a very strong preference for collective non-normative behavior. Individual non-normative action was the most selected response in the tokenism condition.

Further, Wright and his colleague (Wright, 2003; Wright & Tropp, 2002) consider two extensions to the discussion of boundary permeability: First, they differentiate between external (structural) and internal (psychological) barriers to boundary permeability, and second, they emphasize the importance of considering the permeability as a continuum rather than a dichotomy and the significance of a context labeled “tokenism”. External barriers include physical and structural factors that reduce individuals’ chances of moving from the disadvantaged group into a more advantaged group. Some of these external barriers include ascribed characteristics that cannot be changed (*e.g.*, race, gender), social norms and practices that prevent members of the disadvantaged group from leaving their own group or joining the outgroup (*e.g.*, prejudice and discrimination by the advanced group, both direct and institutional), or geographical distances that separate the groups. Most of the existing work on boundary permeability has focused on these external factors. Internal barriers, on the other side, are described as perceptions of the intergroup boundaries. Strong identification with the ingroup is shown as serving the psychological barrier to perceived boundary permeability, that is, strong ties with and psychological attachment to the ingroup are likely to lead the individual to believe that he or she simply could not leave the group (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). Consequently, ingroup identification may lead to an interest in collective action by reducing the perceived permeability of group boundaries.

Based on his colleagues' and his work, Wright (2001) argues that the judgments about a social context (permeability, stability and legitimacy) are not independent:

Restricted boundary permeability (tokenism) not only obfuscates the potential for individual mobility, but also affects perceptions of legitimacy and stability. The success of very few disadvantaged group members appears to undermine interest in collective action by focusing attention on personal rather than collective injustice, and by reducing confidence about the illegitimacy of the intergroup context. This in turn may reduce confidence in the instability of the ingroup's position. Thus, it appears that the impact of restricted boundary permeability on collective action is at least partially mediated by perceptions of legitimacy and instability. (p. 238)

Further, Wright (2001) argues that the feelings of dissatisfaction and anger are closely linked to perceptions of the legitimacy of the social structure. Dissatisfaction with one's position indicates a sense of entitlement. If a disadvantaged group member believes that his or her ingroup deserves more, this directly implies that the present state of affairs is perceived as unfair or illegitimate (Major, 1994). The feeling of illegitimacy that results from the viewpoint that one's group deserves higher status or better treatment is an essential step on the road to collective action, because this feeling provides the motivation and the justification for actions that may be socially disruptive and potentially costly or even dangerous (Tajfel, 1981; see also Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Wright and Tropp (2002) conclude that (a) the individual's psychological connection with the ingroup; (b) the propensity to make group-level social comparisons with a dominant outgroup that lead to strong feelings of collective relative deprivation; (c) the individual's assessment of, and subsequent rejection of, the possibility for individual upward mobility; and (d) the assessment of the ingroup's low-status position as illegitimate and controllable are the roots of collective action.

III. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this section, we first, summarize the results and then, present our framework and research questions.

4. Empirical Evidences

Empirical evidences are presented in three parts: First, findings on the SIT assumptions (ingroup identification and belief system) are given. In order to do so, we summed up the research conducted in both experimental and field settings. The experimental studies are distinguished in two parts as well: We summarized the studies which ingroup identification was tested as DV and the studies where the strategy choice was examined as DV. Second, research results on perceived grievances are presented in a way that on the one side, findings on perceived discrimination and its attribution are depicted and on the other side, research on relative deprivation are reviewed. Third, studies on collective action of immigrants from Germany and other countries are mentioned.

4.1. Findings on the SIT Assumptions

The relations between belief system and strategies that individuals adopt to deal with a negative social identity are not studied much in the literature. The impact of belief system has been shown in a few experimental (*e.g.*, Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000, 2002; Ellemers, Doosje, van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992; Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish & Hodge, 1996) and field studies (*e.g.*, de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996; 1999b). However, within each research designs inconsistent findings have been evidenced. In the following, the results of these different research designs are reviewed.

4.1.1. Results from Experimental Studies

4.1.1.1. The Effect of Group Status and Belief System on Ingroup Identification

Ellemers, van Knippenberg, de Vries and Wilke (1988) manipulated group status (high, low) and measured permeability and identification. According to the results, members of high status groups show more ingroup identification than members of low status groups. Members of low status groups with permeable boundaries identify less with their group than members of low status groups with impermeable boundaries. The second experiment showed that group members with high individual ability identify less with their ingroup when upward mobility is possible than when upward mobility is not possible. Thus, only when group members

perceive a realistic opportunity for gaining a membership of a higher status group, do they show decreased ingroup identification.

In another study, group status (high, low), group size (minority, majority), and permeability were taken as IVs and identification with the ingroup was taken as DV (Ellemers *et al.*, 1992). A significant three-way interaction was found: When group boundaries are permeable, members of high status minorities show relatively strong ingroup identification. However, the expectation that permeable group boundaries would result in diminished ingroup identification in low status minorities was not confirmed. Also, a significant interaction effect of group size and permeability indicated stronger ingroup identification in minority groups with permeable boundaries than in permeable majority groups, while there is no significant difference in ingroup identification between minority and majority groups with impermeable boundaries. The researchers stated that minority group members identify relatively strongly with their ingroup when they might become members of another (majority) group.

Soon, two other experiments were conducted with low-status group members (Ellemers, Wilke & van Knippenberg, 1993) where ingroup identification was DV, and legitimacy (illegitimate treatment), stability and permeability were taken as IVs. The findings showed that when the group boundaries were impermeable here was a significant interaction of stability and legitimacy occurred: Ingroup identification was stronger in the impermeable condition as well as in the illegitimate condition in comparison to permeable and legitimate conditions. Thus, these three conditions jointly create a situation in which collective injustice was resolved by collective status improvements resulting in a strengthening of group ties. In the next experiment, however, only main effect of legitimacy was found: When participants perceived that assignment to groups was more legitimate they reported stronger ingroup identification.

In sum, in the first pair of experiments by Ellemers *et al.* (1988) members of low status groups identified less with the ingroup when group boundaries were permeable rather than impermeable, as predicted (Experiment 1). However, in Experiment 2, permeability affects were limited to high ability individuals, that is, to individuals for whom movement to a higher status group was a realistic possibility. In the third experiment (Ellemers *et al.*, 1992), stronger ingroup identification was observed when boundaries were permeable rather than impermeable. In a fourth experiment (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993, Experiment 1) permeability influenced ingroup identification as before (Ellemers *et al.*, 1992) but also interacted with legitimacy and stability of group status. In a fifth experiment (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993,

Experiment 2), permeability had no effect on ingroup identification (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993), but legitimacy. Unfortunately, no explanation was offered for the discrepant findings across these studies.

4.1.1.2. The Effect of Belief System on Strategy Choice

Ellemers and her colleagues manipulated only one or two of the proposed belief system variables and tested their effect on ingroup identification (1988, 1992). Only in one study they manipulated all three structural characteristics and gave their participants the opportunity to engage in individual mobility and/or social competition/change (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993, Experiment 2). Results showed that permeability and stability had a significant main effect on the strategy choice. However, the impact of legitimacy was marginal and no interaction between the three belief system variables was obtained. Ellemers and her colleagues have argued that permeability of group boundaries should be crucial to determining whether individual or collective strategies are used. Collective strategies should be preferred when boundaries are impermeable, whereas individual strategies should be chosen when boundaries are permeable. However the results of their research suggest that the effects of permeability of group boundaries may be more complex.

To test the effect of permeability on the use of social mobility and social creativity strategies Jackson *et al.* (1996) conducted three experiments. In the first experiment they used laboratory-created groups but in the second experiment they took real-life groups as cigarette smokers vs. non-smokers. Their results supported the hypothesis about using social creativity, however, no support was found for the choice of the social mobility strategy. Permeability of group boundaries revealed no effect on the social mobility choice in the first two experiments, but in the third experiment it was found that the effect of permeability on social mobility was opposite than the SIT hypothesis postulates: That is, the participants distanced themselves more from their ingroup when boundaries were seen as impermeable.

Boen and Vanbeselaere (2000) tested the predictions of social identity theory with 187 male students (age from 12 to 14-year-olds) who were offered a choice between five behavioral alternatives: acceptance of one's unfavorable position, individual mobility through normative or non-normative means, and collective action by normative or non-normative means. Contrary to SIT, it was found that stability has a significant impact on the behavioral choice when the high-status group is open, but not when it is only minimally open or even closed. The form of the interaction between stability and openness was completely opposite to the prediction by SIT. Moreover, an unstable status difference leads to 47% of the respondents in

the open conditions to opt for collective normative action, while 63% of the group members engage in collective action in minimally open conditions. And only 28% (open condition) and 23% (minimally open condition) select individual normative action. In the closed unstable condition, 26% of the group members select individual normative action, 29% prefer collective normative action, and 32% display a preference for collective non-normative action. Therefore, researchers argued that an unstable intergroup stratification results in a preference for collective action regardless of the openness of the high-status group like Ellemers (1993) found.

In another study (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2002) 542 students (age between 11 to 12 years) were involved in a four-way factorial design which was created by manipulating the legitimacy of the low group status, the stability of that status, the permeability of the group boundaries, and the perception of the individual group members' abilities. Once more the interaction between permeability and legitimacy, and between permeability and stability, as well as the three-way interaction between permeability, stability, and legitimacy were not significant. However, the main effects of all these three factors were significant.

4.1.2. Results from Field Studies: Belief System and Its Effect on Strategy Choice

Field studies by Mummendey and her colleagues (Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999a, 1999b) revealed more complex results when they tested ingroup identification as a mediator between belief system and strategy choice among East Germans. Longitudinal and cross sectional analyses (Mummendey *et al.*, 1996) showed a negative path of identification to social change, but no significant path of stability nor of legitimacy was found. Impermeability yielded stronger identification as well as seeking for social change. Besides, not any assumed mediation effect of identification was detected. However, in another study, they (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999a, Study 1) found significant indirect effects of perceived permeability and stability on strategy choice. That is, ingroup identification mediated between perceived permeability as well as perceived stability and strategy choice (social and realistic competition).

Nevertheless, another study by Mummendey *et al.* (1999b) provided significant paths of all three belief system variables to social competition, but not any mediation: Perceived stability, illegitimacy and permeability increased feelings of social competition. To test possible interaction effects, two levels of each variable were created by computing median splits. The main effects were consistent with the results of path analysis, moreover, a marginally significant interaction between stability and permeability emerged, but it was qualified by a

second order interaction involving also legitimacy. The predicted permeability effect can only be observed in the high-stability and low-legitimacy condition. Subsequently, respondents perceiving the intergroup situation as unstable, legitimate and permeable were defined as assimilators ($n = 90$), while those perceiving it as stable, illegitimate and impermeable as separatists ($n = 82$). And, as expected, separatists ($M = 3.08$, $SD = .91$) exhibited significantly more social competition than assimilators ($M = 2.48$, $SD = .74$, $t(170) = -4.70$, $p < .001$).

In sum, Mummendey and her colleagues' work (1996, 1999b) revealed a marginal interaction between belief system variables on social competition (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999b) on the one hand, and a significant mediation effect of identification of belief system variables (perceived permeability and stability) on strategy choice, on the other hand. By using the frame of Mummendey and her colleagues, inter-relation between group identification and a farmers' political protest in the Netherlands were tested by de Weerd and Klandermans (1999). Participation in a political protest was conceived as the participation in a specific form of collective action (any action individuals undertake as group members rather than as individuals). De Weerd and Klandermans (1999) proposed adding a new (behavioral) component to the already existing three constituents of social identity. According to SCT and SIT, a cognitive component is the process of categorization, an evaluative component is the assessment of the groups' position relative to that of other groups, and an affective component refers to the degree of attachment to the group or category. In their longitudinal study, the researchers conceived ingroup identification as consisting of an affective and a behavioral component which have the largest impact on the behavior. Thus, the mentioned farmers were asked whether they identified strongly with other farmers (yes/no), whether they felt more committed to farmers than to any other occupational group (yes/no), and whether they were members of a farmers' organization. Permeability perception of the farmers was assessed by asking if it would be easy for them to find another job. Stability was obtained through asking optimism/pessimism about future. And the illegitimacy item asked how just or unjust the income of farmers was compared to other groups in the society. Collective action (protest participation) was defined as the action preparedness and actual participations within the last two years.

The findings of de Weerd and Klandermans (1999) showed that none of the belief system variables (permeability, stability, legitimacy) had an influence on the ingroup identification, but permeability and stability affected action preparedness than in opposite direction to what SIT suggests: farmers who perceive group boundaries as more open and who are less pessimistic about the future (stability) were more willing to participate in collective action.

But in the third wave of the study, they found that farmers who are more pessimistic about the future have more often participated in collective action. These farmers might be the ones who experience the situation worse than other people according to the researchers. In the case of ingroup identification no effect of participation could be observed. However, participation in collective action did have an impact on identification at the behavioral level. Participation in farmers' organizations (the behavioral component of ingroup identification) was higher among those who participated in collective actions. Researchers concluded that at least in the case of behavioral identification, causality between identification and action participation goes in both directions. Consequently, their hypotheses about a mediational effect of ingroup identification were not confirmed.

Consequently, the few attempts which include all three belief system variables (permeability, legitimacy and stability) as independent variables have all come to inconsistent results and some of them are not concurring with the SIT assumptions (*e.g.*, Ellemers *et al.*, 1993; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999b; Boen & Vanbeselare, 2000, 2002). Therefore, these relations will be tested in the context of migration. The specific hypotheses are formulated at the end of Section 5.

4.2. Findings on Perceived Grievances

4.2.1. Perceived Discrimination and Its Attribution

Major and colleagues conducted a series of experiments to examine the conditions under which people believe that they are targets of discrimination, and the role of legitimacy appraisals in moderating this construal. In the first experiment, Major and Schmader (2001) showed that students of ethnic minorities who endorse system justifying ideologies perceive less personal discrimination. In the second experiment, African-American students were found to be more likely to attribute feedback to prejudice rather than to their own personality when the feedback was negative than when it was positive, and when the evaluator could see them in contrast to when the evaluator could not. These effects did not occur for European-American students. Similarly, Crocker, Major, Steele (1998) found that the recognition that disadvantage is not simply a personal experience, but extends more broadly to other members of one's social group, increases one's group consciousness and one's acting in favor of the group. Likewise, the judgment that the group's disadvantaged status is illegitimate and the blame for that disadvantaged status on discrimination rather than on deficiencies of the group itself, as well as the development of a positive group identity are found to be important factors in acting in favor of the group.

In relation to race discrimination, Hewstone and Jaspars (1982) showed that information concerning differences between Whites and Blacks in Britain (rate of arrest, unemployment, educational achievement, and occupational status) were attributed less to internal characteristics and more to discrimination by Blacks in contrast to Whites. Kluegel and Smith (1986) state that the most important factor in challenging inequalities between classes, races, sexes and so on is the attribution of the causes of inequality. They argue that, for example, if race discrimination goes back to a few prejudiced individuals, then no change to the overall stratification system is necessary. But if it roots in the system itself, then the dominant ideology cannot be maintained.

Verkuyten (2005) examined with a discursive analytical stance how ethnic discrimination is presented and the ways that people account for discrimination. One of his interviewees (a Turkish man) attributes discrimination to the individuals' shortcoming (Excerpt 13, p. 82).

Interviewer: Yeah, but surely there are a lot more unemployed foreigners than unemployed Dutch people.

Kadir (Turkish man): Yes, that's right, but er, their own fault.

Interviewer: Do you think?

Kadir: Yeah, sure thing. Look, I've never been to school here in the Netherlands, but if I really want a job, I get job offers like everywhere. It's got nothing to do with discrimination, those people have liked themselves to blame, sure thing. If a person wants like something, then he will get ahead.

4.2.2. Consequences of Perceived Discrimination for Group Identification

Research in the social identity theory tradition has demonstrated that group members frequently react to both threats to their group identity and to discrimination with increased group identification and cohesion (*e.g.*, Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). This prediction has been supported by research involving historically disadvantaged groups, such as African Americans, where perceptions of discrimination across situations increase group identification (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999a). The predicted positive relationship between perceptions of discrimination and group identification has been observed in women (Crosby, 1982, 1984; Gurin & Tonwsend, 1986); homosexuals (Simon *et al.*, 1998); Jews (Cozzarelli & Karafa, 1982); nonmainstream college groups (Dion & Earn, 1975); and for ethnic groups (*e.g.*, Taylor *et al.*, 1990). To the extent that people identify with a particular group, they are likely to show increased awareness and sensitivity to information related to that group and may be particularly vigilant for discrimination. But as group members differ in their group

identification, members of the same group might interpret group-related information in very different ways, as well.

Identity threats may be coped with by adopting a more group-based strategy (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Ellemers & Van Rijswijk, 1997; Jetten *et al.*, 2001). Specifically, perceptions of discrimination might strengthen identification with those who share the stigma. When taking this more group-based approach, members of devalued groups are likely to engage in social creativity by rejecting dominant group standards and instead placing greater emphasis and value on how they differ from the dominant group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Several studies have revealed that when confronted with discrimination, disadvantaged group members disidentify with the normative standards of the dominant group and increase the relevance of dimensions on which the ingroup is distinct (Croizet & Claire, 1998; Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998; Steele, 1997). Ellemers, Spears and Doosje (1997) have shown that members of low-status groups are more likely to pursue the strategy of leaving the group when their identification is low rather than high. In another study (Spears *et al.*, 1997), it is found that threat to distinctiveness and group status leads to an enhancement of identification when individuals feel strongly attached to their group, but to a decrease in identification when individuals feel only weakly attached to their group.

Jetten *et al.* (2001) have argued that enhanced social identification can ultimately act as a buffer against the threat of social rejection that discrimination represents. In two studies, Jetten *et al.* (2001) examined the effects of perceived discrimination on the meanings of group identification and how group identification mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and different meanings and affective consequences of group membership. Strong support was obtained for the prediction that perceptions of discrimination were associated with increased group identification.

Postmes and his colleagues (1999) have reported that the difference in identification with low- and high-status groups exerts an important effect on the degree of perceived group discrimination and privilege. Identification only has an impact on the group ratings, but no effect on the personal ratings. That is, only strong identifiers with a low-status group, for e.g. women, report more discrimination, whereas highly identified men acknowledge that their group is privileged. The researchers conclude that low-identifiers are opportunistic in how they present themselves to the ingroup as well as to the outgroup, which concur with the other findings (Ellemers, Barreto, & Spears, 1999; Reicher *et al.*, 1995).

Scheepers *et al.* (2003) showed that perceived discrimination can function as a way to confirm a social identity on the one hand, and as a motivator facilitating collective action against an outgroup, on the other hand (instrumental function; Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2002; Spears, Jetten, & Scheepers, 2002). Based on social identity theory Scheepers and colleagues (2003) hypothesized that both functions (identity confirmation function and instrumental function) are stimulated by group identification. People who strongly identify with a group will be most willing to confirm this group based identity, and they also should be willing to work for the group and promote action when things are going bad (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Ouwerkerk, de Gilder, & de Vries, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Moreover, researchers have illustrated that identity confirmation is prevalent in contexts where the group's value is reinforced, and thus relatively secure, but that the instrumental function will be especially prevalent when the value of one's group is threatened.

4.2.3. Relative Deprivation in Relation with Ingroup Identification and Collective Action

Tougas and Veilleux (1988) note that group relative deprivation is conceptually related to social identification because the extent of a person's identification with an aggrieved group strongly influences their perception of their disadvantage in the first place (Ellemers, 2002; Smith, Serras, & Oyen, 1994; Taylor & McGarty, 2001; Wright & Tropp, 2002). Women, for example, only become aware of their disadvantaged status in the workplace if they see themselves in terms of gender-based social identity (Fajak & Haslam, 1998; Skevington & Baker 1989; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988).

The findings of the study by Tropp and Wright (1999) also confirmed the association between strength of ingroup identification and reports of RD among disadvantaged group members (Latinos and African Americans). They used two items, one measuring the cognitive component of RD and the other assessing the affective component, for five comparison targets (two group-level and three personal-level social comparisons). The item for the cognitive component of RD was as the following: "Would you say that you are [your ethnic group is] better off or worse off than ...". To measure the affective component of RD the following question was used: "How angry or satisfied are you about your [ethnic group] situation relative to ...". Additionally, support for collective action was measured with a single item ("Members of our ethnic group must stick together and work as a group to change the position of all members of the group"). A regression analysis revealed that only two measures (ingroup identification and affective group RD in comparison with Whites) uniquely accounted for a significant portion of the variance in the support for collective action.

As a result, respondents of Tropp and Wright's (1999) study reported significantly more group-level deprivation in comparisons with Whites than in comparisons with other minorities. The two-way interaction between ingroup identification and the comparison target was significant: While high identifiers reported more deprivation than low identifiers in comparison with other minorities, this difference between high- and low-identifiers was even greater in comparison with Whites. In terms of personal-level deprivation, both high- and low-identifiers were satisfied with their personal situation relative to ingroup members. However, high-identifiers were significantly less satisfied than low-identifiers with their personal position relative to members of other minority groups. When the comparison group was Whites, the difference between high- and low-identifiers became even larger in a way that high-identifiers indicated clear feelings of personal deprivation. Thus, high identification with the ingroup and comparison to an advantaged outgroup combined to produce the strongest feelings of group-level and personal-level RD. In other words, individuals who identify strongly with their ingroup and who make group-level social comparisons with more advantaged outgroups feel the most RD and are most likely to support collective strategies for social change. The perceived intergroup relationship is also important in the choice of the social change strategy (Tropp & Wright, 1999, p. 213):

Social comparisons with Whites may represent a comparison with the dominant group in the status hierarchy; the group that is seen to be responsible for the subordinate status of the ingroup; the group that maintains and supports the status quo; the group that is perceived to have a greater degree of control over and access to recourses and higher status positions.

Tropp and Brown's (2004) results revealed that identifying with one's group and seeing one's group as deprived predict support for collective action. At the same time, the results diverge from those of previous research in some notable ways. Specifically, while both group deprivation and group identification were significantly associated with interest in collective action, only group identification was a significant predictor of involvement in collective action. Researchers argued that this is the case because the most research and theory concerning collective action has been based on studies of willingness to engage in collective action.

Other research findings also show that identification moderates the relation between deprivation and behavioral intentions for action participation. In their collective action research, Kelly and Breinlinger (1996) found that collective RD as a correlate of participation

intention was more important for strong than weak identifiers. Another study that was conducted one year after the first conduct also confirmed that collective RD was significantly related to collective protest, informal participation, and individual protest.

Via experimental design, the mediating role of relative group deprivation was shown by Boen and Vanbeselaere (2002) by performing a logistic regression on the (binary) choice for collective non-normative action, with the manipulation check of legitimacy as predictor. This analysis indicated that perceived legitimacy was a significant predictor of the choice of collective non-normative action. However, when relative group deprivation was included in the regression, perceived legitimacy was no longer significantly related to collective non-normative action, whereas relative group deprivation was.

Feelings of group deprivation have been found to be connected to perceptions of group injustice (Martin, 1986; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972), to support for separatist and nationalist attitudes (*e.g.*, Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983), to social protest (Birt & Dion, 1987; Walker & Mann, 1987), to support for affirmative action (Tougas & Beaton, 2002), to willingness to engage in collective action (Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988), and to collective action (Brewer & Silver, 2000; Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Tropp & Brown, 2004; Wright & Tropp, 2002; for a meta analysis see also Smith & Ortiz, 2002).

4.3. Findings on Collective Action of Immigrants

Most of the studies dealing with immigrants' participation in host countries mainly stem from research on institutionalized politics among the migrant groups: the research on immigrants' organizations and how they organize and/or mobilize themselves. Currently, one research body has a special focus on migrants' claim-making (*e.g.*, Bousetta, 2000; Koopmans, 2004; Koopmans & Statham, 2001; Statham *et al.*, 2005; Vermeulen, 2005). Another focus lies on transnational identities, organizations and politics among migrants which attenuates how the politics in receiving countries are shaped through immigrants' organizations and institutions and are influenced by immigrants' homeland countries (*e.g.*, Caglar, 2001; Kaya, 2002; Moja, 2005; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003).

For example, Diehl and Blohm (2001) showed that 39% of the Turkish immigrants were members of voluntary associations in Mannheim (in Germany). Turkish migrants showed the lowest levels of association with German clubs; their participation takes place mostly in Turkish clubs. However, these clubs strongly reflect homeland identities and have little to do with German political issues. Their activities are mostly religious or cultural activities relating

to the home country, most associations restricted their political lobbying to internal discussions or were strictly involved in homeland issues. The researchers concluded that institutional settings in Germany as well as migrant resources act to demobilize political participation rather than promote it. For instance, there are restrictions in the constitution which are related to the political participation of the foreigners in German politics: Only human rights that are relevant to political participation are granted to foreigners by the constitution, other rights are granted only to German citizens. Also, voting rights for immigrants are rare, and immigrants holding Turkish nationality are not even allowed to vote on a local level in Germany.

Furthermore, Glatzer (2004) compared Turkish, Italian, and German youth (N = 1200) in terms of organizational membership and political participation. The researcher illustrated that signing a petition is the most frequent action (44%) that all respondents (Germans included) participate in, and that political demonstration takes the second place (32%). Participation in a trade union strike (13%), writing a letter to a politician (8%), working in a citizen initiative (8%), membership to a political party (5%), and working in a political office (5%) were the other forms of participation. Forty percent of the respondents, however, indicated that they did not participate in any actions listed. In addition, fifty-five percent of the immigrants identify with both countries and they identify almost equally with them, which researchers referred to as *ambivalent identification*⁸. Another study investigated the political participation of Italian, Greek, and Turkish young adults (Weidacher, 2000) that of the survey data was re-analyzed in the present research with a social psychological perspective.

Bousetta (2001) demonstrated that political activities of ethnic minorities in England are taking place within the narrow boundaries of the political and social fields. Ethnic minorities seek to achieve political objectives by mobilizing fellows from community and voluntary organizations. There is often an extension to their social participation which is truly political. Bousetta argues against the classical definition of political participation because of its failure in understanding political participation of ethnic minorities. Important influences of social organizations and neighborhoods on the political participation of immigrants have been stressed by other scholars, as well. Both social networks facilitate the maintenance of social boundaries and ethnic identities, and thus can provoke interest in homeland or in host country politics (e.g., Passy & Giugni, 2001; Sanders, 2002). Kemp *et al.* (2000, p. 97) points out the important functions of ethnic organizations as the following:

⁸ Some other scholars refer to it as dual identification rather than ambivalent identification by arguing that a person can simultaneously identify with both social groups which can be a positive attribute (e.g., Simon, 2004).

The literature underscores three main functions of ethnic associations: first, the adjustment of migrants into the host society; second, the reaffirmation or the transformation of migrants' ethnicity in the new environment; and third, the mediation between migrants and the home community in the sending countries. Despite the important contribution of this large literature, few have considered the political significance of ethnic associations as they create new platforms for claim advancing in the host public sphere.

A study from the U.S. (San Francisco) showed that Chinese-Americans have maintained strong ties with the people in their country of origin (Lien, 2004): 22% of the respondents reported that they have contact with their homeland people at least once a week. Sixty-eight per cent reported that they pay close attention to the news and events that happen in Asia. Moreover, they participated in diverse forms of political actions: working with others in the community to solve a problem (16%), signing a petition for a political aim (10%), donating money to a political campaign (8%), joining public meetings, political rallies, or fundraisings (7%), and contacting government officials (6%). Besides, 43% of the respondents prefer to call themselves "Chinese", 40% "Chinese-American", 12% "Asian-American", 4% "Asian", and only 1% refers to itself as "American".

A social psychological study by Deaux *et al.* (2006) examined the ideological positions (attitudes about social diversity and status inequality) of immigrants in relation to willingness to engage in collective action in the U.S. Their assumption that identification mediates the relationship between ideology and collective action orientation was confirmed for all immigrant groups (White, Black, and Latino immigrants). They found differences in ethnic identification for immigrants who have been in the U.S. fewer than eight years versus those who have already been there for eight years and more. Both White and Black, and Latino immigrants who have been in the U.S. for fewer than eight years showed no relationship between ethnic identification and acceptance of inequality. Whereas the association between those variables was .17 for white immigrants who have been in the U.S. for more than eight years, and it was in the opposite direction for Blacks and Latino immigrants (-.16). That is, Black and Latino immigrants who strongly identify with their ethnic group reject inequality.

Another social psychological study by Moghaddam and Perreault (1992) examined the individual and collective mobility strategies with 313 first-generation minority group members in Canada. Mean age was 37 years, 42% had received university education. Multiple regression analyses showed that "individual-assimilation" action was preferred by the

immigrants who reported high legitimacy of the Canadian system. And, “collective-multiculturalism” action was positively associated with perceived group discrimination.

Moreover, research based on a model of life span development suggests that the period of late adolescence and young adulthood is the critical time for the development of identity, including commitment to values, ideologies and groups. Concurring, research suggests that political activity increases throughout the adult life, peaking at midlife (Conway, 1985; Milbrath & Goel, 1982). That is why we conducted the present work only with young adults. Because diverse definitions for generation have been proposed in the social science literature, we avoided to use the term generation. According to Bade (1994), for example, the people who hold another citizenship than German and who have been living in Germany for at least ten years represent the first generation of immigrants. Their children who were born and have grown up in Germany are the second generation, whereas their grand children are the third generation immigrants. On the other hand, based on Mannheim’s historical sociological definition of generation, Glatzer (2004) argues that immigrants who came from 1955 (when the bilateral migration was initiated) to 1973 (when it was officially stopped) are the first generation. The historical time period between 1973 and 1991 (Germany’s unification) is referred to as the era in which second generation immigrants came.

5. Framework and the Research Questions

The social psychological approach which was conceptualized by Pettigrew (1996) is adopted in the present work. His approach focuses on the meso-level analysis that can be defined as the intersection of macro- and micro-level processes. Situational factors as face-to-face interactions underlie the meso-level social psychological processes and behavioral outcomes. The meso-level approach assumes that macro factors such as immigration policies of the different governments, the laws, and the unemployment rate constitute the socio-structural bases of immigration. On the other side, there are micro-level bases as prejudice, racial or discriminatory attitudes of the individuals from both “natives” (e.g., Germans) and “newcomers” (immigrants). And immigrants’ perceptions, attitudes and behaviors are construed under these environmental conditions via everyday interactions between various ethnic group members.

Accordingly, the perceptions and attitudes of immigrant individuals (meso-level) originate both in their personal characteristics (individual-level) and in their group memberships (group-level). Put straightforward, because individuals belong to many different groups and

categories, their social identity is necessarily based on the memberships of a variety of groups, some of which become more or less salient as a result of circumstances. In the same way, perceived discrimination and deprivation feelings may result from and vary to some extent to group belongingness. So, additionally to individual-level variables, the present analysis includes group-level variables in order to understand collective action of the immigrants coming from Turkey who live in Germany.

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), conflictual relations between groups make the group membership salient to the group members. Thus, it is reasonable for us that the intergroup relations between so-called “natives” (Germans) and “newcomers” (immigrants) in Germany since the first migration wave make the certain social group memberships salient to immigrants. In this respect, the triadic relation between immigrants, their homelands, and the country of their settlement (Koopmans & Statham, 2001) impacts the identities of the immigrants. Within social psychology literature, this process is termed as a process of ‘remooing’ by Deaux and his colleagues (*e.g.*, Ethier & Deaux, 1994): Leaving one place in which identity has been enacted and supported, and coming to a new location where identity must be resituated and often redefined. Thus, one important issue in the investigation of identities is to what extent these threefold identities are accepted and internalized by immigrant individuals. In this project we will measure ingroup identification with country of origin as well as with Germans and *Ausländer*.

Relying on SIT, we will ask how does an individual immigrant value him or herself if the immigrant group is devaluated as low-status and disadvantaged in the host society? According to SIT, one of the three following strategies will be chosen in order to maintain a positive social identity: individual mobility, social creativity, or social change/competition. Only social change refers to the strategy of improving the overall societal situation of a group held in low status or esteem. SIT assumes that especially social and historical contexts, beliefs about specific characteristics of intergroup situations influence the choice of these strategies (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1996). Put another way, it is necessary to consider three sets of conditions in order to understand how members of subordinated groups will act: perception of permeability about the group boundaries, perception of legitimacy and of stability about the intergroup status relations. But, the results of both experimental and field studies, which have been conducted with other than immigrant groups, indicate inconsistent findings as we summed them up in the previous sections. However, based on SIT conceptualization, we assume that if immigrants perceive the group

boundaries as impermeable and the group relations as insecure (illegitimate and unstable), then it is more likely for them to perceive conflict and engage in collective action.

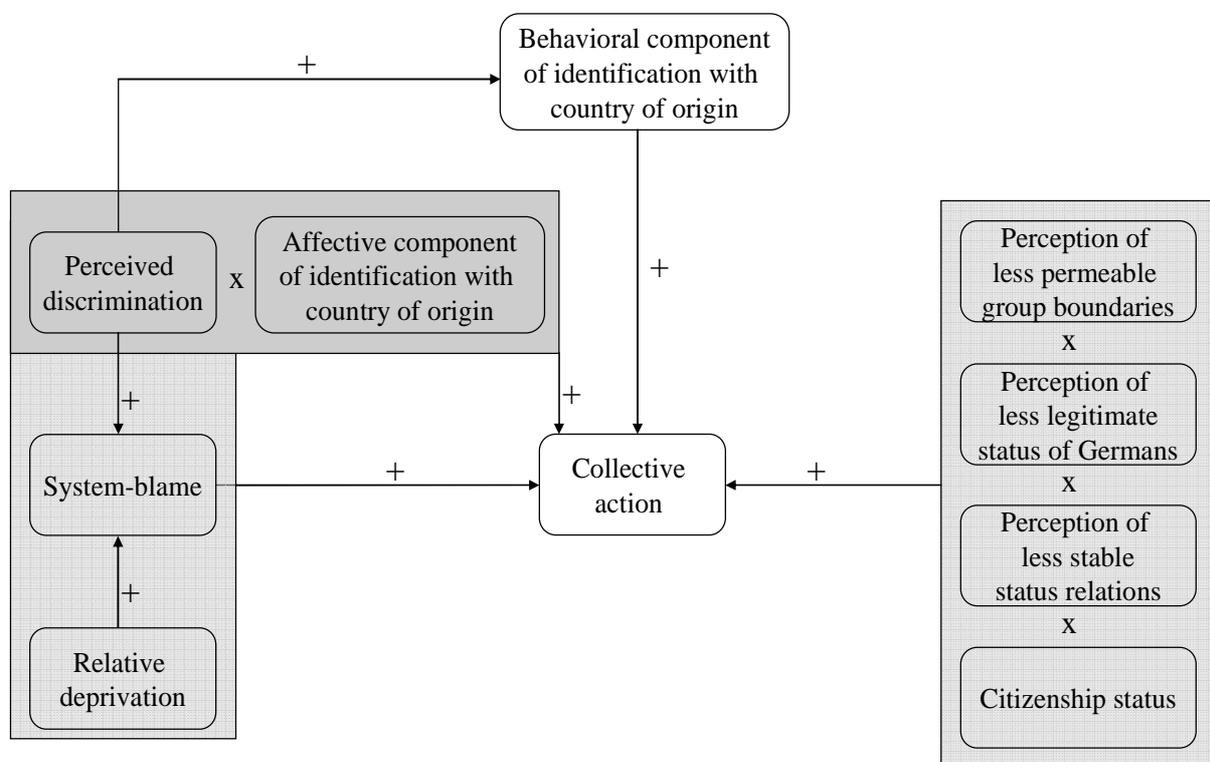
At this point, our definition of collective action should be mentioned. We take collective action as any action that is done by a group member in order to favor the group interests or to enhance the collective status of disadvantaged group (*e.g.*, Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997; Reicher, 2004; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000; Wright, 2001, 2003; Wright *et al.*, 1990), which does not necessarily exclude the individuals' interests or status enhancement. To us, any action which is initiated to favor individual interests may also serve enhancing the collective interests or status. Therefore, independent from the initial motivation, collective action occurs when at the end a collective gain is reached. Related to this, collective action may be done either individually (*e.g.*, signing a petition) or within the group (*e.g.*, marching in a demonstration) as some scholars argue (*e.g.*, Wright, 2001, 2003).

Another important factor having impact on collective action is perceived grievances (*e.g.*, Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Pettigrew, 1986; Simon & Klanderman, 2001). One of the perceived grievances is the perception of discrimination and another is the relative deprivation. The level at which perceived discrimination occurs has specific behavioral implications: Perceived discrimination against the group as a whole leads to collective action, whereas perceived discrimination against the person is associated with individual behavior (*e.g.*, Foster & Matheson, 1995; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994). Similarly, two forms of relative deprivation have been shown as yielding fundamentally different responses: Personal RD is likely to elicit experience of stress, while group RD seems to be an important precursor for collective action (*e.g.*, Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987). Relatively few studies have investigated perceived group discrimination and group RD in relation with behavioral outcomes like collective action; and they show inconsistent results. Moreover, some scholars propose an integrative model that brings together the theories of self-categorization, social identity, and relative deprivation (Ellemers 2001; Kawakami & Dion, 1992; Wright 2001, 2003). To us, another crucial factor is the causal attribution of grievances, because it has been argued that in promoting collective action it is decisive to attribute the causes of grievances to external factors (*e.g.*, Gurin *et al.*, 1969, Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984).

Hence, our integrated model that is based on the theories and models of SIT, perceived discrimination, RD, and casual attribution is displayed in Figure 5. The grey colored fields in

the figure illustrate specific assumptions in the model which are separately tested. On the one hand, (a) the positive effects of perceived group level discrimination and relative deprivation on collective action via system-blame (a mediation model), (b) and the interaction between perceived discrimination and the affective component of identification with country of origin were analyzed. On the other hand, interaction between belief system variables (perception of permeability, legitimacy, and stability) based on SIT assumptions and citizenship status was tested. The symbol “x” between the boxes represents the assumed interactions. And the symbol “+” represents the positive relationships.

Figure 5. The framework for research relying on the theories and models of SIT, perceived discrimination, RD, and attribution theory.



In the literature, these theoretical constructs were partially studied. But taken as a whole, the research have illustrated that ingroup identification (Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; de Weerd & Klandermans 1999; Simon *et al.*, 1998; Simon, 2005; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000), belief system (Boen & Vanbeselare, 2000, 2002; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Ellemers *et al.*, 1988, 1992, 1993; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999b; Wright, 2003; Wright & Tropp, 2002), perceived discrimination (Gurin, Gurin, Lao, & Beattie, 1969; Hewstone & Jaspars 1982; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984), group relative deprivation (Dubé-Simard &

Guimond, 1986; Grant & Brown, 1995; Foster & Matheson, 1995; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Gurr, 1979; Dion, 1986; Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1990), and system-blame (Dion, 1986; Gurin *et al.*, 1969) are the predictors of collective action. We also propose citizenship status as another important variable.

In the present research, it is assumed that different (affective or behavioral) components of ingroup identification will exert their effects on collective action either as mediators or as moderators. Specifically, the behavioral component of ingroup identification is assumed to positively mediate between perceived discrimination and collective action, whereas the affective component is assumed to positively moderate this relationship. Moreover, in our model we think of perceived grievances (perceived group discrimination and group RD) to affect collective action of immigrants via attribution process (system-blame): The more an immigrant attributes the reasons of perceived grievances to system the more that person engages in collective action.

Relying on SIT which argues that social and historical contexts influence the choice of mobility strategies (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1996), we suppose that citizenship is one of those important social contexts. Because citizenship is a key issue in terms of intergroup perceptions and behaviors (*e.g.*, Alba, 2005; Koopmans & Statham, 2001), and it leads to status differentiation within immigrant groups. Therefore, we assume that belief system of the immigrants' (perception of less permeable intergroup boundaries, perception of less legitimate status of Germans, and perception of less stable intergroup relations) will be moderated by citizenship status of them.

In each study, the research frame is specified in terms of variables and their assumed relations. Explicitly, at the beginning of each study the relevant model with its particular hypotheses are given.

IV. STUDY 1

In accordance with the general framework of the research which was illustrated in Figure 5, (p. 48) the variables and their assumed relations for Study 1 were specified as follows. The hypotheses were limited to the variables which had been included in the *Ausländersurvey97* (Weidacher, 2000) by DJI (Deutsches Jugendinstitut: German Institute of Youth). The *Ausländersurvey97* had been conducted with a relatively large sample of young immigrants from Turkey living in Germany, and it involved a set of variables (perceived discrimination, identification with one's country of origin, and collective action) which were concerned in the research at that point in time. On these grounds, it was plausible to do the first explanatory analyses with this data set. Thus, Study 1 involved the secondary analysis of *Ausländersurvey97* data. The specific hypotheses of the study were as can be seen below (see also Figure 6).

Hypotheses about ingroup identification:

H1: Respondents who are already German citizens and also who are interested in naturalization to Germans will identify less with their country of origin, and their ethnic group living in Turkey.

H2: Behavioral component of identification with country of origin will positively relate to affective component of identification with country of origin, and to ethnic group.

Hypotheses about collective action:

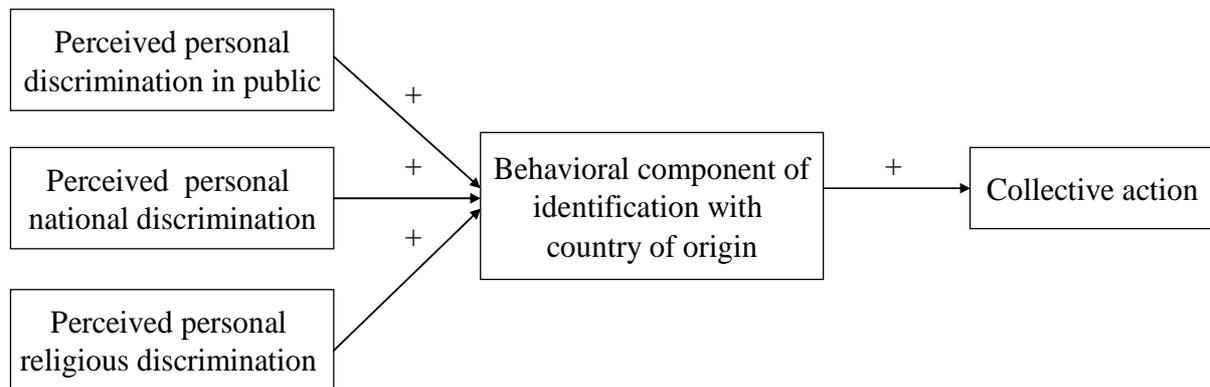
H2: Respondents with high education level will report more collective action.

H3: The effect of affective component of identification with country of origin on collective action will be moderated by interest in naturalization: Strong identifiers who are interested in naturalization to Germans will report more collective action. The similar relationship will be found for ethnic group affiliation as well: Respondents who strongly identify with their ethnic group living in Turkey and who are interested in naturalization will report more collective action.

H4: The effect of perceived discrimination variables on collective action will be moderated by the affective component of identification with country of origin, by ethnic group affiliation, and by interest in naturalization.

H5: The more discrimination is perceived in public the more respondents participate in collective action. Similarly, perceived national and religious discrimination leads to more collective action. And, the behavioral component of identification with country of origin mediates these relationships (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. A path model for Study 1 for three dimensions of perceived personal discrimination



6. Method

6.1. Procedure and Participants

The data were collected via personal-verbal interviews on the basis of a fully structured questionnaire in the time period of December 14, 1996 to February 10, 1997 (see the introduction of the survey by MARPLAN in Appendix, p. II). The sample was composed of Turkish immigrants who resided in West Germany. Eight hundred and thirty interviews (men = 422, women = 408) were evaluated. Four hundred and fourteen respondents were recruited from big cities, 416 from small cities. The questionnaires⁹ were sex specifically formulated and submitted to the respondents in both German and Turkish.

The respondents' age ranged from 18 to 25 years. A few respondents (5.4%) were the only child in the family, but the rest had at least three or more siblings. Most of the respondents (71.8%) were single and more than the half of these singles (about 60%) lived together with their family. Besides, 27.3% of the sample was married, and seven of them were divorced.

⁹ The questionnaires for the Turkish female sample [*Jugend (36)*] and the male sample [*Jugend (35)*] as well as the codebook (*Jugend.pdf*) and the file structure (*Jugend.sav*) are available on the internet.

Regarding the educational level¹⁰, almost half of the participants (48.7%) had received an elementary school degree, whereas 18.7% had received secondary, and 10.1% high school degrees in Germany. However, 22.4% had no educational degree from Germany at all, but some of them had received their degrees in Turkey (8.5%: elementary school, 4.5%: secondary school, 1%: high school degree). In respect to the occupational education, 33.9% of the participants held an apprenticeship certificate, and 2.3% had completed vocational school training. Only a handful respondents had a high level of occupational education (five respondents held a technical school certificate, three held a degree of university of applied science, and three had a university degree).

Concerning the employment status¹¹, 49% of interviewees were employed, whereas 9.5% were unemployed (35% of the respondents did not respond to this item). From employed interviewees 3.6% had a family business, 2.9% were freelancers, whereas the rest were workers. About 72% of the sample had an unlimited residence permission (*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis* and *Aufenthaltsberechtigung*), whereas 14.7% of the respondents held a limited residence permission (*befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis* and *Aufenthaltsbewilligung*), and 10.2% of the participants either hold or have applied for German citizenship (*Einbürgerung beantragt*).

6.2. Measures

Table 2 gives an overview of operationalization of the constructs, with variable numbers and scale types (see Table 1 in the Appendix, p. III, for the original, German operationalizations). Constructs which were excluded because of unacceptable missing values are given in Table 2 (see Appendix, p. XIII). We report the validities and reliabilities of the measures in the *Results* section as those were not reported in *Ausländersurvey97* (see Mittag & Weidacher, 2000).

Ingroup Identification consisted of three components: affective and behavioral components of identification with the country of origin, and ethnic group affiliation. We measured the affective component of identification with country of origin with two items: feeling at home

¹⁰ Education level of parents varied from no graduation (25.4% of the fathers and 45.8% of the mothers) to university degrees (1.6% of the fathers and only two mothers). Nevertheless, most of the parents had either elementary school (51.1% of the fathers and 39% of the mothers), or secondary (13.4% of the fathers and 8.3% of the mothers) or high school degrees (3.5% of the fathers and 1.2% of the mothers).

¹¹ Whereas 73.5% of fathers were employed, 10.1% were unemployed; and 11.4% were pensioners. From employed fathers, 55.1% were workers, but others were either employees (5.8%) or freelancers (9.1%) or had a family business (2.7%). But most of the mothers were pensioners (57.2%), and less than the half (34.8%) were workers. Only a few mothers (5.5%) were unemployed. And, of all working mothers, 21% were workers, 7.7% had a family business, and 5.7% were employees.

during the stay in Turkey (from 1 “I feel immediately at home” to 6 “I don’t travel to Turkey”) and the perception of themselves by the home country people (from 1 “never” to 6 “travel not”). We took these two items as indicators on the basis of two separate findings. First, it was shown that “feeling at home” is a component of identity construal (Hopkins *et al.*, 2006; Reicher *et al.*, 2006); and second, Turkish immigrants are usually not perceived as Turks, but rather as Germans or even as *Germaners* or as *German-likes* (e.g., Kaya & Kentel, 2005; White, 1997).

The behavioral component of identification with country of origin was obtained with the questions about visiting Turkish clubs/cafés in Germany (from 1 “there is not such a possibility” to 4 “visit regularly”), and participation in activities of Turkish organizations (1 = yes, 2 = no), which were defined as youth associations, sports clubs, cultural organizations, and others. The importance of the behavioral component of ingroup identification was shown by Klandermans and his colleagues (de Werd & Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans, Sabucedo, Rodriguez & de Weerd 2002; Klandermans, Sabucedo & Rodriguez, 2004), especially in relation to protest participation. The third component of ingroup identification (ethnic group affiliation) refers to the belonging to ethnic groups such as Armenians, Cherkeshians, Kurds, Las, and others living in Turkey. This dimension was assessed via a five-point scale ranging from 1 “very strong” to 5 “not at all”.

Table 2. Operationalization with variable numbers and scale types

Construct	Dimension	Indicators and scale type
Ingroup Identification	Country of origin	Affective component When people live in Germany for a long time and then visit Turkey, some might experience a difference. What is it like for you? Do you feel at home immediately, quiet fast, after some days, or after a long time? Or do you feel always foreign? (v0338) <i>1 “I feel immediately at home” to 6 “I don’t travel to Turkey”</i>
		Behavioral component When you stayed in Turkey for some time, for example on vacation, the people there would very often, often, sometimes, rarely, or never consider you as German? (v0339) <i>1 “never” to 6 “I don’t travel not”</i>
		In several cities in Germany, there have been Turkish clubs and cafés for youngsters as meeting points. Do you often visit these clubs and cafes? (v0360) <i>1 “no, there is not such a possibility” to 4 “yes, I visit regularly”</i>
		Do you participate in activities of...? Turkish youth association (v0559)

		<p>Turkish sport club (v0560) Turkish cultural association (v0561) Other (v0562) 1 "yes", 2 "no"</p>
Ethnic group		<p>In Turkey, there are various ethnic groups (for e.g., Armenians, Cherkessians, Kurds, Laz) that a person can feel belonging to. What is it like for you? Have you emotional affiliation to such group? (v0361) 1 "I feel very strong affiliation" to 5 "not at all" - reverse coded</p>
Perceived personal discrimination	Public sphere	<p>In daily life, Germans and Turks are often unequal treated. Have you such an experience? Do you feel yourself as discriminated by Germans? At school / work (v0363) In neighborhood (v0364) In shopping (v0365) In clubs (v0366) In discos (v0367) 1 "not discriminated against" to 4 "very much discriminated against"</p>
	Nationality	<p>In daily life, it is possible for a person to be discriminated. Can you tell me how often you have experienced such discrimination on the basis of your nationality? (v0618) 1 "very often" to 5 "never" - reverse coded</p>
	Religion	<p>In daily life, it is possible for a person to be discriminated. Can you tell me how often you have experienced such discrimination on the basis of your religion? (v0619) 1 "very often" to 5 "never" - reverse coded</p>
Collective action		<p>Please indicate what you have done so far. A letter to a politician (v0586) Public discussion (v0587) Working in a political office (v0588) Working in a committee (v0589) A letter to the media (v0590) Party entrance (v0591) Citizen initiative participation (v0592) Working in a political group (v0593) Money donation to a group (v0594) Signing a petition (v0595) Legal demonstration (v0596) Illegal demonstration (v0597) Trade union strike (v0598) Other strike (v0599) Boycott (v0600) 1 = yes, 2 = no</p>
Interest in naturalization		<p>Can you consider naturalization to Germans? 1 = In any case 2 = Perhaps 3 = Probably not</p>

		4 = In no case 5 = Already own / applied for
Demographics	Gender	v0693; 1 = man; 2 = woman
	Education	v0053; 1 = Not any degree 2 = Elementary school (Hauptschule) 3 = Secondary school (Realschule) 4 = High school certificate (Gymnasium) 5 = Other
	Employment	v0067; 1 = yes; 2 = no
	Occupation	v0056 1 = Family business (Familienbetrieb) 2 = Worker (Arbeiter) 3 = Employee (Angestellter) 4 = Freelance (Freiberuflich) 5 = Self-employed (Selbständiger)
	Residence status	v0077 1 = Limited residence (Aufenthaltsbewilligung) 2 = Limited residence (befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis) 3 = Unlimited residence (unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis) 4 = Unlimited residence (Aufenthaltsberechtigung) 5 = Applied to citizenship 6 = Naturalized to German citizenship 7 = Don't know

Perceived discrimination involved three dimensions. The first one is the personal discrimination experience in public sphere (school, work, neighborhood, shopping, clubs, and discos) which was measured with four-point scales varying from 1 (“not discriminated against”) to 4 (“very much discriminated against”). The second dimension involved the perception of personal discrimination concerning one’s nationality and the last dimension is the perceived personal discrimination based on religion. Perceived national and religious discrimination were obtained via five-point scales (from 1 “very often” to 5 “never”) which were reversely coded.

Collective action was assessed with 15 items via dichotomous scales (yes/no type). Items were listed as writing a letter to a politician (V0586), participation in a public discussion (V0587), working in a political office (V0588) or in a committee (V0589), writing a letter to the media (V0590), membership in a political party (V0591), participation in a citizen initiative (V0592), working in a political group (V0593), donating money to a group (V0594), signing a petition (V0595), participation in a legal (V0596) or in an illegal (V0597) demonstration, participation in a trade union strike (V0598), or other form of strike (V0599), and boycotting (V0600).

Demographic variables like gender (1 = man; 2 = woman), education (1 = not any degree; 2 = elementary school degree; 3 = secondary school degree; 4 = high school certificate; 5 = other), employment (1 = yes; 2 = no), occupation (1 = family business; 2 = worker; 3 = employee; 4 = freelance; 5 = self-employed), and residence status (limited residence permission = 1, 2; unlimited residence permission = 3, 4; applied or naturalized to German citizenship = 5, 6; don't know = 7) were attained via self-report scales.

7. Results

7.1. Procedure

In order to realize the goal of the study, first, the validities (both explanatory and confirmatory factor analyses) and reliabilities of the scales were proven. Then, ANOVA tests, moderation analyses, and a path model (structure equation modeling: SEM) were run. Explanatory factor analysis (EFA) serves the examination of the dimensionalities of the scales. The selected extraction method is Maximum Likelihood (ML), which is also the selected estimate method for all SEMs (CFAs and path model). SEM is a collection of statistical techniques that allows for a set of relationships between one or more IVs (independent variables), either continuous or discrete, and one or more DVs (dependent variables), either continuous or discrete, to be examined. In SEM, both IVs and DVs can be either measured variables (directly observed), or latent variables (neither unobserved, nor directly observed; *e.g.*, Schumacker, & Lomax, 2004; Ullman & Bentler, 2003). The main advantage of the latent variable method is that the measuring error and complex relations between variables are estimated. The process of modeling could be thought of as a four-stage process: model specification, model estimation, model evaluation, and model modification (*e.g.*, Bentler & Wu, 2002; Byrne 2001; Ullman & Bentler 2003).

Via SEM, a theoretically postulated model with its causal relations can be estimated for the population from the given sample. The model estimates for path coefficients, and their standard errors are generated under the implicit assumption that the model fit is very good. However, fit-indices are affected by sample size, distribution, and variance (Hu & Bentler, 1995). Therefore, cut-off values for the indices must be interpreted carefully. The suggested fit-indices are the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind as cited in Byrne, 2001), and the Standardized Root Mean Squared Residual (SRMR; Bentler, 1995). Hu and Bentler (1999) recommend consulting at least two of these indices while the usual cut-off values could be wrong due to

different problems (*e.g.* measurement specification of the model, small sample size). And, they suggest cut-off values as close to .95 for the CFI, approximately .06 for the RMSEA¹², and a value around the .08 for the SRMR. For the completeness of the statistics, also the χ^2 -goodness-of-fit-statistic as well as the χ^2/df should be indicated. This relationship should ideally be 2:1 and acceptably, 3:1 (Marsh & Hocevar, 1985). In the present research addition to these fit-indices mentioned above, P-close value for RMSEA which is the probability value associated with the test of close fit ($> .500$ is suggested by Byrne, 2001), was also provided for.

Besides, via SEM, both normally and non-normally distributed sample techniques are applicable. When the data are generated from non-normally distributed populations and/or represent discrete variables, then, one of the distribution free weighted procedures (*e.g.*, ADF, WLS, GLS) are suggested to be used (*e.g.*, Curran, West & Finch, 1996; Schumacker & Lomax, 2004). Similarly, Bentler (2003) suggests using the matrix which contains sample polychoric (correlation between ordered categorical variables) and polyserial (correlation between continuous and ordered categorical variables) correlations as well as Pearson correlations to fit the model. However, in the context of SEM, it has been verified that there are circumstances when ignoring the ordinal nature of the variables (owing to an underlying continuous normally distributed variable that we have not been able to measure) and using ordinary correlations for continuous variables led to minimal distortion. For example, Coenders, Satorra and Saris (1997) compared different correlational approaches (*i.e.*, continuous, polychoric and polyserial) and reported that without latent variables Pearson correlations outperformed the others; and with latent variables, the Pearson correlation approach lacks robustness against transformation errors, but otherwise, it can perform as well as the alternative approaches (*i.e.*, polychoric and polyserial approaches).

Unfortunately, nothing seems to be known about the robustness of this methodology to violation of normality *relative* to the robustness associated with treating ordinal variables (with a certain number of categories, with certain distributions) as continuous at reasonable sample size. If at some sample size the polychoric/polyserial methodology is hard to downgrade due to a normality violation, while ordinary correlations are easily destroyed legitimately recoding scores, then we certainly should use “polys”. If on the other hand, ordinary correlations yield more robust

¹² Browne and Cudeck (1993) refer to the problem of accepting models with acceptable fit-indices even the parameter estimation does not apply to the population. That is why the researchers recommend looking at the confidence intervals for parameter estimations. A value between $.05 < p < .10$ is acceptable for RMSEA.

results than the ordinal methodology, in practice we should do the technically wrong thing and treat the ordinal variables as continuous. As you can see we have ambivalent feelings about this methodology. (Bentler, 2003: 146)

Nevertheless, both Maximum Likelihood Chi-square (ML χ^2 ; Browne, 1982; Jöreskog, 1967) and Satorra-Bentler Scaled Chi-square (SB χ^2 ; Satorra & Bentler, 1994) methods are recommended as reported by Curran *et al.* (1996), when non-normal data is used. Moreover, it has been proposed that sample size, plausibility of the normality and independence assumptions needed to be considered in the selection of an appropriate estimation technique (*e.g.*, Bentler, 2003; Curran *et al.*, 1996; Ullman & Bentler 2003). ML and the scaled ML estimators may be good choices with medium to large samples and evidence of the plausibility of the normality assumptions.

Based on the suggestions and empirical proof above, data analyses were realized. Whereas item analyses, explanatory factor analyses and reliabilities were done with SPSS 12.0, all the SEMs (CFAs and path model) were carried out with AMOS 5.0 (Arbuckle, 2003; Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999). Also, when needed, the robust ML method was performed via EQS 6.1 (Bentler, 2003) to get robust fit indices and standard errors.

7.2. Data screening

The data screening for Study 1 took place in several steps. First, the number of the missing values of the central variable (dependent variable: collective action) were counted out. While the data screening showed only a few random missing cases (7), deletion was preferred as recommended by several authors (*e.g.*, Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001; Ullman & Bentler, 2003). Thus, the sample was reduced to 823. For other variables the missing values more than 10% were checked, and when detected, they were deleted¹³. But, the variables with less than 5% missing values were imputed with EM (Expectation Maximization) imputation method which is a maximum likelihood-based approach (see Enders & Peugh, 2004; Little & Rubin, 1987). EM is an appropriate method of imputing missing data when there is evidence that the data are missing at random (MAR) or missing completely at random (MCAR).

7.3. Normal Distribution and Multivariate Outliers

In order to determine the extent and the shape of normality, the data were examined for evidence of outliers, and both for univariate and multivariate normality (skewness and

¹³ Table 2 (in Appendix) represents the variables that were excluded due to having more than 10% missing values.

kurtosis of the distributions). Because structure equation analyses (like all other analyses which are based on the general linear model) presume that the data distribute multivariate normal. In SEM literature, it has been argued that various important problems occur with normal theory estimators (*e.g.*, ML, GLS) when the observed variables do not have a multivariate normal distribution: (a) The χ^2 goodness-of-fit test is not expected to produce an accurate assessment of fit which can lead to rejecting too many (> 5%) true models; (b) all parameter estimates and standard errors are expected to be biased which yields too many significant results (*e.g.*, Bentler 2003; Ullman & Bentler, 2003; West, Finch & Curran, 1995). Even if every variable in a set is normally distributed, it is still possible that the combined distribution is not multivariately normal. Therefore, testing multivariate normality (Mardia, 1970) is widely recommended. Moderately non-normal univariate distribution requires skewness > 2 and kurtosis > 7, for severely non-normal univariate distribution, skewness > 3 and kurtosis > 21 (Curran *et al.*, 1996; West *et al.*, 1995).

We examined the normality of the observed variables through histograms using SPSS DESCRIPTIVES. The dichotomous (nominal scale with “I have done...” or “I have not done..., yet”) dependent variable (collective action) revealed severely negatively skewed, and, simultaneously, positively kurtoic items, as presented in Table 3. The severe univariate negative skewness showed the asymmetry of the distribution, which was a long left tail in the distribution. Third item (v0588, “working in a political office”) had the maximum skewness value in the scale: -9.42. On the other hand, the distribution was peaked at an extreme level which meant a severe univariate positive kurtosis (the same item also had the maximum kurtosis value in the scale: 86.99). Two exceptions with acceptable skewness (-1.01 and -1.87) and kurtosis (-.98 and 1.49) values were “signing a petition” (v0595) and “legal demonstration” (v0596) items. This normality can be interpreted as that these two items represent the political action repertoire of the participants which can also be seen from the frequencies. From the sample, 226 of the respondents reported that they have already signed a petition, and 131 people reported participating in a legal demonstration.

In terms of univariate non-normality (high skewness and/or kurtosis values) all other variables of the study with interval scales were normally distributed. When multivariate non-normality was recognized, *bootstrapping* was performed to handle violations in normality assumptions (Byrne, 2001; West *et al.*, 1995; Yung & Bentler, 1996; Zhu, 1997). Bootstrapping serves as a resampling procedure by which the original sample is considered to represent the population. Multiple subsamples are randomly drawn from this population and provide the data for empirical investigation of the variability of parameter estimates and

indices of fit. The method also provides for testing of the stability of goodness-of-fit-indices relative to the model as a whole (Bollen & Stein, 1993; Kline, 1998) and of the stability of model parameter estimates (Kline, 1998; Stine, 1990; Yung & Bentler, 1996). Bootstrapping can be applied with AMOS 5.0 even for samples with moderate sizes (Yung & Bentler, 1996). Nonetheless, Nevitt and Hancock (2001) suggest a sample size of 500 or greater, and a bootstrap sample of 250. Additionally to the bootstrap method, CFA with robust ML was run for collective action (DV) in order to compare the results (Curran *et al.*, 1996).

Table 3. Univariate skewness and kurtosis values for dependent variable for N = 823

Collective action	Frequency	Percentage	Skewness	Kurtosis
A letter to a politician (v0586)	28	3.4	-5.15	24.58
Public discussion (v0587)	92	11.2	-2.47	4.10
Working in a political office (v0588)	9	1.1	-9.42	86.99
Working in a committee (v0589)	94	11.4	-2.43	3.91
A letter to the media (v0590)	27	3.3	-5.25	25.68
Party entrance (v0591)	11	1.3	-8.49	70.26
Citizen initiative participation (v0592)	31	3.8	-4.87	21.73
Working in a political group (v0593)	21	2.6	-6.03	34.43
Money donation to a group (v0594)	52	6.3	-3.60	10.97
Signing a petition (v0595)	226	27.5	-1.01	-.98
Legal demonstration (v0596)	131	15.9	-1.87	1.49
Illegal demonstration (v0597)	36	4.4	-4.47	18.02
Trade union strike (v0598)	49	6	-3.73	11.94
Other strike (v0599)	31	3.8	-4.86	21.73
Boycott (v0600)	59	7.2	-3.33	9.09

Note. Frequency refers to all positive responses (agreeing to the “I have done” option); also percentages are given in the next column.

7.4. Scales

Since no validity and reliability tests for the constructs were provided in the *Ausländersurvey97* (Mittag & Weidacher, 2000), both EFAs and CFAs were run for the first time in the present work.

7.4.1. EFAs

The selected extraction method was ML. Since the determined factors were assumed to be correlated, the Promax rotation was selected (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). All the factor loadings and the factor cross loadings over .20 were reported (Rost & Schermer, 1986), because after the rotation the low values become higher, and higher values become lower (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Affective component of identification with country of origin. Two items (feeling at home during the stay in Turkey and being considered as German by the home country people)

loaded under one-factor (Eigenvalues: 1.61, .39) with the same factor loading of .89 and with a relatively high total variance of 80.37%.

Behavioral component of identification with country of origin. Four items of participation in Turkish organizations and one item of visiting Turkish clubs/café's were included in the EFA. Eigenvalues indicated a one-factor model (1.98, .94, and .80) with a total variance of 38.15%. However, the item 'visiting Turkish clubs/café's' had a negative factor loading (-.59) which indicated a two-factorial structure. The rest factor loadings (for the items of participation in activities of Turkish organizations) were quite satisfactory: .72, .60, .59, and .57.

Perceived personal discrimination in public sphere. A one-factor model (Eigenvalues: 3.09, .74, .51 etc.) for five items explained for the total variance of 52.50%. Factor loadings ranged from .64 (for the fifth item "perceived discrimination in discos") to .77 (for the fourth item "perceived discrimination in clubs").

Collective action. Five factors were differentiated (Eigenvalues: 3.29, 1.54, 1.24, 1.12, 1.03, .95 etc.), however, the first factor explained 21.91% of the total variance. The other factors did not contribute much to the explained total variance (10.25%, 8.28%, 7.46%, and so on). Regarding factor rotation, four items (participation in an illegal demonstration, signing a petition, involvement in public discussion, and working in a political office) cross loaded, whereas two items (writing a letter to a politician and participation in a legal demonstration) could not produce significant factor loadings. Taken together, it was plausible to conclude a one-factorial model as suggested by Klandermans and his co-workers (de Weerd and Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans, *et al.*, 2002, 2004), however, the last conclusion was reached after CFA results.

7.4.2. CFAs and Reliabilities

CFAs were performed to establish discriminant validity of the research variables, that is, to show that each of the scales in the study measured a different construct and that there was no overlap or concept redundancy among the scales. To examine the strength of the links between constructs and their indicators (items), the measurement models for the latent constructs were estimated simultaneously. The simultaneous estimation of the measurement models allows the examination of the relations between items and their latent constructs as well as the relations between constructs themselves. This is an alternative to series of separate tests of single measurement models (Heyder & Schmidt, 2003). Furthermore, one also gets information on whether the items load on only their target variables or other dimensions, too. At first, congeneric model, where all the parameters are freely estimated was tested. Then,

with reference to modification indices (MIs), alternative model specifications were applied. During the analyses, every correlation between error terms was justified and interpreted substantively (Byrne, 2001). All the estimates were produced by using AMOS 5.0 and the estimation method ML.

7.4.2.1. Ingroup Identification

Three different CFAs were compared in terms of best fit indices. Hypothesized CFA models were first-order-correlated (Figure 7), second-order, and third-order models¹⁴. In the beginning, first-order correlated CFA was performed. To do so, items of participation in activities of Turkish organizations were summed up and taken as a measured indicator of the factor behavioral component. The result showed a quiet satisfactory model fit ($\chi^2 = 8.203$, $df = 3$, $p = .042$; CMIN/DF = 2.734; CFI = .990; RMSEA = .046; P-close = .501; SRMR = .0184). According to the findings, two items of the affective component had .85, and .71 factor loadings (inter-item correlation was $r = .61$, $p < .01$). Factor behavioral component revealed factor loadings of .70 for participation in Turkish organizations, and .48 for visiting Turkish clubs/cafés (inter-item correlation was $r = .33$, $p < .01$). And ethnic group affiliation indicator loaded on its construct with .63.

Whereas the affective component of identification with country of origin correlated negatively with both behavioral component ($r = -.16$, $p = .013$) and ethnic group affiliation ($r = -.24$, $p = .000$), behavioral component and affiliation positively covaried ($r = .39$, $p = .000$). Similarly, affective component showed a negative coefficient (-.31), conversely, behavioral component (.50) and ethnic group affiliation (.77) produced positive path coefficients, when a second-order CFA was run. Besides, fit indices and first-order factor loadings were identical in the second-order CFA. Finally, third-order CFA, in which participation in Turkish organizations included its indicators, was tested. The model produced an unacceptable model fit ($\chi^2 = 1485.025$, $df = 14$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 106.073; CFI = .000; RMSEA = .358; P-close = .000). Consequently, the first-order correlated model was adopted. Affective component negatively correlated with other factors due to non-reverse coding (see footnote 21).

¹⁴ Theoretical latent constructs which are measured by different indicators (items) are referred as first-order factorial model. A second-order factor model is one with one or more latent variables whose indicators are themselves latents. The same principle is valid for the third-order factor model: third-order latent variables consist of second-order latent indicators. All first-, second- or third-order factors can be correlated to each other.

Figure 7. Hypothesized first-order correlated factor model for ingroup identification.

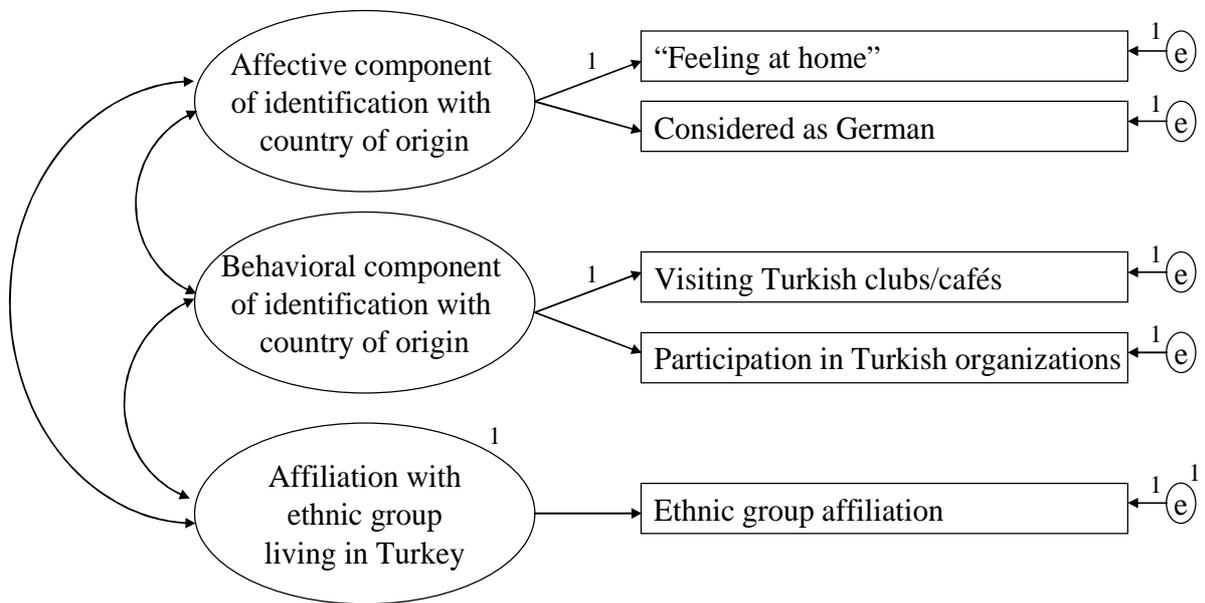
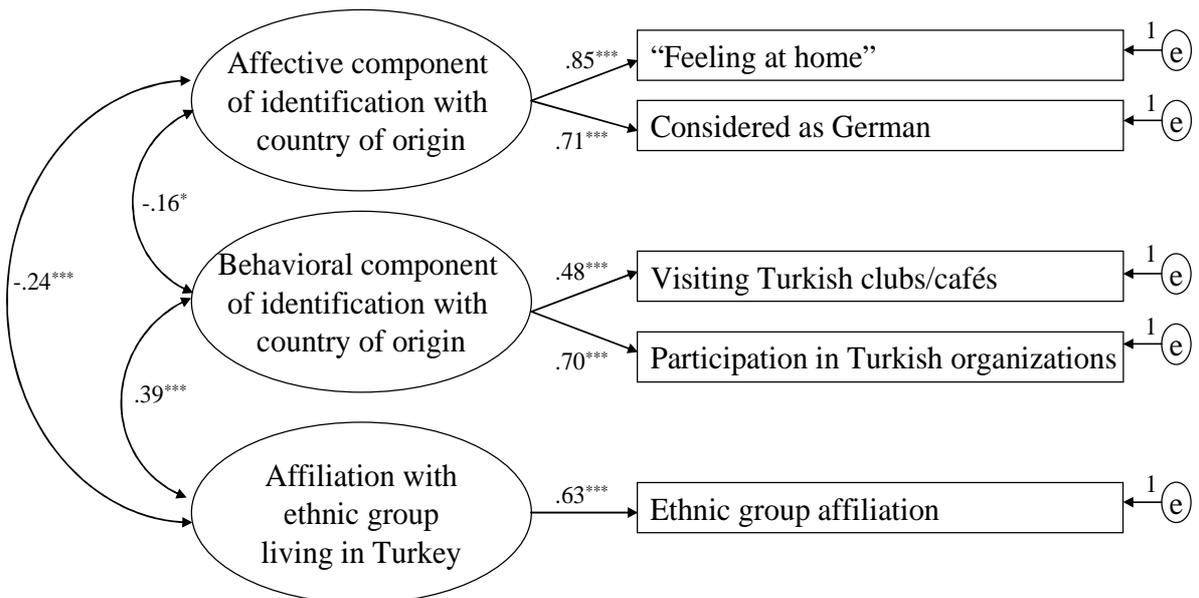


Figure 8. Result of the first-order correlated factor model for ingroup identification.



7.4.2.2. Perceived Discrimination

The first run of the first-order (correlated) model¹⁵ showed a relatively poor fit ($\chi^2 = 242.240$, $df = 13$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 18.634; CFI = .910; RMSEA = .146; P-close = .000; SRMR = .0513). After modifications¹⁶ which were based on the MIs, the fit improved substantially ($\chi^2 = 48.949$, $df = 11$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 4.450; CFI = .985; RMSEA = .065; P-close = .084; SRMR = .0255). The factor loadings for the items of perceived discrimination in public sphere were .79 (item 3), .78 (item 2), .70 (item 1), .68 (item 4), and .56 (item 5). Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for perceived discrimination in public sphere was satisfactory as well ($\alpha = .84$). The inter-factor correlations between perceived discrimination in public sphere and national discrimination ($r = .53$, $p < .001$), and religious discrimination ($r = .47$, $p < .001$) were acceptable, but the interrelation between perceived national and religious discrimination was quite high ($r = .70$, $p < .001$).

7.4.2.3. Collective Action

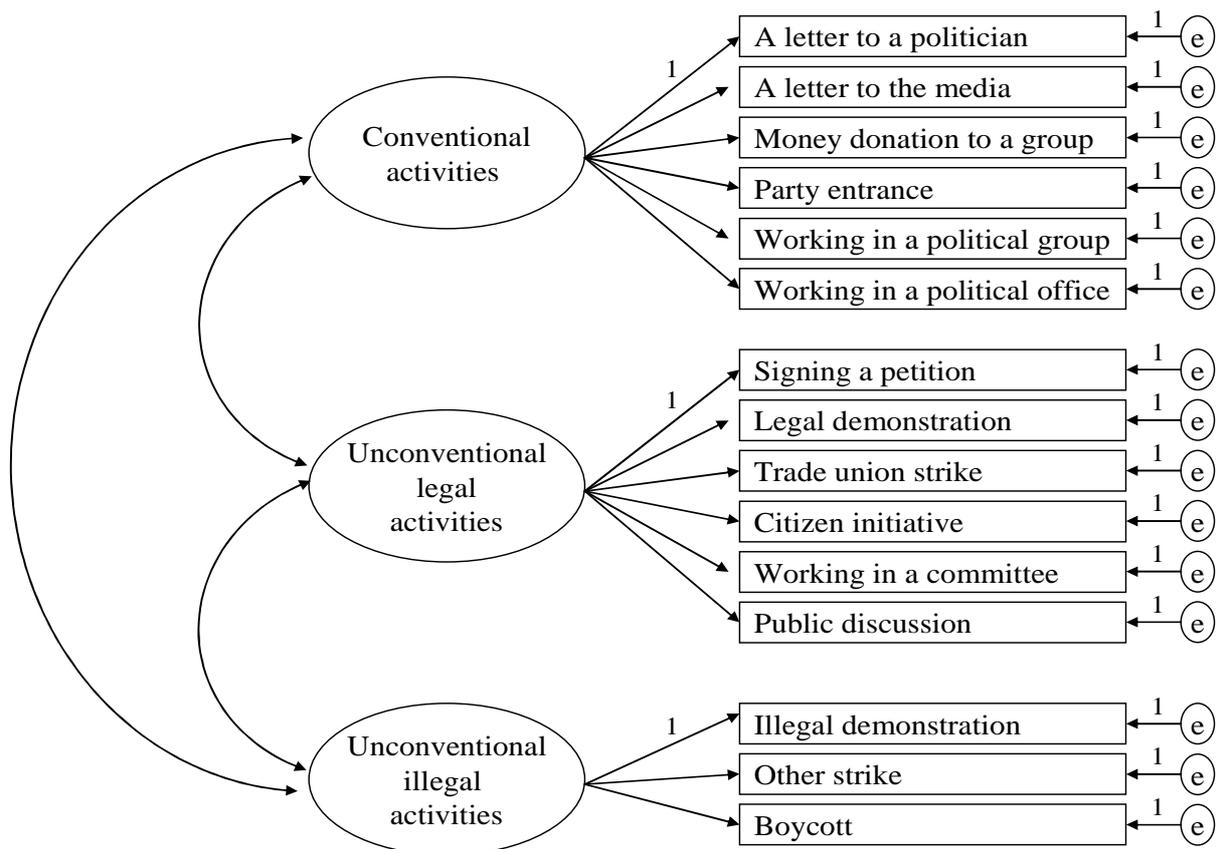
According to the theoretical differentiation by the *Ausländersurvey97* researchers (Mittag & Weidacher, 2000), collective action consisted of three factors: conventional, unconventional-legal, and unconventional-illegal participation. Both conventional (writing a letter to a politician and to the media, donating money to a political group, membership in a party, working in a political group, and in a political office) and unconventional-legal (signing a petition, participating in a legal demonstration, a trade union strike, a citizen initiative, working in a committee, and public discussion) participation included six actions while unconventional-illegal participation consisted of three items (participation in an illegal demonstration, in a strike, and boycott). The researchers theoretically differentiated three factors without any empirical proof, and no assumption was proposed regarding interfactor correlations. However, in the present CFA, two main hypotheses were of interest: whether a three-factor model for collective action with simple structure (each variable loading only on one factor) fit the data, and whether significant co-variances between the factors occur. Thus, first-order three-factor (correlated) model for collective action was tested (see Figure 9). However, as illustrated in Table 3, univariate normality was violated, and according to

¹⁵ A second-order CFA was also calculated, but it resulted with the same fit indices. However, through second-order CFA, factor loadings for the first-order factors on the second-order could be seen: .60 for perceived discrimination in public sphere, .89 for perceived national discrimination and .78 for perceived religious discrimination.

¹⁶ Correlation between the error terms of item 4 (discrimination in clubs) and item 5 (discrimination in discos; MI = 111.619); and between the error terms of item 5 and perceived national discrimination item (MI = 56.213) are plausible.

multivariate kurtosis (643.511 with normalized estimate of 408.734), the measured variables did not distribute normally. Therefore, first, ML with bootstrap method was applied, and then, robust ML results were obtained.

Figure 9. Hypothesized first-order correlated factor model for collective action which is based on the conceptualization of Mittag and Weidacher (2000).



ML estimation resulted with a relatively poor model fit in the first run ($\chi^2 = 543.312$, $df = 87$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 6.245; CFI = .740; RMSEA = .080; P-close = .000; SRMR = .0621). Both standardized and unstandardized weights indicated very low factor loadings of item 4 (V0591: party entrance) and of item 6 (V0588: working in a political office) which were the most highly skewed and kurtotic items in the normality test. In addition, several misfit resources were determined regarding modification indices (LM test; Ullman, 2001). For example, error term of item 12 (V0598: trade union strike) co-varied with the third factor (unconventional-illegal; MI = 63.500). Moreover, error term co-variances between items 1 (V0586) and 2 (V0588, MI = 46.184), between items 12 (V0598) and 14 (V0599, MI = 44.629), and between items 10 (V0595) and 11 (V0596, MI = 40.408) were recognized. These

error co-variances might indicate systematic measurement errors in item responses (characteristics specific either to the items or to the respondents; Aish & Jöreskog, 1990) or a high degree of overlap in item content (Byrne, 2001). Although worded differently, items might ask essentially the highly correlated behaviors. For example, it is more likely for a person who works in a political office (item 2; V0588) to write letters to politicians (item 1; V0586). Similarly, one might participate in both trade union strikes (item 12: V0598) and other strikes (item 14: V0599). Alternatively, when someone participates in a legal demonstration (item 11: V0596), it is more likely for him/her to sign a petition (item 10: V0595). In other words, these correlated errors are likely to reflect redundancy in item contents. Modification indices of regression weights also indicated a number of cross loadings (*e.g.*, between V0586 and V0588, MI = 42.013) which account for the substantial misspecification of the hypothesized model.

Thus, a three-factorial correlated model revealed that conventional participation consisted of three items as writing a letter to a politician (.44), to the media (.62), and donating money to a political group (.38). Unconventional-legal participation involved items of public discussion (.68), working in a committee (.49), and citizen initiative (.34). Items of illegal demonstration (.35), other strikes (.77), and boycotting (.51) gathered under unconventional-illegal participation. Regarding interfactor correlations, however, conventional and unconventional-legal participation were highly inter-correlated ($r = .77, p < .001$), whereas unconventional-legal and unconventional-illegal participation co-varied moderately ($r = .55, p < .001$). Moreover, the relation between conventional and unconventional-illegal participation was relatively low ($r = .22, p < .001$). However, when items of conventional and unconventional-legal participation were pooled together for a new CFA, the model fit got worse ($\chi^2 = 115.442, df = 26, p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 4.440; CFI = .884; RMSEA = .065; P-close = .021; SRMR = .0463), and was therefore not acceptable.

In the next run, *bootstrapping* for 250 samples (see *e.g.*, Nevitt & Hancock, 2001) was used in order to get robust ML results. The run of Bollen-Stine¹⁷ method revealed no estimation problem (minimum was achieved) while the bootstrap samples were generated, and the model fit better for 223 bootstrap samples, but worse for 27 samples with an overall model fit at $p = .112$. That is, the Bollen-Stein corrected p value¹⁸ indicated that the hypothesized model

¹⁷ Bollen-Stein method is based on the transformed sample matrix which compares the unrestricted (sample) and restricted (fitted) covariance matrices (see Byrne, 2001).

¹⁸ Unlike EQS, AMOS program only provides adjusted p value for analysis.

should be accepted. Moreover, the expected χ^2 value (130.829) is bigger than the obtained χ^2 value (78.191) under the joint multivariate normality.

In terms of bias in parameter estimates, the formula given by Nevitt and Hancock (2001) was used: %bias = $(\hat{\theta} - \theta) 100\% / \theta$. Where as $\hat{\theta}$ represents an estimated standard error for a given model parameter, θ represents the relevant true parameter standard error. Thus, the accuracy of parameter standard errors is evaluated using percentages of bias relative to an estimator's appropriate true standard error. Relative bias percentages were computed for each standard error estimates. The calculation revealed that the average bias for unstandardized factor loadings was 17.56% ($SD = 0.46$, Min = -.48, Max = .73). In addition, the mean bias for unstandardized factor inter-correlation was -31.11% ($SD = .30$, Min = 0, Max = -.6). Since the average bias for factor loadings and inter-correlations exceeded the suggested percentage (10%), the results were rejected. Beyond that, 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (Efron & Tibshirani, 1993) for both unstandardized and standardized parameter estimates were all excluded the zero. Put another way, bias-corrected confidence intervals indicated the statistically significant lower and upper bonds regarding the conventional standards.

Nevertheless, ML χ^2 and Satorra-Bentler Scaled χ^2 were compared (Curran *et al.*, 1996; Nevitt & Hancock, 2001). Based on the hypothesized model, the Satorra-Bentler scaled χ^2 test of the robust ML¹⁹ estimation was significant ($\chi^2(27, N = 833) = 107.8637, p = .000$), which means that the model should be rejected due to unfit between theoretical construct and empirical data. In addition, the reliability coefficients for three factors (sub-scales) turned out to be rather low. For conventional, unconventional-legal and unconventional-illegal participation Cronbach's Alphas were .43, .48, and .53, respectively.

As a result, based on the findings of both EFA and CFA, and Klandermans and his colleagues' (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans *et al.*, 2002, 2004) suggestion, who argued that the action repertoire of people is diverse and context-dependent, a one-factorial model was adopted. Consequently, all items of collective action were taken together into a single measure which ranged from 1 to 11. That is, from fifteen actions an individual can get the maximum value as 11. This time, Cronbach's Alpha was quite satisfactory ($\alpha = .73$). Because very few respondents reported a participation in a political office (1.1%) and party entrance (1.3%) the Cronbach's Alpha was calculated without these items as well, but

¹⁹ There are two classes of options to run robust estimate techniques by EQS. One is robust ML and the other is AGLS. Since the latter requires larger sample sizes (> 2500; Bentler, 2003), robust ML was applied for the latent construct (collective action) with categorical indicators.

not any different Alpha was assessed. Therefore, all fifteen items were kept in the single measure.

7.5. Findings on Ingroup Identification

We tested the first hypothesis with one-way ANOVA. According to the results, the effect of interest in naturalization on identification with country of origin was significant ($F(4, 822) = 7.28, p = .000$). Bonferroni comparisons revealed that respondents who were already German citizens highly dis-identified²⁰ with their country of origin ($M = 3.11, sd = 1.08, n = 86$). This was followed by the group of respondents who were mostly interested in naturalizations ($M = 2.82, sd = 1.13, n = 170$). The least dis-identified, or put another way, the most identified respondents with their country of origin were the immigrants who never want to apply for German citizenship ($M = 2.31, sd = 1.11, n = 69$). The results can be seen from Table 4.

The effect of interest in naturalization on ethnic group affiliation was significant, too ($F(4, 822) = 16.66, p = .000$). In accordance with the previous ANOVA finding, German citizens identified least with their ethnic group living in Turkey ($M = 1.73, sd = 1.10, n = 86$). The identification level was gradually increased when the interest in German citizenship was lowered. The respondents who were never interested in German citizenship constituted the highest identified group with their ethnic group in Turkey ($M = 2.92, sd = 1.41, n = 69$). Bonferroni comparisons showed that all the differences between groups in terms of interest in naturalization were significant. Taken together, our first hypothesis about ingroup identification was verified through the first analyses: Immigrants with German citizenship or who wants to become German citizens identify less with both their country of origin and ethnic group living in Turkey. The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Results of two separate one-way ANOVAs

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables			
	Affective component of identification with country of origin		Ethnic group affiliation	
<i>Factors</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
German citizens/applicants (n =86)	3.11	1.08	1.73	1.10
In any case want to apply (n = 170)	2.82	1.13		
Never want to apply (n = 69)	2.31	1.11	2.92	1.41

Note: Only significant mean differences based on Bonferroni comparisons are given.

²⁰ The items of the scale were formulated in a way that the higher mean values show the less ingroup identification.

According to bivariate correlations results, our second hypothesis was confirmed. The more respondents participate in ethnic organizations and visits ethnic clubs/cafes (behavioral component of identification) the more they identify with their county of origin ($r = .08$, $p < .05$) and with their ethnic group living in Turkey ($r = .18$, $p < .05$; see Table 5). Although the inter-correlations were relatively low, the directions of the relations were in accordance with our hypotheses.

7.6. Findings on Collective Action

The effect of education on collective action (H3) was significant ($F(3, 821) = 25.56$, $p = .000$). Bonferroni comparisons revealed that immigrants with a high school level (Gymnasium) reported the highest participation in collective action ($M = 3.52$, $sd = 2.33$, $n = 83$). The high level of participation lowered when secondary school ($M = 2.21$, $sd = 1.76$, $n = 154$) and elementary school ($M = 1.92$, $sd = 1.55$, $n = 401$) degree holders were the case. The respondents with no educational level reported the least participation ($M = 1.70$, $sd = 1.37$, $n = 184$). The differences between high school education and all others as well as between secondary school degree and no education degree were significant.

7.6.1. Interaction Analyses

In order to test the interaction between continuous variables we used moderated regression analysis (*c.f.* Aiken & West, 1991) which base on the centering variables by subtracting the mean from each scores. Then, interaction terms are computed by multiplying the centered independent variables with each other. When the regression coefficient shows a significant interaction effect, the slopes are tested individually. Moderated regression analyses were separately computed for the indicators of ingroup identification with country of origin (the affective component of identification with country of origin and ethnic group affiliation). According to moderated regression analysis result ($F(3, 821) = 9.49$, $p = .000$), the interaction between interest in naturalization and affective component of identification with country of origin was not significant. But direct effects of both variables were significant: Interest in naturalization ($\beta = .14$, $t(3, 821) = 3.92$, $p = .000$) and the affective component of identification with country of origin ($\beta = .13$, $t(3, 821) = 3.75$, $p = .000$) showed significant direct effects on collective action. Similarly, the interaction between interest in naturalization and ethnic group affiliation was not significant according to moderated regression analysis result, however the direct effect on interest in naturalization was ($\beta = .13$, $t(3, 821) = 3.76$; $F(3, 821) = 4.93$, $p = .000$).

Moreover, the affective component marginally moderated the effect of perceived discrimination in public ($\beta = .06$, $t(819) = 1.80$, $p = .072$; overall $F(3, 822) = 5.30$, $p = .000$), and of perceived national discrimination ($\beta = .06$, $t(819) = 1.70$, $p = .09$; overall $F(3, 822) = 10.79$, $p = .000$) on collective action, both to lesser extents. But ethnic group affiliation did not show any moderation effect at all. Alike, no moderation effect of interest in naturalization was found for the effect of perceived discrimination variables.

7.6.2. Mediation Model

Since the relation between independent variables (X s: perceived discrimination in public sphere, perceived national, and religious discrimination) and mediator (M : behavioral component of identification with country of origin), and between mediator and dependent variable (Y : collective action) should be tested for by the mediation analysis according to Schrouf and Bolger²¹ (2002), inter-correlations were checked through simple Pearson correlations for two-tails.

As can be concluded from Table 5, significant, but relatively low co-variances were gained. Collective action (DV) was positively related with all research variables. The relations to perceived personal national discrimination ($r = .13$, $p < .01$), to perceived personal religious discrimination ($r = .14$, $p < .01$), and to the behavioral component of identification with country of origin ($r = .18$, $p < .01$) were significant. Similarly, perceived discrimination variables revealed significant positive relations with the behavioral component of identification with country of origin. Specifically, perceived discrimination in public was positively related with the behavioral component of identification with country of origin ($r = .07$, $p < .05$) as perceived national discrimination ($r = .12$, $p < .01$) and perceived personal religious discrimination ($r = .16$, $p < .01$) were.

²¹ These researchers argue against the suggestions by Baron and Kenny (1986) who prerequisite the relations between independent and dependent variables.

Table 5. Pearson correlations for two-tails for N = 823

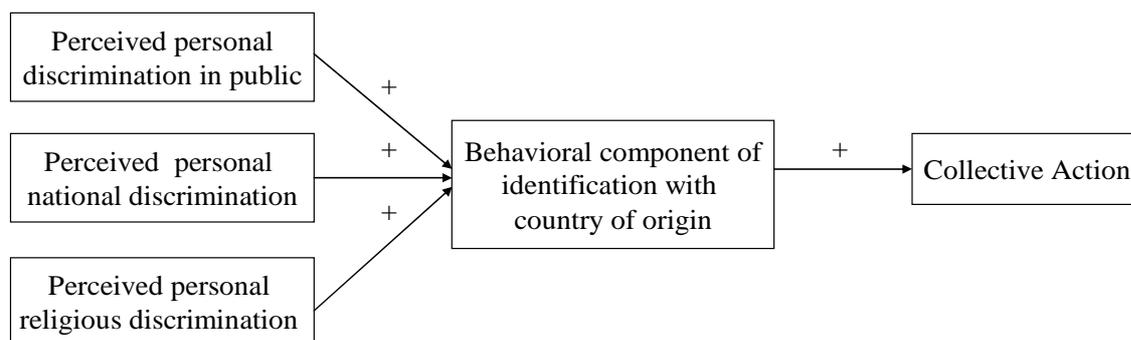
Scales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Perceived personal discrimination in public	1						
2. Perceived personal national discrimination	.49**	1					
3. Perceived personal religious discrimination	.43**	.70**	1				
4. Affective component of identification with country of origin ^a	-.01	-.04	.04	1			
5. Behavioral component of identification with country of origin	.07*	.12**	.16**	-.08*	1		
6. Ethnic group affiliation	.19**	.19**	.13**	-.14**	.18*	1	
7. Collective action	.01	.13**	.14**	.12**	.18**	.03	1

^a Low mean corresponds to strong identification, or put another way, high mean refers to dis-identification.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Concurring with Schrouf and Bolger (2002), and on the basis of gained significant inter-correlations between IVs and M and between M and DV, we applied the mediation analysis for the model presented in Figure 10. The model involves the behavioral component of identification with country of origin as the mediator from perceived discrimination variables on collective action. Direct paths from perceived discrimination variables to collective action were kept in the model to see whether these inter-relations disappeared after including indirect paths.

Figure 10. Hypothesized path model.

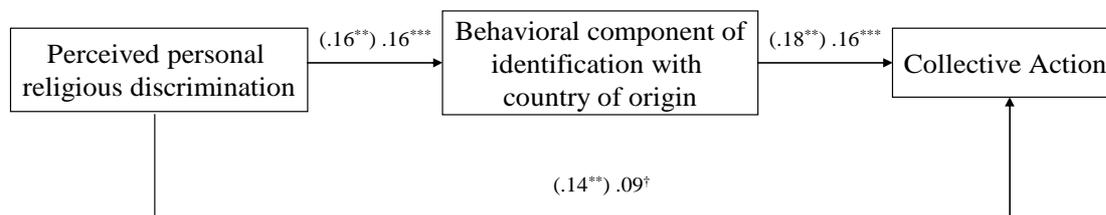


However, the first run revealed a just-identified model²² ($\chi^2 = 0$, $df = 0$) with two insignificant paths of perceived discrimination in public and of perceived national discrimination to the behavioral component of identification with country of origin. When these paths were constrained to zero, an over-identified model ($df = 2$) gave us opportunity to get the fit indices. According to the findings ($\chi^2 = .144$, $df = 2$, $p = .931$; CMIN/DF = .072; CFI = 1.000;

²² Just-identified models yield a trivially perfect fit. However, over-identified models, where there are more knowns than unknowns (positive degrees of freedom), can produce fit indices.

RMSEA = .000; P-close = .990; SRMR = .0030), a partial mediation was gained for perceived religious discrimination. Whereas perceived religious discrimination predicted the behavioral component of identification with country of origin ($\beta = .16, p = .000$), the behavioral component predicted collective action ($\beta = .16, p = .000$), but, the direct path from perceived religious discrimination to collective action was nonzero and still marginally significant ($\beta = .09, p = .073$) which implies a partial mediation (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Figure 11 illustrates the mediation analysis results.

Figure 11. Assessed path model.



8. Discussion

In this study, we used three factors as indicators for ingroup identification: the affective²³ and the behavioral²⁴ components of identification with country of origin, and affiliation with ethnic groups (like Armenians, Kurds, Las *etc.*) living in Turkey. We obtained perceived personal discrimination with three measures as well: perceived personal discrimination in the public (*i.e.*, schools, neighborhood, discos *etc.*), perceived discrimination based on one's nationality, and on one's religion. Collective action was a one-dimensional construct, that is, participation constituted a single measure in fifteen different actions according to both EFA and CFA results.

First of all, our results verified our first hypothesis about ingroup identification. German citizens as well as non-citizens who are interested in naturalization to Germans identify less with both their country of origin (affective component of identification with country of origin) and ethnic group living in Turkey. Both the affective component of identification with

²³ The affective component of identification with country of origin was measured by two items including "feeling at home" and the consideration of home country people living in Turkey.

²⁴ The behavioral component of identification with country of origin was measured by two indicators: visiting Turkish clubs/cafés and participating in activities of Turkish organizations.

country of origin and ethnic group were positively correlated to, although low, the behavioral component of ingroup identification.

The inter-correlations between research variables revealed that the affective component of identification with country of origin has almost zero correlations with all three variables of perceived personal discrimination. But, behavioral component of identification with country of origin and ethnic group affiliation were related significantly –although to a smaller extent– with discrimination variables: the more a Turkish immigrant perceives personal discrimination (public, national and religious discrimination) the more s/he visits Turkish clubs/cafes and participate in activities of Turkish organizations (behavioral component of identification), and, likewise, the more they identify with their ethnic groups living in Turkey. These results concur with the SIT findings which demonstrate that perception of discrimination is the main factor for strengthening the identification (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Jetten *et al.*, 2002).

This heightened ingroup identification may be a result of immigrants' inclination to preserve self-esteem (*e.g.*, Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997). Or, put alternatively, it may be a result of immigrants' desire to regain self-worth after they have experienced personal discrimination. Social identity theorists (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) postulate that individuals define themselves to a large extent in terms of their social group memberships and tend to seek a positive social identity. This social identity consists of those aspects of an individual's self-image which derive from the social categories to which the individual feels him- or herself attached to and to the value and emotional significance ascribed to that membership. In accordance with our findings, immigrants from Turkey who perceive personal discrimination show enhanced commitment to their ethnic group, which is one of the ways to regain feelings of positive distinctiveness by more active means (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

In addition to visiting Turkish clubs/cafes and participating in activities of Turkish organizations, respondents report more participation in collective action when they perceive national and religious discrimination. Concurring with SIT, which argues that intergroup conflict between social groups enhances the salience of those social groups (categories), we read this result as being the consequence of the salience of nationality and religion to immigrants from Turkey.

Another result is that high education level results with more collective action. And the more an immigrant dis-identifies with the country of origin, the more they participate in collective

action. In the same way, the behavioral component of identification with country of origin heightens collective action. But, affiliation with one's ethnic group living in Turkey did not show the same effect – actually, it did not show any significant effect. Altogether, the findings seem contradictory: dis-identifying with Turkey increases collective action, just like the behavioral component of identification does. Actually, this evidences how different components of identification operate. The more Turkish immigrants feel themselves as foreigners in their country of origin the more they engage in political activities in their host country, maybe in order to improve their situations there. Put another way, they may feel themselves as belonging to Germany rather than to Turkey, and therefore, act to protect their interests in Germany. Moreover, visiting clubs/cafes and participating in Turkish organizations in Germany increases collective action which is compatible with the research on resource mobilization demonstrating that organizational membership gives immigrants opportunities to participate in political life in host countries (e.g, Diehl & Blohm, 2001; Koopmans & Statham, 2001). Likewise, Klandermans and his colleagues (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans, 2002; Klandermans *et al.*, 2002, 2004) illustrated that the behavioral component of ingroup identification (organizational membership) is mainly responsible for the participation in protests.

Other verification about how differently diverse components of ingroup identification operate can be seen from the results of moderation analyses. Affective component of identification with country of origin moderated, although marginally, the effects of perceived discrimination in public and perceived national discrimination on collective action, but behavioral component and ethnic group affiliation did not. Aside from that, the results of Study 1 showed that interest in naturalization moderated, although only weakly, the effect of the behavioral component of identification on collective action. To re-examine this interaction, in the second study, instead of interest in naturalization, citizenship status (German versus Turkish citizenship) of participants was included.

Nevertheless, we should point out that the found co-variances between perceived discrimination, ingroup identification and collective action were low. One explanation regarding discrimination could be that individuals are biased in their perception when they estimate personal discrimination. Research on personal/group discrepancy has evidenced that people report less personal discrimination compared to the amount of group discrimination (e.g., Taylor *et al.*, 1990, 1994). Therefore, it is reasonable to conceive that our respondents report less personal discrimination based on this bias which leads to low inter-correlations. To test whether perceived group-level discrimination relates to a greater extent with identification

and collective action, the persons' perception about the group discrimination was included in Study 2. Another explanation may be that the participation in political actions, which are relevant to immigration issues, is missing in the research, thus explaining the low inter-correlations. Instead of asking immigrants about their participation in political actions, they should be asked about their participation in political actions related with immigration issues.

Besides, social identity theorists (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) propose that ingroup identification is one of the key factors in understanding the actions of subordinated group members, explaining whether they will act individually or collectively. For collective behavior group membership must be internalized as an aspect of the self-concept, and be evaluated as important for the self. Even though internalization and importance of group membership were not measured directly in Study 1, we indirectly measured it with indicators as visiting Turkish clubs/cafés, participating in Turkish organizations' activities, and ethnic group affiliation. But, other social group identifications like identification with *Ausländer* group and/or with Germans were not assessed. Concurring with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), we assume that these social groups are highly salient to immigrants because of the conflicting intergroup relations in Germany. Based on this assumption, whether immigrants identify with low- or high-status groups was one of the central concerns of the research. We presume that immigrants from Turkey identify more with low-status groups (*Ausländer* and/or country of origin) rather than with the high-status group (Germans). These relationships will be tested in the second study.

Consequently, with *Ausländer* survey⁹⁷ we could partially test our hypotheses. Only inter-relations between perceived personal discrimination, ingroup identification and collective action could be investigated. Other hypotheses, for example, the mediation effect of causal attribution of discrimination could not be tested. The extent to which people attribute discrimination to external factors (system in Germany vs. immigrants themselves) increases on the basis of ingroup identification, according to our assumptions. Moreover, this causal attribution of discrimination mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and collective action. Crocker and Major (1989), for example, showed that identification with the ingroup leads to the attribution of prejudice to external factors.

Other untested relations involved the feelings of relative deprivation (RD). We assume that intergroup comparisons between Germans and immigrants lead immigrants to feel group RD, whereas interpersonal (intra-immigrants) comparisons lead them to feel personal RD. It has

been shown that the reference group determines the level of RD feelings. Based on this rationale, we need measures directly asking for the comparisons between specific groups.

In the second cross-sectional research, we re-tested obtained inter-relations and analyzed the remaining hypotheses.

V. STUDY 2

We realized the first study with data from another resource (German Youth Institute), therefore, we could partially examine our model illustrated in Figure 5 (p. 48). In Study 2, first, the findings of Study 1 were cross-validated with modified measures. Then, the effects of other variables suggested by social identity, relative deprivation, and attribution theories on collective action were investigated. Finally, we examined the impact of citizenship status on collective action.

In this study, measures of perceived discrimination, identification with country of origin and collective action were modified on the basis of previous findings which were not very satisfactory. First, we measured group-level discrimination, because the literature indicates a positive relationship between collective action and perceived group-level rather than personal-level discrimination. Second, identification with country of origin (affective component) was obtained with direct items rather than with indirect indicators. Third, we assessed the behavioral component of identification with country of origin through ethnic organizational membership instead of visiting Turkish clubs/cafés and participating in activities of Turkish organizations. And at last, collective action, which consisted of actions relevant to immigration issues, was gained. Hence, we examined, whether the perceived group-level discrimination leads immigrants to involve in collective action related with immigration issues to challenge discriminatory conditions. In this way, it is more likely to see under what conditions and to what extent immigrants involve in collective action in favor of their groups or selves. Consequently, specific hypotheses regarding mediation and moderation relations were formulated as below:

Hypotheses about ingroup identifications and belief system variables:

H1: Respondents will report more identification with their country of origin (affective component of ingroup identification) than with *Ausländer* or Germans. However, citizenship status of the respondents will lead to differences: Turkish citizens will identify more with their country of origin and *Ausländer* group (low-status groups) than German citizens. However, German citizens will identify more with Germans (high-status group) than other groups.

H2: Citizenship status of the mothers and the fathers of the respondents will lead to differences in affective component of ingroup identification as well: If their mothers or

fathers are Turkish citizens, respondents identify more with their country of origin or with *Ausländer* than with Germans. However, the relationship will be vice versa for German citizenship holders, namely, Germans will be the strongly identified group.

- H3: Behavioral component of identification with country of origin (participation in ethnic organizations) will lead to differences in affective component of identification with country of origin: Respondents who participate in ethnic organizations will identify more with their country of origin and *Ausländer*, but less with Germans.
- H4: Identification with low-status groups (*Ausländer* or country of origin) will be negatively correlated with perceptions of permeability and legitimacy, but will be positively correlated with the perceptions of stability. However, identification with Germans will be positively correlated with all belief system variables. In addition, the more respondents perceive impermeability, illegitimacy and stability the more they participate in ethnic organizations.
- H5: The effect of perceived permeability on identification with both high- and low-status groups will be moderated by perceived legitimacy and stability as well as citizenship status of the respondents. Turkish citizens who perceive intergroup boundaries as less permeable and intergroup relations as less legitimate and more stable will identify more with their country of origin as well as with *Ausländer*. However, German citizens who perceive intergroup boundaries as more permeable and intergroup relations as more legitimate and less stable will identify more with Germans.

Hypotheses about relative deprivation:

- H6: On the one hand, respondents with a high educational level will report more group RD, and personal RD compared to Germans, but less personal RD compared to *Ausländer*, than people with a low educational level. On the other hand, respondents with high income level will report less personal RD both compared to Germans and to *Ausländer* than people with a low income level. But, no citizenship status differences will be found either on group or personal RDs.
- H7: Among RD variables the highest mean value will be found for group RD. Moreover, strong identifiers with low-status groups will report more group RD and personal RD compared to Germans, but less personal RD compared to *Ausländer*.

Hypotheses about collective action:

- H8: Highly educated people with high income will report more collective action than people with low-income and educational level.
- H9: (a) Strong identifiers with low-status groups (country of origin and *Ausländer*) will report more participation in collective action, but no difference will be found in terms of identification with high-status group (Germans). (b) Citizenship status will moderate this process.
- H10: The effect of identification with low-status groups on collective action will be positively moderated by group RD. Strong identifiers with low-status groups who strongly feel group RD will report more participation in collective action.
- H11: The effect of perceived permeability on collective action will be moderated by perceived legitimacy, stability, and citizenship status of the respondents: Turkish citizens who perceive intergroup boundaries as less permeable and intergroup relations as less legitimate and less stable will participate in collective action compared to others.
- H12: Respondents who feel personal RD compared to *Ausländer* will participate more in collective action when they feel group RD (double deprivation), but we will not find such effect for personal RD compared to Germans.
- H13: The behavioral component of identification with country of origin (participation in ethnic organizations) mediates the effect of perceived group discrimination on collective action, whereas the affective component of identification with country of origin moderates this effect (Hypotheses tested in Study 1).
- H14: Perceived illegitimacy will be related to group RD, and group RD will predict collective action. That is, group RD mediates between perceived illegitimacy and collective action.
- H15: (a) The more an immigrant perceives group discrimination, and group RD the more s/he blames the system for this; (b) the more an immigrant blames the system the more s/he participates in collective action; (c) a full mediational model where system-blame mediates between group discrimination and RD, and collective action fits the data.

9. Method

9.1. Procedure

At the beginning of the investigation, when we were developing research measures, determining the appropriate social group (category) representing immigrants from Turkey, was crucial; because it has been shown that people negotiate different categorical memberships (foreigners, ethnic or religious memberships) and consequently reach for a desirable identity at the end of this negotiation (*e.g.*, Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). For example, Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) illustrate how immigrants form and reform their identities (remooing). Deaux (2000) points out the importance of the topics like which identities are available to immigrants, how they choose among them, and what the implications of various choices are. Moreover, White (1997, p. 754) concludes that

Turkish identities are forged from class, ethnic and religious loyalties, from institutional and media ethno spaces (created by Germans and by Turks themselves), from shared regularities of interpersonal expectations of generalized reciprocity, and in reaction to how Turks are defined (and redefined after reunification) by Germans.

Hence, the importance of using adequate social categories for addressing immigrants was apparent to us. Asking respondents about their identification with a social group that they are not familiar with or not identify with – put straightforward, imposing a social category on them – would have distorted the results. In order to clarify this issue, we asked ten immigrant students from Turkey who were registered at the Philipps-Universität Marburg (Germany) about their self-definitions. On the one hand, eight students indicated that they prefer the category *Ausländer*, because they used to this category and accordingly, Germans call them that. Among these, six respondents expressed an unawareness of the meaning of *Zuwanderer* (immigrants), whereas the rest opposed this term arguing that their (grand)parents were *Zuwanderer*, but they are not any more. On the other hand, two persons from the group pointed out that they use both *Ausländer* and immigrant categories interchangeably, but without a complete knowledge of the distinction. Based on the information that our unrepresentative small sample provided us with, as well as on the statements of other research²⁵, we decided to use the term *Ausländer*. The same students were also asked to read

²⁵ The category of “Ausländer” (foreigners) predominates in German politics (see Koopmans & Statham, 2001). Furthermore, Turkish workers have generally been addressed in the official German discourse as “Guestworker”, “Ausländer” (foreigner) or “Mitbürger” (co-citizen; Kaya & Kentel, 2005).

all questionnaires to identify any insignificant items or terms, but only a minor change was made afterwards.

Then, questionnaires which were either developed by ourselves or adapted from other research were pre-tested in December 2003 with 30 students who were recorded at the Psychology Department at the Philipps-Universität Marburg. The results of the pre-testing can be seen in section 10.2. Subsequently, a primary survey with immigrants from Turkey was conducted from February to April in 2004. In order to assess data, we contacted immigrant individuals, associations, and universities in four cities of Hessen state (Marburg, Giessen, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt) in Germany. The associations were classified in terms of their ideological orientation (*i.e.*, being left or right) and the sample recruited from these associations was tried to be kept in balance. For example, the mosques (*e.g.*, Emir Sultan Moschee in Stadtallendorf) and Islamic cultural organizations (*e.g.*, Islamischer Kulturverein) were assigned as right-wing oriented. The others were either determined to be left-wing oriented (*e.g.*, Alevi-Bektasi Kultur Verein, Föderation der Demokratische Arbeiter Verein) or they could not be clearly distinguished in terms of ideological stances (*e.g.*, Türkische Beratungsstelle AW, Ausländerbeirat Stadtallendorf, FC Inter Türk Neustadt, Trakya Birlik).

After getting touch with the administration of each association their members were recruited. Following the interviews, respondents were asked whether they could provide other contacts for the research which is a so-called “snow-ball” strategy. Thus, additional contacts were either generated from initial interviews in “snow-ball” fashion or established directly in residing areas via visiting ethnic cafés and clubs. Simultaneously, we contacted students from different universities. After each interview, the balance of the sample in terms of demographic variables (gender, education, income, *etc.*) was checked. Thus, 131 (67.9%) interviewees were recruited from *Ausländer* associations, 45 (23.3%) from ethnic cafés and clubs, 17 (8.8%) from universities. All participants cooperated on a voluntary basis and they received no money or other gratification for participating. Participants were told that the study was about their attitudes on different issues. They filled in the questionnaires individually either in associations, universities, cafés or clubs.

9.2. Participants

This study used a sample of 193 male ($n = 101$, 52.3%) and female ($n = 92$, 47.7%) immigrants from Turkey with an age range of 18 to 28 years ($M = 23.99$, $sd = .373$). Most of the respondents were single (68.9%), only about a quarter of them was married (25.9%), and a few (5.2%) were living with their partner.

The educational level of the respondents varied from a secondary school degree (34.2%) to a higher school (42.0%) or university (8.3%) degree. Only one person had no educational degree, whereas two reported other degrees than in the list. Altogether 48.3% of the interviewees had a high school degree, whereas secondary degree holders made up 34.2% of the sample. However, according to records of the 1999/2000 school term, 65.9% of the Turkish students had elementary or secondary school degree, whereas only 13.4% of them had a high school degree (Hinrichs, 2003). This means, in terms of education, our sample was not representative for the immigrant population with a Turkey origin; rather highly educated immigrants were recruited.

Thirty-six percent of the respondents had less than 500 € personal incomes, 31% between 500-1000 €, 22% between 1000-2000 €, and the rest (11%) had a monthly income of over 2000 €. Household income reports, however, demonstrated that 28.1% of the participants came from the income group with less than 1000 €, 34.8% between 1000-2000 €, and 37.2% over 2.000 €. From the latter (high-income) group, only 3.7% held the maximum household income of over 5.000 €. In sum, our sample looked as if not representing the immigrant population from Turkey in respect to income, either. Regarding personal income, 67% of the respondents were from the lower income group – below 1000 Euro. At a first glance, this represented an unequal distribution, however, when household income was taken into account, this ratio was lowered to 28.1%. Thereafter, it was seen that our sample represented the distribution of immigrant population.

In respect to ethnicity, only 52.8% of the participants reported an ethnic origin as Turkish (37.8%) or Kurdish (14.5%). In terms of religion, Sunni (47.7%) and Alevi (36.3%) immigrants as well as Atheists and others (10.9%) were included. Interviewees held either German citizenship (51.3%) or Turkish citizenship (46.1%), but 2.6% did not indicate any citizenship status at all. Most of the respondents' mothers were Turkish citizens (73.1%), but about a quarter of the mothers (22.3%) were German citizens and a few respondents (4.7%) did not indicate their mothers' citizenship status. Respondents' fathers showed a similar pattern (21.8% German citizens, 73.6% Turkish citizens, 4.7% gave no response). Moreover, the sample was representative in terms of demographics except for education.

9.3. Measures

In Table 6, theoretical constructs with dimensions and item examples, and demographics with operationalizations are given. All theoretical constructs were measured with six-point Likert type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), except relative

deprivation (five-point scales), participation in ethnic organizations (yes/no question), and demographics (see Table 6 for scale ranges). The questionnaire is presented in the Appendix (p. VI).

Ingroup identification. In order to assess ingroup identification, respondents were asked for their identifications with three social groups (Germans, *Ausländer*, and country of origin), separately. Items of ingroup identifications, which were adapted from the studies by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992), and Grieve and Hogg (1999), measure the affective aspect of ingroup identification. Three identification measures had similar item sequences as well as the same wording. For example, whereas the item “Belonging to Germans is very important to me” was used to assess identification with Germans, “Belonging to *Ausländer* is very important to me” was used to assess identification with *Ausländer*. Additionally, the behavioral component of ingroup identification was obtained (*e.g.*, de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999) to measure identification with country of origin. In order to assess the behavioral component respondents were asked to report whether they had taken part in the listed organizations such as youth association, *Ausländer*, cultural, and religious organizations, and sport clubs. Thus, both affective and behavioral components of identification with the country of origin were attained.

Belief system. This measure consisted of three different aspects of intergroup relations as suggested by Tajfel and Turner (1986), *i.e.*, perception of the permeability of intergroup boundary, perception of the legitimacy and the stability of intergroup relations. All items were adapted from Mummendey *et al.*'s (1999b) work. Items “No matter what effort s/he makes, an *Ausländer* will never become a German”²⁶, “In principle, it is not difficult for an *Ausländer* to be considered as German” measured permeability, where items like “*Ausländer* can demand to be as well off as Germans”, “Germans are entitled to be better off than the *Ausländer*” measured legitimacy. Stability was assessed with the items as “The current relationship between *Ausländer* and German people is just temporary”²⁷, “I think the relationship between *Ausländer* groups and German people will remain stable for the next years”.

Perceived grievances. First, we obtained perceived group discrimination by using five items including diverse aspects of discrimination. Perception of group discrimination was obtained with such items as “In terms of conditions and opportunities at work, immigrants get a bad deal compared to Germans”. Second, the feelings of relative deprivation were gained via scales asking respondents to do two intragroup and one intergroup comparisons. Each comparison was reported by the respondents with a one-item scale. First, respondents were

²⁶ Reverse coded.

²⁷ Reverse coded.

asked to evaluate their own life situation in comparison to Germans, and then in comparison to other immigrants, in order to assess personal *RDs*. Group *RD* was obtained by asking the respondents to compare the life situation of *Ausländer* as a group to that of Germans. All three items (two items for personal *RD*, and one item for group *RD*) had a five-point answering scale (1 = much better, 2 = a little bit better, 3 = almost the same, 4 = a little bit worse, 5 = much worse).

Causal attribution of grievances. To obtain causal attributions, we modified Cole and Stewart's (1996) measure into immigration context. This measure consisted of two subscales each with three items: system- versus *Ausländer*-blame. Whereas attribution of grievances to the system in Germany refers to system-blame, we called attribution of grievances to the individuals as *Ausländer*-blame. Thus, items like "The difference in income between Germans and *Ausländer* stems from labor market discrimination" measure system-blame, whereas items like "The differences in occupational status between Germans and *Ausländer* are due to lower motivational levels of immigrants" were used to assess *Ausländer*-blame.

Table 6. Theoretical constructs with dimensions and item examples, and demographics with operationalizations

Construct	Dimension	Operationalization
Ingroup identification	Germans	<i>E.g.</i> , Belonging to ... is very important to me.
	<i>Ausländer</i>	
	Country of origin	Affective component
		Behavioral component
Belief system	Perceived permeability	<i>E.g.</i> , No matter what effort s/he makes, an <i>Ausländer</i> will never become a German.*
	Perceived legitimacy	<i>E.g.</i> , Germans are entitled to be better off than the <i>Ausländer</i> .
	Perceived stability	<i>E.g.</i> , The current relationship between immigrant groups and German people will not change easily.
Perceived grievances	Perceived group discrimination	<i>E.g.</i> , In terms of power and status in society, <i>Ausländer</i> get a bad deal compared to Germans.
	Group <i>RD</i>	When you compare the life situation of <i>Ausländer</i> as a group with Germans, do you think it is better or worse than that of Germans?
	Personal <i>RD</i> compared to Germans	When you compare your personal life situation with Germans, do you think it is better or worse off than Germans?

	Personal RD compared to <i>Ausländer</i>	When you compare your personal life situation with <i>Ausländer</i> , do you think it is better or worse off than Germans?
Causal attribution of grievances	System-blame	<i>E.g.</i> , The difference in income between Germans and <i>Ausländer</i> stems from labor market discrimination.
	<i>Ausländer</i> -blame	<i>E.g.</i> , The differences in occupational status between Germans and <i>Ausländer</i> are due to lower motivational levels of <i>Ausländer</i> .
Collective action		Have you done any of the listed actions over the last five years? I have acted as a speaker I have worked for a campaign I have attended meetings or workshops I have raised issues in group/organization I have broken the law I have taken part in a rally/demonstration I have signed a petition
Citizenship status		1 = German, 2 = Turkish, 3 = Other
Demographics	Gender	1 = Male, 2 = Female
	Education level	1 = Elementary school 2 = Secondary school 3 = High school 4 = University 5 = Other 6 = No degree
	Income (personal and household)	1 = Below / less than 500 € 2 = 500-1000 € 3 = 1000-2000 € 4 = 2000-3000 € 5 = 3000-4000 € 6 = 4000-5000 € 7 = Above / more than 5000 €
	Marital status	1 = Single 2 = Married 3 = Living with partner
	Ethnicity	1 = Turkish, 2 = Kurdish, 3 = Other
	Religious background	1 = Evangelic 2 = Catholic 3 = Sunni 4 = Alevi 5 = Atheist 6 = Other

* Reverse coded.

Collective Action. Based on Kelly and Breinlinger's (1996) work, this construct was assessed by asking the respondents whether they took part in listed actions in the past five years on a

Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 6 (very often). The scale was composed of seven actions relevant to immigration issues: acting as a speaker for a particular group, spending time working for a political campaign (e.g., fundraising), attending meetings, raising political issues about immigration in groups or organizations, breaking the law (e.g., blocking the road with a street demonstration), taking part in a rally or demonstration, and signing a petition. Kelly and Breinlinger (1996) who investigated the collective action of trade unionists and women evidenced a four-factor construct, which consisted of working in a group, collective protest, informal participation, and individual protest. As our main concern was collective action, informal participation (involving two items about discussing immigrants' issues with friends or colleagues and reading articles, journals or watching films about immigrants' issues) was not included in the data collection. And, since the first study evidenced very low level of participation in individual protest, two items (contacting members of the parliament or the media) of this factor were not included in the second study. Thus, only items for group work and collective protest remained in our measure.

Demographics. Items asking about demographic backgrounds of the interviewees were added at the end of each questionnaire. They were one-item self-report scales which different ranges, namely, gender (1 = male, 2 = female), educational degree (1 = elementary school, 2 = secondary school, 3 = high school, 4 = university, 5 = other, 6 = no degree), personal and household income (1 = below / less than 500, 2 = 500-1000, 3 = 1000-2000, 4 = 2000-3000, 5 = 3000-4000, 6 = 4000-5000, 7 = above / more than 5000 euros), marital status (1 = single, 2 = married, 3 = living with partner), ethnicity (1 = Turkish, 2 = Kurdish, 3 = other), religious background (1 = Evangelic, 2 = Catholic, 3 = Sunni, 4 = Alevi, 5 = Atheist, 6 = other). Respondents', their mothers' and fathers' citizenship statuses (1 = German, 2 = Turkish, 3 = other) were assessed with identical scales.

10. Results

10.1. Procedure

First, pre-tests were realized in order to get construct validity of the measures. Basing on the pre-test results, modifications were applied when needed. The primary data collection was followed by the EFAs and CFAs to obtain valid dimensionalities of the measures. All EFAs, CFAs and other SEMs were tested with the extraction method of ML. After validity tests, reliabilities were calculated through Cronbach's Alpha for the scales with more than two items. The reliabilities of two-item scales were computed with Pearson correlations.

The interactions were computed either through analyses of variance (ANOVA) or through moderated regressions. We calculated ANOVA, on the one hand, if an interaction between a discrete and a continuous variable was assumed. To do so, we differentiated the continuous variable into discrete categories by using mean splits. On the other hand, if an interaction between continuous variables was hypothesized, we computed moderated regressions using the Aiken and West's (1991) method.

10.2. Pre-test for Measures

The developed and adapted measures were pre-tested in December 2003 with Psychology students who were registered at the Philipps-Universität Marburg. They were recruited during a social psychology seminar offered at the university. Participants (N = 30) were mostly Germans, only two of them had migrated from Turkey. First, EFAs were done to test construct validities, and then, reliabilities of the measures were checked. The chosen EFA method was ML and, when needed, Promax rotation was done. We tested reliabilities via Cronbach's Alpha where more than two items were involved in the measure and via inter-item Pearson correlations where only two items were included. No calculation was made for one-item scales of relative deprivation. As can be seen from Table 7, most of the scales revealed satisfactory reliability coefficients. EFA results and reliabilities for each measure were reported in the following.

Ingroup identification. In the pre-test, we measured only identification with Germans owing to the German student sample. According to EFA, all items gathered under one factor (Eigenvalues: 2.03, .89) with a 36.27% explained total variance and with factor loadings of .77 (item 1), .64 (item 4), .54 (item 3), and .40 (item 2). However, we obtained a very low Cronbach's Alpha: .37. When item 2 ("I often regret that I am a German") was deleted, Alpha increased to .62. Nevertheless, in the main survey the second item was kept to compare the results.

Belief system. All belief system items were subjected to EFA and the result showed a very clear three-factor solution (Eigenvalues: 2.49, 2.12, 1.45, .82 etc.) without any rotation and with 53% explained total variance. Factor loadings were quiet satisfactory for permeability (item 9: .99, item 8: .60, and item 7: .47), stability (item 2: .84, item 1: .82, and item 3: .70), and legitimacy (item 5: .59, item 4: .58, item 6: .40). However, when we calculated reliabilities with Cronbach's Alpha, we saw that legitimacy had a relatively low Alpha of .54. But, when item 6 was deleted, it raised to .64. Item 6 had no significant bivariate correlations, neither with item 4 (.09, $p > .10$), nor with item 5 (.24, $p > .10$). Similarly, when item 7 was

deleted, Alpha for permeability increased to .75, because inter-item correlation between item 7 and 8 was insignificant ($.20, p > .10$). For the stability factor, both the reliability coefficient and inter-item correlations were quite satisfactory. Our finding for permeability was in accordance with the work by Mummendey *et al.* (1999b) who found that the first item of permeability and the second items of stability and legitimacy had low inter-item correlations, which was why they excluded them in their further work (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999a). But in our analysis, instead of the second, the third item of legitimacy produced insignificant correlations, and no item of stability did. Nevertheless, in the main study we kept those items to be able to re-examine them.

Perceived group discrimination. EFA for perceived group discrimination indicated a one-factorial model (Eigenvalues: 3.03, 1.16, .77 *etc.*) with an explained total variance of 54.63% where 50.57% of this variance was explained by the first factor. However, two items (1 and 6) cross loaded. Cronbach Alpha was quite satisfactory for the measure: .88.

Causal attribution of grievances. When we subjected six items of causal attribution to EFA, we differentiated two factors (Eigenvalues: 2.65, 1.99, .58 *etc.*) with a total variance of 68.45%. Factor loadings were satisfactory for *Ausländer*-blame: .83 (item 4), .82 (item 5), .65 (item 6); the last two items of system-blame even had relatively high coefficients (item 3: .98, item 2: .93, item 1: .70). Cronbach's Alphas indicated reliable measures as .77 for *Ausländer*-blame, and .88 for system blame.

Collective action. Seven items explained 74.38% of the total variance according to the EFA result. Eigenvalues indicated a one-factor solution as the better fit (4.50, 1.10, .54 *etc.*), because the first factor contributed 64.24% of the variance whereas the second factor was responsible for only 15.73%. According to rotation results, item 1 produced an insignificant factor loading, where items 2 and 4 cross loaded. The measure had a very satisfactory reliability (Alpha: .90).

As a result, the pre-test illustrated relatively satisfactory measures in regards to validity and reliability. Although some items produced not adequate coefficients (factor-loadings or inter-item correlations) all items were decided to be kept in further data collection to confirm the pre-test results.

Table 7. Constructs with dimensions and reliabilities

Construct	Dimension	Reliability
Ingroup identification	Germans	.37
Belief system	Permeability	.69
	Legitimacy	.54
	Stability	.81
Perceived group discrimination		.78
Causal attribution of grievances	System-blame	.88
	<i>Ausländer</i> -blame	.77
Relative deprivation	Group RD compared to Germans	-
	Personal RD compared to Germans	-
	Personal RD compared to <i>Ausländer</i>	-
Collective action		.90

10.3. Primary Results

10.3.1. Data Screening and Normality

When we screened the data, we determined a few missing values amounting less than 5% which we imputed with an EM algorithm. The EM algorithm imputation technique is one of the ML estimation techniques for missing observations correcting, and it is the most appropriate method for handling random missings (for more details about EM imputation, see Enders, 2001).

All items except collective action showed univariate and multivariate normality. Collective action items revealed relatively low mean values (minimum: 1, maximum: 6) as can be seen from Table 8. Therefore, skewness and kurtosis values are moderately high for all items except item 4 ($S = 1.39$, $K = .87$) and item 7 ($S = 1.78$, $K = 2.21$). Items are either positively skewed (the distribution is asymmetric to the left side, a long right tail) or positively kurtotic (the distribution is peaked than normal). Because of these moderate skewness and kurtosis values (Curran *et al.*, 1996; West *et al.*, 1995), the items were changed into a normal distribution by using the Logarithmic Transformation (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Table 8. Item formulations and descriptive measures

Items of collective action*	<i>M</i> and <i>sd</i>	<i>S</i> and <i>K</i>
1. I have acted as a speaker for a particular group for immigrant issues.	M = 1.37; sd = .96	S = 3.08; K = 9.40
2. I have spent time working for a political campaign in immigrant issues, <i>e.g.</i> fundraising.	M = 1.53; sd = 1.09	S = 2.38; K = 5.13
3. I have attended political meetings in immigrant issues.	M = 1.53; sd = 1.11	S = 2.42; K = 4.30
4. I have raised immigrant issues in groups or clubs.	M = 1.90; sd = 1.35	S = 1.39; K = .87
5. I have taken part in a rally or a demonstration in immigrant issues.	M = 1.57; sd = 1.15	S = 2.11; K = 3.56
6. I have taken part in illegal political activities in immigrant issues, <i>e.g.</i> blocking the road with a street demonstration.	M = 1.27; sd = .76	S = 3.15; K = 10.05
7. I have taken part in actions of signing a petition in immigrant issues.	M = 1.77; sd = 1.34	S = 1.78; K = 2.21

* All items are in 6-point Likert-type: 1 *agree not at all* - 6 *agree totally*

M = means; sd = standard deviations; S = skewness; K = kurtosis

10.3.2. EFAs

Because we did not include both affective and behavioural components of identification with country of origin in the pre-test, we tested the validity of this construct, first, via EFA, and then, via CFA. Additionally, unlike the pre-test, we tested discriminant validity of perceived grievances via EFA to see whether perceived group discrimination and RDs are distinct constructs; and then, based on the EFA result we performed CFA for this construct. For the remaining measures, we conducted only CFAs based on the findings of EFAs of the pre-test.

Identification with country of origin. Items of both affective and behavioral components of identification were subjected to EFA. The result showed that all items accounted for 63.17% of explained total variance. Eigenvalues (2.36, 1.69, 1.01, .89 *etc.*) indicated a three factorial model. Whereas affective component items gathered under one factor (factor loadings: .89, .87, and .87) behavioral component split into two factors, one factor with youth association (.73), *Ausländer* organization (.71) and sport club (.67), another factor with religious (.77) and cultural (.75) organizations. Cronbach's Alpha for the affective component was satisfactory (.86), however, for the first factor of the behavioral component (participation in youth organizations) it was relatively low (.48). The inter-item correlation for the two items of the second factor of the behavioral component (participation in cultural organization) was satisfactory as well: .20. The inter-factor correlation between two factors of behavioral component was rather low ($r = .22$, $p < .01$), whereas both factors did not reveal any significant correlation with the affective component.

Perceived grievances. With this primary data, we tested a potential content overlap between the items of perceived group discrimination and RD. To do so, we included all five items of discrimination and three items of RD in the EFA. The results produced a two-factor model (Eigenvalues: 2.77, 1.42, .98, *etc.*) with an explained total variance of 41.16%. Perceived discrimination items gathered under one factor with the factor loadings of .74 (item 2), .62 (item 1), .61 (item 3), .61 (item 5), .51 (item 4). And personal RD compared to Germans (.99) and to *Ausländer* (.43) gathered under one factor, however, group RD cross loaded with .32 on the discrimination factor and with .26 on RD. According to the inter-item correlations, group RD did not have a significant correlation with personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($r = .01, p > .10$), but, it was significantly related to personal RD compared to Germans ($r = .34, p < .01$). Moreover, the inter-correlation between perceived group discrimination and group RD revealed a relatively moderate relationship ($r = .32, p < .01$). However, the last conclusion about the dimensionality of perceived grievances would be drawn after the CFA. Before moving to the next section, we should note that the inter-correlation between personal RD compared to Germans and compared to *Ausländer* was satisfactory, too ($r = .41, p < .01$).

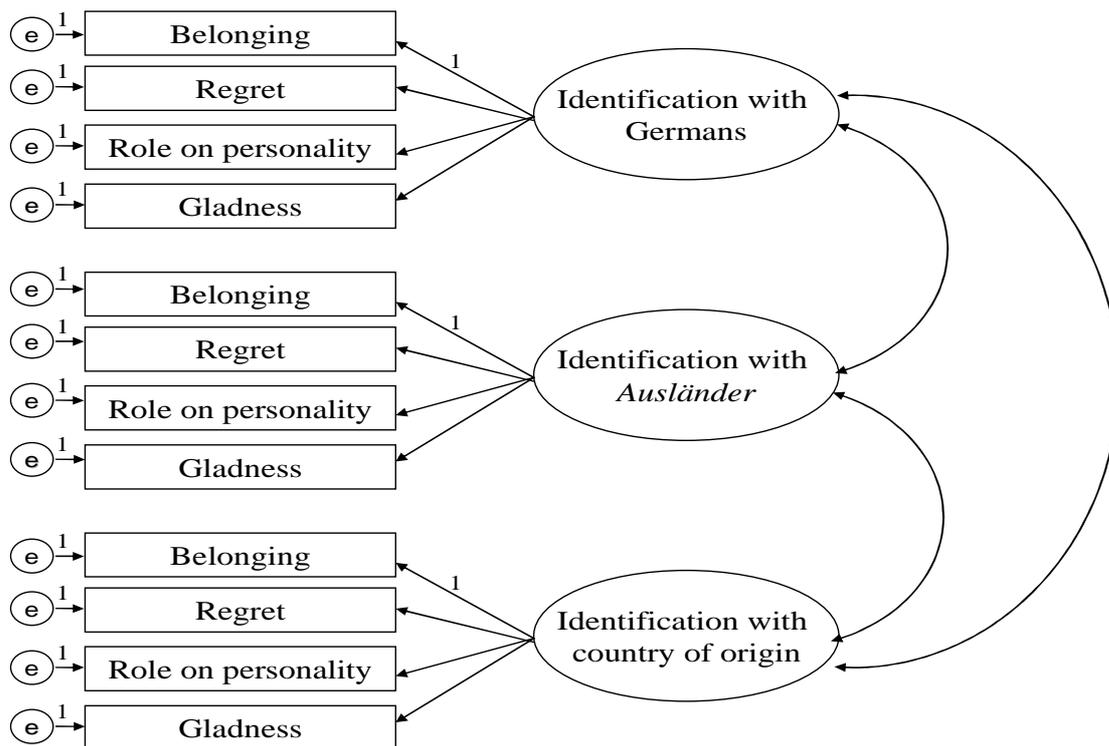
10.3.3. CFAs and Reliabilities

In the following, the results of the CFAs based on ML estimations for each scale are presented. Modifications were made when necessary. Error correlations were considered in terms of content criteria, based on the argument by Byrne (2001) who has put forward that error correlation between item pairs are often an indication of perceived redundancy in item content.

10.3.3.1. Ingroup Identification and Belief System

Ingroup identifications were measured for three social groups (Germans, *Ausländer*, and country of origin) with similar item wordings. Items of the scales were formulated to assess the affective components of ingroup identifications. However, for identification with country of origin, we also obtained the behavioral component of ingroup identification. Therefore, we included the affective component of identification with country of origin, first, in the CFA with other affective components of ingroup identifications (with Germans and *Ausländer*), and then, in the second CFA, where both affective and behavioral components of identification with country of origin were tested together. For the affective components of ingroup identification, we assumed that a three-factor correlated CFA model fit the data. Thus, the factor analysis was performed simultaneously for identification with Germans, *Ausländer*, and country of origin. The hypothesized CFA model is illustrated in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Hypothesized three-factor (correlated) CFA model for ingroup identifications.

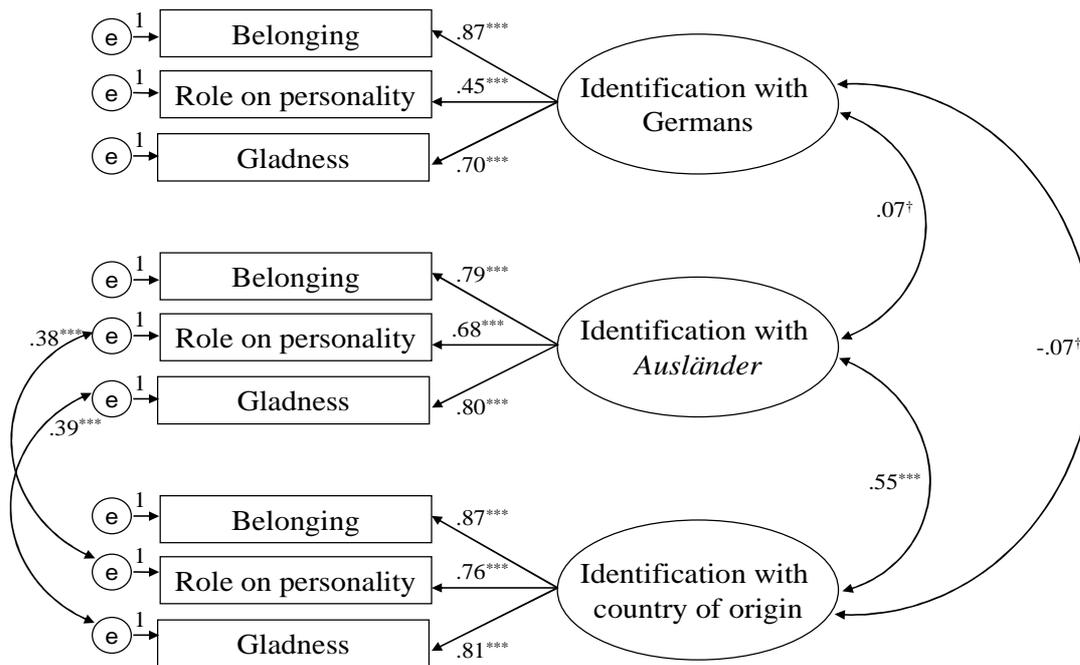


Results showed that the three-factor (correlated) model did not fit the data ($\chi^2 = 182.838$, $df = 51$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 3.585; CFI = .828; RMSEA = .116; Pclose = .000; SRMR = .1008). The results can be followed from Figure 13. Akin to the findings of the pre-test, the second items of all three scales cross-loaded: item 2 of identification with country of origin loaded on item 2 of identification with *Ausländer* (MI = 34.666) and vice versa (MI = 32.370); and item 2 of identification with *Ausländer* loaded on all items of identification of the German scale. Hence, CFA was re-performed without second items of all scales and seen that fit indices were relatively more satisfactory ($\chi^2 = 69.585$, $df = 24$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 2.899; CFI = .932; RMSEA = .099; Pclose = .002; SRMR = .0455). When we controlled for the error term correlations between third items (MI = 22.09) and fourth items (MI = 16.09) of identification with *Ausländer* and country of origin, as expected, the fit turned out to be very good ($\chi^2 = 31.522$, $df = 22$, $p = .086$; CMIN/DF = 1.433; CFI = .986; RMSEA = .047; Pclose = .509; SRMR = .0373).

The standardized factor loadings of the items were quite satisfactory. Identification with Germans consisted of three items with factor loadings of .87, .70, and .45. For identification with *Ausländer* factor loadings of .80, .79, and .68 were recorded. Identification with country of origin had items with factor loadings as .87, .81, and .76. Only the inter-correlation

between identification with *Ausländer* and with country of origin was significant (.55, $p < .001$). And finally, Cronbach's Alphas were satisfactory for all identification scales. The Alpha was .70 for the identification with Germans, whereas it was .80 for identification with *Ausländer* and .85 for identification with country of origin (for descriptive features of the scales see Table 3 in Appendix).

Figure 13. Result of three-factor (correlated) CFA model for ingroup identifications.



Identification with country of origin. In this CFA, we took two components (affective and behavioral) of identification with country of origin and we aimed to verify a three-factorial structure that we obtained via the EFA (for hypothesized three-factor model see Figure 14). According to the results, the three-factorial model fit the data very well ($\chi^2 = 22.851$, $df = 17$, $p = .154$; CMIN/DF = 1.344; CFI = .981; RMSEA = .042; Pclose = .574), but the factor loadings were slightly changed compared to EFA results. Factor loadings of the items of factor “participation in cultural organizations” were lowered to .54, and .38, whereas for factor “participation in youth organizations”, only the last two loadings were reduced (.79, .44, .30). Factor loadings of the items of affective component remained almost the same (.88, .81, and .75) compared to the previous CFA, where all affective components of ingroup identification were tested. As can be followed from Table 3 in the Appendix, Cronbach's Alpha for the factor “participation in youth organizations” was .48, and the inter-item

correlation between two items of the factor “participation in cultural organizations” was quiet satisfactory (.20, $p < .01$). The results of CFA can be seen in Figure 15.

Figure 14. Hypothesized three-factor (correlated) CFA model for identification with country of origin.

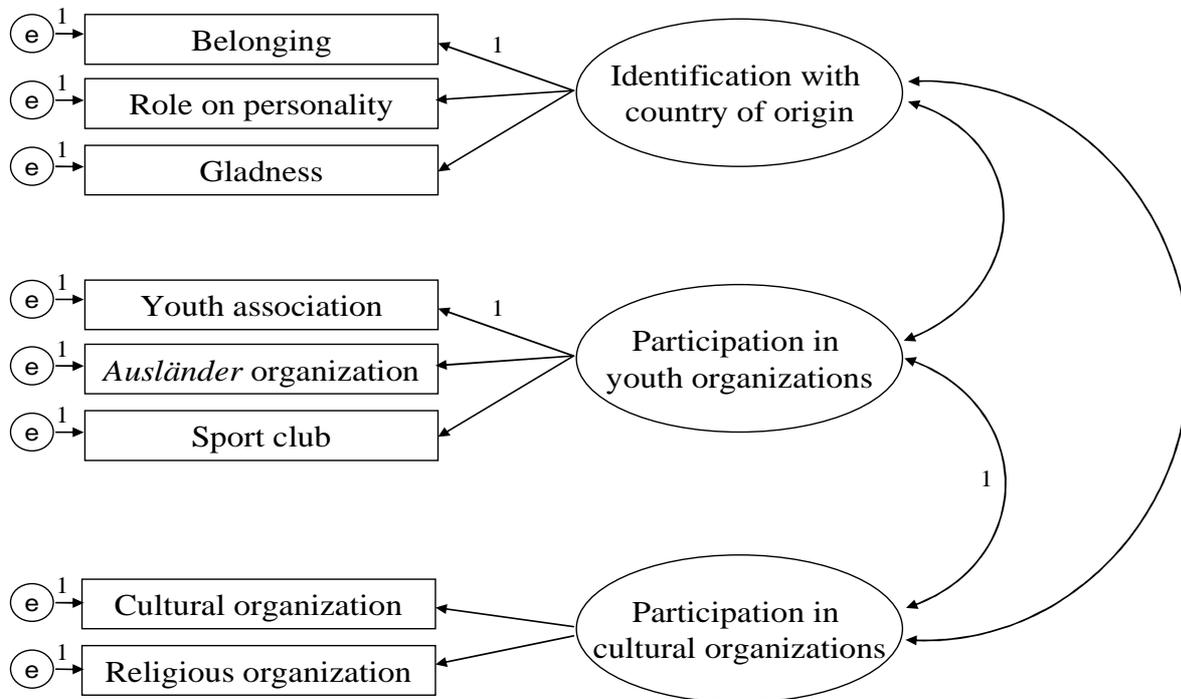
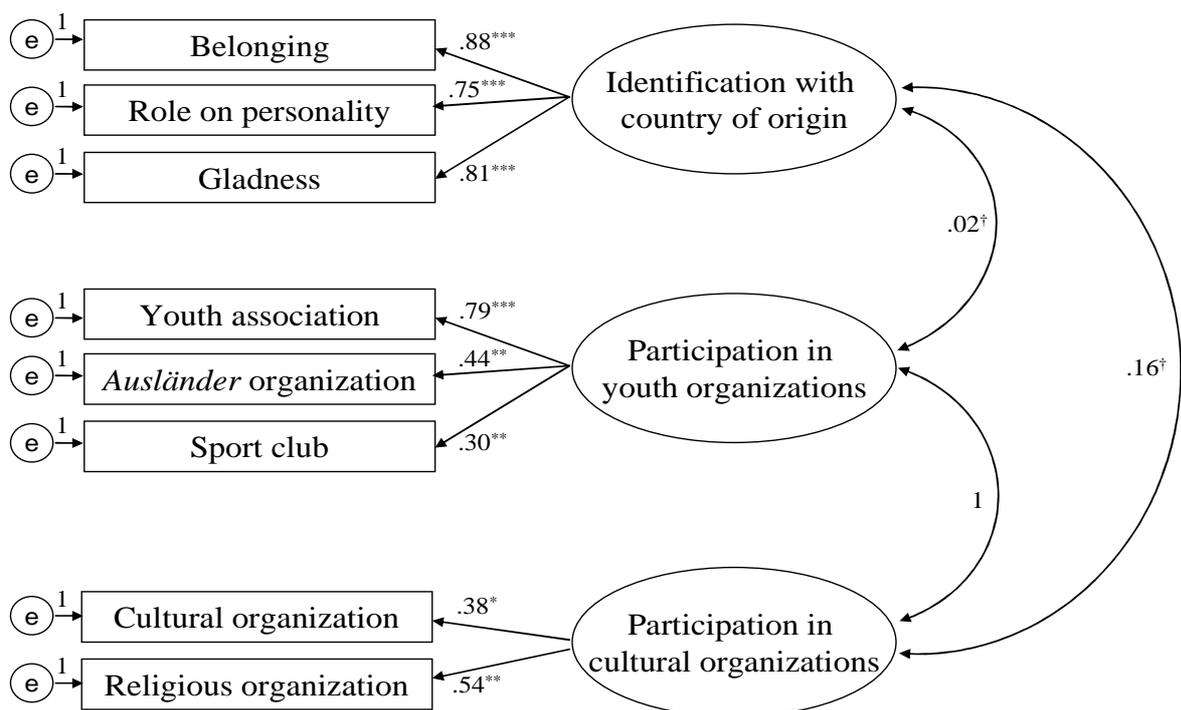


Figure 15. Result of three-factor (correlated) CFA model for identification with country of origin.



Belief system. The first CFA showed that the model could not be tested owing to the negative error variance of the first item of perceived stability. When this error variance was constrained and the model was re-tested, unsatisfactory fit indices ($\chi^2 = 54.904$, $df = 25$, $p = .001$; CMIN/DF = 2.196; CFI = .877; RMSEA = .079; Pclose = .047; SRMR = .0809), and an insignificant factor loading of item 2 of perceived stability ($-.10$, $p = .177$) were gained. When we deleted item 2 and re-did the analysis, the model fit increased substantially ($\chi^2 = 5.534$, $df = 12$, $p = .938$; CMIN/DF = .461; CFI = 1.000; RMSEA = .000; Pclose = .990; SRMR = .0256). As a result, perceived legitimacy preserved its three items with satisfactory factor loadings of .76 (item 2), .57 (item 3), and .48 (item 1). Perceived permeability consisted of two items with .82 and .69 factor loadings. But, perceived stability remained one item (item 3) which satisfactorily loaded on the relevant factor (.51).

Consequently, our CFA of belief system revealed different item patterns than our pre-test results and than Mummendey *et al.*'s (1999a, 1999b) work. To us, different item consistencies were mainly due to the varied responses of the particular groups. That is, we collected the pre-test data from German students and Mummendey *et al.* (1999a, 1999b) conducted their research with residents of East Germany, in which they searched for the Eastern Germans' perceptions of the intergroup relations between Eastern and Western Germans. However, in our main study, our respondents were immigrants from Turkey and we asked for their perceptions of the intergroup relations between *Ausländer* and Germans. Therefore, due to the sample characteristics different item patterns are reasonable.

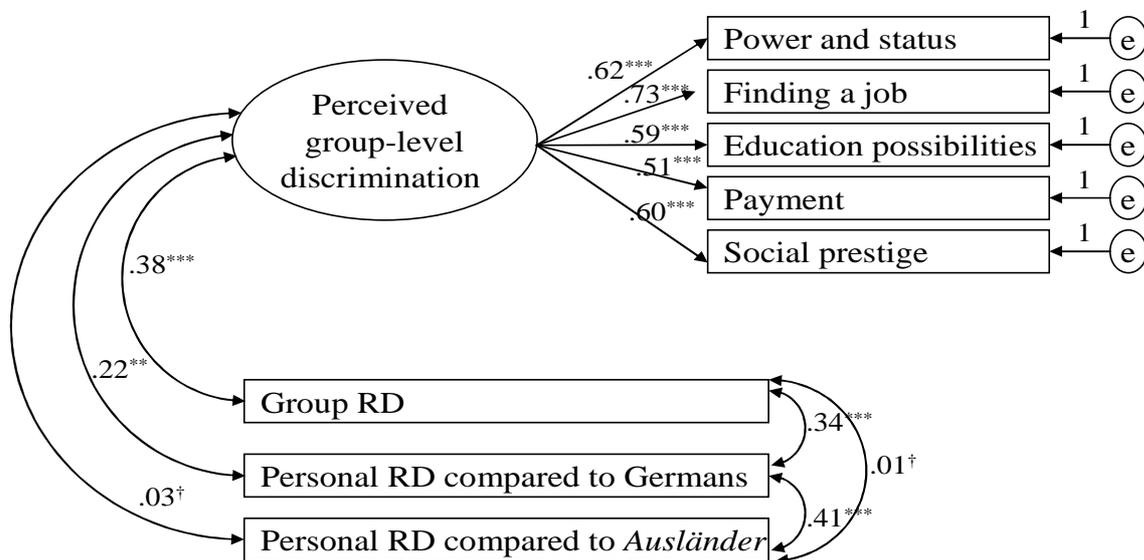
10.3.3.2. Perceived Grievances

Since the EFA result showed a two-factor model, we performed a two-factor (correlated) CFA to see whether perceived group discrimination and the feelings of RD were related but distinct constructs. But, the first run of the model revealed a negative variance, which was caused by the error term of personal RD compared to Germans. In order to overcome this negative variance, we constrained the error variance of the relevant item. However, the result did not show a fitting model ($\chi^2 = 84.947$, $df = 20$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 4.247; CFI = .778; RMSEA = .130; Pclose = .000; SRMR = .0832). Then, we modified our model so that it consisted of three factors, perceived group discrimination, personal RD, and group RD, which resulted in a negative co-variance matrix. In the next step, we modified our factor model so that the RD construct was determined as a second-order factor which included one factor for personal RD items and one factor for the group RD item. However, the model still did not fit the data ($\chi^2 =$

89.125, $df = 21$, $p = .000$; CMIN/DF = 4.244; CFI = .767; RMSEA = .130; $P_{close} = .000$; SRMR = .1110).

Finally, we released three RD variables from its factors and kept their inter-correlations. As a result, we gained an acceptable model fit ($\chi^2 = 40.153$, $df = 17$, $p = .001$; CMIN/DF = 2.362; CFI = .921; RMSEA = .084; $P_{close} = .047$; SRMR = .0516). Therefore, we decided to rely on the latest CFA findings. Factor loadings for the perceived group discrimination items were .73 (item 2), .62 (item 1), .60 (item 5), .59 (item 3), and .51 (item 4), which all were significant at $p < .001$. In terms of inter-correlations between RD variables, similar estimates were obtained with EFA: Group RD did not significantly correlate with personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($r = .01$, $p > .10$), but, it was significantly related to personal RD compared to Germans ($r = .34$, $p < .001$); and personal RD compared to Germans was significantly related to personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($r = .41$, $p < .001$). Moreover, perceived group discrimination significantly correlated with group RD ($r = .38$, $p < .001$), and personal RD compared to Germans ($r = .22$, $p < .01$). But, it did not correlate with personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($r = .03$, $p > .10$).

Figure 16. Result of three-factor (correlated) CFA model for perceived grievances



Causal attribution of discrimination. This construct was differentiated as causal attribution of grievances to the system (system-blame), and to *Ausländer* (*Ausländer*-blame). Each scale consisted of three items. The two-factor correlated CFA model ($\chi^2 = 22.678$, $df = 8$, $p = .004$) showed quiet satisfactory fit indices of CMIN/DF (2.835), and CFI (.948), but reasonable fit indices of RMSEA (.098), and SRMR (.0602). The factor loadings for system-blame were

.80, .78, and .50 for item 3, item 2 and item 1, respectively. And obtained factor loadings for *Ausländer*-blame were .86 (item 2), .69 (item 3), and .55 (item 1). The inter-factor correlation was not significant ($r = .075, p > .10$).

10.3.3.3. Collective Action

As we displayed in Table 9, most of the items of collective action violated univariate normality, therefore, we did a log transformation. Following Tabachnik and Fidell's (2001) recommendation, we checked the normality after the transformation as well. Still, univariate normality was violated by item 1 (Skewness = 2.27; Kurtosis = 4.19) and item 6 (Skewness = 2.48; Kurtosis = 5.02). For that reason, these two items were excluded from the CFA and a one-factor model was tested afterwards. The model revealed relatively good fit indices as CFI = .950 and SRMR = .0375 while other indices were not satisfactory ($\chi^2 = 35.604, df = 5, p = .000, CMIN/DF = 7.121; RMSEA = .179; Pclose = .000$). According to the MIs, a missing correlation between the error terms of item 5 and item 7 (MI = 24.418) was mainly responsible for the low fit indices. This inter-error correlation is reasonable when we consider that people who sign a petition is also more likely to participate in rallies or demonstrations. After correlating the error terms, the model fit became much better ($\chi^2 = 6.015, df = 4, p = .198; CMIN/DF = 1.504; CFI = .997; RMSEA = .051; Pclose = .406; SRMR = .0199$). Consequently, collective action consisted of five items with factor loadings as .91 (item 3), .86 (item 2), .77 (item 5), .72 (item 7), and .70 (item 4).

10.3.4. Findings on Ingroup identification and Belief System

Concurring with our first hypothesis, we found that our participants identified more with their country of origin, than with *Ausländer*, and the least with Germans. According to t-test comparisons²⁸, all differences between scale means were significant: Respondents identify more with their country of origin ($M = 4.43, sd = 1.48; t(192) = -13.18^{29}, p < .001$) than with Germans ($M = 2.53, sd = 1.26$); more with *Ausländer* ($M = 3.70, sd = 1.43; t(192) = -8.84, p < .001$) than with Germans ($M = 2.53, sd = 1.26$); and more with their country of origin ($M = 4.43, sd = 1.48$) than with *Ausländer* ($M = 3.70, sd = 1.43; t(192) = -6.88, p < .001$). The results are illustrated in Table 9.

²⁸ Although absolute mean values were not obtained due to EM imputation, t-test for paired sample (one tailed test) was used.

²⁹ The t values are negative because of the order of subtractions. In our example, the order of subtraction is irrelevant, so the sign is not important.

Table 9. Results of t-test comparison and one-way ANOVAs

	M	SD
t-test comparison		
Identification with country of origin	4.43	1.48
Identification with Germans	2.53	1.26
Identification with Ausländer	3.70	1.43
One-way ANOVA results		
	Identification with Germans	
<i>Personal citizenship status</i>		
German citizens (n = 99)	2.75	1.26
Turkish citizens (n = 89)	2.31	1.19
	Identification with Ausländer	
<i>Father's citizenship status</i>		
German citizens (n = 42)	4.09	1.23
Turkish citizens (n = 142)	3.60	1.47
	Identification with Ausländer	
<i>Mother's citizenship status</i>		
German citizens (n = 43)	4.10	1.26
Turkish citizens (n = 141)	3.59	1.46
	Identification with Germans	
<i>Participation in cultural organizations</i>		
Both cultural and religious organization (n = 18)	3.20	1.38
Participating in one type of organization (n = 56)	2.37	1.30
Participating in any type of organization (n = 119)	2.50	1.20

When we compared the ingroup identifications in terms of citizenship status of the respondents via one-way ANOVA³⁰, we found that the effect of citizenship status was only significant on identification with Germans ($F(1, 187) = 5.98, p = .015$). That is, German citizens identify higher with Germans ($M = 2.75, sd = 1.26, n = 99$) than Turkish citizens ($M = 2.31, sd = 1.19, n = 89$). Alike, we found a difference of citizenship status of the respondents' parents, but this time on identification with *Ausländer*. When the respondents' fathers were Turkish citizens, respondents report lower identification with *Ausländer* ($M = 3.60, sd = 1.47, n = 142$) than when their fathers were German citizens ($M = 4.09, sd = 1.23, n = 42; F(1, 183) = 3.73, p = .055$). Similarly, when their mothers were Turkish citizens, respondents identify lower with *Ausländer* ($M = 3.59, sd = 1.46, n = 141$) than when their mothers were German citizens ($M = 4.10, sd = 1.26, n = 43; F(1, 183) = 4.31, p = .039$).

³⁰ In the following, because of missings in terms of citizenship statuses, the values of degrees of freedom of one-way ANOVA results differ. That is, there are 188 participants who indicated their own citizenship status, whereas only 184 participants indicated their fathers' and mothers' citizenship status.

Consequently, our findings about citizenship status of the parents were contradictory to our hypothesis. All one-way ANOVA results can be followed from Table 9.

In the second hypothesis, we assumed that when respondents participate in ethnic organizations they will report strong ingroup identification with their country of origin as well as with *Ausländer*, but weak identification with Germans. However, our one-way ANOVA revealed that participation in cultural organizations had an impact only on identification with Germans ($F(2, 192) = 3.08, p = .048$). Participation in both types of organizations (cultural and religious) led to a stronger identification with Germans ($M = 3.20, sd = 1.37, n = 18$) than participating in only one type of organization ($M = 2.37, sd = 1.30, n = 56$), and than no participation of any organizations ($M = 2.50, sd = 1.20, n = 119$), which is contrary to our hypothesis. The mean differences are presented in Table 9.

In the third hypothesis, we assumed that identification with low-status groups (*Ausländer* or country of origin) will be negatively correlated with perceptions of permeability and legitimacy, but will be positively correlated with the perceptions of stability, and that moreover, identification with Germans will be positively correlated with all belief system variables. In order to get inter-correlations between those variables, we tested bivariate Pearson correlations. As presented in Table 4 (in Appendix), identification with Germans was significantly related to perceived legitimacy ($r = .18, p < .05$), whereas identification with *Ausländer* was positively related to perceived stability ($r = .21, p < .01$). But, identification with country of origin was not significantly related to any of the research variables. Namely, the significant correlations were in direction of our hypothesis. Moreover, we found that the more respondents perceive permeability the more they participate in ethnic youth organizations ($r = .15, p < .05$).

In order to test whether the belief system (perceived permeability, legitimacy, and stability) of the respondents interact either on identification with high-status group (Germans) or with low-status groups (*Ausländer* or country of origin), we computed three separate moderated regressions (see Aiken & West, 1991). Before moving to the results we should indicate that our sample's M for permeability ($M = 2.72, sd = 1.60$) and legitimacy ($M = 2.12, sd = 1.04$) were lower than the scale means ($M = 3$, a six-point scale ranging from 1 to 6), but the sample mean of perceived stability was slightly higher than the scale mean ($M = 3.21, sd = 1.46$). That is, intergroup boundaries between *Ausländer* and Germans seem to be perceived as relatively closed (low permeability) and the position of Germans seem to be perceived as less

legitimate and the intergroup relation between those groups seem to be perceived as more stable (less likely to change).

A three-way interaction (moderated regression) between belief system variables on identification with Germans was insignificant ($F(7, 192) = 1.71, p = .109$), but a two-way interaction between perceived permeability and legitimacy was significant ($\beta = -.16, t(185) = -2.13, p = .035$) which was qualified with a direct effect of perceived legitimacy ($\beta = .19, t(185) = 2.60, p = .01$). Similarly, three-way interaction on identification with *Ausländer* showed that neither three-way nor two-way interactions were significant, but a direct effect of perceived stability was ($\beta = .21, t(185) = 2.82, p = .005$; overall $F(7, 192) = 1.93, p = .067$). When we calculated a three-way moderated regression on identification with country of origin, we saw that although the overall F was not significant ($F(7, 192) = 1.46, p = .183$), a two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability was significant ($\beta = .16, t(185) = 2.09, p = .038$). In the second step, we controlled for the effect of citizenship status. To do so, two levels (low versus high) of each belief system variable were created by computing mean splits. Thus, we performed a 2 (citizenship status: German vs. Turkish) x 2 (permeability: low vs. high) x 2 (legitimacy: low vs. high) x 2 (stability: low vs. high) ANOVA on identification with Germans, with *Ausländer*, and with country of origin, separately.

According to the first 4-way ANOVA results, a three-way interaction between citizenship status, legitimacy and stability on identification with Germans was significant ($F(1, 188) = 4.69, p = .032$) and this effect was marginally qualified by a two-way interaction between perceived permeability and stability ($F(1, 188) = 4.26, p = .041$) and by a two-way interaction between citizenship status and perceived legitimacy ($F(1, 188) = 6.09, p = .015$), and significantly by a direct effect of citizenship status ($F(1, 188) = 5.69, p = .018$). This result challenged the previously moderated regression analysis which tested the interaction between three belief system variables. There, we found a significant two-way interaction between perceived permeability and legitimacy ($\beta = -.16, t(185) = -2.13, p = .035$) which was qualified with a direct effect of perceived legitimacy ($\beta = .19, t(185) = 2.60, p = .01$), however, the overall F was insignificant. Mean comparisons revealed that German citizens identify highly with Germans when they perceive high legitimacy but low stability ($M = 3.10, sd = 1.29, n = 25$), contrary to the Turkish citizens ($M = 2.03, sd = .89, n = 26$). Turkish citizens identify with Germans at the highest level when they perceive high legitimacy but also high stability ($M = 2.66, sd = 1.56, n = 13$). The results are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Means, standard deviations, and n for the three-way interaction between perceived legitimacy, stability, and citizenship status on identification with Germans

		German citizens		Turkish citizens	
		Low stability	High stability	Low stability	High stability
Low legitimacy	M	2.26	2.91	2.37	2.36
	sd	1.09	1.06	1.24	1.21
	n	34	16	27	23
High legitimacy	M	3.10	2.97	2.03	2.66
	sd	1.29	1.44	.89	1.56
	n	25	24	26	13

The second 4-way ANOVA included once again the same variables as IVs, but this time DV was identification with *Ausländer*. The results revealed no significant interactions, but only a direct significant effect of perceived stability ($F(1, 188) = 8.90, p = .003$) which concur with the previous moderated regression result showing that direct effect of perceived stability was significant on identification with *Ausländer* ($\beta = .21, t(185) = 2.82, p = .005$). Thus, it was evidenced that when respondents perceive high stability they identify more with *Ausländer* ($M = 4.08, sd = 1.33, n = 76$) than when they perceive low stability ($M = 3.46, sd = 1.43, n = 112$). The third 4-way ANOVA was calculated for the interaction between citizenship status and belief system variables on identification with country of origin. However, only a two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability was significant ($F(1, 188) = 3.96, p = .048$) where a marginal direct effect of perceived stability accompanied this interaction ($F(1, 188) = 3.52, p = .062$). This finding was in accordance with the previous moderated regression result where we found a two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability ($\beta = .16, t(185) = 2.09, p = .038$), but the overall F was not significant there. Namely, perceived high legitimacy and stability led respondents to identify more with their country of origin ($M = 4.78, sd = 1.36, n = 37$) than perceived high legitimacy and low stability ($M = 3.93, sd = 1.47, n = 51$). Table 11 illustrates the significant two-way interaction results.

Table 11. Means, standard deviations, and n for two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability on identification with country of origin

		Low stability	High stability
Low legitimacy	M	4.54	4.55
	sd	1.44	1.58
	n	61	39
High legitimacy	M	3.93	4.78
	sd	1.47	1.36
	n	51	37

10.3.5. Findings on Perceived Grievances

One-way ANOVA was computed to examine the effect of the education level on the feelings of relative deprivation as assumed in H6. The ANOVA result showed a significant effect of education level on group RD ($F(2, 190) = 11.57, p = .000$) and on personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($F(2, 190) = 6.12, p = .003$). As it can be followed by Table 12, Bonferroni comparisons evidenced that immigrants with a low education level reported the least group deprivation ($M = 3.07, sd = 1.05, n = 28$) compared to middle ($M = 3.44, sd = .90, n = 66$) and high ($M = 3.89, sd = .79, n = 97$) educational level immigrants. On the contrary, immigrants with low education were the most deprived on the personal level in comparison with *Ausländer* ($M = 2.86, sd = 1.14, n = 28$) than middle ($M = 2.25, sd = .96, n = 66$) and high ($M = 2.22, sd = .72, n = 97$) educational level holders.

Second one-way ANOVA was computed to compare the feelings of relative deprivation in terms of income. Both the effects of personal income and household income were tested. However, a significant result was found only for the effect of household income on personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($F(2, 163) = 2.96, p = .055$). Bonferroni comparisons showed that immigrants with middle household income felt more personal deprivation in comparison to *Ausländer* ($M = 2.46, sd = .91, n = 87$) than immigrants with high household income ($M = 2.12, sd = .83, n = 61$, see Table 12). Moreover, as assumed, citizenship status difference was not significant on any of the RD variables.

In general, respondents reported more group RD ($M = 3.61, sd = .91$) in comparison to personal deprivations concurring with the assumption of H7. Group RD was significantly higher than personal RD compared to Germans ($t(192) = -9.24, p < .001$), and personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($t(192) = -13.96, p < .001$). Moreover, personal RD compared to Germans was ($M = 2.89, sd = .98$) significantly higher than personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($M = 2.33, sd = .90; t(192) = 7.68, p < .001$). T-test comparison results are presented in Table 12. However, contrary to the assumed effect, strong identifiers with *Ausländer* reported less personal RD compared to Germans ($M = 2.75, sd = 1.06, N = 89$) than weak identifiers ($M = 3.01, sd = .89, N = 104$), which was a marginal relation ($F(1, 192) = 3.36, p = .068$). One-way ANOVA results can be seen from Table 12.

Table 12. Means, standard deviations, and n for relative deprivation

	M	SD
One-way ANOVA results		
	Group RD	
<i>Educational level</i>		
Low (n = 28)	3.07	1.05
Middle (n = 66)	3.44	.90
High (n = 97)	3.89	.79
	Personal RD compare to <i>Ausländer</i>	
<i>Educational level</i>		
Low (n = 28)	2.86	1.14
Middle (n = 66)	2.25	.96
High (n = 97)	2.22	.72
	Personal RD compare to <i>Ausländer</i>	
<i>Household income</i>		
Middle (n = 87)	2.46	.91
High (n = 61)	2.12	.83
	Personal RD compare to Germans	
<i>Identification with Ausländer</i>		
Strong identifiers (n = 89)	2.75	1.06
Weak identifiers (n = 104)	3.01	.89
t-test comparison		
Group RD	3.61	.91
Personal RD compared to Germans	2.89	.98
Personal RD compared to <i>Ausländer</i>	2.33	.90

Note: Only significant results are given.

10.3.6. Findings on Collective Action

As a result of testing the effect of education and income we found that only the effect of household income on collective action was significant ($F(2, 163) = 3.67, p = .028$). High household income was defined as a monthly income over 2000 Euro, whereas between 1.000 and 2.000 Euro was referred to as middle income, and under 1.000 Euro household income was taken as low income. As can be seen from Table 13, Bonferroni comparisons showed that respondents with high household income ($M = .21, sd = .33, n = 61$) participated less in collective action than middle household income ($M = .41, sd = .52, n = 57$) and than low household income ($M = .41, sd = .50, n = 46$). Thus, our first hypothesis about collective action was confirmed only by the effect of household income.

In the next hypothesis (H9a), we assumed that strong identifiers with low-status groups (*Ausländer* or country or origin) will participate more in collective action, but no difference in terms of identification with the high-status group (Germans) will be gained. Contrary to our hypothesis, we found no significant difference for the effect of identification neither for

Ausländer nor for country of origin. But the difference between low versus high identification with Germans on collective action was significant as presented in Table 13: Strong identifiers with Germans participated more in collective action ($M = .41$, $sd = .52$, $n = 88$) than weak identifiers ($M = .26$, $sd = .38$, $n = 105$; $F(1, 192) = 5.10$, $p = .025$).

Table 13. Means, standard deviations, and n for collective action

	M	SD
<i>Household income</i>		
Low (n = 46)	.41	.50
Middle (n = 57)	.41	.52
High (n = 61)	.21	.33
<i>Identification with Germans</i>		
Strong identifiers (n = 88)	.41	.52
Weak identifiers (n = 105)	.26	.38

Note: Because of EM imputation and log transformation the M and sd values are not absolute.

10.3.6.1. Interaction Analyses

When we controlled for the effect of citizenship status (H9b), the previous results were challenged. Because citizenship status is a dichotomous variable, we transformed identification measures into dichotomous variables via mean splits. Thus, a 2 (identification with *Ausländer*: high vs. low) x 2 (citizenship status: Turkish vs. German) ANOVA was computed and results revealed a significant interaction between those variables ($F(1, 188) = 7.64$, $p = .006$). That is, low identifiers with *Ausländer* participated more in collective action when they held Turkish citizenship ($M = .40$, $sd = .50$; $n = 50$) than when they held German citizenship ($M = .24$, $sd = .40$; $n = 51$). Strong identifiers, however, participated less when they held Turkish citizenship ($M = .21$, $sd = .34$; $n = 39$) than when they held German citizenship ($M = .41$, $sd = .49$; $n = 48$). For the result see Table 14.

In the second two-way interaction, identification with country of origin was included in a 2 (identification with country of origin: high vs. low) x 2 (citizenship status: Turkish vs. German) ANOVA. Once more, the two-way interaction was significant ($F(1, 188) = 4.47$, $p = .036$). As can be followed from Table 14, low identification with country of origin led German citizens to participate less in collective actions ($M = .25$, $sd = .36$; $n = 42$) than Turkish citizens ($M = .41$, $sd = .50$; $n = 38$). But for strong-identifiers this effect was vice versa: German citizens participated more ($M = .38$, $sd = .50$; $n = 57$) than Turkish citizens ($M = .25$, $sd = .39$; $n = 51$).

Table 14. Means, standard deviations, and n for two-way interaction between in-group identification and citizenship status on collective action

		German citizens	Turkish citizens
<i>Identification with Ausländer</i>			
Weak identifiers	M	.24	.40
	sd	.40	.50
	n	51	50
Strong identifiers	M	.41	.21
	sd	.49	.34
	n	48	39
<i>Identification with country of origin</i>			
Weak identifiers	M	.25	.41
	sd	.36	.50
	n	42	38
Strong identifiers	M	.38	.25
	sd	.50	.39
	n	57	51

Another interaction was tested using moderated regression analysis for the interaction between identification with low-status groups and group RD on collective action (H10). Both identification with *Ausländer* ($\beta = .14$, $t(189) = 1.88$, $p = .062$; $F(3, 192) = 2.25$, $p = .084$), and identification with country of origin ($\beta = .16$, $t(189) = 2.26$, $p = .025$; $F(3, 192) = 2.57$, $p = .056$) showed that only the direct effect of group RD was significant.

Because we assumed a significant interaction between belief system variables (perceived permeability, legitimacy, and stability) and citizenship status on collective action in H11, we calculated a four-way ANOVA. According to the 2 (citizenship status: German vs. Turkish) x 2 (perceived permeability: low vs. high) x 2 (perceived legitimacy: low vs. high) x 2 (perceived stability: low vs. high) ANOVA, only a significant interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability ($F(1, 188) = 6.93$, $p = .009$) was significant. And, this interaction was qualified by the direct effects of perceived permeability ($F(1, 188) = 3.75$, $p = .054$) and stability ($F(1, 188) = 5.11$, $p = .025$). According to mean comparisons, when respondents perceive high legitimacy and high stability they report more participation in collective action ($M = .53$, $sd = .56$, $n = 37$) than when they perceive high legitimacy but low stability ($M = .19$, $sd = .33$, $n = 51$), than low legitimacy but high stability ($M = .30$, $sd = .38$, $n = 39$), and than low legitimacy and low stability ($M = .32$, $sd = .46$, $n = 61$). According to the direct effect of perceived permeability, the more permeable intergroup boundaries lead to more collective action ($M = .39$, $sd = .50$, $n = 85$) than the low permeability condition ($M = .26$, $sd = .40$, $n = 103$). For the means and standard deviations of two-way interaction please see Table 15. Similarly, direct effect of perceived stability showed that when intergroup relations

are perceived to be more stable, collective action increases more ($M = .41, sd = .49, n = 76$) than when it is less stable ($M = .26, sd = .41, n = 112$).

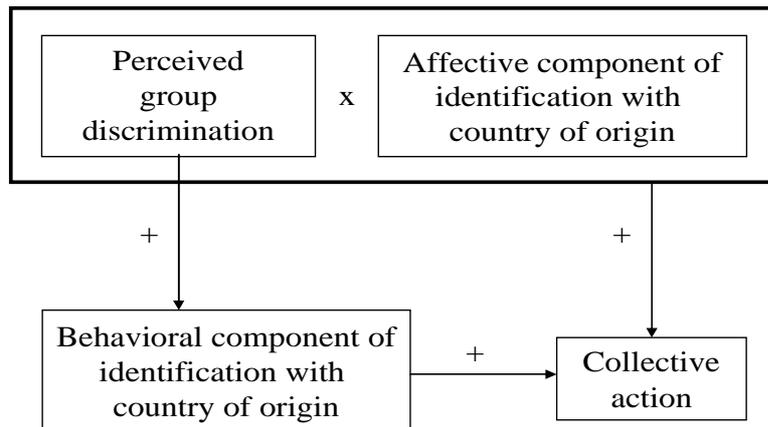
Table 15. Means, standard deviations, and n for two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability on collective action

		Low stability	High stability
Low legitimacy	M	.32	.30
	sd	.46	.38
	n	61	39
High legitimacy	M	.19	.53
	sd	.33	.56
	n	51	37

In the following hypothesis (H12), we assumed that feelings of group RD and personal RD compared to *Ausländer* interact on collective action (double deprivation), but group RD and personal RD compared to Germans does not interact. Prior to the interaction analysis, we should recollect the insignificant relationship between group RD and personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($r = .01, p > .10$). However, as can be seen from Table 4 (in appendix), personal RD compared to Germans was significantly related both to group RD ($r = .34, p = .01$) and to personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($r = .41, p = .01$). Consistent with our hypothesis, the interaction between group RD and personal RD compared to *Ausländer* ($\beta = -.24, t(185) = -2.63, p = .009$) was significant according to the three-way moderated regression analysis ($F(7, 192) = 2.30, p = .029$). However, simple slope test revealed that only the slope of low personal RD was significant ($t(189) = 2.77, p < .01$). That is, individuals with low personal RD compared to *Ausländer* participate more in collective action when they feel more group RD which is not expected. Our expectation was that individuals who highly deprived within their ingroup (*Ausländer*) and also deprived collectively as a group participate more in collective action.

In the following, we reported the results corresponding to the hypotheses of our first study. We tested whether the behavioral component of identification with country of origin (participation in ethnic organizations) mediates the effect of perceived group discrimination on collective action, and whether the affective component of ethnic identification moderates the effect of perceived group discrimination (H13). Namely, the cross-validation of the findings of Study 1 was aimed to be realized. These assumed relations are illustrated in Figure 14.

Figure 17. Hypothesized model for the cross-validating of the findings of Study 1.



Testing mediation requires a significant relationship between independent variable (X) and mediator (M), and between mediator and dependent variable (Y), according to Schrouf and Bolger (2002) who argue against the prerequisite relationship between X and Y. However, as can be seen from Table 4 (in appendix), we did not find any significant relations neither between perceived group discrimination (X) and behavioral components of identification (Ms), nor between Ms and collective action (Y). Perceived group discrimination neither relate to participation in cultural organizations ($r = .00, p > .10$), nor to participation in youth organizations ($r = -.00, p > .10$). The inter-relationships between participation in cultural organizations and collective action ($r = .11, p > .10$), and between participation in youth organizations and collective action ($r = -.00, p > .10$) were not significant, either. Consequently, an assumed mediation analysis could not be tested. Nevertheless, the correlation between participation in cultural organizations and collective action was non-zero and positive which indicates that the more someone participates in cultural organizations the more s/he takes part in collective action. Besides, to test the interaction between perceived group discrimination and affective component of identification with country of origin, we computed a moderated regression. However, the results showed an insignificant interaction ($\beta = -.02, t(189) = -.33, p = .740; F(3, 191) = 3.25, p = .023$), but a significant direct effect of perceived group discrimination ($\beta = .19, t(189) = 2.60, p = .01$).

10.3.6.2. Mediation Models

In order to examine mediation effects, first, measurement models, then structural models were tested. The simultaneous estimation of the measurement model allows the examination of the relations between items and their latent constructs as well as the relations between constructs themselves. This is an alternative to series of separate tests of single measurement models

(Heyder & Schmidt, 2003). Furthermore, one also gets information on whether the items load on only their target variables or on other dimensions, too.

According to our hypothesis (H14), group RD mediates between perceived legitimacy and collective action. The bivariate correlations between perceived legitimacy and group RD ($r = -.23, p < .01$) as well as between group RD and collective action ($r = .16, p < .05$) were found to be significant, but, the inter-relation between perceived legitimacy and collective action was not ($r = -.00, p > .10$; see Table 4 in Appendix). Significant inter-correlations between IV (perceived legitimacy) and M (group RD) and between M and DV (collective action) allow us to test the mediation model (Schrouf & Bolger, 2002). Measurement model demonstrated that the model fits the data well ($\chi^2 = 34.764, df = 24, p = .072$; CMIN/DF = 1.448; CFI = .985; RMSEA = .048; P-close = .497; SRMR = .0434). After setting a structural model, all fit values as well as inter-relations between perceived legitimacy and group RD ($r = -.24, p < .01$), and between group RD and collective action ($r = .16, p < .05$) remained almost the same. But the inter-correlation between perceived legitimacy and collective action, even though it was still insignificant, turned into be positive ($r = .02, p > .10$), which implies a suppression according to Schrouf and Bolger (2002).

Finally, to confirm H15, it was tested, whether system-blame mediates between group discrimination as well as RD and collective action. To do so, four measured variables were inserted in the measurement model. After a modification between the fourth item of discrimination and the first item of system-blame (MI = 48.08), very satisfactory fit indices were obtained ($\chi^2 = 97.864, df = 69, p = .013$; CMIN/DF = 1.418; CFI = .975; RMSEA = .047; P-close = .584; SRMR = .0511). All estimates for the factor loadings were satisfactory at $p = .001$. Table 16 illustrates factor loadings as well as the fit indices and covariances.

In terms of correlations between error terms, it was found that items 4 (participating in a demonstration) and 5 (signing a petition) of the collective action correlated positively ($r = .43, p < .001$), whereas item 1 (“In terms of power and status in society, *Ausländer* get a bad deal compared to Germans”) and item 4 (“*Ausländer* are more badly paid than Germans”) of the perceived discrimination were associated negatively ($r = -.33, p < .001$). In addition, item 4 of the perceived discrimination and item 1 of the system-blame (“*Ausländer* possess lower incomes than Germans, because they are discriminated against on the job market.”) were positively related to a substantial extent ($r = .55, p < .001$). All these inter-correlations between error terms were justified considering the content overlap between items.

Table 16. Results of measurement model

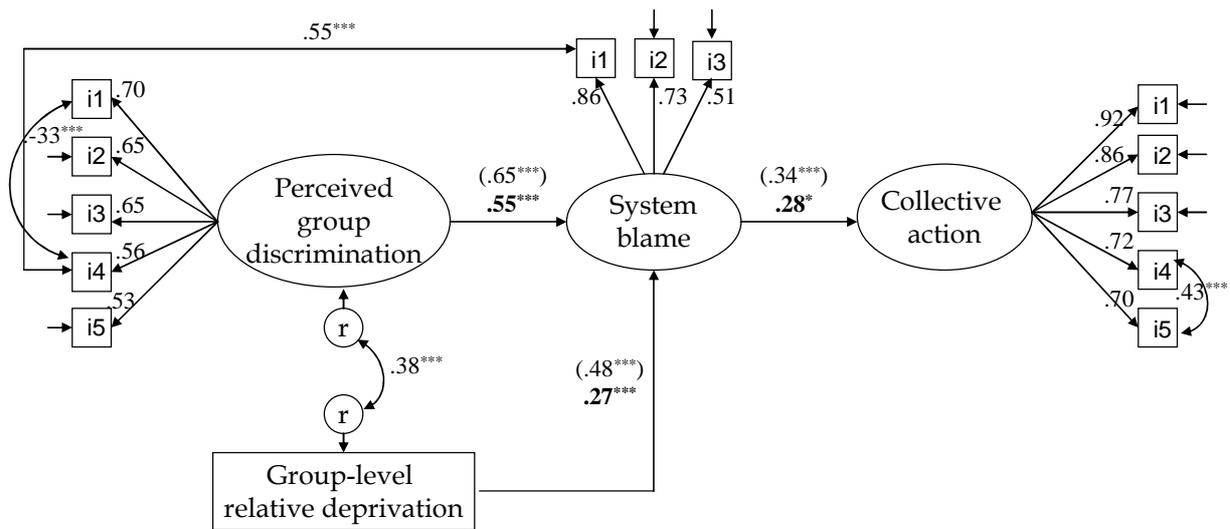
Model	Goodness of Fit			
Null model	χ^2 (DF = 91, N = 193) = 1238.528, $p = .000$, $\chi^2/df = 13.610$			
Four factor (correlated) model	χ^2 (DF = 69, N = 193) = 97.864, $p = .013$ CFI = .975, RMSEA = .047, P-close = .584, SRMR = .0511, $\chi^2/df = 1.418$			
Factor loadings				
	P. group discrimination	Group RD	System-blame	Collective action
	.70	-	.86	.92
	.65		.73	.86
	.65		.51	.77
	.56			.72
	.53			.70
Inter-correlations				
	1	2	3	4
1. Perceived group discrimination	1			
2. Group RD	.38***	1		
3. System-blame	.65***	.48***	1	
4. Collective action	.28***	.15*	.34***	1

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

Regarding the inter-correlations, the measurement model resulted in significant and positive relationships between IVs and M, and between M and DV: System-blame was related to perceived group discrimination ($r = .65, p = 001$), to group RD ($r = .48, p = 001$), and to collective action ($r = .34, p = 001$). Moreover, the relationship between DV and IVs were also significant: Collective action positively correlated with perceived group discrimination ($r = .28, p = 001$) and with group RD ($r = .15, p = 05$).

After structural paths were a set, the model revealed the same good fit indices ($\chi^2 = 97.864, df = 69, p = .013$; CMIN/DF = 1.418; CFI = .975; RMSEA = .047; P-close = .584; SRMR = .0511) with an inter-correlation between residuals of perceived group discrimination and group RD ($r = .38, p < .001$). The obtained significant paths led from discrimination to system-blame ($r = .55, p < .001$), from group RD to system-blame ($r = .27, p < .001$), and from system-blame to collective action ($r = .28, p < .001$). That is, the assumed mediation effect of system-blame was obtained and the model fit the data very well. In Figure 14, the obtained coefficients of the structural model with previous inter-relations are presented.

Figure 18. Result of structural model



Schrouf and Bolger (2002) stated that when the indirect effect ($a \times b$) equals the total effect (c), then the effect of X on Y is completely mediated by M; when the indirect effect does not equal the total effect but is smaller and of the same sign, then the effect of X on Y is partially mediated by M. The standardized indirect effect that we obtained for perceived group discrimination ($a = .55$, $b = .28$, and $a \times b = .15$) was not equal to the total effect but smaller ($c = .19$, see Table 4 in appendix). We can thus conclude that the effect of perceived group discrimination was partially mediated by system-blame. Alike, for group RD, we found the indirect effect ($a = .27$, $b = .28$, $a \times b = .07$) to be smaller than the total effect ($c = .16$, see Table 4 in appendix), which indicates a partial mediation, as well. In Table 17, we presented the results of direct, indirect, and total effects assessed via mediation analyses.

Table 17. Path coefficients assessed via mediation analyses (N = 193)

		Collective action
Explained Variance		12%
System-blame direct (total)		.34***
Perceived group discrimination	Direct effect ($c \hat{}$)	.11 [†]
	Indirect effect ($a \times b$)	.15
	Total effect	.26
Group RD	Direct effect ($c \hat{}$)	-.02 [†]
	Indirect effect ($a \times b$)	.07
	Total effect	.05

[†] $p > .05$.

In order to test a possible interaction between perceived group discrimination, group RD, and system-blame which is by definition undetected in the path analysis, we performed a moderated regression analysis. Any interaction effect ($\beta = .02$, $t(185) = .22$, $p = .822$; $F(7$,

192) = 1.99, $p = .059$) but the direct effect of system-blame was significant ($\beta = .17$, $t(185) = 1.93$, $p = .055$).

11. Discussion

11.1. Findings on Ingroup Identification and Belief System

First of all, it is essential to refer to the reason behind the differentiation between the affective and the behavioral components of ingroup identifications. In addition to the other scholars' arguments and empirical evidence on the dimensionality of ingroup identification (e.g., Jackson, 2002; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; van Dick & Wagner, 2002), Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999) showed that cognitive self-categorization can be separated from emotional involvement with the group and only emotional involvement predicted group members' behavioral responses as ingroup favoritism, in group ratings and outcome allocations. Furthermore, Klandermans and his associates (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans *et al.*, 2002, 2004) added a behavioral component of ingroup identification to cognitive, affective, and evaluative components as a result of their theoretical reasoning and empirical findings. They argued that the cognitive component of ingroup identification refers to the process of categorization, whereas an affective component is the degree of attachment to the group or category. Basically, group identification is conceptualized as akin to the affective component of social identity which has the largest impact on someone's behavior. An evaluative component is the assessment of the group's position relative to that of other groups. Finally, the behavioral component of ingroup identification is defined as the voluntary membership of identity organizations, namely, participation in organizations.

In the present study, on the basis of those arguments and findings, we measured the affective components of ingroup identification with Germans, *Ausländer*, and country of origin. And additionally, we conceived identification with country of origin as consisting of the affective and the behavioral components. Consequently, we assessed the affective components of ingroup identification through the identical items, whereas the behavioral component of identification with country of origin was assessed via items asking about participation in ethnic organizations. Since our CFAs showed that affective components of identifications were distinct (only identification with *Ausländer* and with country of origin were related to each other at $r = .55$, $p < .001$), and the behavioral component of identification with country of origin was a two-dimensional construct (participation in cultural, and youth organizations

were differentiated and the inter-correlation between those was $r = .22, p < .01$), we included those factors as separate variables in the further analyses.

Our findings showed that among immigrants from Turkey identification with the country of origin is significantly higher than identification with *Ausländer* or with Germans. Actually, the latter is the least identified group among those social groups. These findings are in line with the results of other studies which show that among other multiple identities immigrant groups perceive ethnic identity as the most important and thus identify more with their ethnic background (Phinney 1989, Phinney & Alipuria 1990; see also Crocker *et al.*, 1994). But also, these findings concur with the empirical evidence which shows the “self” composed of multiple memberships (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Reid & Deaux, 1996; Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994; Reicher, 2004). It has been argued that the self is a complex system that can be defined at various levels of abstraction, namely, individuals can define themselves in terms of their personal and social identities (*e.g.*, Tajfel 1981, 1982; Turner *et al.*, 1987). Moreover, one belongs not to only one social group rather than to various social groups which are differentially salient to him/her in different conditions (*e.g.*, Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Reicher 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Hence, according to these different memberships, one has a range of social identities: An immigrant can refer to himself, to varying extents and under diverse conditions, as an *Ausländer*, as a Turk, or as a German with emotional significance and meaning attributed to that specific category (group) membership.

An important finding to us is, however, relatively high level of ingroup identification with *Ausländer* ($M = 3.70, sd = 1.43$ where the scale mean is 3). Self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner *et al.*, 1987) assumes that the level of identification reflects the extent to which people are willing to perceive themselves in terms of a particular group membership in a specific context. In this context, it may be important to distinguish between group memberships as self-selected or externally assigned as it is evidenced in experimental settings that voluntarily chosen group identification is stronger than assigned group (*e.g.*, race, gender *etc.*) identification (Ellemers *et al.*, 1999; Perreault & Bourhis, 1999). Self-selected versus externally assigned memberships may moderate the extents to which individuals feel committed to a lower status group (Turner, Hogg, Turner, & Smith, 1984).

Then, it may be needed to distinguish between whether *Ausländer* is a voluntarily chosen or an externally assigned group (category) according to the immigrants. Koopmans and Statham (2001), for example, argue that categories like “immigrant”, “foreigner” or “minority” are imposed on immigrants mainly by the host country policies and its “native” population.

Similarly, building on the basic argument that they have been referred to as *Ausländer* by Germans, a small group of university students with immigration background (from Turkey) preferred this category over the category “immigrant” for their self-definitions when they were asked at the beginning of the research. One basic argument why they do not prefer the category “immigrant” was that they are settlers, but their (grand)parents were immigrants. This exemplifies how an initially but externally assigned or imposed category (*Ausländer*) becomes, more or less, internalized (over time) and how meanings attributed to the categories develop. Put another way, this is how identities function (e.g., Reicher, 2004) and negotiate (Deaux, 1996; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Cotting, 1999; Ethier and Deaux, 1990, 1994). Hence, after a long history of immigration, *Ausländer* category has become a category which immigrants feel to belong to.

Social identity theory has characterized identification with social groups as a way of defining the individual’s place in society (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; see also Reicher 2004). Researchers have considered various dimensions on which social identities can differ in terms of their meanings for group members (Brown & Williams, 1984; Deaux, 1996; Deaux *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers *et al.*, 1999; Jackson & Smith, 1999). How the meaning of being a group member might differ as a function of how the group’s position in the social structure is perceived, is an important aspect to be considered. Besides, social identification is not only a process reflecting what group members have in common but it also reflects how the ingroup differs from other groups. Although both intragroup similarity and intergroup differentiation effect group identification (Deaux *et al.*, 1999; Jackson & Smith, 1999; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the relative strength of these two aspects of group definition may differ. Some groups may define themselves primarily in terms of who they are not.

It has been shown that people negotiate different categorical memberships (e.g., immigrant, foreigner, Turk, Muslim) and consequently reach for a desirable identity at the end of this negotiation (e.g., Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). Thus, people are engaged in a meaning-making process, and in a transformation of meanings and of contents of multiple memberships. This category negotiation occurs at an individual level to establish the continuity of identity and at an interindividual and intergroup level to respond to distinctiveness requirements and to balance the relationships both with the host community and with the members of the ingroup (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). Deaux (2000) points out three issues that seem underdeveloped in the context of immigration research: the complexities of the comparison processes, the negotiation of identities, and how people

choose among different possible identity options and finally the context within which identity is manifest.

Building on the framework and evidence mentioned above, it is probable to conceive that immigrants from Turkey have been negotiating their identities and one meaningful identity they reached is *Ausländer*. This connects the issue with the content of identity (Reicher, 2001, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Maybe for young adults from Turkey, the category *Ausländer* has no negative connotations and meanings as has been implied. Considering that this social category is one that was historically constructed by their ex-generations (their parents or relatives), a transmission of the meanings attributed to the category *Ausländer* by the new generations might be expected. This is, in some way, confirmed by our findings about the identification with *Ausländer* as a function of the citizenship status of the parents of the respondents.

When the citizenship status was taken as high- (German citizenship) and low-status (Turkish citizenship), and the means of ingroup identifications were compared, it was found that respondents with parents who were German citizens (both mothers and fathers) identified more strongly with *Ausländer* than those with Turkish parents. On the one hand, this implies that even though older generations of immigrants had naturalized to Germans, they continued perceiving themselves as *Ausländer*, which can be taken as a sign of intergroup permeability: Crossing to the higher status have facilitated enjoying the rights for naturalized immigrants, but in terms of other aspects of intergroup relations immigrants might still perceive intergroup impermeability. On the other hand, although having high-status parents, respondents' strong identification with *Ausländer* imply a transmission between generations (for intergenerational transmission of values in immigrant communities see Nauck, 2001, and Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001).

However, when the respondents themselves were German citizens, they identified more with Germans than Turkish citizens did. Taken together, these differences imply that when both respondents and their parents hold the high-status in Germany, on the one hand, there is an impact by the parents on the young immigrants' identity choice which results with a high level of identification with the low-status group (*Ausländer*). But on the other hand, a new generation engages in a meaning-making process which results in a high level of identification with the high-status group (Germans). Our finding on the difference in ingroup identification showed the importance of perceptions of the intergroup relations between *Ausländer* and Germans. The more respondents perceive intergroup relations as stable the

more they identify with *Ausländer* ($r = .21, p < .01$; see Table 4 in appendix). This was also confirmed by the three-way moderated regression result where only a direct effect of stability was significant. Moreover, the more respondents perceive legitimate status of Germans the more they identify with this high-status group ($r = .18, p < .05$).

Moreover, we found that participation in cultural organizations increase identification with Germans. Respondents who participated in cultural organizations (both cultural and religious organizations were included) identified stronger with Germans ($M = 3.20, sd = 1.37, n = 18$) than respondents who do not participate in any organizations ($M = 2.50, sd = 1.20, n = 119$). Thus, in our sample, cultural organizations seem to have a positive impact on attitudes of immigrants toward Germans or on acquiring German identity. We also found that the more respondents participate in ethnic youth organizations the more they perceive intergroup boundaries between *Ausländer* and Germans as permeable. Consequently, these results are contrary to the point of view arguing that ethnic organizations facilitate maintenance of social boundaries (e.g., Passy & Giugni, 2001; Sanders, 2002), but in accordance with the point of view arguing that ethnic organizations mediate between immigrants and home country community (Kemp *et al.*, 2000).

Besides, most of the studies on acculturation strategies adopted by Turks showed that Turks in Germany and in the Netherlands prefer integration³¹ (Klinger & Bierbrauer, 2001; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; van Oudenhoven *et al.*, 1998; White, 1997). Alike, Piontkowski *et al.* (2000) showed that Turks in Germany are particularly proud of their cultural group and perceive themselves to be a typical member of their group and at the same time they have an integration attitude, but they perceive impermeability. Concurring, our results, although insignificant, showed that the less permeable intergroup boundaries between *Ausländer* and Germans, and the less legitimate the status of Germans is perceived the more identification with country of origin and with *Ausländer* emerge. These findings were in line with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and with Ellemers *et al.* (1988), but contrary to Ellemers *et al.* (1990) which revealed opposite findings than SIT assumptions.

In the following, we examined the effect of perceived permeability on ingroup identification, and perceived legitimacy and stability were taken as moderators. In the context of migration, however, citizenship status is reasonably responsible for providing differential status for immigrants. And the status of groups (low versus high) has been shown to have an

³¹ Integration is a combination of heritage culture and the dominant culture of the host country than other way of acculturations.

effect on ingroup identification, and belief system variables moderate this process (Ellemers *et al.*, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). In our sample, we found that perceived stability has an impact on identification with *Ausländer*³², it interacted with perceived legitimacy to reveal an effect on identification with country of origin³³, and citizenship moderated the two-way interaction between legitimacy and stability on identification with Germans³⁴.

In some ways, our results are different than previous findings. First of all, we measured identification with both low- and high-status groups, simultaneously. And we compared ingroup identifications in terms of the effects of belief system of the respondents and the citizenship status they hold. As a result, we did not obtain a significant effect of perceived permeability at all, which is not in accordance with previous research where impermeability yielded stronger identification (Ellemers *et al.*, 1988, 1992; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996), but in accordance with others (de Weerd and Klandermans; 1999; Ellemers *et al.*, 1993) where permeability had no effect on ingroup identification.

11.2. Findings on Perceived Grievances

In the present study, respondents engaged in both intergroup (between Germans and *Ausländer*) and interpersonal/intragroup (within Germans or *Ausländer*; “I” as a person) comparisons. Put another way, we asked about three types of social comparisons based on Smith, Pettigrew and Vega’s (1994; cited in Smith & Ortiz, 2002) suggestions: (1) interpersonal comparisons between oneself and an ingroup member (an *Ausländer* compares his situation to another *Ausländer*), (2) interpersonal comparisons between oneself and an outgroup member (an *Ausländer* compares his situation to another German), (3) intergroup comparisons between one’s membership group and another group (an *Ausländer* compares his group situation to Germans).

Our results showed that immigrants with low education level reported the least group deprivation compared to immigrants with middle and high educational level. On the contrary, immigrants with low education were the most deprived on the personal level in comparison to

³² When respondents perceive high stability they identify more with *Ausländer* ($M = 4.08$, $sd = 1.33$, $n = 76$) than when they perceive low stability ($M = 3.46$, $sd = 1.43$, $n = 112$).

³³ Perceived high legitimacy and stability led respondents to identify more with their country of origin ($M = 4.78$, $sd = 1.36$, $n = 37$) than perceived high legitimacy and low stability ($M = 3.93$, $sd = 1.47$, $n = 51$).

³⁴ German citizens identified strongly with Germans when they perceived high legitimacy but low stability ($M = 3.10$, $sd = 1.29$, $n = 25$), contrary to the Turkish citizens ($M = 2.03$, $sd = .89$, $n = 26$). Turkish citizens identified with Germans at the highest level when they perceived high legitimacy but also high stability ($M = 2.66$, $sd = 1.56$, $n = 13$).

Ausländer. Moreover, immigrants with low household income felt more personal deprivation in comparison to *Ausländer* than immigrants with high household income. All these findings suggest that the most disadvantaged members of the disadvantaged group (lower education level and lower household income) perceive less deprivation when they compare *Ausländer* as a group with Germans, and perceive more personal RD when they compare themselves with other *Ausländer*. The reason might be that the disadvantaged members of disadvantaged groups are the most likely to make subjective social comparisons with disadvantaged members of advantaged groups (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). However, within group they are most likely to make subjective social comparisons with more advantaged members of the ingroup, which is in line with Festingers' (1954) proposal. Festinger proposes that people prefer comparing their own situation to the situation of people who are like them, but in slightly better situations.

The respondents of the present study reported more group RD (intergroup comparison; $M = 3.61$, $sd = .91$) than personal RD compared to Germans (interpersonal comparison; $M = 2.89$, $sd = .98$), and than personal RD compared to *Ausländer* (interpersonal comparison; $M = 2.33$, $sd = .90$). That is, immigrants from Turkey both as a group and as a person feel themselves deprived in terms of their life conditions in comparison to Germans which concurs with Tropp and Wright's (1999) findings showing that minority group members reported significantly more group RD in comparison to Whites than in comparison to other minorities. The high level of group RD might represent a comparison with the dominant group which is seen to be responsible for the subordinate status of the ingroup that maintains and supports the status quo, and is perceived to have a greater degree of control over and access to recourses (Tropp & Wright, 1999). On the contrary, people may be satisfied with their personal situation, even though they see that their group as a whole is disadvantaged (e.g., Major, 1994; Martin, 1981).

Contrary to other findings, we did not find any evidence for the relationship between identification with low-status groups and group RD (Ellemers, 2002; Fajak & Haslam, 1998; Skevington & Baker 1989; Smith, Speras, & Oyen, 1994; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988; Tropp & Wright, 1999; Wright & Tropp, 2002). But, in our research, strong identifiers with *Ausländer* reported, even though the difference is marginal, less personal RD compared to Germans ($M = 2.75$, $sd = 1.06$, $n = 89$) than low identifiers with *Ausländer* ($M = 3.01$, $sd = .89$, $n = 104$) which is not concurring with the findings of Tropp and Wright (1999) who show that high-identifiers with their ingroup indicated clear feelings of personal deprivation when the comparison group was Whites.

Furthermore, the respondents of the present study attributed the grievances almost equally to external forces. Mean values of both system-blame ($M = 3.60$, $sd = 1.14$) and *Ausländer*-blame ($M = 3.69$, $sd = 1.23$) slightly exceeded the scale means ($M = 3$). This is not in line with the results of Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) where Turks attributed the reason for discrimination less to their ingroup. In addition, researchers showed that the more Turks identified with their ethnic group the less they attributed discrimination to internal factors. According to the intercorrelations in the present study, the more respondents identified with *Ausländer* the more they attributed discrimination to the system in Germany ($r = .17$, $p < .05$), but to the *Ausländer* group, as well ($r = .15$, $p < .05$). That is to say, identification with a low-status group (here, *Ausländer*) does not always prevent immigrants to attribute the reasons of discrimination to their own group.

It is how one of Verkuyten's (2005) interviewees (a Turkish man) attributed discrimination to the immigrants:

Look, I've never been to school here in the Netherlands, but if I really want a job, I get job offers like everywhere. It's got nothing to do with discrimination, those people have liked themselves to blame, sure thing. If a person wants like something, then he will get ahead (Excerpt 13, p. 82).

Among university students, Hewstone and Jaspars (1982) showed that Blacks attributed the differences in life conditions between Whites and Blacks in Britain less to internal characteristics but more to discrimination. Concurringly, in our sample, perceived group discrimination was positively related to system-blame ($r = .53$, $p < .01$), but not to *Ausländer*-blame ($r = -.08$, $p < .01$). One explanation might be the number of benefits derived from attributing poor outcomes to discrimination (for maintaining self-esteem see Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker *et al.*, 1991; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997; and for low levels of depressed affect see Crocker *et al.*, 1991). Moreover, it can be concluded that our sample attribute their grievances to discrimination because they are certain that they have been discriminated against (Ruggiero & Marx, 1999; Ruggiero, Steele, Hwang, & Marx, 2000; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, 1997). In addition, we recognized that personal RD compared to *Ausländer* was negatively correlated with *Ausländer*-blame ($r = -.18$, $p < .05$), but personal RD compared to Germans was positively related to system-blame ($r = .15$, $p < .05$). Namely, our respondents attributed their personal deprivation less to the *Ausländer* even though they feel personally deprived in comparison to another *Ausländer*. But they attributed their personal deprivation to the system when they compared their personal situations with another German.

11.3. Findings on Collective Action

Some scholars demonstrated that it is often the more advantaged members of disadvantaged groups who engage in collective political action (Gurin & Epps, 1975; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972). Mainly, highly educated middle class members of disadvantaged groups were shown to participate more in collective action than other layers. We took the socio-economic status as an indicator of being disadvantaged and measured it, in a conventional way, by education level and income (both personal and household). And we assumed that a high level of education and middle income would lead to more participation. Our finding revealed a significant difference effect only of household income. Respondents with a high household income (monthly income of more than 2000 Euro; $M = .21$, $sd = .33$, $n = 61$) participated less in collective action than respondents with a middle household income (1.000-2.000 Euro; $M = .41$, $sd = .52$, $n = 57$) and less than those with a low household income (under 1.000 Euro; $M = .41$, $sd = .50$, $n = 46$). That is to say, immigrants from middle to lower income levels participate more in collective action compared to those from high income levels. The low level of participation among the immigrants with high income can be taken as an indication of the individual mobility preferences rather than social change attempts (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; for successful tokens see, for example, Wright, 2001).

We obtained no indication about the relation between ingroup identification with low-status groups (*Ausländer* and with country of origin) and collective action concurring with the field studies' results (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999b; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999). Alike Mummendey *et al.* (1996), the inter-correlation between identification with country of origin and collective action was negative, yet it was not significant ($r = -.11$, $p > .10$). More interestingly, we found that strong identifiers with Germans (high-status) participated more in collective action ($M = .41$, $sd = .52$, $n = 88$) than weak identifiers ($M = .26$, $sd = .38$, $n = 105$; $F(1, 192) = 5.10$, $p = .025$) which is not compatible to the SIT assumptions. According to SIT, strong identification with low-status (*Ausländer* or country of origin) would result with more collective attempts. It has been shown that people who strongly identify with a group should be willing to work for the group and promote action when things are going badly (Ellemers *et al.*, 1997; Ouwerkerk *et al.*, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

However, when we controlled for the effect of citizenship status, the previous results were challenged. Strong identification with *Ausländer* ($M = .41$, $sd = .49$; $n = 48$) or country of origin ($M = .38$, $sd = .50$; $n = 57$) led German citizenship holders to participate more in collective action than Turkish citizens (for strong identifiers with *Ausländer* $M = .21$, $sd = .34$;

n = 39; for strong identifiers with country of origin $M = .25$, $sd = .39$; n = 51). Conversely, weak identification with *Ausländer* ($M = .40$, $sd = .50$; n = 50) or country of origin ($M = .41$, $sd = .50$; n = 38) led immigrants with Turkish citizenship status to participate more in collective action than German citizens (for weak identification with *Ausländer* $M = .24$, $sd = .40$; n = 51; for weak identification with country of origin $M = .25$, $sd = .36$; n = 42).

This time, it was confirmed that those who identify strongly with a low-status group while holding high status (German citizenship) are more willing to work for the group and promote action (Ellemers *et al.*, 1997; Ouwerkerk *et al.*, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) than low-status respondents (Turkish citizens). As Ellemers and her colleagues (Ellemers *et al.*, 1997; Spears *et al.*, 1997) showed, strong identification with the ingroup may lead the individual to believe that s/he simply could not leave the group even though s/he hold high status within the society—German citizenship. Alternatively, weak identifiers with a low-status group who hold low status (Turkish citizens) are more willing to work for the group and promote action than high-status (German citizenship) immigrants. Namely, weak identifiers are not likely to pursue the strategy of leaving the group (Ellemers *et al.*, 1997) but rather work for the group when they have low-status—Turkish citizenship. In laboratory settings, the impact of group status on the ingroup identification was examined (Ellemers *et al.*, 1988, 1992, 1993; Jackson *et al.* 1996—Experiment 1). In the research when real life groups were included, however, the status difference within the low-status group was not investigated in terms of collective strategies (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000, 2002; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Jackson *et al.* 1996—Experiment 2; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999b). However, our results suggest that not only strong identification with low-status group but also the status difference within the low-status group lead to a variation in collective action, therefore, both variables should be taken into account.

Another examined relationship included the interaction between ingroup identification and feelings of relative deprivation on collective action. We did not gain a significant interaction, neither between identification with *Ausländer* and group RD ($F(3, 192) = 2.25$, $p = .084$) nor between identification with country of origin and group RD ($F(3, 192) = 2.57$, $p = .056$). Rather, we can report that the direct effect of group RD ($\beta = .14$, $t(189) = 1.88$, $p = .062$; $\beta = .16$, $t(189) = 2.26$, $p = .025$, respectively) was significant. This result did not confirm the findings of Kelly and Breinlinger (1996) who showed that group RD as a correlate of participation intention was more important for strong than for weak identifiers. But, as it is apparent, the researchers examined the interaction on the intention for participation; however, we tested the interaction on the real participation, which might be responsible for the

difference in results. Nevertheless, our finding concurs with Tropp and Brown's (2004) result which revealed group RD as a significant main predictor of involvement in collective action.

So far, only a few conducts including all belief system variables can be found in the literature. And from those, either significant main effects of some of belief system variables (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993; Jackson *et al.*, 1996; Mummendey *et al.*, 1996)³⁵ or main effects of all three belief system variables were verified (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2002). In terms of interactions, either a marginal interaction (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999b) or no interaction (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993), or contradictory results to SIT assumptions (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Ellemers, 1993; Jackson *et al.*, 1996) were assessed. More specifically, according to the findings of Mummendey *et al.* (1999b), a marginally significant interaction between stability and permeability evidenced that the predicted permeability effect can only be observed in the high-stability and low-legitimacy condition.

In contrast to SIT, de Weerd & Klandermans (1999) found that perceived permeability and stability led to more willingness to participate in collective action among farmers, but in the third wave of the study, farmers who perceived more instability participated in collective action more often. According to the findings of Jackson *et al.* (1996), the participants distanced themselves more from their ingroup when boundaries were seen as impermeable. Moreover, perceived stability had a significant impact on the behavioral choice when the high-status group was open, but not when it was minimally open or closed (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000); and an unstable intergroup stratification resulted in a preference for collective action regardless of the openness of the high-status group (Ellemers, 1993).

Yet, in the research summarized above, the status of the participants has not been controlled for. Nevertheless, we included the status of the respondents and tested the interactions between citizenship status and belief system variables on collective action. The analysis revealed only a significant interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability. According to mean comparisons, when respondents perceive high-legitimacy and high-stability they report more participation in collective action ($M = .53$, $sd = .56$, $n = 37$) than when they perceive high-legitimacy and low-stability ($M = .19$, $sd = .33$, $n = 51$), than low-legitimacy and high-stability ($M = .30$, $sd = .38$, $n = 39$), and more than when low-legitimacy and low-

³⁵ Ellemers *et al.* (1993) showed that permeability and stability had a significant main effect on the strategy choice, but the impact of legitimacy was quiet marginal. Mummendey *et al.* (1996) showed that impermeability yielded stronger search for social change. The first two experiments of Jackson *et al.* (1996) showed no significant effect of permeability at all.

stability ($M = .32$, $sd = .46$, $n = 61$) are perceived. These interactions were qualified by the direct effect of perceived permeability as well as the direct effect of perceived stability.

As a result, in our analysis, instead of the expected interactions between three belief system variables, a two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability was obtained. At a first glance, the direction of the interaction was opposite to what SIT assumes, however concurs with the previous studies (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Ellemers, 1993). But our results were distinct from the previous work that the obtained significant interaction was not between perceived permeability and stability (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999) rather between perceived legitimacy and stability. Instead of low-legitimacy and low-stability conditions, our respondents reported more participation in collective action under high-legitimacy and high-stability conditions. Considering the sample mean value of perceived legitimacy ($M = 2.12$, $sd = 1.04$ over 3) it is reasonable to conclude that even under a high-legitimacy condition the perceived legitimacy might not be high enough. And high-stability means that the relationship between *Ausländer* and Germans will not change easily, that is, the change is not excluded at all.

Converse to the SIT assumptions, the direct significant effect of perceived permeability demonstrated that more permeable boundary resulted in more collective action ($M = .39$, $sd = .50$, $n = 85$) than the less permeable boundary condition ($M = .26$, $sd = .40$, $n = 103$). Some scholars have argued that in many intergroup contexts, individual mobility is neither completely closed nor entirely open. Instead, group boundaries are often restricted (*e.g.*, Pettigrew & Martin, 1987; Wright, 2001) in a way that a small number of disadvantaged group members are accepted into advantaged positions, while access is systematically blocked for most qualified members of the disadvantaged group. Extreme restriction on boundary permeability is referred to as tokenism (Wright & Tropp, 2002; Wright, 2001). And it has been shown that disadvantaged group members faced with an entirely closed context prefer disruptive forms of collective action (Wright, 1997; Wright & Taylor, 1998; Wright *et al.*, 1990); when as few as 2% of the qualified ingroup members are allowed to access advantaged positions, individual actions become the response of choice. Thus, it appears that even the slightest hint of boundary permeability may undermine interest in collective action.

Then, we were concerned about the controversial relationship between perceived permeability and collective action that we found. We may distinguish between the external and internal barriers for permeability as Wright and Tropp (2002) suggest. External barriers are the social obstacles such as exclusion from the benefits that high-status group members

enjoy, whereas internal barriers may come from strong ingroup identification, due to which individuals might believe that s/he could not leave the group. The authors argue that ingroup identification increases interest in collective action by reducing the perceived permeability of group boundaries.

Besides, the significant direct effect of perceived stability indicated that engagement in collective action occurred regardless of the perceived permeability as Ellemers (1993) found: Not the perceived less stable ($M = .26$, $sd = .41$, $n = 112$) but rather the more stable intergroup relation ($M = .41$, $sd = .49$, $n = 76$) led to more participation in collective action. However, perceiving collective disadvantage as unstable implies a belief that the group is able to address their collective disadvantage through collective effort (e.g., Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999b; see also Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As we already argued, our item wording of perceived stability did not entirely exclude the change in intergroup relations, but rather implied that the change is not easy. Therefore, it is reasonable to think of our result as not absolutely against the SIT assumptions.

In addition to the interaction analysis mentioned above, we tested the interaction between group RD and personal RD compared to *Ausländer* on collective action ($\beta = -.24$, $t(185) = -2.63$, $p = .009$). Basing on double deprivation concept of Runciman (1966), Foster and Matheson (1995) found a significant interaction between personal and group RD. This is not confirmed by our result: Individuals with low personal RD compared to *Ausländer* participated in collective action more when they feel group RD. For the respondents who highly perceive personal RD compared to *Ausländer*, such effect didn't occur.

Moreover, group RD has been shown as an important precursor to willingness to engage in collective action (Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988) and to collective action (Birt & Dion, 1987; Brewer & Silver, 2000; Dion, 1986; Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Tougas & Beaton, 2002; Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981; Tropp & Brown, 2004; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002; Wright *et al.*, 1990; also for a meta analysis see Smith & Ortiz, 2002). Our results showed that the more an immigrant perceives group RD the more s/he engages in collective action ($r = .16$, $p < .05$). We found a positive relationship between personal RD compared to Germans and collective action ($r = .18$, $p < .05$), too.

De Weerd and Klandermans (1999) found that while both affective and behavioral components of ingroup identification (ethnic organization participation) impact the

willingness to participate in political protest among farmers, the behavioral component is the only one which also has an influence on actual participation. Therefore, researchers suggest that being a part of an organization is more important than experiencing a strong emotional bonding to a social group. The correlation between participation in cultural organizations and collective action in our study was non-zero and positive as well ($r = .11, p > .10$). One of the flaws of our conduct is, however, using a self-report scale to assess ethnic organization participation. We did not control whether an organization is classified as a cultural, religious or *Ausländer* organization by the respondents. Especially during the application of the survey, it became evident that respondents had difficulties in differentiating the type of organizations. Particularly, respondents raised questions about how to categorize Alevi organizations: Is it a religious, or a cultural, or an *Ausländer* organization? Based on this, we argue that the results about ethnic organizational participation have many limitations.

Boen and Vanbeselaere (2002) showed that group RD mediates between perceived legitimacy and the choice for collective non-normative action. We tested this mediation as well, but without distinguishing between normative and non-normative collective action basing on the factor analyses (both EFA and CFA) results. After setting a structural model, inter-relations between perceived legitimacy and group RD ($r = -.24, p < .01$), and between group RD and collective action ($r = .16, p < .05$) remained almost the same. But the inter-correlation between perceived legitimacy and collective action, even though insignificant, turned positive ($r = .02, p > .10$; before $r = -.00, p > .10$), which is a sign for suppression (Schrouf & Bolger, 2002). One main reason for this suppression might be not including non-normative actions akin to Boen and Vanbeselaere (2002). Nevertheless, our finding about the inter-correlation between group RD and the perception of illegitimacy (Kawakami & Dion, 1993, 1995; Martin, 1986; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972) and group RD and collective action (Birt & Dion, 1987; Brewer & Silver, 2000; Dion, 1986; Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Tougas & Beaton, 2002; Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981; Tropp & Brown, 2004; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002; Wright *et al.*, 1990) are in accordance with other results.

Moreover, studies (Crocker *et al.*, 1998; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tougas & Veilleux 1988; Smith *et al.*, 1994; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984) have shown that social injustice is not enough to motivate members of disadvantaged groups to act collectively to improve their lot. Rather, social injustice has to be internalized and subjectively experienced by the victims of it and suffering has to be perceived as not something individual

but collective. Likewise, the judgment that the group's disadvantaged status is illegitimate and the blame for that disadvantaged status on discrimination rather than on deficiencies of the group itself, as well as the development of a positive group identity are found to be important factors in acting in favor of group (*e.g.*, Kluegel & Smith). The crucial factor in promoting collective action or social change is a shift in causal attribution from internal attributions for lack of success (for example, insufficient ability) to external attributions such as discriminatory actions of the dominant group (Gurin *et al.*, 1969; Major, 1994; Rappaport, 1977; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). In their politicized collective identity model, Simon and Klandermans (2001) argue that collective identity heightens the awareness of shared grievances, and conversely reinforced by that—a bidirectional causal relation. The relationship between collective identity and adversarial attributions are also proposed to be bidirectional in that they tend to reinforce each other. Moreover, researchers argue that an external force such as a specific out-group, an authority or the system must be blamed for the group's predicament for the behaviors that serves in favor of the ingroup.

Based on these previous findings, in our analysis, we examined whether collectively shared grievances (group-level discrimination and relative deprivation) lead to collective action and whether system-blame mediates between shared grievances (discrimination and/or RD) and collective action. The obtained significant paths leading from discrimination to system-blame ($r = .55, p < .001$), from group RD to system-blame ($r = .27, p < .001$), and from system-blame to collective action ($r = .28, p < .001$) verified our hypothesis concurring with the previous work (*e.g.*, Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Tougas & Veilleux 1988; Smith *et al.*, 1994).

VI. CONCLUSIONS

We conducted this research to understand under which conditions immigrants from Turkey living in Germany engage in attempts to social change. Hence, collective action relevant to ingroup identification, belief system, perceived grievances and causal attributions were tested. The main motivation behind this conduct was to examine whether those variables trigger or whether they undermine immigrants' participation in collective action. In the following, we first summarize the modifications made in the measures of Studies 1 and 2, and then, we move to the comparisons of the findings of both studies. The further tested relationships are summarized in the next section which is followed by the limitations and implications of the research.

12. Modifications of the Measures of Study 1 and 2

Theoretically, collective action takes place when a person behaves as a member of a group and his/ her individual action is orchestrated with other group members in order to advance the group interests as a whole (*e.g.*, Wright *et al.*, 1990; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Wright, 2001, 2003). It is reasonable to suggest a multidimensional construct for collective action of immigrants concurring with the studies of political participation (for a review, see Brady, 1999; Catellani, 1996; Schultze, 1995). However, dimensionality of political participation has been found to vary according to the social context. For example, Kelly and Kelly (1994) found that in terms of trade-union involvement a one-dimensional model seems the most accurate and realistic. Klandermans *et al.* (2002, 2004) suggest a one-dimensional model for farmers' protest participation which took place in the Netherlands and in France. In the present research, we found a one-dimensional construct for immigrants' participation in collective action as well. Both in Study 1 and 2, actions gathered under one factor. However, the used items differed in the first and second study. Actions which were relevant to immigration issues were included in the second study.

Since the dimensionality of ingroup identification has been shown (*e.g.*, de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Ellemers *et al.*, 1999; Klandermans, *et al.*, 2002, 2004; Jackson, 2002; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; van Dick & Wagner, 2002) we measured both the affective and the behavioral components of ingroup identification. The affective component is the degree of belonging to or identification with the particular social group which has been shown as the most predictive component in terms of responses (Ellemers *et*

al., 1999), whereas the behavioral component of ingroup identification is defined as the membership in ethnic organizations (*e.g.*, Klandermans, 2002). Moreover, political opportunity structure (*e.g.*, Schover & Vermeulen, 2005), claim-making or resource mobilization (*e.g.*, Diehl & Blohm, 2001; Koopmans, 2004; Koopmans & Statham, 2001; Statham *et al.*, 2005; Vermeulen, 2005), ethnic politics (*e.g.*, Bousetta, 2000, 2001), and ethnic civic community research (*e.g.*, Tillie, 2004) have attenuated the importance of organizational membership of immigrants in host countries. Within social psychology, Klandermans and his colleagues showed that organizational membership (the behavioral component of ingroup identification) is the main predictor of protest participation (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans, 2002; Klandermans *et al.*, 2002, 2004).

Building on these findings, we measured the affective and the behavioral components of ingroup identification in both studies with slight differences. In the first study, only identification with country of origin was assessed as the affective component and it was differentiated into two factors: identification with country of origin (Turkey) and the affiliation with the ethnic group living in Turkey. In the second study, the affective component was a one-factorial construct. Furthermore, identification with three social groups (country of origin and *Ausländer* as low-status groups, Germans as a high-status group) was asked to the respondents in the second study. Regarding the behavioral component of ingroup identification both Study 1 and 2 consisted of items asking whether respondents participate in the ethnic organizations. In addition to that, in the first study, item of visiting ethnic clubs/cafes was included. The first study revealed a one-factorial construct whereas the second study showed a two-factorial construct. In the latter, participation in cultural and in youth organizations were distinguished.

Another modified measure was perceived discrimination. It has been shown that people tend to underestimate the actual discrimination they experience at the personal level, whereas they overestimate the discrimination at the group level. The so-called “personal/group discrimination discrepancy” has been observed across different minority samples (Taylor *et al.*, 1990, 1994). Recently, however, instead a discrepancy it has been explained that judgments at the personal and at the group level are different in nature and thus incomparable (Major, 1994; Postmes *et al.*, 1999; Taylor *et al.*, 1994). The personal judgments are made by means of an interpersonal comparison process, whereas the group judgments are made by means of an intergroup comparison. Thus, in the first study, perceived personal level discrimination was assessed. But, owing to a relatively low level of inter-relationships between assumed variables, and due to the literature which has indicated group level rather

than personal level discrimination as the main predictor of collective action (*e.g.*, Crocker *et al.*, 1998; Scheepers *et al.*, 2003), we assessed perceived group level discrimination in the second study. In Study 1, perceived personal level discrimination contained three aspects of discrimination which was verified by the empirical analysis (CFA): perceived discrimination in the public, perceived discrimination due to one's nationality and religion. In Study 2, items asking about people's evaluations of discrimination that *Ausländer* face with have been included and as a result, a one-factorial construct was obtained.

Finally, citizenship status was obtained in the first study by an item asking about the interest in naturalization, whereas in the second study an item asking about the status that respondents hold at the measurement point of time was applied. Now we move to the comparisons between the findings of the first and the second study. Then, we will conclude the further findings in the next section which were not investigated in the first study but in the second one.

13. Comparisons of the Results of Study 1 and 2

First of all, the results of Study 1 and 2 verified our hypothesis about ingroup identification. In the first study, we found that German citizens as well as non-citizens who are interested in naturalization to Germans identify less with both their country of origin (affective component of identification with country of origin) and ethnic group living in Turkey. In the second study, although this was not confirmed, we found that German citizens identify more with Germans. In terms of relationship between the affective and the behavioral component of ingroup identification, first study revealed that both the affective component of identification with country of origin and ethnic group were positively correlated, although low, with the behavioral component of ingroup identification. This positive relationship was found in the second study as well, however, the relationship was not significant. Further than, in the second study, we found that participation in ethnic organizations (cultural and religious) led to a stronger identification with Germans.

Mainly, we assumed that the behavioral component of ingroup identification mediates between perceived discrimination (either at the personal level or at the group level) and collective action, whereas the affective component of ingroup identification moderates this relationship. In Study 1, we found significant inter-relations between the dimensions of perceived personal discrimination, the behavioral component of identification with the country of origin and collective action. However, only perceived personal religious

discrimination was partially mediated by the behavioral component of identification with the country of origin. In Study 2, these correlations were re-examined with perceived group level discrimination, yet no mediation model could be tested owing to insignificant inter-correlations: significant inter-correlations were neither assessed between perceived group discrimination (X) and behavioral components of identification (Ms), nor between Ms and collective action (Y). Nevertheless, the correlation between participation in cultural organizations and collective action was non-zero and positive which indicates that more participation in cultural organizations goes along with more collective action.

As assumed, education and income level showed significant impact on collective action. However, in the first study, we found a significant impact of education level whereas in the second study, the effect of income was significant. According to the results, immigrants with high-education level (Study 1), but low to middle household income (Study 2) participate more in collective action. The reason that we could not find any significant effect of education in Study 2 might be the sample characteristic. That is, in the second study, respondents were from relatively high educational level.

In terms of moderation, our findings of the first study showed that identification with the country of origin marginally moderates the effects of perceived discrimination (in public and due to nationality) on collective action. Aside from that, although weakly, the results of Study 1 showed that interest in naturalization moderates the effect of the behavioral component of identification with the country of origin on collective action. However, those moderation effects were not confirmed in the Study 2 where the data was collected from another sample of immigrants from Turkey. Further, no interaction between interest in naturalization and affective components of identification was obtained in the first study. Conversely, it was found that citizenship status moderates the affective component of ingroup identification according to the results of second study: Immigrants who weakly identify with their country of origin participate more in collective action when they have a Turkish citizenship. On the contrary, strong identifiers with their country of origin participate more in collective action when they hold a German citizenship. Consequently, these results contribute to the SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) that collective action of immigrants can be a function of the degree of identification with the low-status group; but also show the importance of the status of immigrants (citizenship status), which determines the basic as well as the socio-political rights and opportunities that immigrants enjoy like resource mobilization and political opportunity theories state (Bousetta, 2000, 2001; Diehl & Blohm, 2001; Koopmans, 2004; Koopmans & Statham, 2001; Schover & Vermeulen, 2005; Statham *et al.*, 2005; Vermeulen, 2005).

The results of two studies illustrate the importance of perceived discrimination in terms of collective action and are in accordance with the previous findings which have been showing that perceived discrimination against the group as a whole leads to collective action (Foster & Matheson, 1995; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Mummendey *et al.*, 1999b). However, distinct from the previous research, we found that both levels of discrimination are related to collective action (for the inter-correlations see Table 5, and Table 4 in appendix). Actually, our results indicate that particularly in the migration context the inter-relationships between perceived discrimination, ingroup identification and collective action are rather more complex. When a person perceives that s/he is discriminated against individually due to his or her nationality or religion s/he engages in collective action as well. Thus, the significant relationships between both levels of perceived discrimination (personal and group) and collective action support our argument that both levels can trigger collective action. Like the group judgments, personal judgments, which develop through an interpersonal comparison process, can underpin the collective action if this interpersonal comparison concerns one's nationality and religion – this could possibly be ascribed to the salience of these identities to the person. That is, it may be probable that a person may define him- or herself in terms of his or her nationality and/or religion (group memberships). Therefore, even at personal level, s/he may perceive more discriminatory experiences. Thus, this finding does not support the “personal/group discrepancy” phenomenon, rather it can be taken as a sign that the personal aspect is not purely personal but also social (*e.g.*, Reicher, 2001, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Regarding inter-relationships, in the first study, we found that the more a Turkish immigrant perceives personal discrimination (in public, national and religious discrimination) the more s/he visits Turkish clubs/cafes and participates in activities of Turkish organizations (behavioral component of identification with country of origin), and the more s/he identifies with her or his ethnic groups living in Turkey. In the second study, however, no significant inter-correlation between those variables emerged. Consequently, the results of the first study concur with the SIT findings which demonstrate that perception of discrimination is the main factor for strengthening the identification (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Jetten *et al.*, 2002).

Moreover, the first study revealed that the affective component of identification with the country of origin was negatively but the behavioral component of identification with country of origin (participation in ethnic organizations) was positively related to participation in collective action. Although insignificant, these inter-relationships showed the same direction in the second study: (a) the less identification with the country of origin, and (b) the more

participation in ethnic organizations the more collective action. These findings are in accordance with resource mobilization research (e.g., Diehl & Blohm, 2001; Koopmans & Statham, 2001), which shows that among immigrants weak identification with the ethnic background heightens their political participation; and in accordance with other social psychological research (de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Klandermans, 2002; Klandermans, *et al.*, 2002, 2004), which shows the behavioral component as a significant predictor of collective action. Put another way, the weak feeling of belonging to Turkey leads immigrants to act in favor of their interests in Germany. And visiting clubs/cafes and participating in Turkish organizations in Germany increases their collective action which implies a positive function of ethnic organizations in the host society. They mediate between immigrants and host country community (e.g., Bousetta, 2001; Kemp *et al.*, 2000; Sanders, 2002).

14. Extending Findings in Study 2 and Relevant Conclusions

In contrast to the first study, in the second study, we measured ingroup identification with *Ausländer* as well as with Germany in addition to identification with country of origin. Therefore, some further inter-relations could be investigated. One of the distinctive results of the second study is that participation in cultural organizations leads to stronger identification with Germans among immigrants. This result is in line with the other research results which show the importance of ethnic organizations relevant to different outcomes (e.g., Bousetta, 2000; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Diehl & Blohm, 2001; Klandermans, *et al.*, 2002, 2004; Koopmans & Statham, 2001; Schover & Vermeulen, 2005, Tillie, 2004) and reflects one of the important functions of ethnic organizations which is put forward as adjusting the immigrants to the host society (Bousetta, 2001; Kemp *et al.*, 2000). Moreover, in the second study we could examine the inter-relations between belief system of the immigrants and ethnic organization participation which evidenced that the more permeability is perceived the more participation in ethnic youth organizations takes place. Thus, becoming a member of an ethnic organization is related to the degree that permeability of the group boundary between immigrants and Germans is perceived.

Research has pointed out the differential outcomes in terms of ingroup identification which is caused by status differences (Ellemers *et al.*, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997; Spears *et al.*, 1997). In the second study, we searched for the factors playing a role in identification with both high- and low-status groups. Regarding identification with high-status group (Germans), one of the factors found to be significant is the citizenship status of the immigrants: German citizens

identify more strongly with Germans than do Turkish citizens. This confirms the previous social psychology research which indicates the importance of the individuals' status (Ellemers *et al.*, 1988, 1992, 1993). Once again, belief system variables play a role in identification with the high-status group. The more legitimate the Germans' situation is perceived the stronger identification with Germans turns out to be. Furthermore, German citizens identify strongly with Germans when they perceive high legitimacy but low stability, which is different than that of the Turkish citizens. They identify with Germans at the highest level when they perceive high legitimacy but also high stability. Consequently, the status of the immigrants within the host society and the perception of legitimacy and stability of the relationship between *Ausländer* and Germans, together influence the identification with the high-status group.

We also investigated the factors affecting the identification with the low-status group. The second study evidenced that identification with the low-status group (*Ausländer*) positively relates to perceived stability of the intergroup relation. More interestingly, identification with *Ausländer* is a result of the citizenship status of the respondents' parents. When the parents (both fathers and mothers) are German citizens, respondents report stronger identification with *Ausländer* than when their parents were Turkish citizens. When respondents perceive high stability they identify more with *Ausländer* than under a low stability condition. Finally, perceived high legitimacy and stability lead respondents to identify more with their country of origin. In sum, these results show the importance of citizenship status and the belief system of the immigrants regarding ingroup identification with both high- and low-status groups. According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), status differences between groups (high versus low) generate different intergroup behaviors for relevant groups. However, in migration context, within low-status groups (compared to Germans) there are sub-groups who hold differential status. This is mainly apparent in terms of citizenship status. Being a citizen of the host country versus being not and also the belief system of the individual immigrants, play an important role in ingroup identifications according to our results.

Aside from that, when we compared the ingroup identifications regardless of citizenship status and belief system we found that identification with the country of origin is significantly higher than with *Ausländer* (the second most identified group) which was again high than that with Germans (the least identified group). Why do immigrants identify most with their country of origin? SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) proposes two main motivations behind identification with a social categorization: (a) People apply social categorizations to themselves and others to clarify their perception of the social world and their place within it

and thus render it more meaningful and predictable, i.e., identification reduces subjective uncertainty (see also Grieve & Hogg, 1999), and (b) because social categorizations can be used to define and evaluate oneself, people try to identify with those categorizations that reflect favorably on self-conception and thus, self-esteem, i.e., identification can maintain or enhance self-esteem.

Within a complex and dynamically changing environment of intergroup relations, people may encounter a lack of external validation for their own identity (for example, being in a foreign culture; see *e.g.*, Breakwell, 1986; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993; van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). When the positive distinctiveness of one's own group is not salient or is not reflected in the existing basis of comparison, members who maintain identification with their group may seek alternative dimensions for comparison which favors the ingroup or they may attempt to regain feelings of positive distinctiveness by more active means (Tajfel & Turner, 1986); they may develop negative attitudes toward the outgroups and show enhanced commitment to their own group. Moreover, Stevens and Fiske's (1995) recent social survival perspective identifies belonging as the most important group motive because it disambiguates expectations about self and others and thus facilitates planning for action. A similar conclusion was made by social identity researchers (*e.g.*, Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Hains, Hogg, & Duck, 1997; Hogg & Hains, 1996). In the second study, we used the items measuring belonging as the basis of the ingroup identification as well.

Another possible explanation for (the continuation of) the identification with the country of origin in our sample might be the experience of threat (*e.g.*, Branscombe *et al.*, 1993; Doosje *et al.*, 1995; Ellemers *et al.*, 1997). It is believed that strength of identification precipitates the way individuals perceive and respond to threat. Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000) argue that moving into a social context very different from the original threatens identity; then, identity changes are likely to occur, especially when migration happened under forced rather than under voluntary conditions. Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) showed that among Hispanic students, the meaning of that identity differed as a result of perceived threat.

In sum, immigrants who newly come to Germany might identify with their country of origin either on the basis of the motives such as reducing uncertainty, maintaining/enhancing self-esteem (Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and belonging (Stevens & Fiske, 1995) or due to perceived or to real experience of threat (Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2002; Florack *et al.*, 2003; Jackson *et al.*, 2001). Ever since the first labor migration wave, conflicting intergroup relations between the groups of immigrants and Germans, which are characterized

by structural (Caglar, 2001; De Jong, 2001; Hönekopp, 2003; Kalter & Granato, 2002; Marshall, 2000; Rogler, 1994; Sen, 1997) and social psychological discrimination (Klink & Wagner, 1999; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Wagner *et al.*, 2003), the social category of Turkey or Turks may have become more salient³⁶ to immigrants or identification with the country of origin is reached as a positive identity after “negotiations” (*e.g.*, Deaux, 2000; Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994). That is, Turkey as a social category may (still) hold the positive connotations and meanings (the content of identity; see for *e.g.*, Reicher, 2001, 2004) among those immigrants.

The similar arguments can be made for the identification with *Ausländer*, which is the second most identified category (see discussion of Study 2 for the other aspects of ingroup identification). Moreover, seeing oneself as an *Ausländer* is to conceptualize social reality as organized in terms of dominance relations and to occupy a subordinated position within those relations and probably engage in challenging the social relations and subordination (see for *e.g.*, Reicher, 2004; Simon & Oakes, 2006); “the particular social identity that is salient in a given context will determine who is seen as similar and who is seen as treated as different, who is embraced as an ally and who is rejected as an alien” (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, p. 385). And self-categorization theory (Turner *et al.*, 1987, 1994; Drury & Reicher, 2000) suggests that social identity is a model of one’s position in a set of social relations along with the actions that are possible and proper (legitimate) given such a position. Thus, the self-definition in terms of group membership of immigrants from Turkey showed the multiple character of social identity (*e.g.*, Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Reid & Deaux, 1996; Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994; Reicher, 2004). However, one of those social identities is more salient dependent on the intergroup context (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Reicher 2004). For example, within a group where both Germans and immigrants are present, *Ausländer* or Turk identity might salient to an immigrant from Turkey based on the perception of intra-class similarities and inter-class differences (meta-contrast principle). However, based on the same social-categorization principle a person might categorize him or herself as German, namely perceive more similarity between self and Germans than Turks or other immigrants.

Using a longitudinal design, Ethier and Deaux (1994) examined how Hispanic students maintain their ethnic group identification during their first year at Anglo universities. Students’ ethnic identities are initially associated with the strength of their cultural

³⁶ For social identity salience in experimental settings see for *e.g.*, Levine & Reicher, 1996; Stapel, Reicher & Spears, 1994; and for social identity salience in the crowd see for *e.g.*, Reicher, 1984, 1987, 1996.

background; over time that link weakens, and students support or “remoor” their ethnic identity with culturally relevant activities at school. Students from strong cultural backgrounds become involved in activities that strengthen their ethnic group identification; students without such backgrounds perceive college as more threatening, which then predicts less favorable ethnic group perceptions and, ultimately, lower group identification. In sum, ethnic identity is supported by environmental structures (cultural background); its fluidity is visible across changing contexts (home to school); and identity negotiation takes multiple forms (varying with the importance of the identity to the individual).

Other factors, which might be responsible for the variation of ingroup identification, could be within-group relations. For example, group members show more ingroup identification when they receive more personal respect from their fellow ingroup members (see Branscombe *et al.*, 1999). Moreover, the group size is shown as yielding distinct identities: Relatively small groups offer their members more of a distinct social identity than majority groups (*e.g.*, Simon, 1997). In addition, it has been argued that people in collectivistic cultures are more inclined to make intergroup comparisons (Triandis, 1990) thus incline more to identify as a group member (for collectivistic attitudes of Turks in Germany see Bierbrauer, Meyer & Wolfradt, 1994). Family socialization practices which are characterized as teaching about ethnic culture and pride, and having ethnic objects in the home (for family socialization of Turks see for *e.g.*, Nauck 2001 and Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; of Mexican-Americans see Bernal *et al.*, 1990) may have an impact on ingroup identification, particularly for the identification with country of origin. Beyond the explanations which base on the intergroup relations and socio-contextual factors, individual differences may play a role in ingroup identification. As shown, higher individual ability leads to a lower level of identification (see *e.g.*, Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000). The acculturation strategies of immigrants which stems from the maintenance of cultural identity and of intergroup contact (*e.g.*, Berry, 1997, 2001) may also play a role on the self-definitions in terms of ingroup membership.

Beyond the factors strengthening ingroup identification (identification as DV), identification (identification as IV) with the ingroup is one of the important factors affecting collective action. Moreover, strong feelings of group relative deprivation which base on the group-level social comparisons with a dominant outgroup, rejection of the possibility for individual upward mobility (even though the boundaries are perceived as permeable, and the assessment of the ingroup’s low-status position as illegitimate and controllable) have been proposed to be the roots of collective action (*e.g.*, Wright & Tropp, 2002). These proposed factors were taken into account in Study 2 together with citizenship status and demographics, and were tested.

First of all, we included the SES variables in the analysis. The only significant result is that immigrants with low and middle household income participate more in collective action than do high household income participants which concurs with the findings showing highly educated middle class members of disadvantaged groups as participating in collective efforts more than other layers (Gurin & Epps, 1975; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972).

In terms of identification, we found that those identifying strongly with Germans participate more in collective action which contrasts our assumptions. Nevertheless, we found significant interactions between identification with the low-status group and the citizenship status which confirms SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and empirical studies (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Ellemers *et al.*, 1997; Kelly, 1993) with a complementary manner. Both those who identified weakly with their country of origin and with *Ausländer* participate more in collective action when they own Turkish citizenship. Strong identifiers, however, participate more when they hold German citizenship. So, these results indicate that not only the ingroup identification, but also the citizenship status should be taken into account when collective action of the immigrants is investigated.

SIT argued that strong identification with low-status groups leads to collective attempts when the cognitive alternatives to the status quo – whether the intergroup boundary between high- and low-status groups is perceived as impermeable, the high-status groups' position is perceived as illegitimate; and the intergroup relation is perceived as instable – are available. We included all these three belief system variables together with the status of citizenship in the separate interaction analyses. We found a significant two-way interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability. However, like the previous studies (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Ellemers, 1993), the direction of the interaction was opposite to SIT assumptions. The previous work revealed a significant interaction between perceived permeability and stability (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; de Weerd & Klandermans, 1999), but we found a significant interaction between perceived legitimacy and stability when we controlled for the citizenship status.

Our respondents reported more participation in collective action under high-legitimacy and high-stability conditions instead of low-legitimacy and low-stability conditions which SIT assumed. But the sample mean value of perceived legitimacy ($M = 2.12$, $sd = 1.04$ over 3) led us to conclude that even under a high-legitimacy condition the perceived legitimacy might not be high enough. And high stability perception ($M = 3.21$, $sd = 1.46$) means that the

relationship between *Ausländer* and Germans will not change easily³⁷, which does not exclude the change at all. However, SIT assumptions and the previous work mainly base on the dichotomous variables as Wright (2001, 2003) has stated. That is, a combination of three dichotomous variables (permeable-impermeable, legitimate-illegitimate, and stable-unstable) is assumed to produce either individual or collective action. However, we measured that the situation would be seen more or less just (illegitimate enough) or more or less stable (unstable enough). Thus, concluding that our results are contradictory to SIT is not appropriate.

The direct significant effect of perceived permeability demonstrated that when respondents perceive intergroup boundaries more permeable they engage more in collective action. In the laboratory setting, Wright *et al.* (1990) showed that rather than collective action respondents endorsed individual actions till they were told that the high-status group was completely closed. Then, more disruptive forms of collective action were favored by the respondents. Thus, in the migration context, it seems that individual immigrants are more likely to band together and favor the group interests even if there is a possibility to pass into a high-status group, which is formulated in the present study as becoming or being considered a German. Strong identification with *Ausländer* or country of origin may serve as a psychological barrier to perceived boundary permeability; that is, strong ties with and psychological attachment to those groups may lead the individual to believe that he or she simply could not leave the group (Ellemers *et al.*, 1997; Spears *et al.*, 1997). Wright and Tropp (2002) argue that ingroup identification increases interest in collective action by reducing the perceived permeability of group boundaries. However, owing to practical reasons we could not control for the identification in the same analysis because it would have meant a five-way interaction.

Besides, the significant direct effect of perceived stability indicates that collective action also occurs regardless of the perceived permeability (Ellemers, 1993). More stable intergroup relation leads to more participation in collective action. Conversely, SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and some other scholars argued that (*e.g.*, Mummendey *et al.*, 1996, 1999) perceiving the intergroup situation as unstable implies that the group is able to address their collective disadvantage through collective effort. That is, instability is conceptualized and measured more like efficacy as Wright and his colleague (Wright, 2001, 2003; Wright & Tropp, 2002) argue. In our research, this meaning can be recognized in the item formulation as well. The item is asking whether the relationship between *Ausländer* and Germans will change easily. The respondents may perceive that there is a chance for a change of the relationship, but it is

³⁷ Item wording of stability: “The current relationship between *Ausländer* and German people will not change easily.”

not easy, which can be reformulated like a lot of efforts are needed. Therefore, a direct effect shows that, even though it is not easy, the respondents engage in collective action which is in accordance with SIT.

Another factor that Wright and Tropp (2002) propose in accordance with other scholars (Birt & Dion, 1987; Brewer & Silver, 2000; Dion, 1986; Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Tougas & Beaton, 2002; Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981; Tropp & Brown, 2004; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright *et al.*, 1990) that another important factor in terms of collective action is group RD. First, we tested whether demographics have impact on the degree of the feelings of deprivation. We found that whereas education played a role in the feelings of group RD and personal RD compared to *Ausländer*, household income was a factor that leads to greater perceived personal RD compared to other *Ausländer*. Immigrants with a low education level reported the least group deprivation but the most personal deprivation in comparison with *Ausländer*. Immigrants with a low household income felt more personal deprivation in comparison to *Ausländer* than immigrants with high household income. These findings suggest that the most disadvantaged members of the disadvantaged group (lower education level and lower household income) perceive more deprivation when they compare themselves with other *Ausländer*.

This implies that the most disadvantaged members are more likely to make subjective social comparisons with other members who are more advantaged within the group (see Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). This also implies that the heterogeneity among immigrants in terms of living conditions and economical and social opportunities leads not only to the deprivation within the group but this heterogeneity undermines the feeling of shared grievances (*e.g.*, Simon & Klandermans, 2001) and thus collective attempts which aim at favouring the interests of the entire group. In the second study, we found that immigrants from middle and lower household income levels report more participation in collective action compared to those from high income levels. Then, for the immigrants with a high household income the individual mobility rather than social change attempts may be more likely (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; for successful tokens see, for example, Wright, 2001).

In our study, among the deprivation feelings, group RD showed significantly the highest mean, like Tropp and Wright (1999) found among the minority group members. The high level of group RD can be the case for those who are satisfied with their personal situation, even though they see that their group as a whole is disadvantaged (*e.g.*, Major, 1994; Martin,

1981), or might be taken as representing a comparison with the dominant group which is seen to be responsible for the unequal status differences between ingroup (*Ausländer*) and outgroup (Germans; Tropp & Wright, 1999).

In contrast to the previous findings (Ellemers, 2002; Fajak & Haslam, 1998; Petta & Walker, 1992; Skevington & Baker 1989; Smith, Speras, & Oyen, 1994; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988; Tropp & Wright, 1999; Wright & Tropp, 2002), we did not find a significant relationship between identification with low-status groups and group RD. But, although marginal, we found that respondents with strong identification with *Ausländer* reported less personal RD compared to Germans than weak identifiers. This does not concur with the findings of Tropp and Wright (1999); they found that a strong identification with ingroup leads to more personal deprivation when the comparison group was Whites. Although it has not been studied in the literature much, we tested double deprivation effect (*c.f.* Runciman, 1966). However, our results showed that individuals with low personal RD compared to *Ausländer* participate more in collective action when they feel more group RD which is not concurring with the findings of Foster and Matheson (1995).

And we showed that system-blame mediates between perceived group-level grievances (perceived group discrimination and group RD) and collective action. The mediation process is in line with the argument and research showing that individual members of a disadvantaged group are more likely to band together and challenge an advantaged outgroup when they attribute this disadvantage to the social structural conditions. Studies show that suffering from social injustice has to be perceived not as an individual issue but as a collective problem to motivate for acting collectively and realize the group interests (Crocker *et al.*, 1998; Kluegel & Smith 1986; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tougas & Veilleux 1988; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Smith *et al.*, 1994; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984). The crucial factor in promoting collective action is the causal attribution to discriminatory actions of the dominant group or to the system (Gurin *et al.*, 1969; Major, 1994; Rappaport, 1977; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Our findings concur with those research.

15. The Limits of the Research and Further Recommendations

We should mention some limits of the research here. First of all, the indifference between the findings of Study 1 (a partial mediation) and 2 (no mediation) may be due to the measurement error. Or it may be that a mediation model is valid only for the perceived discrimination at personal level but not at group level. At least, the first study revealed that the personal level

discrimination relevant to nationality and religion is also related to collective action. Nevertheless, in order to conclude this point safely and to identify the resource of the difference we suggest measuring both levels of discrimination simultaneously with more appropriate measures which can clearly differentiate between personal and group level discrimination, especially when discrimination is about one's nationality and religion.

A second important limit is that generalizability to other age groups than young adults is not likely. Considering the historical development in Germany in terms of immigration issues and the intergroup relations between immigrant groups and Germans, both generational and cohort differences between the age groups exist. Moreover, the results are not comprehensive for all immigrant groups; similarities emerge in how ethnic identities work, but their structure and content differ for each group as do their behavioral implications (*e.g.*, Hurtado, Gurin & Peng 1994). Besides, education and income as SES variables and gender differences were controlled for in both studies. However, Study 2 involved immigrants who have relatively high educational level. Therefore, the results limit the generalizability. In addition, another important SES variable, employment status, was not controlled for, which might have caused differences.

For further work, we recommend longitudinal research designs to test the fluidity in identities. Also the empirical work eliciting the personal meanings of social group memberships which change over time, and are best understood in the context of socio-historical events is needed. Thus, first-hand accounts of how social category systems actually work together can be achieved through integrating the insights of the narratives of immigrants into carefully designed empirical studies. Moreover, actual testing of any new theoretical conceptions that reflect dual or multiple social group memberships is crucial. Also, testing one integrative model which embraces both mediations and moderations simultaneously is recommended to understand the actual processes and mechanisms leading to collective action of immigrants. Having a longitudinal rather than cross-sectional design provides opportunity to elicit the causal relationships. Particularly, in the migration context, it is necessary to show that either perceived discrimination leads to stronger ingroup identification or vice versa or that the relationship between strong ingroup identification and perceived discrimination is bi-directional. For example, Zomeren *et al.* (2004) indicate that especially in cases where no previous disadvantage of the group has been experienced or no social movement exists, social identity salience and group level perception is likely to follow from rather than precede collective disadvantage (see also Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Moreover, other important factors such as the experience of the contact, and the perceived or actual reactions of the host country members should be taken into account in further works; depicting the roots of discrimination and conflict requires considering content, context, conditions, and power relations between groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; also see Reicher, 2004). In regard of labor migration, there are two sides with different motives or driving forces: host country³⁸ and immigrants. An individual immigrant's decision for migration, however, can only operate within the constraints of the opportunities: Employment and housing prospects goes along with the need for documents like passports, visas and work certificates, transportation costs, international law, and immigration policies *etc.* (*e.g.*, Castles, 1985; Cohen, 1987; Portes & Walton, 1981; Sassen, 2000; Williams *et al.*, 2004). And after the migration, the inequality in terms of opportunities, which is reflected as discrimination and intergroup conflict, can be experienced by immigrants (*e.g.*, Pettigrew 1998; Portes, 1994).

The unequal or discriminatory conditions which immigrants encounter can be demolished, however, not only by the endeavors of immigrants but also by the collective action of host society groups' members.

Where these [real or imagined in-group interests] are incompatible with another group, so that what the out-group seeks is at the expense of the in-group, then the outcome is more likely to be mutual antagonism and discrimination. On the other hand, where the interests are concordant—both groups working towards a common objective—then a more amicable relationship is more probable (Brown, 2000, p. 226).

In this research we focused on the immigrant side through examining the attitudes and behaviors of immigrants from Turkey. So far, we aimed to understand the underpinning social psychological factors that affect the collective action of this particular social group. However, relying on arguments by Snow and Oliver (1995), we argue that undermining factors of migrant mobilization are as follows: pre-existing groupings and affiliations among immigrants from Turkey (*e.g.*, Alevi-Sunni, Turkish-Kurdish *etc.*); lack of social networks which promote the collective action; lack of facilitative social contexts; intergenerational transmissions of political values and values about social and political equalities; and lack of group interaction within the migrant groups.

³⁸ An enormous amount of people that were mobilized all around the world after World War II to recover from the economical hardships and labor shortages, particularly in West Europe. Between the 1950s and 1960s, the United States imported almost 5 million Mexican workers, and 30 million people moved from southern Europe and North Africa to work in northern Europe (Kritz, Keely & Tomhardasi, 1981).

Rather than a lack of interaction, a conflictual relationship between immigrant groups may undermine the collective action as well. For example, Mandel (1989) emphasizes how the social context influences the expression of identity by describing Greeks and Turks who are bitter enemies in their home countries but can join for common purposes as immigrants in Germany. But the conflictual relationship between Turks and Kurds seems to remain stable even after immigration to Germany (*e.g.*, Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003). Thus, the issue is not merely if immigrants from Turkey are incorporated into various legal and organizational structures of the host society. They have been organized, although without formal citizenship status (*e.g.*, Abadan-Unat, 2002; White, 1997; Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Soysal, 1994). However, the organizational life of immigrants is fragmented not only by nationality³⁹ within the immigrants from Turkey (Turks, and Kurds *etc.*) and within immigrant population in general (Greeks, Italians, ex-Yugoslavians, German-Russians *etc.*), but also by political stances (left-wingers, nationalists, religious *etc.*). Although there is a high level of organizational activity among immigrants, this does not have a centralized and representative character. Most of the organizations are grounded very locally; they are not even nationwide, and not internationally organized. Nonetheless, in the last decade, immigrant groups (particularly immigrants from Turkey) have started to orient themselves toward the life in Europe, and the organizations established since then reflect this orientation (*e.g.*, Abadan-Unat 2002).

However, the heterogeneity of immigrants in terms of living conditions and socio-political rights is another undermining factor for collective action. Today, after Turks, Italians represent the second largest immigrant group living in Germany⁴⁰. Another old cohort is the Greek labor migrants. As non-EU citizens, Turks have been experienced several limits about migration, stay and working conditions, whereas Italians and Greeks (since the Greece's entrance in EU in 1981) have not been faced with much limits as EU country citizens (Hinrichs, 2003). Differential inequalities between immigrants who migrated from Turkey and those who migrated from EU countries show in other dimensions, as well. If one compares different nationalities in terms of unemployment rate, for example, it is the highest among Turkish laborers—about 21% in 2001, compared to about 15% for both Italians and Greeks (Hinrichs, 2003). In addition, the inequality between Turks and other non-German groups in terms of citizenship, political and social rights have been apparent. The cultural

³⁹ Horizontal hostility among immigrant groups has become apparent, too.

⁴⁰ By far, the largest first-generation immigrant groups are Turks, followed by Yugoslavians and immigrants from the other European countries (Italy, Greece, Portugal, and Spain). For the second generation this ranking changes somewhat, but still Turks represent the largest group (Hinrichs, 2003).

distance or misfit of Turkish immigrants compared to those who come from EU territory has been attenuated. Moreover, segregation and disintegration of Turks has been one of the major debates as well as the main focus of the scientific research. An unequal treatment of immigrants from Turkey compared to the so-called German immigrants from former East Block countries, who enjoyed the citizenship rights when they migrated, has also weakened the collective action of immigrants as a whole.

Furthermore, individuals from disadvantaged groups might not engage in collective action because they might benefit from opportunities for individual-based advancement (Smith *et al.*, 1994) or they have the slightest prospect that they might. A tokenism effect seems to us as one of the important undermining factors for collective action and for the mobilization of immigrants. Wright (2001) stated that a few successful tokens create uncertainty which replaces strong interest in collective action with a preference for individual non-normative action. Consequently, there are several factors that we see as important in understanding collective action among immigrants. Depending on the research aims it would be of a great interest to investigate one or more of those factors.

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SURVEY QUESTIONS AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF STUDY 1

Introduction by MARPLAN

Projekt-Nr. 46 013

September 1996

MARPLAN ist ein unabhängiges Institut für Meinungs- und Marktforschung und führt im Auftrag der Technischen Universität Chemnitz-Zwickau und des Deutschen Jugendinstituts eine Untersuchung über die Lebensbedingungen ausländischer Jugendlicher in Deutschland durch.

Diese Untersuchung soll dazu beitragen, mehr Verständnis für die Situation ausländischer Familien in Deutschland zu bekommen.

Wir bedanken uns im Voraus für Ihre freundliche Unterstützung, ohne die diese Studie nicht möglich wäre.

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Table 1. *Ausländersurvey97* with operationalization of the theoretical constructs in German, and question and variable numbers

Gesellschaftliche und politische Partizipation	
Teilnahme an politischer Partizipation F135 (V0586-V600)	Bitte gehen Sie die Möglichkeiten nochmals durch, was davon haben Sie schon gemacht? A Briefe an Politiker schreiben B Sich in öffentlichen Versammlungen an Diskussionen beteiligen C Ein politisches Amt übernehmen D In einem Mitbestimmungsgremium im Betrieb, in der Schule, in der Ausbildungsstätte mitarbeiten E Briefe zu politischen oder gesellschaftlichen Themen an eine Zeitung, den Rundfunk oder das Fernsehen schreiben F In eine Partei eintreten, aktiv mitarbeiten G Mitarbeit in einer Bürgerinitiative H In einer anderen politischen Gruppierung mitmachen J Eine Partei, Bürgerinitiative oder politische Gruppierung mit Geldspenden unterstützen K Sich an einer Unterschriftensammlung beteiligen L Teilnahme an einer genehmigten politischen Demonstration M Teilnahme an einer nicht genehmigten Demonstration O Teilnahme an einem gewerkschaftlich beschlossenen Streik P Teilnahme an sonstigen Streikaktionen Q Beteiligung an einem Boykott (1) Habe ich bereits gemacht (2) Habe ich noch nicht gemacht
Gerechtigkeitsvorstellungen	
Benachteiligungen F142 (V0617-V0619)	Es kommt vor, daß man im Leben benachteiligt wird. Können Sie mir sagen, wie häufig Sie aus folgenden Gründen Benachteiligungen erfahren haben. War das jeweils sehr oft, oft, manchmal, selten oder nie? A wegen Ihres Geschlechts B wegen Ihrer Nationalität C wegen Ihrer Glaubenszugehörigkeit (1) sehr oft (5) nie (8) weiß nicht
Zugehörigkeit und Zugehörigkeitsgefühle	
Diskriminierungserfahrungen F75 (V0363-V0367)	Deutsche und Türken werden im täglichen Leben häufig ungleich behandelt. Haben Sie auch diese Erfahrung gemacht? Fühlen Sie sich selbst gegenüber Deutschen nicht, wenig, stark oder sehr stark benachteiligt? A in der Schule bzw. am Arbeitsplatz? (V0363) B wo ich wohne? (V0364) C beim Einkaufen? (V0365) D in Clubs, z.B. in Schach-, Sport- oder Jugendclubs? (V0366) E in Discos oder bei anderen Veranstaltungen? (V0367) (1) Nicht benachteiligt (2) Wenig benachteiligt (3) Stark benachteiligt (4) Sehr stark benachteiligt

<p>Fremdheitsgefühl im Herkunftsland F56 (V0338)</p>	<p>Wenn Menschen für längere Zeit in Deutschland leben und sie kommen dann zu Besuch in die Türkei, kann sich einiges gegenüber früher geändert haben. Wie ist das bei Ihnen? Fühlen Sie sich sofort, ziemlich schnell, nach einigen Tagen zu Hause, oder fühlen Sie sich sehr lange bzw. immer fremd?</p> <p>(1) fühle mich sofort zu Hause (2) fühle mich ziemlich schnell zu Hause (3) fühle mich nach einigen Tagen zu Hause (4) fühle mich sehr lange fremd (5) fühle mich immer fremd (6) reise nicht in die Türkei</p>
<p>Von Menschen im Heimatland als Deutsche betrachtet? F57 (V0339)</p>	<p>Wenn Sie sich jetzt für einige Zeit, z.B. in den Ferien, in der Türkei aufhalten, werden Sie dann von den Menschen dort sehr häufig, häufig, manchmal, sehr selten oder nie als Deutscher betrachtet?</p> <p>(1) nie (2) sehr selten (3) manchmal (4) häufig (5) sehr häufig (6) reise nicht in die Türkei</p>
<p>Volksgruppenzugehörigkeit F73 (V0361)</p>	<p>In der Türkei leben verschiedene Volksgruppen (z.B. Armenier, Tscherkessen, Kurden, Las) denen man sich zugehörig fühlen kann. Wie ist das bei Ihnen? Haben Sie eine gefühlsmäßige Bindung an eine solche Volksgruppe? Ich fühle mich</p> <p>(1) sehr stark mit einer Volksgruppe verbunden (2) stark mit einer Volksgruppe verbunden (3) ein wenig mit einer Volksgruppe verbunden (4) sehr wenig mit einer Volksgruppe verbunden (5) überhaupt nicht mit einer Volksgruppe verbunden</p>
<p>deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft annehmen F78 (V0382)</p>	<p>Können Sie sich vorstellen, daß Sie die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft annehmen?</p> <p>(1) ja, auf jeden Fall (2) ja, möglicherweise (3) nein, wahrscheinlich nicht (4) nein, auf keinen Fall (5) vorhanden/beantragt</p>
Ethnische Konzentration, Mediennutzung und kulturelle Partizipation	
<p>Besuch von Jugendclubs/Cafés der ethnischen Gruppe F72 (V0360)</p>	<p>In vielen Städten Deutschlands sind in den vergangenen Jahren türkische Jugendclubs und Cafés entstanden, die zu Treffpunkten von türkischen Jugendlichen geworden sind. Besuchen Sie diese häufiger?</p> <p>(1) Nein, es gibt hier keine solchen Angebote (2) Nein, ich gehe nicht dort hin (3) Ja, ich besuche sie hin und wieder (4) Ja, ich besuche sie regelmäßig</p>
Grunddaten zur Person	
<p>Geschlecht F160 (V0693)</p>	<p>Befragte Person ist: (1) männlich; (2) weiblich</p>

höchster Schulabschluß in Deutschland F21 (V0053)	Welchen höchsten allgemeinbildenden Schulabschluß haben Sie in Deutschland erreicht? (1) noch keinen Schulabschluß (2) Hauptschulabschluß (3) Realschulabschluß, Mittlere Reife oder Fachschulreife (4) Gymnasialabschluß, Abitur, Fachoberschulabschluß oder Fachhochschulreife (5) Anderen Schulabschluß, welchen?
höchster Schulabschluß im Herkunftsland F22 (V0054)	Welchen höchsten allgemeinbildenden Schulabschluß haben Sie in der Türkei erreicht? (1) Keinen Schulabschluß (2) Primarschulabschluß (3) Mittelschulabschluß (4) Abitur (5) Anderen Schulabschluß, welchen?
höchster Berufsausb- Abschluß F24 (V0056)	Welchen höchsten beruflichen Ausbildungsabschluß haben Sie? (1) abgeschlossene Lehre (2) beruflich-schulischer Ausbildungsabschluß, z.B. Berufsfachschule, Handelsschule oder Schule des Gesundheitswesens (3) Ausbildungsabschluß an einer Fachschule oder Berufsakademie, auch Meister-, Technikerschule abgeschlossen (4) Fachhochschulabschluß (5) Hochschulabschluß oder Universitätsabschluß (6) Habe (noch) keinen Ausbildungsabschluß
Heute erwerbstätig? F32 (V0067)	Sind Sie heute erwerbstätig? (1) Ja (2) Nein
Berufliche Position heute F34 (V0069)	In welcher beruflichen Stellung sind Sie heute erwerbstätig? (1) mithelfender Familienangehöriger in einem Familienbetrieb (2) Arbeiter (3) Angestellter (4) freiberuflich tätig, z.B. Arzt, Rechtsanwalt oder Künstler (5) selbständiger Gewerbetreibender
welcher aufenthaltsrechtliche Status F42 (V0077)	Welchen aufenthaltsrechtlichen Status besitzen Sie? (1) Aufenthaltsbewilligung (2) befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis (3) unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis (4) Aufenthaltsberechtigung (5) Einbürgerung ist beantragt (6) Ich bin in Deutschland eingebürgert (7) Weiß nicht
Welcher Familienstand F81 (V0385)	Welchen Familienstand haben Sie? <u>Ledig</u> A Lebe bei meinen Eltern und habe noch keine feste Partnerschaft B Lebe bei meinen Eltern und habe schon eine feste Partnerschaft bzw. bin verlobt C Lebe allein und habe noch keine feste Partnerschaft D Lebe allein und habe schon eine feste Partnerschaft bzw. bin

	verlobt E Wohne mit meiner Partnerin zusammen <u>Verheiratet</u> F lebe mit Ehepartnerin zusammen G Ehepartnerin wohnt überwiegend woanders <u>Getrennt lebend, geschieden, verwitwet</u> H habe keine feste neue Partnerschaft J wohne mit meiner neuen Partnerin zusammen K habe neue Partnerin, die woanders wohnt
Geschwisterzahl F13 (V0020)	Wieviele Geschwister haben Sie?

QUESTIONNAIRES OF STUDY 2

Fachbereich Psychologie der Philipps-Universität Marburg
AG Sozialpsychologie
Prof. Dr. Ulrich Wagner & Dipl. Psych. Meral Gezici

Befragung zu aktuellen gesellschaftlichen Themenbereichen

Liebe Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer!

Mit dem vorliegenden Forschungsprojekt sind wir bemüht, ein Bild über Ihre Einstellungen zu aktuellen gesellschaftlichen Themen und Ihre persönlichen Wünsche zu bekommen. Deshalb bitten wir Sie, die folgenden Fragen zu beantworten.

Bitte beantworten Sie die Fragen sorgfältig und vollständig; dies wäre eine große Hilfe für unser Forschungsprojekt.

Wir möchten betonen, dass es keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten gibt. Es interessiert uns Ihre Meinung.

Selbstverständlich werden Ihre Daten anonym behandelt.

Für Ihre Teilnahme möchten wir uns im Voraus herzlich bedanken!

Bitte füllen Sie diesen Fragebogen alleine aus!

Eine kurze Erklärung zum Ausfüllen des Fragebogens:

In diesem Fragebogen werden Ihnen verschiedene Aussagen präsentiert. Bitte geben Sie zu jeder Aussage an, wie stark Sie der Aussage zustimmen. Bitte kreuzen Sie dazu jeweils die Zahl an, die ihrer Antwort am nächsten kommt. Dazu ein Beispiel:

Ich esse gerne Schokolade	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① <input checked="" type="radio"/> ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	Stimme voll und ganz zu
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Eine '1' bedeutet, dass Sie der Aussage "Ich esse gerne Schokolade" **überhaupt nicht zustimmen**, eine '6' bedeutet, dass Sie der Aussage **voll und ganz zustimmen**. Die Zahlen '2' bis '5' stellen entsprechende Abstufungen dar. Wenn Sie wie im Beispiel die 2 angekreuzt haben, bedeutet dies somit, dass sie der Aussage "Ich esse gerne Schokolade" eher nicht zustimmen.

Zunächst möchten wir Sie zu verschiedenen Formen von politischer Aktivität befragen, an denen Sie in den letzten fünf Jahren möglicherweise teilgenommen haben.

Ich war als Sprecher für eine bestimmte Gruppe, die zum Thema Zuwanderung arbeitet, aktiv.	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig
Ich habe Zeit mit der Arbeit an einer politischen Kampagne (z.B. Spendenaktionen) zum Thema Zuwanderung verbracht.	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig
Ich habe an politischen Treffen oder Workshops zum Thema Zuwanderung teilgenommen.	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig
Ich habe in Gruppen oder Vereinen das Thema Zuwanderung zur Sprache gebracht.	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig
Ich habe an einer Kundgebung oder Demonstration zum Thema Zuwanderung teilgenommen.	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig
Ich habe an illegale politische Aktionen zum Thema Zuwanderung teilgenommen (z.B. Straßenblockaden bei einer Demonstration).	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig
Ich habe ein Unterschriftenaktionen zum Thema Zuwanderung teilgenommen.	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	sehr häufig

Im Folgenden finden Sie verschiedene Gruppen und Organisationen aufgelistet

a) Bitte beantworten sie für jede Gruppe/Organisation, ob Sie Mitglied sind, und ob Sie regelmäßig Treffen und Veranstaltungen besuchen

b) Wie oft werden in der jeweiligen Gruppe politische Themen diskutiert?

No		(a) Sind Sie Mitglied ...?		(b) Werden in dem Verein/der Gruppe politische und soziale Themen diskutiert?		
1	Kunst-, Literatur-, oder Kulturgruppe	ja <input type="radio"/>	nein <input type="radio"/>	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	oft
2	Religiöse Gruppe oder Organisation	ja <input type="radio"/>	nein <input type="radio"/>	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	oft
3	Jugendverband oder -club	ja <input type="radio"/>	nein <input type="radio"/>	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	oft
4	Ausländergruppe oder Organisation	ja <input type="radio"/>	nein <input type="radio"/>	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	oft
5	Sportverein	ja <input type="radio"/>	nein <input type="radio"/>	nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	oft
6	Andere (Bitte unten angeben):	_____		nie	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	oft

Im Folgenden finden Sie einige Aussagen zu Ihrer Identifikation mit verschiedenen Gruppen.

Bitte geben Sie bitte an, wie stark Sie sich mit der Gruppe der Deutschen identifizieren, auch wenn Sie nicht die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besitzen.

Zu den Deutschen zu gehören, ist mir sehr wichtig.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
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Häufig bedaure ich, dass ich Deutsche/r bin.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Deutsche/r zu sein, spiegelt sehr gut meine Persönlichkeit wieder.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Im Allgemeinen bin ich froh, dass ich Deutsche/r bin.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu

Bitte geben Sie an wie stark Sie sich mit der Gruppe der Ausländer identifizieren.

Zu der Gruppe der Ausländer/innen zu gehören, ist mir sehr wichtig.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Häufig bedaure ich, dass ich Ausländer/in bin.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer/in zu sein, spiegelt sehr gut meine Persönlichkeit wider.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Im Allgemeinen bin ich froh, dass ich Ausländer/in bin.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu

Bitte geben Sie an, wie stark Sie sich mit Mitgliedern Ihres Herkunftslandes identifizieren.

Zu meinem Herkunftsland zu gehören, ist mir sehr wichtig.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Häufig bedaure ich, dass ich aus dem Land meiner Herkunft stamme.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Aus meinem Herkunftsland zu stammen, spiegelt sehr gut meine Persönlichkeit wider.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Im Allgemeinen bin ich froh, dass ich aus meinem Herkunftsland stamme.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu

Wenn Sie Ihren eigenen Lebenssituation mit den Deutschen vergleichen, geht es Ihnen besser oder schlechter als Deutschen?

Meine eigene Lebenssituation ist im Vergleich zu Deutschen... (bitte Zutreffendes ankreuzen)

viel besser	etwas besser	ungefähr gleich	etwas schlechter	viel schlechter
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Wenn Sie Ihre eigene Lebenssituation mit der von anderen Ausländern vergleichen, geht es Ihnen besser oder schlechter als diesen?

Meine eigene Lebenssituation ist im Vergleich zu anderen Ausländern... (bitte Zutreffendes ankreuzen)

viel besser	etwas besser	ungefähr gleich	etwas schlechter	viel schlechter
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Wenn Sie die Lebenssituation von den Ausländern insgesamt mit der von Deutschen vergleichen, geht es Ausländern in Deutschland besser oder schlechter als Deutschen?
 Ausländern geht es im Vergleich zu Deutschen... (bitte Zutreffendes ankreuzen)

viel besser	etwas besser	ungefähr gleich	etwas schlechter	viel schlechter
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Wie denken Sie über die Beziehungen zwischen Ausländern und Deutschen?

Ich glaube, dass das Verhältnis zwischen Ausländern und Deutschen in den nächsten Jahren so bleibt wie es ist.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Das bestehende Verhältnis zwischen Ausländern und Deutschen ist nur von vorübergehender Dauer.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
An dem bestehendem Verhältnis zwischen Ausländern und Deutschen kann sich so leicht nichts ändern.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer verdienen es nicht, dass es ihnen heute schlechter geht als den Deutschen.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer können verlangen, dass es ihnen genauso gut geht wie den Deutschen.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Es ist gerechtfertigt, dass es den Deutschen besser geht als den Ausländern.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ein Ausländer kann sich anstrengen wie er will, er kann niemals ein Deutscher sein.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Für Ausländer ist es im Prinzip keine Schwierigkeit, als Deutscher angesehen zu werden.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Es ist für Ausländer fast unmöglich, als Deutscher angesehen zu werden.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer besitzen weniger Macht und Status in der Gesellschaft als Deutsche.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer haben weniger Möglichkeiten, einen Arbeitsplatz zu finden, als Deutsche.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer besitzen weniger Zugang zu einer guten Bildung als Deutsche.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer werden schlechter bezahlt als Deutsche.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer besitzen weniger gesellschaftliches Ansehen als Deutsche.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer besitzen niedrigere Einkommen als Deutsche, weil sie auf dem Arbeitsmarkt diskriminiert werden.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu

Die Unterschiede in der gesellschaftlichen Stellung von Ausländern und Deutschen hat ihren Ursprung im ökonomischen, sozialen und politischen System Deutschlands.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Das ökonomische, soziale und politische System Deutschlands stellt gesellschaftliche Ungleichheiten zwischen Deutschen und Ausländern her.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Die Unterschiede im beruflichen Status zwischen Deutschen und Ausländern entstehen durch die niedrigere Motivation von Ausländer.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Die Unterschiede in der gesellschaftlichen Stellung zwischen Ausländern und Deutschen entstehen dadurch, dass die einzelnen Zuwanderer sich nicht genügend Mühe geben.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu
Ausländer können die Ungleichheiten in Deutschland verringern, indem sie sich mehr anstrengen.	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥	stimme voll und ganz zu

Wie alt sind Sie: _____ Jahre

Welches Geschlecht haben Sie:

- männlich
 weiblich

Ungefähre Einwohnerzahl Ihres Heimatortes? _____

Wie ist Ihr Familienstand?

- ledig/ alleinstehend
 verheiratet
 auf Dauer mit Partner/in zusammenlebend

Bei wem/mit wem zusammen wohnen Sie?

- alleine
 mit Ehemann/Ehefrau/Partner/in
 bei den Eltern
 mit Freunden oder in einer WG

Wieviele Menschen leben in Ihrem Haushalt? (Eltern, Kinder, Freunde und Sie selbst eingeschlossen) _____

Welchen Schulabschluss haben Sie? (Bitte zutreffendes ankreuzen)

Hauptschulabschluß	<input type="radio"/>
Mittlere Reife	<input type="radio"/>
Abitur / Hochschulreife	<input type="radio"/>
Fachhochschule / Universität	<input type="radio"/>
Anderer Abschluss (bitte benennen):	<input type="radio"/>
Keinen Abschluss	<input type="radio"/>

Wenn Sie mal alles zusammenrechnen: Wie hoch ist Ihr **persönliches monatliches Netto-Einkommen**, also nach Abzug der Steuern und Sozialversicherungen? Bitte zutreffendes ankreuzen

- unter 500 Euro
- 500 bis unter 1000 Euro
- 1000 bis unter 2000 Euro
- 2000 bis unter 3000 Euro
- 3000 bis unter 4000 Euro
- 4000 bis unter 5000 Euro
- über 5000 Euro

Wenn Sie mal alles zusammenrechnen: Wie hoch ist das **monatliche Netto-Einkommen, das Sie alle zusammen in Ihrem Haushalt**, in dem Sie leben, also nach Abzug der Steuern und Sozialversicherungen? (Bitte zutreffendes ankreuzen)

- unter 500 Euro
- 500 bis unter 1000 Euro
- 1000 bis unter 2000 Euro
- 2000 bis unter 3000 Euro
- 3000 bis unter 4000 Euro
- 4000 bis unter 5000 Euro
- über 5000 Euro

Welche Staatsangehörigkeit haben:					
Sie selbst		Ihr Vater:		Ihre Mutter:	
Deutsch	<input type="radio"/>	Deutsch	<input type="radio"/>	Deutsch	<input type="radio"/>
Türkisch	<input type="radio"/>	Türkisch	<input type="radio"/>	Türkisch	<input type="radio"/>
andere (Bitte benennen):	<input type="radio"/>	andere (Bitte benennen):	<input type="radio"/>	andere (Bitte benennen):	<input type="radio"/>
_____		_____		_____	

Welcher Religion gehören Sie an?

- Evangelisch
- Katholisch
- Sunnitisch
- Allevitisch
- Keine
- andere _____

Welcher ethnischen Herkunft sind Sie? _____

Wir danken Ihnen sehr für Ihre Mitarbeit!

Additional Documents for Study 1 and Study 2

Table 2. Deleted items due to large missing values (more than 10%)

Variable number	Name	Missing Percentage
V0067	Today employed?	35.0
V0069	Occupation today	51.3

Table 3. M^{41} , sd and reliabilities of the scales of Study 2 for N = 193

Variables	M	sd	Reliabilities
Identification with German group	2.53	1.26	.70
Identification with <i>Ausländer</i> group	3.70	1.43	.80
Identification with country of origin	4.43	1.48	.85
Participation in cultural organizations ^{ab}	0-2 range	-	.20**
Participation in youth organizations ^b	0-3 range	-	.48
Perceived permeability ^a	2.72	1.60	.57**
Perceived legitimacy	2.12	1.04	.61
Perceived stability	3.21	1.46	-
Perceived group discrimination	3.72	1.47	.75
Group RD compared to Germans	3.61	.91	-
Personal RD compared to Germans	2.89	.97	-
Personal RD compared to <i>Ausländer</i>	2.33	.90	-
System-blame	3.60	1.14	.72
<i>Ausländer</i> -blame	3.69	1.23	.74
Collective action ^c	.33	.45	.90

^a Reliability coefficients were calculated with simple Pearson correlation for two-tales.

^b Because dichotomous variables were summed up, the range is increased.

^c Log transformations were implemented for the items of collective action, therefore, M and sd are given as z values rather than raw M and sd ($M = 1.79$, $sd = .33$).

** $p < .01$.

⁴¹ Although there is not any absolute mean for the constructs due to EM imputation, means, sd values and reliabilities (Cronbach's Alpha for more than two-item scales, Pearson correlation for two-item scales) were given. All scales involved six-point Likert type scale except RD variables, which means the absolute means for six-point scales were 3 and for five-point scales were 2.5.

Table 4. Bivariate correlations between research variables of Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Collective action	1	.192**	.157*	.184*	.064	.022	-.107	.111	-.004	.069
2. Perceived discrimination	.192**	1	.318**	.196**	.024	-.039	.003	.034	-.031	-.110
3. Perceived group RD	.157*	.318**	1	.344**	.007	-.001	.045	.153*	.055	.020
4. Perceived personal RD-Germans	.184*	.196**	.344**	1	.411**	-.149*	-.129	.000	-.154*	.039
5. Perceived personal RD- <i>Ausländer</i>	.064	.024	.007	.411**	1	-.109	.031	-.010	-.065	-.011
6. Identification with <i>Ausländer</i>	.022	-.039	-.001	-.149*	-.109	1	.492**	.141*	.053	.066
7. Identification with country of origin	-.107	.003	.045	-.129	.031	.492**	1	.063	.008	-.060
8. Participation in cultural organizations	.111	.034	.153*	.000	-.010	.141*	.063	1	.225**	.095
9. Participation in youth organizations	-.004	-.031	.055	-.154*	-.065	.053	.008	.225**	1	-.059
10. Identification with Germans	.069	-.110	.020	.039	-.011	.066	-.060	.095	-.059	1
11. Perceived permeability	.031	-.381**	-.120	-.048	.028	-.120	-.048	.088	.153*	.049
12. Perceived legitimacy	-.003	-.132	-.232**	-.035	-.065	-.097	-.104	-.054	-.098	.180*
13. Perceived stability	.100	.008	-.106	.038	.097	.207**	.088	.060	-.011	.046
14. System-blame	.244**	.534**	.387**	.155*	.059	.169*	.059	.079	.085	-.050
15. <i>Ausländer</i> -blame	-.013	-.081	.034	-.025	-.181*	.153*	.127	.012	-.018	.023
16. Gender	-.063	-.094	-.083	.011	-.082	.027	.088	.034	-.020	-.106
17. Education	.144*	.058	.331**	.115	-.202**	-.058	-.059	.183*	.029	-.030
18. Personal income	-.046	-.170*	.024	-.112	.050	-.160*	-.099	.023	.077	.019
19. Household income	-.131	-.118	.051	-.128	-.164*	.010	-.030	-.006	.034	-.051
20. Citizenship status	-.004	-.010	.053	.032	.097	-.029	-.073	-.034	-.009	-.177*

The correlations are significant at two-tails

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

Table 4. Bivariate correlations between research variables of Study 2 continued

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1 Collective action	.031	-.003	.100	.244**	-.013	-.063	.144*	-.046	-.131	-.004
2. Perceived discrimination	-.381**	-.132	.008	.534**	-.081	-.094	.058	-.170*	-.118	-.010
3. Perceived group RD	-.120	-.232**	-.106	.387**	.034	-.083	.331**	.024	.051	.053
4. Perceived personal RD-Germans	-.048	-.035	.038	.155*	-.025	.011	.115	-.112	-.128	.032
5. Perceived personal RD- <i>Ausländer</i>	.028	-.065	.097	.059	-.181*	-.082	-.202**	.050	-.164*	.097
6. Identification with <i>Ausländer</i>	-.120	-.097	.207**	.169*	.153*	.027	-.058	-.160*	.010	-.029
7. Identification with country of origin	-.048	-.104	.088	.059	.127	.088	-.059	-.099	-.030	-.073
8. Participation in cultural organizations	.088	-.054	.060	.079	.012	.034	.183*	.023	-.006	-.034
9. Participation in youth organizations	.153*	-.098	-.011	.085	-.018	-.020	.029	.077	.034	-.009
10. Identification with Germans	.049	.180*	.046	-.050	.023	-.106	-.030	.019	-.051	-.177*
11. Perceived permeability	1	.185*	-.052	-.246**	.020	.010	-.037	-.008	.053	.014
12. Perceived legitimacy	.185*	1	.044	-.252**	.030	-.028	-.088	-.048	-.002	-.055
13. Perceived stability	-.052	.044	1	-.003	.111	-.005	-.227**	-.085	-.018	.035
14. System-blame	-.246**	-.252**	-.003	1	.044	-.056	.004	-.058	-.046	.093
15. <i>Ausländer</i> -blame	.020	.030	.111	.044	1	.169*	.041	.106	.114	-.126
16. Gender	.010	-.028	-.005	-.056	.169*	1	.123	-.157*	.030	-.174*
17. Education	-.037	-.088	-.227**	.004	.041	.123	1	-.226**	-.062	-.119
18. Personal income	-.008	-.048	-.085	-.058	.106	-.157*	-.226**	1	.291**	.187*
19. Household income	.053	-.002	-.018	-.046	.114	.030	-.062	.291**	1	.067
20. Citizenship status	.014	-.055	.035	.093	-.126	-.174*	-.119	.187*	.067	1

The correlations are significant at two-tails

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