

We Want it That Way: The Acculturation of Muslims in Multicultural and Pluralistic Societies from Minority and Majority Group Perspectives

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Contents

| | |
|--|------------|
| Scientific Environment..... | 3 |
| Acknowledgements..... | 4 |
| Abstract..... | 6 |
| List of publications..... | 12 |
| Abbreviations..... | 13 |
| 1. Introduction..... | 14 |
| 1.1 Multicultural and Pluralistic Societies..... | 18 |
| 1.2 Muslims in Western, Multicultural Societies..... | 20 |
| 1.3 The Concept of Ummah and its Relevance for the Thesis..... | 21 |
| 1.4 Muslims in Norway..... | 22 |
| 1.5 Muslims in the U.K..... | 27 |
| 1.6 Muslims in Canada..... | 30 |
| 1.7 Theoretical Framework..... | 34 |
| 2. Methods..... | 54 |
| 2.1 Measures of Paper 1..... | 54 |
| 2.2 Measures of Paper 2..... | 58 |
| 2.3 Measures of Paper 3..... | 63 |
| 2.4 Statistical Analysis in Paper 1..... | 66 |
| 2.5 Statistical Analysis in Paper 2..... | 67 |
| 2.6 Statistical Analysis in Paper 3..... | 67 |
| 3. Results..... | 69 |
| 3.1 Results of Paper 1..... | 69 |
| 3.2 Results of Paper 2..... | 74 |
| 3.3 Results of Paper 3..... | 84 |
| 4. Discussion..... | 86 |
| 4.1 Main Findings..... | 86 |
| 4.2 Discussion of the Results..... | 90 |
| 4.3 Strengths, Limitations, and Directions for Future Research..... | 97 |
| 4.4 Societal Implications..... | 102 |
| 4.5 Conclusion..... | 105 |
| 4.6 My Role in this Thesis – A Reflection..... | 106 |
| References..... | 107 |
| Appendix A | |

Scientific Environment

This Ph.D. was completed at the Department of Psychosocial Science of the Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen in the research group Society and Workplace Diversity. A three-months stay at the Center for Cross-Cultural Research at the University of Guelph in Canada laid the foundation for one of papers in the thesis. During my Ph.D., I was affiliated with the doctoral program of the Graduate School of Human Interaction and Growth (GHIG), at the University of Bergen, Faculty of Psychology, Department of Psychosocial Science. My main supervisor was Professor David Lackland Sam (Ph.D.; University of Bergen), co-supervisor was Professor Jonas Rønningsdalen Kunst (Ph.D.; University of Oslo) and external supervisor was Professor Saba Safdar (Ph.D.; University of Guelph).

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to complete. I am grateful to you because you have been through the entire Ph.D. journey with me, including the ups and downs of the process. I would also like to express my gratitude to my children, Maria, Anum and Ali. Considering that you all are young, it's hard to imagine how you could contribute to a doctoral dissertation, but in fact, it is for you that I have written this thesis. I want you to grow up in a society that see 'different' as a superpower, as it is portrayed in Disney movies and series. My children, I love you to the moon and back. I am also grateful to my mother Rubina, and my siblings Fatima, Usman and Zara for their love and encouragement throughout my Ph.D. journey. Finally, I thank my mother for being a role model for me and for being a woman of substance. You taught me two important life lessons that have been useful in my Ph.D. journey: value time and never give up.

Abstract

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks, the relationship between majority group members and Muslim minorities in the West has followed a cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western attitudes and behavior. In many Western countries, media and public debate have portrayed Muslims' presence and their religious practices as incompatible with Western democratic states, which have generated biased behaviors and attitudes in the form of social exclusion, distrust, and suspicion toward the Muslim community by the majority society. Furthermore, the majority group has extensively debated factors that might lead Muslim minority group members to support violence by foreign extremist states or to commit violence themselves. This increasingly anti-Muslim climate is perceived and experienced by Muslim minorities as a threat to their religious culture and social categorization as Muslims. Consequently, this has caused some Muslims to distance themselves and, in some cases, disengage from society, giving rise to anti-Western sentiments and behavior in the form of radicalization and violent extremism. As a result, negative views toward the Muslim community intensified among the majority group members. Based on these arguments, this thesis aims to comprehensively examine the intergroup relationship between Muslim minorities and their wider society. This thesis investigates intergroup relations through the process of acculturation, with respect to religious and majority society cultures. The underlying elements of the tense relationship are examined using intergroup threat theory, intergroup emotions theory and perspectives from coalitional psychology. The main goals of this thesis are twofold: 1) This thesis seeks to investigate the process of acculturation in Muslim minorities and the underlying factors that impact their relationship with the majority society from a Muslim minority perspective. 2) It intends to examine how the acculturation process of Muslims is perceived by majority society and how this perception influences intergroup relationships in their respective societies. The research data in this thesis are drawn from three studies carried out in three different

countries: Norway, the U.K., and Canada, and among four different groups: Muslims in Norway and the U.K., and the British and Canadian majority group members.

Paper 1 takes the Muslim minority perspective and investigates why threat perceptions from majority society may lead to higher violent behavioral intentions among Muslims based on distinct acculturation orientations. It tests this proposition in two samples comprising of Norwegian (N = 253) and British Muslims (N = 194). Results indicate that the more Norwegian Muslims perceive realistic threat, the more violent behavioral intentions they show, but this relation is not mediated by acculturation. Among British Muslims, mainstream acculturation orientation is related to more violent intentions, while threat is not. In both samples, symbolic threat is associated with more support for Muslim military violence and this relationship is mediated by religious acculturation in the U.K. Symbolic threat is linked with less personal intentions to commit violence in the U.K., mediated by religious acculturation. Complementary analyses calculating acculturation strategies indicate that assimilated, and to some extent integrated, Muslims in both countries tend to show the highest violent behavioral intentions. By contrast, separated individuals show the highest level of support for Muslim military violence.

Paper 2 is pre-registered experimental research, which examines the mediating role of perceived (dis)loyalty of British Muslims as underlying process of biased intergroup relationship between Muslims and the majority society from a majority group perspective. A total of 334 non-Muslim White British participants in Study 1 and 810 in Study 2 were asked to indicate their acculturation expectations toward Muslims. They were then randomly assigned to read a text that described Muslims in a fictional town as either (a) maintaining their religious culture or (b) adopting the mainstream British culture, or they read (c) a neutral control text. As expected, in Study 1, when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture, trust decreased compared to the control group. Conversely, when described

as adopting the mainstream culture, trust increased while support for surveillance of Muslims decreased. Both effects were mediated by the perception of Muslims being disloyal or loyal to the U.K in both studies, respectively. Perceived loyalty to their religious group did not significantly mediate any effect. We replicated these findings in Study 2. Moreover, the results show that describing Muslims as maintaining their religious culture decreased trust and increased support for surveillance especially among participants who expected Muslims to give up their religious culture. Moderated mediation analysis showed that these effects were partly mediated by perceived loyalty to the U.K.

Paper 3 also takes a majority group perspective and experimentally assesses the effects of Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies by the majority group on the social exclusion of Muslims in Canada, and to what extent religious resentment mediates the relationship between Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies and social exclusion. The sample consisted of 190 non-Muslim Canadians. The results show that when Muslims were viewed as assimilated in Canadian society, social exclusion of Muslims and religious resentment toward Muslims decreased. Furthermore, religious resentment mediates the association between Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies and social exclusion only when they were perceived as assimilated.

In conclusion, the findings of this thesis confirm the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western attitudes and behavior among majority group members and the Muslim minority in Western societies, influenced by past events. This thesis is relevant to Muslim leaders and organizations representing Muslim minorities and the majority group, organizations that focus on developing and implementing social cohesion policies and programs, and those who work to counter animosity toward Muslim minority and majority groups.

Sammendrag

Siden angrepene mot USA i 11. september 2001, har forholdet mellom majoritetsgruppemedlemmer og muslimske minoriteter i vesten fulgt en sirkel av anti-muslimske og anti-vestlige holdninger. I mange vestlige land har media og offentlig debatt skildret muslimeres tilstedeværelse og deres religiøse praksis som uforenlig med vestlige demokratiske stater, som har gitt opphav til sosial eksklusjon, mistillit og mistro mot muslimer. Dette stadig mer anti-muslimsk klima oppfattes og oppleves av muslimske minoriteter som en trussel mot deres religiøse kultur og sosiale kategorisering som muslimer. Følgelig har dette fått noen muslimer til å distansere seg og i noen tilfeller løsrive seg fra samfunnet, gi opphav til anti-vestlige følelser og oppførsel i form av radikaliserings og voldelig ekstremisme. Som et resultat negative synspunkter mot det muslimske samfunnet blant majoritetssamfunnet er forsterket. Basert på disse argumentene har denne oppgaven som mål å omfattende undersøke forholdet mellom muslimske minoriteter og deres samfunn. Denne oppgaven undersøker intergruppeforhold gjennom akkulturasjon, ved å se på religiøse og majoritetssamfunns kulturer. De underliggende elementene i det ansente forholdet blir undersøkt ved bruk av intergroup threat theory, intergroup emotions theory og perspektiver fra koalisjonell psykologi. Hovedmålene for denne oppgaven er todelt: 1) Denne oppgaven søker å undersøke prosessen med akkulturerings hos muslimske minoriteter og de underliggende faktorene som påvirker forholdet til majoritetssamfunnet fra et muslimsk minoritetsperspektiv. 2) Den har til hensikt å undersøke hvordan akkultureringsprosessen til muslimer oppfattes av majoritetssamfunnet og hvordan denne oppfatningen påvirker intergruppeforhold i deres respektive samfunn. Forskningsdata i denne oppgaven er hentet fra tre studier utført i tre forskjellige land: Norge, Storbritannia og Canada, og blant fire forskjellige grupper: muslimer i Norge og Storbritannia, og de britiske og kanadiske majoritetsgruppemedlemmene.

Paper 1 tar det muslimske minoritetsperspektivet og undersøker hvorfor trussel oppfatninger fra majoritetssamfunnet kan føre til høyere voldelige atferds intensjoner blant muslimer basert på distinkte akkulturasjonsorienteringer. Den tester antagelsen i to utvalg som består av norske (N = 253) og britiske muslimer (N = 194). Resultatene indikerer at jo mer norske muslimer oppfatter realistisk trussel, jo mer voldelige atferds intensjoner de viser, men dette forholdet er ikke mediert av akkulturering. Blant britiske muslimer, mainstream akkulturasjonsorientering er relatert til mer voldelige intensjoner, mens trussel ikke er det. I begge utvalg symbolsk trussel er assosiert med mer støtte for muslimsk militær vold og dette forholdet er mediert av religiøs akkulturering i Storbritannia. Symbolsk trussel er knyttet sammen med mindre personlige intensjoner om å begå vold i Storbritannia, mediert av religiøse akkulturasjon. Komplementære analyser som beregner akkulturasjonsstrategier indikerer det assimilerte, og til en viss grad integrerte, muslimer i begge land har en tendens til å vise det høyeste voldelige atferds intensjoner. Derimot viser separerte individer det høyeste nivået av støtte til muslimsk militær vold.

Paper 2 er forhåndsregistrert eksperimentell forskning, som undersøker den formidlende rollen til oppfattet (ill)lojalitet av britiske muslimer som underliggende prosess med intergruppe forholdet mellom muslimer og majoritetssamfunnet fra en majoritetsgruppe perspektiv. 334 ikke-muslimske hvite britiske deltakere i studie 1 og 810 i studie 2 ble spurt å indikere deres akkultureringsforventninger overfor muslimer. De var da tilfeldig tildelt å lese en tekst som beskrev muslimer i en fiktiv by som enten (a) vedlikeholde deres religiøse kultur eller (b) tilegne den mainstream britiske kulturen, eller de leser (c) en nøytral kontrolltekst. Som forventet, i studie 1, da muslimer ble presentert for å opprettholde deres religiøse kultur, reduserte tilliten sammenlignet med kontrollgruppen. Motsatt, når muslimer ble beskrevet å tilegne mainstream-kulturen, økte tilliten mens støtten til overvåking av muslimer ble redusert. Begge effektene ble formidlet av oppfatningen om at muslimer var illojale eller

lojale mot Storbritannia i begge studiene. Oppfattet lojalitet til sin religiøse gruppe viste ikke betydelig effekt. Vi repliserte disse funnene i studie 2. I tillegg resultater viser at det å beskrive muslimer som å opprettholde sin religiøse kultur reduserte tilliten og økte støtte til overvåking spesielt blant deltakere som forventet muslimer til å gi opp sin religiøse kultur. Moderasjonsanalyse viste at disse effektene var delvis formidlet av opplevd lojalitet til Storbritannia.

Paper 3 tar også en majoritetsgruppe perspektiv og vurderer eksperimentelt effekten av Muslimers akkulturasjonsstrategier som oppfattet av majoritetsgruppen og hvordan den påvirker sosial eksklusjon av og religiøs ergrelse mot Muslimer i Canada. Utvalget besto av 190 ikke-muslimske kanadiere. Resultatene viser at når muslimer ble sett på som assimilert i det kanadiske samfunnet, sosial eksklusjon av muslimer og religiøs ergrelse mot Muslimer reduserte. Videre medierer religiøs ergrelse assosiasjonen mellom Muslimers oppfattet akkulturasjonsstrategier og sosial eksklusjon bare når de var oppfattet som assimilert.

Avslutningsvis bekrefter funnene fra denne oppgaven sirkelen av anti-muslim og anti-vestlig holdninger og oppførsel blant majoritetsgruppede medlemmer og den muslimske minoriteten i vestlige samfunn, påvirket av hendelser i fortiden. Denne oppgaven er relevant for muslimske ledere og organisasjoner som representerer muslimske minoriteter og majoritetsgruppen, organisasjoner som fokuserer på å utvikle og implementere politikk og programmer for sosial samhörighet, og de som jobber å motvirke fiendskap mot muslimsk minoritet og majoritetsgrupper.

List of publications

Tahir, H., Kunst, J. R., & Sam, D. L. (2019). Threat, anti-western hostility and violence among European Muslims: the mediating role of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 73, 74-88. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.08.001>

Tahir, H., Kunst, R. J., & Sam, D. L. (2022). Acculturation Preferences and Perceived (dis)loyalty of Muslims in the U.K.: Two Vignette-Based Experimental Studies [Manuscript submitted for publication]. Department of Psychology, University of Bergen.

Tahir, H., Safdar, S. (2022). Cultural Similarity Predicts Social Inclusion of Muslims in Canada: A Vignette-Based Experimental Survey. *Frontiers in Psychology*. Doi: [10.3389/fpsyg.2022.973603](https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.973603)

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| CMA | Concordance Model of Acculturation |
| ITT | Intergroup Threat Theory |
| IET | Intergroup Emotions Theory |
| IAM | Interactive Acculturation Model |
| ISIS | Islamic State of Iraq and Syria |
| PEGIDA | Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamification of the Occident |
| SIAN | Stop Islamization of Norway |
| BNP | The British National Party |
| REB | Review Ethics Board |
| ANOVA | Analysis OF Variance |
| ML | Maximum Likelihood |
| U.K. | United Kingdom |
| USA | United States of America |
| NSD | Norwegian Center for Data Research |

1. Introduction

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a considerable amount of literature has focused on intergroup relations between Muslim minorities and majority groups in contemporary multicultural societies (e.g., see Poynting & Mason, 2007; Poynting & Noble, 2003; Kalra & Kapoor, 2009; Acik & Pilkington, 2018; Kunst et al., 2019). Although the history of Muslim presence in Western societies dates to the mid-1900s, Muslims' religious affiliation and practices have been time and again depicted as incompatible with Western values (Dreher, 2005; IMDI, 2007; Campana & Tanner, 2019; Wallrich et al., 2020). The debate on the presence of Islam and Muslims in Western countries has been high on public, political, and policy agendas, constructing Islam as a political problem and Muslims as a social issue (Morey & Yaqin 2011). This distinction between cultural dissimilarities and group differences has influenced intergroup relations between majority society and Muslim minorities, giving rise to anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments and rhetoric (Green & Staerklé, 2013; Guimond et al., 2013; Park & Judd, 2005; Plaut, 2002; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013).

In this thesis, I argue that the intergroup relationship between the Muslim minority and their majority societies has been following a cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western attitudes and behavior in the aftermath of 9/11, as illustrated in Figure 1. The cycle attempts to describe the relationship between the Muslim minority and majority society in some Western societies, based on the social and political climate discussing Muslims' religious cultural affiliation, and the underlying factors that impact this relationship. After 9/11, following subsequent terrorist attacks, negative views and behavior toward the Muslim community increased in the West (Field, 2007; Saeed, 2007). The majority society in many Western countries, reinforced by the far right, vilified the Muslim community, leading to prejudiced behavior toward them in the form of social exclusion, distrust, and suspicion (Poynting, & Mason, 2006; Awan, 2014).

Muslims subsequently experienced these sentiments and behaviors as socially excluding, discriminatory, threatening, and Islamophobic (Dovidio et al., 2007; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Kunst et al., 2012). Continuous and widespread biased sentiments toward Muslims led some members of the Muslim community to disengage and separate themselves from their majority society (Krueger & Malečková, 2003; Dearden, 2017). Many young Muslims born and raised in Western countries left their societies to participate in the atrocities of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Kristiansen, 2016). The concern for these foreign fighters' motivation to carry out attacks in and against Western countries (e.g., see PST, 2018) further created an environment of distrust and fear (Urbye, 2018).

Immense political debates have focused on the cultural position of Muslims in their respective societies (Bangstad, 2016). A question that was continuously discussed was whether being integrated, assimilated, marginalized, or separated from society – cultural styles commonly referred to as acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997) – represented risk factors (see e.g., Stroink, 2007). This climate of fear, distrust, and suspicion exacerbated the negative views of the Muslim community among the majority group members, while Muslims perceived majority society as a threat to their religious culture and affiliation (Hogg et al., 2010; Butler, 2015). Based on these societal observations, I argue that the tense relationship between Muslim minorities and the majority in Western multicultural societies has followed a cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments (Figure 1). This thesis aims to comprehensively examine the intergroup relationship between the Muslim community and the majority group in three multicultural societies to study the cycle.

This thesis investigates an important element of intergroup relations, acculturation. Furthermore, this thesis examines the underlying elements of biased intergroup relations. In short, the main goal of this thesis is to understand how the process of acculturation in Muslim minorities indirectly predicts violent tendencies when Muslims perceive threats to their

religious culture and social positions in their respective societies. In addition, this thesis examines how Muslims' acculturation orientations and strategies are perceived by the majority society and how these perceptions impact their relationship. This thesis takes a minority and a majority group perspective to study these phenomena. The research data in this thesis are drawn from three studies carried out in three different countries: Norway, the United Kingdom (U.K.), and Canada, and from four different groups: Muslims in Norway, the U.K., and the British, and Canadian majority group members.

In this thesis, I have focused on the Bi-dimensional Acculturation Model (Berry, 1997), Intergroup Emotions Theory (Mackie & Smith, 2000), and Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) to discuss the cycle of negative intergroup relations. I have organized this thesis into two sections, corresponding to two foundational questions:

- (1) How do Muslims respond to majority society when they perceive threats to their cultural preferences?
- (2) How do the majority group members respond to Muslims' cultural preferences and attitudes, given the increasing anti-Muslim sentiments?

Paper 1 addresses the first question from the perspective of Muslim minorities in Norway and the U.K. It examines the direct effects of perceptions of threats, as experienced by Muslims, from the majority society on support for Islamic violent organizations and their own violent behavioral intentions. The paper also examines the mediating role of acculturation orientations among Muslims on the relationship between perceived threat and violence. Papers 2 and 3 focus on the majority perspective. Paper 2 discusses how majority group members' perceptions of Muslims' acculturation orientations in religious and majority society culture display Muslims in the U.K. as (un)trustworthy and as a suspect community mediated by their perceived loyalty to the U.K. and their own religious group. Finally, paper 3

dives deeper into the acculturation strategies of Muslims and examines how the majority group members' perceptions of Muslims' acculturation strategies influence religious resentment, which in turn, mediates the effects of Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies on the social exclusion of Muslims in Canada.

I believe that this thesis is relevant to law enforcement agencies, Muslim leaders and organizations representing Muslim minorities and the majority group, organizations that work with how negative sentiments unfold into behavioral components, organizations whose focus is to develop and implement social cohesion policies and programs, and those who work with countering bias toward Muslims and vice versa. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to a deeper understanding of the intergroup relationship between Muslims and the majority society and improve this relationship by highlighting the underlying elements that lead to bias between the two groups.

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 1 sets the theoretical foundation of the thesis and began with an introduction to the topic. Following this, sample characteristics are introduced, which also describe multicultural societies and Muslims in Western countries. I then describe Muslims residing in Norway, the U.K., and Canada and the relationship between Muslims and the wider society in these countries. Next, the theoretical model used in this thesis is discussed. I first discuss the acculturation model that the thesis is built on, and then provide a breakdown of the Concordance Model of Acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997), religious acculturation, and a critique of the Bi-dimensional Acculturation Model (Berry, 1997). I then examine Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002), Intergroup Emotions Theory (Mackie & Smith, 2000), and coalitional psychology perspectives (Atran, 2016); theories used to assess intergroup relationships between Muslims and wider society. The final section of Chapter 1 describes the thesis research aims and hypotheses.

Chapter 2 describes the methodology of each study conducted in this thesis. Chapter 3 presents our results and findings. Chapter 4 discusses the findings, strengths, and limitations of the thesis, as well as the societal implications and directions for future work. Last but not the least, Appendix A contains a full description of the questionnaires used in the thesis, data storage assessments and ethical approval from relevant authorities.

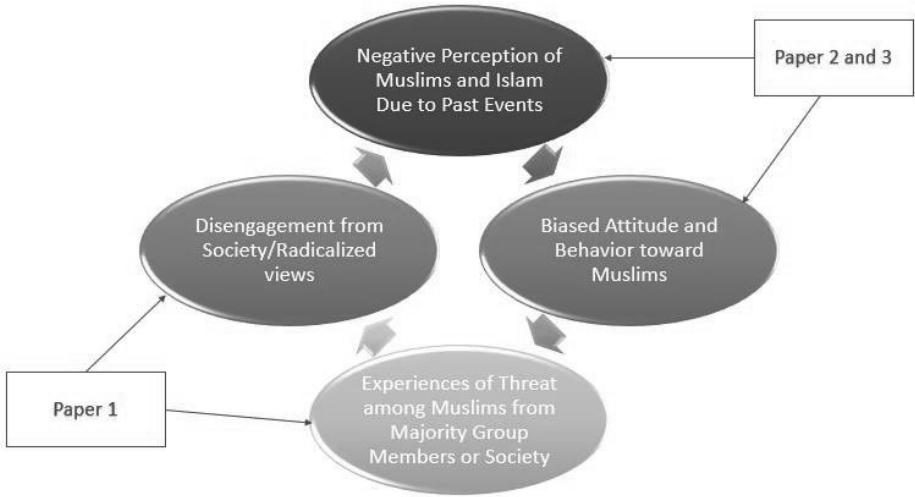


Figure 1. The cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western attitudes and behavior.

1.1 Multicultural and Pluralistic Societies

Culture is defined as an active but progressive set of rules that include norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors established by groups, which are shared among group members and passed across generations (Matumoto & Juang, 2004). Society is regarded as an element of a country with a common social system, with many communities residing within it (Rohner, 1984). Multiculturalism refers to the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds in a society (Kymlicka, 1995). Multiculturalism is a form of pluralism that

encourages diversity and recognizes and respects group differences and minority group affiliations (Verkuyten, 2006). It is important to note the difference between multiculturalism and pluralism. Multiculturalism refers to the presence of and tolerance for different religious and ethnocultural groups in a society. In contrast, pluralism alone is not multiculturalism. Rather, it is the engagement of these diverse groups by participating in the larger society while maintaining their cultural uniqueness that makes a society pluralistic. Hence, in a society with multiple groups, it may be assumed that it is religiously or ethnically diverse, however, achieving pluralism is an accomplishment (see Green & Staerklé, 2013; Kymlicka, 1995; 2001; Huo & Molina, 2006; Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014). In 1971, Canada adopted multiculturalism as its policy. The aim of the policy was to promote and encourage cultural plurality (Berry, 2006; Kymlicka, 2010). Subsequently, many Western European countries such as Norway adopted policies that reflect multiculturalism (Bloemraad et al., 2008).

The scope of this thesis is restricted to multicultural societies that experienced immigration since the late 1960s. In this thesis and the resulting papers, I have referred to Norway, the United Kingdom, and Canada as multicultural societies and investigated Muslims' acculturation processes in these societies. These countries share many cultural similarities and are comparable in several respects. All three countries encouraged immigration from Muslim majority countries for work and study purposes during the 1960s (Mathismoen, 2005; Ali, 2015; The Hamilton Spectator, 2018). When Muslim immigrants arrived in these countries for work, their residence was not secured, they did not establish their families, they did not participate in the public sphere or demanded their cultural rights. Similarly, the majority society took time to adjust to new members (Mujahid, 2017; Merwe, 2021). However, there are some differences between the three countries. While Norway has historically been a homogeneous country, the U.K. has experienced migration from Muslim

majority countries due to its colonial history, while Canada is a white-settler colony. Hence, I was interested in assessing whether the research questions would show different outcomes in these countries or would be similar.

1.2 Muslims in Western, Multicultural Societies

Muslims account for approximately 4.9% of Europe's total population (Hackett & Lipcka, 2018). Muslims in Norway constitute 4.3% (Statistics Norway, 2017) and Muslims in the U.K. 6.3% of the total population (Office for National Statistics, 2020). In Canada, Muslims account for 3.6% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2016). Although they constitute a small percentage of the population in their respective countries, they have attracted significant news, media coverage, and scientific research (Litchmore & Safdar, 2015; Betz & Meret, 2008; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Bangstad, 2016). The vast majority of Muslims living in the West are immigrants. Therefore, in academic, policy, political, and public discourse, the presence of Islam in Western societies is often linked to immigration, settlement of immigrants, integration, and naturalization processes (Strelan & Lawani, 2010; Lyon-Padilla et al., 2015; Sam et al., 2016).

In the context of this thesis, I argue that Muslims' religious affiliation and cultural practices have been a topic of debate in the U.K., Canada, and Norway (Sheidan, 2006; IMDI, 2007; Bakker et al., 2013; Elkassem et al., 2018). These countries experienced significant migration from previous colonies and the global south, generally after the Second World War, and at present these migrants and their generations are citizens of these countries (Mujahid, 2017; Merwe, 2021; Statistics Norway, 2022). Post-immigration, ethnicity, and cultural affiliation of immigrants were significant defining characteristics of diversity in these countries (Poynting & Mason 2007). However, beginning in the 1980s, a series of events, such as the Rushdie affair and the Islamic headscarf controversy in France, brought religious affiliation to the fore and became a prominent diversity-related issue (Ruth, 2000). Yet it was

the terrorist attacks of 9/11 that drastically shifted the narrative of the identity of immigrants from Muslim majority countries from *ethnic* identity to *Muslim* identity in the West (Poynting & Mason, 2006). Hence, religious affiliation and cultural belonging have become important elements in Muslim migrants' identities (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Ysseldyck et al., 2010).

1.3 The Concept of Ummah and its Relevance for the Thesis

To understand acculturation in the frame of reference of this thesis, one must understand the interactional context in which it occurs (e.g., Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008; Crockett & Zamboanga, 2009). This context includes the characteristics of the migrants themselves, the countries from which they originate, their socioeconomic status and resources, their belief system, and the host country and local community settlement.

Islamic religion has diverse understandings and interpretations that have shaped different communities, and Muslims living in the West have diverse ethnic origins and nationalities (Kabha & Erlich, 2006; Pew Research Center, 2009). However, a common sense of affiliation with religion connects them together. This shared identity is ingrained in the concept of the *Ummah*, or a world community of believers that transcends relationships based on blood, ancestry, or background (Al-Ahsan, 1986). Within the framework of *Ummah*, ethnic identities are recognized in Islam (Ab Halim, 2014). Ethnic identities, however, are placed on a second tier in the hierarchy of identities, with global *Ummah* at the top. Against this background, this thesis does not differentiate between Muslims living in Western countries in relation to their ethnic identity because Muslims all over the world are required to follow the same religion, worship the same God, and follow the same religious rules for prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage, also known as the five pillars of Islam (Syeed & Ritchie, 2006). This thesis distinguishes Muslims based on their societies of living, with each country having specific policies for the governance of diversity. Based on this reasoning, this thesis

studies Muslims in each country as a single community going through the process of acculturation, while acknowledging the heterogeneity within each group. In this thesis, a Muslim is defined as a person who adheres to Islam and its practices (Ismail, 2004). Non-Muslims are defined as individuals who do not follow Islam.

Paper 1 focuses on the Muslim communities in Norway and the U.K. In papers 2 and 3, the respondents were non-Muslim and white, respectively. In these studies, participants were presented with vignettes that described the Muslim community on different acculturation preferences and profiles. The vignettes did not differentiate between Muslim communities based on ethnicity or various sects within Islam.

1.4 Muslims in Norway

In the late 1960s, immigration to Norway from non-Western, Muslim-majority countries began as a result of the oil boom and demand for labor (Anderson & Bjørklund, 1999). The migrants were primarily unskilled male laborers, called guest workers, from Pakistan, Turkey, and Morocco, who later brought and expanded their families through the family reunification law. In 1975, the Norwegian government halted immigration to Norway in order to decrease the immigration of guest workers (Sam et al., 2017). However, family-based immigration of guest workers from these countries continued until the early 1990s (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008; Erdal, 2014). In modern-day Norway, Muslim communities continue to grow through immigration, birth, and conversions. Although no official figures are available regarding the size of the Muslim population, Statistics Norway provides the best picture of the current number of Muslims in Norway. Statistics Norway reports that first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants identified as Muslim account for 4.3% of the total population (Statistics Norway, 2017).

Muslims in Norway are diverse and belong to various ethnicities. Muslims with a Pakistani background form the oldest and largest minority group among non-Western groups,

followed by Syrians due to the refugee crisis in 2014, and Somalis, Iraqis, and Afghans (Statistics Norway, 2020) in present-day Norway. Other ethnic groups from Muslim majority countries such as Bangladesh, Morocco, and Turkey are also a part of the Norwegian Muslim repertoire. Norwegian Pakistanis, including Norwegians born to one or both immigrant parents, comprise the largest group, with 17,565 individuals (Statistics Norway, 2020).

The majority of Muslims in Norway have pursued higher education in the form of a university degree (Bratsberg, Raaum, & Røed, 2012; Hermansen, 2015). Muslims are overrepresented in professions such as medicine and law. Compared to their parents' generation, who are blue-collar workers, the majority of Norwegian Muslims are employed in white-collar jobs such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, and teachers and are more successfully integrated into the labor market. However, partly due to experiences of religious discrimination against Muslims, the employment rate of Muslims is lower than that of their Norwegian counterparts (IMDI, 2007).

Muslims in Norway and the Wider Society

The relationship between Norwegian majority society and its Muslim minority has been turbulent and unpredictable since the late 1980s. The printing of a Norwegian translation of "The Satanic Verses" by Salman Rushdie by the renowned Norwegian publisher Aschehoug led to massive demonstrations by the Norwegian Muslim community, calling for the withdrawal of the book and threats to kill the editor. During this episode, Norwegians were exposed to extreme Islamic views, which also led to unfavorable views of the Muslim community in Norway (Ruth, 2000). However, the terror attacks of September 11 shifted the narrative from anti-ethnic to anti-Muslim prejudice (Poynting & Mason, 2007). Public, media, and political discussions increasingly focused on the incompatibility of Islamic and European values, creating an atmosphere of fear and hostility (Kapelrud, 2008).

The already inflamed debate around Muslims' presence in Norway reached a climax in 2006 when the Norwegian magazine "Magazinet" reprinted Danish caricatures of the Prophet Muhammed, depicting him as an extremist, causing Muslims across the world to protest and set fire to Norwegian embassies in Muslim majority countries (Klausen, 2009). As a result, the portrayal of Muslims as fanatics and backwards, and their religious behavior as discordant with basic Norwegian values of freedom of speech and democracy became an inveterate part of society (Bangstad, 2016). The public became negative toward Muslim immigrants, and many supported reduced immigration from Muslim countries (Kapelrud, 2008).

This did not end here. Several incidents created a climate of distrust and suspicion between Muslims and wider society, enabling unfavorable views. In July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik, a White right-wing Islamophobe, conducted two extremely barbaric attacks aimed at Norway's Social Democrats, where he proclaimed war against Islam and demanded the deportation of Muslims from Europe (Sandvik et al., 2012). Consequently, majority of population responded with positive attitudes toward Norwegian Muslims (Moen & Hoffmann, 2017). However, the Norwegian anti-immigration Progress Party directed negative attention toward Norwegian Muslims as they blamed the attacks on the governing Labor Party due to its lenient immigration policies from Muslim majority countries over the years (Færaas, 2011). After the next election, a center-right coalition government was formed, which also included the Progress Party. The party mobilized voters' anxiety by demonizing Islam and Muslims' religious practices (Skodje, 2013). For example, although the number of Muslim women who used the niqab (a garment that covers the face) or the burka (a garment that covers the whole body) could be counted on one hand, the party instilled the psychological fear of Muslims' religious behavior and passed a bill to ban these clothes from educational institutions (Amundsen, 2014). These negative attitudes have also been reported in the majority society. A national representative survey in 2012 showed that 66% of respondents

with a Norwegian background stated that they would dislike a Muslim marrying into their family (Bangstad, 2018). Moreover, in the employment context, another study reported that employers would contact job applicants with a Muslim name in only 25% of cases compared to their non-Muslim counterparts with the same level of education and work experience (Midtbøen & Rogstad 2012). A study conducted by the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities showed that Muslims and Islam were the targets of frequent and widespread negative attitudes and prejudice from the majority society in the aftermath of the attacks on July 21st (Moen & Hoffmann, 2017).

The political and societal climate in Norway indicated negative views toward Muslims in the aftermath of these events when the world saw the 2015 Syrian refugee crisis. The dramatic influx of asylum seekers and refugees led to social tensions and conflict, and some members of the wider population become even more hostile toward Muslim refugees and asylum seekers in Norway (NTB, 2015; Buanes et al., 2015). Consequently, anti-Muslim hate crimes such as the vandalism of mosques, physical and verbal abuse toward Muslims, and online hate speech created an environment of fear among Norwegian Muslims (Moen & Hoffman, 2017; PST, 2018; Urbye, 2018).

While the world was still recovering from the refugee crisis, ISIS emerged. This group has caused large-scale destruction worldwide. In Europe, the group called for Muslims to commit terrorism by any means possible, and their high-profile attacks added fuel to the surging anti-Muslim sentiments in Norway (Bakker et al., 2013). Inspired by ISIS, a large number of Norwegian-born young Muslims traveled to Syria as foreign fighters. The concern that these individuals trained in combat might return to Norway to carry out a terrorist attack caused widespread concerns, prejudiced attitudes, negative stereotypes, and Islamophobic sentiment toward Muslims in Norway (Kristiansen, 2016).

The situation took a new turn in August 2019 when another young right-wing Norwegian, Philip Manhaus, attacked a mosque with the intention of killing people during prayers (Ighoubah & Lepperød, 2020). In addition, a Norwegian extremist organization, Stop Islamization of Norway (SIAN), has been active since 2008 and demonstrated against the presence of Islam in Norway by burning Islamic scripture compiled in a book: the Quran (NTB, 2022). The organization is officially registered with an organization number and is viewed as an equivalent of the Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident (PEGIDA) movement. In the summer of 2020, when Norway relaxed COVID-19 restrictions, SIAN held numerous demonstrations against Islam (Monsen, 2020). Since the police allowed them to conduct protests and provided protection during demonstrations, the members of the organization spat on the Quran, burned it, and tore it to pieces, provoking a young Muslim audience and counter protesters. The consequences were extremely brutal and resulted in violent clashes between young Muslim men and women and the police, with arrests of the former group (Blomkvist, Bøe, Wergeland, & Poensgen, 2020).

Every Action has an Opposite but Equal Reaction

Perceptions of threat and distrust were also prevalent among the Muslim minority groups. While media and public debate give the impression that Norwegian Muslims' religious and majority societies' cultural affiliations are two competing entities, research has shown that Muslim minorities do not see them as opposing elements (Kunst, et al., 2012). However, due to their religious affiliation, Muslims in Norway have experienced prolonged labor and housing discrimination and have found it difficult to practice their religion (IMDI, 2007; Steien 2008; Moen & Hoffmann, 2017). These experiences, combined with perceptions of threat, distrust, and a negative portrayal in the media, might have bolstered the disengagement of young Muslims from the majority society (Hogg et al., 2010). Although most disengagement has been peaceful, there are some examples of disengagement in the

form of violent behavior and support for Muslim military violence by some members of the Muslim community (Kristiansen, 2016).

1.5 Muslims in the U.K.

The presence of Muslims in the U.K. goes back to the colonial expansion of the British Empire in the 18th century when Muslims from the Indian subcontinent and Africa migrated to England in large numbers, followed by a wave of Indian students in the 19th century (BBC, 2016). Since then, the process of ‘chain migration’ began when families, relatives, and friends of these early Muslim settlers from the British Empire joined them. In modern Britain, Islam is the largest minority religion, and Muslims account for 6.3% of the country’s total population (Office for National Statistics, 2020).

British Muslims have diverse backgrounds and roots in South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Muslims with Pakistani (38%) and Bangladeshi (15%) backgrounds constitute the two largest groups in the overall Muslim community (Office for National Statistics, 2020). Statistics show that in 2018, 34.5% of Muslims in the U.K. had a university degree, while 14.2% of Muslims had no qualification (Clark, 2022). In the socioeconomic domain, British Muslims are underrepresented in the very high socioeconomic categories, such as doctors, lawyers, and bankers, and are overrepresented among the unemployed and financially inactive, whereas they are markedly significant in blue-collar work compared with their non-Muslim counterparts (Reynolds & Birdwell, 2015), partly because of experiences of economic and social discrimination (Modood et al., 1997; Abbas, 2012).

It has previously been observed that political leaders and members of majority society question British Muslim identity as to whether they are British first or Muslim first (Hopkins, 2006; Abbas, 2012). Indeed, religion is considered an important element of self-identification among British Muslims (Jacobson, 1997; Saeed et al., 1999; Modood, 2005; Robinson, 2009). A survey of South Asian Muslim youth in London indicated that their ethnic identity was less

important than their religious identity (Franceschelli, 2016). However, British Muslims have also indicated that they consider themselves loyal to British society in an opinion poll conducted in 2015, which showed that 95% of British Muslims indicated loyalty to Britain, while 93% stated that they should obey British law (BBC, 2015). Why is Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. questioned? This concern about conflicting loyalties may have historical significance.

In the aftermath of the publication of the 'Satanic Verses' during the 1980s, which sparked anger within different Muslim communities in Britain, several large-scale protests of violent and criminal nature, political pressure, book burnings, and a fatwa by the Iranian Muslim leader Khomeini called for Rushdie's death (CBC, 2014) took place. The Muslim community had mixed reactions to the ruling of the fatwa. While some Muslims condemned it, the majority did not say anything about the fatwa, which gave the impression that Muslims supported violence (Hadjimatheou, 2022). Furthermore, the early 1990s saw an increase in international terrorism committed by the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda (Stenersen, 2017). However, the events of 9/11 and the London bombings on July 7, 2005, changed the situation of the Muslim community in the U.K. for the worse (Awan, 2014). After these attacks, national security became a central topic between the state and the presence of Muslim Britons, leading to increased negative public and media attention to Islam and Muslims (Qurashi, 2018). The terrorist attacks conducted by radicalized members of the Muslim community together with several young Muslims traveling to Syria and Iraq and joining ISIS led to further misrepresentations of Muslims as violent, barbaric, a security threat, and a "suspect community" (Awan, 2014; Stevenson et al., 2017; Office for National Statistics, 2018). A hypothesis known as 'the Muslim tide' gained force, which states that the Muslim population is growing at a fast speed and in a matter of a few decades, Muslims will become a

majority in the West, while the majority society will vanish, and Muslims will enforce their religious values, also known as sharia, in the West (Saunders, 2012).

The majority society in the U.K. has indicated that cultural diversity weakens community cohesion (Blinder, 2012). As the negative portrayals of Muslims dominated the mainstream media, partly due to terrorist attacks associated with Muslim groups in major European cities (Kundnani, 2009; Duss et al., 2015), anti-Muslim sentiments became dangerously mainstream, leading to increased hate crimes against Muslim individuals, mosques, and community centers (Spearit, 2014). A report by the Pew Research Center showed that the majority society in the U.K. reported increasingly negative views of Muslim minorities (Joshi & Evans, 2019). As Muslims became more visible in media coverage and among policymakers, populist and radical Islamophobic discourses attacked the new prominence of Muslims in public spaces (Archer, 2009). Populist organizations in the U.K., such as PEGIDA, the English Defense League, and Liberty Great Britain, have been actively engaged in creating and promoting the notion of an indigenous national identity, considering the Muslim diaspora as outsiders and as a risk and threat to British society (Nick et al., 2015). The British National Party (BNP) and other conservative and far-right bodies launched anti-Muslim campaigns making use of widespread stereotypes and warning the public of the consequences of the 'Islamification' of Britain and the need to stop it immediately. Thus, the idea of a shared British identity emerged, replacing religious and ethnic identities, to strengthen community cohesion (Asari et al., 2008).

To overcome homegrown terrorism, the U.K. government implemented the Prevent strategy after the London bombings in 2005 (DCLG, 2011). The main idea behind the strategy was to stop terrorism not only by foreign individuals but also by U.K. born and bred individuals by detecting early signs of violent radicalization. The Program was an obligatory part of every educational and social institution in the U.K. (Home Department, 2011). In

theory, the program was directed at tackling all forms of radicalization and extremism, but mostly Muslims were under surveillance (Kundnani, 2012; Medina Ariza, 2014). Evidence indicates that the Prevent strategy reinforced experiences of stigmatization associated with terrorism and Islam, causing young Muslims to hide their Muslim identity and their opinions and sentiments on issues regarding their religion and international policies (Kundnani, 2009; Acik & Pilkington, 2018). In addition, Muslims who publicly spoke out against the Prevent program fell under suspicion and were reported by their colleagues to the authorities (Younis & Jadhav, 2019). Furthermore, as a consequence of Brexit, the already existing and well-documented anti-Muslim racism during the Brexit campaign escalated (Atta et al., 2018). Since the Brexit debate included questions about which populations should be permitted to reside in the U.K., visible and non-visible Muslims alike, and individuals who looked like citizens of a Muslim country were the target of verbal and physical racism and were repeatedly told to abide by British laws and rules or leave the country (Burnett, 2017). Consequently, Muslim individuals, despite having climbed the education and employment ladder, faced discrimination due to the label of belonging to a “suspect community” (Awan, 2014; Stevenson et al., 2017), further feeding on social division (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011), and experiences of discrimination (Modood et al., 1997; Abbas, 2012; Stuart, et al., 2016).

1.6 Muslims in Canada

Since the 1950s, Canada has witnessed a “boom” in the growing Muslim population when the country opened its borders to welcome immigrants from all over the world to contribute to its growing economy, including immigrants from Muslim-majority countries (The Hamilton Spectator, 2018). Currently, over one million Muslims from various countries reside in Canada (Perry, 2015), accounting for approximately 3.6% of the Canadian population, the majority of whom reside in the cities of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver

(Statistics Canada, 2011). Apart from the recent reception of 25,000 Syrian refugees in 2015 (Government of Canada, 2015), immigration policies have been cemented in relation to Canada's economic and demographic needs. Based on this, since 1960, entry to Canada has been based on a "point system" or a merit-based immigration system, in which points based on potential migrants' education level, age, work experience, existing job offer, spouse or partner qualifications, wealth, and language fluency determine their eligibility to immigrate as skilled workers (Green & Green, 1995).

Muslims in Canada are mostly foreign-born, with diverse ethnic backgrounds from Asia and Africa. Muslims with Pakistani background comprise the largest Muslim minority group (The Canadian Magazine of Immigration, 2020), followed by Muslims from Iran, Morocco, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and India. More than half of foreign-born Muslims have arrived in Canada since 2000; therefore, a significant proportion of the population is still in the process of adjustment and integration (Neuman, 2016). First- and second-generation Canadian Muslims who immigrated are more highly educated than their non-Muslim counterparts (45% of Muslims have university degrees, compared with the national average of 33%), while members of the third-generation report attainment of some college, a high school diploma, or less education. First- and second-generation Canadian Muslims also report of being employed part-time or unemployed, with fewer reports being employed full-time. Muslims also experience higher rates of unemployment and under-employment than other minority groups, such as Hindus, and Sikhs (Environics, 2006).

Canadian Multiculturalism and Anti-Muslim Sentiments

Canada has an official multicultural policy that celebrates and encourages diversity and multiculturalism. The Multicultural Policy Act of 1982 recognizes that every individual is equal before and under the law (Wood & Gilbert, 2005) and acknowledges that all cultures bring value to create Canadian society, while the Canadian government is committed to

promoting a diverse and multicultural society (Berry, 2006; Inspirit Foundation, 2016). Despite this, several reports and empirical literature have shown that the multiculturalist policy is not rooted in its true essence but rather has been rhetorical, such that it equates social inclusion with participation in the economy (Hansen, 2017; Modood, 2006; Moosa-Mitha, 2009).

This social situation has been challenging for Muslim migrants in Canada. Even though Muslims view Islamic values as aligned with Canadian values, media narratives portray them as incompatible and unfit for liberal Canadian values (Campana & Tanner, 2019). Anti-Muslim sentiments have been more prevalent against Muslim women than men in Canada (Litchmore & Safdar, 2015). Debates on Muslim women's clothing and covering and a ban on Muslim women wearing the niqab during the citizenship ceremony in Quebec are a few examples of legitimizing hostile attitudes toward Muslims and commenting on religious differences between Muslims and the wider society (Campana & Tanner, 2019). Even though terrorist incidents associated with Muslims have been low in Canada compared with other Western countries, attacks in other countries have affected the Canadian Muslim community. Indeed, a survey showed that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, San Bernardino in 2015, and the Orlando nightclub shooting in 2016, to name a few, on American soil associated with Muslim terrorists impacted the relations between Muslims and the majority group in Canada (Litchmore & Safdar, 2015).

Compared to other Western countries, the threat of 'Islamic radicalization' and its association with violence in Canada has been minor (Barr et al., 2022). However, public perceptions of Muslims as law-abiding citizens have been replaced by those of Muslims as intolerant and violent (Elkassam et al., 2018). A survey revealed that 42% of Canadians view Muslims as part of the problem of radicalization leading to homegrown Islamic terrorism (Angus Reid Institute, 2014). Moreover, the 95-100 Canadians who went to Syria and Iraq

and became ISIS recruits added fuel to fire (Government of Canada, 2018), worsening the complex acculturation process of Muslim youth and their relationship with Canadian society (Ahmad, 2017).

In Canada, right-wing media outlets, such as Rebel Media, spread fear of Islam and are committed to stopping the immigration of Muslim refugees and asylum seekers, while instilling the belief that Islamic scripture supports and encourages terrorist acts (Patriquin, 2017). The religious behavior of far-right movements has stirred up anti-ethnic minority attitudes that had been deep-seated in Canada's white-settler colonial past (Bullock & Nesbitt-Larking, 2011). A strong "us vs. them" attitude has been shaped by these movements, where not only Muslims are presented as violent extremists if they follow their religious culture in the larger society, but a signal is also given to Muslim groups that Canadian society will be anti-Muslim and socially exclude them if they choose to practice their religious culture (Yogasingam, 2017). A survey reported that 32% of Canadian Muslims have experienced religious discrimination in the public life domain (Inspirit Foundation, 2016). Even though it supports secular values, the province of Quebec experienced a surge in anti-Muslim hate crimes and communal tensions that peaked in 2017, when Alexandre Bissonette, a far-right extremist, killed nine Muslims in a mosque in Quebec City (Mahrouse, 2018). Consequently, the government introduced a religious course in public schools to prevent extremism. However, following European trends, attempts to change attitudes in the province were brief. In 2019, the government passed a law that banned employees from wearing religious symbols, including the headscarf (hijab), at work, which also included female Muslim teachers who delivered religious culture courses in schools while experiencing religious hypocrisy from the government (Marchand, 2022).

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The acculturation of Muslims in their respective societies from majority and minority group perspectives is the main topic of this thesis. Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) and Intergroup Emotions Theory (Mackie & Smith, 2000) have also been examined to explain the relationship between the Muslim minority and the majority group. In paper 1, threat perceptions are the independent variables, Muslims acculturation orientations are mediators, and violent behavioral intentions and Muslim military violence are the dependent variables. In paper 2, Muslims' perceived acculturation orientations are the independent variables, Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. and their own religious group are the mediating variables, acculturation expectations for Muslims are moderators, and trust and support for surveillance of Muslims are the dependent variables. In paper 3, Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies are the independent variables, religious resentment is the mediator, and social exclusion of Muslims is the dependent variable. Figure 2 illustrates the theoretical framework of each study in the thesis. The next section focuses on the acculturation model and theories used in this thesis.

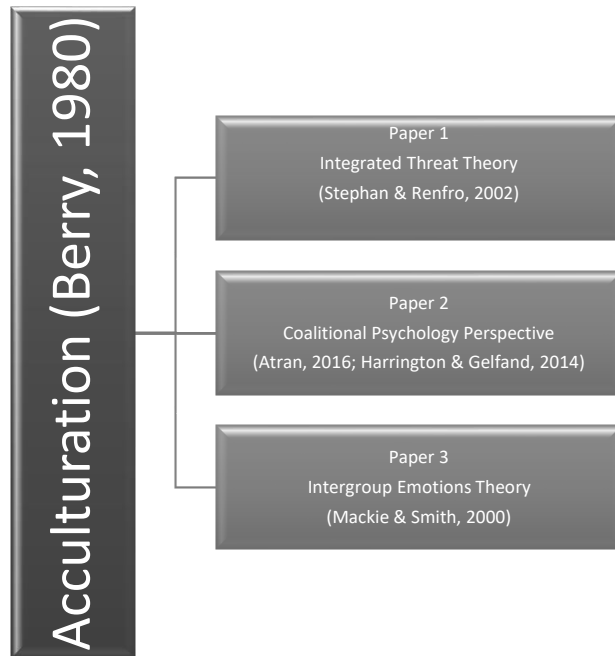


Figure 2. Theoretical Framework of each paper in the thesis.

Acculturation

Traditionally, acculturation has been described as a unidirectional process in which ethnic minorities undergo cultural changes in the direction of majority culture (Raymond et al., 1974). The definition was a result of American assimilationist policies where immigrants were expected by the majority society to become American and abandon their heritage cultural patterns (Schildkraut, 2007). However, after the Second World War, numerous European countries invited labor immigrants from former colonies and other nations, such as the Middle East, resulting in culturally plural societies, replacing assimilationist policies with the acceptance of different cultural repertoires (Mujahid, 2017; Merwe, 2021; Statistics Norway, 2022). Extensive research in the field of acculturation has modified the definition, and the process is now seen through a Bi-dimensional model (Berry, 1997). In this model, acculturation is described as a process of change in cultural patterns for culturally dissimilar

groups of individuals when they come into first-hand contact with each other, resulting in a change in an individual's or group's thought patterns and cultural behaviors (Gibbson, 2001). Even though a change may occur for both groups, it is usually the minority group that undergoes major changes compared to the majority group (Berry, 1997).

Acculturation Orientations and Strategies

According to Schwartz et al. (2010), acculturation comprises three general domains—practice, value, and identification. A considerable amount of research on acculturation has focused on public and private cultural behaviors, such as language use, choice of friends, celebration of holidays and special occasions, and culinary preferences in these domains (e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2007). Acculturation is multidimensional, not only in the distinction between heritage and majority cultural orientations but also in the domains in which acculturation occurs (Ward, 2001).

Originally, the process of acculturation was demonstrated through a unidimensional approach in which a minority group member prefers to abandon its heritage culture and adopts the cultural values, beliefs, norms, and practices of the receiving society. In the unidimensional model, this preference is placed on two opposing ends of a spectrum for the individual (Gordon, 1964). In contrast to the unidimensional model of acculturation, Berry (1980) conceptualized the Bi-dimensional model of acculturation, according to which individuals can incorporate several cultural identities into their understanding of their self-concept. The type of cultural identity and the strength each identity has for an individual vary. Therefore, according to the Bi-dimensional model, adopting the beliefs, norms, cultural practices, and values of the majority society may not imply that minority group members will relinquish the cultural values, beliefs, and practices of their heritage culture (e.g., Berry, 1980).

According to the Bi-dimensional model, known as the acculturation framework, developed by Berry (1980, 1984; 1997), in the acculturation process, identification with the majority group culture and heritage culture, known as acculturation orientations, are independent features. There are two basic questions a minority group member undergoing acculturation asks: “Is maintaining my heritage culture valuable to me?” and “Is adopting the majority culture valuable to me?” When these two aspects intersect, the result is four acculturation strategies that lead an individual toward a particular outcome (Berry, 1990). The acculturation strategies are assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. *Assimilation* involves choosing the majority culture and abandoning the heritage culture, *separation* entails discarding the majority culture and preferring the heritage culture, *integration* involves simultaneously retaining the majority and the heritage culture, and *marginalization* involves rejecting both the heritage and majority cultures (Choy et al., 2021). Research within the Bi-dimensional model has received considerable attention and has traditionally concentrated on the sociopsychological adaptation and well-being of individuals with respect to various acculturation strategies (e.g., Berry et al., 1987; Bourhis et al., 1997). This thesis focuses on the Bi-dimensional Model of Acculturation developed by Berry (1980, 1997).

It is now well established by a variety of studies that, even though the majority group has more influence on minorities’ acculturation attitudes in society by expecting members of the minority group to acculturate in a certain direction (Matera et al., 2011; 2015; 2020), members of the minority group also have preferences for their own and their groups’ acculturation (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Florack et al., 2003). However, when the latter happens, the acculturation orientations of minorities may not be favored or perceived similarly by members of the majority group (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA)

Based on Berry's (1997) work, Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal (1997) constructed the interactive acculturation model (IAM), which explains the outcome of the majority-minority relationship resulting from acculturation preferences. The IAM assumes that the acculturation preferences of majority and minority groups produce harmonious, problematic, or conflictual outcomes influencing intergroup attitudes and communication between the two groups. However, the IAM does not explain the clash between the acculturation preferences of the majority and minority groups with respect to their own cultural maintenance and majority culture adoption.

When there are significant cultural differences between the two groups, the majority society may encourage the minority group to increase their association with the wider society than with their own group because strong cultural associations are linked to strong group identification (Piontkowski et al., 2002; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). If the minority group insists on maintaining its cultural affiliation, the majority group may perceive it as threatening to the dominant cultural identity and may view the minority group as disloyal and as an outsider to the majority group because not only does each group prefer to maintain their cultural values, but each group also considers their cultural values to be better than those of the out-groups (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994; The Gallup Coexist Index, 2009; Ajala, 2014).

With respect to Muslims in Western societies, the difference in acculturation preferences between the wider society and Muslim minorities has been a topic of debate and research (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009; Acik & Pilkington, 2018). Muslims' cultural values and practices have been linked to a negative evaluation of this group by the wider society (Kunst et al., 2012). In this thesis, I argue that when the differences between Muslims' religious cultural values and the majority society are salient, the discrepancy will have a stronger negative impact on the intergroup relationship. However, a small discord between cultural

differences yields better intergroup relations (Florack & Piontkowski, 2000; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Thus, if Muslims' religious culture is deemed unfit and unacceptable by the majority society, the majority society may show unfavorable sentiments toward Muslims and the Muslim minority might perceive their religious affiliation as threatened by the majority society (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). In contrast, if the majority society perceives the Muslim minority as maintaining its religious cultural affiliation, the majority group may perceive its cultural values as being compromised and may perceive Muslims as disloyal to the majority group.

To investigate the discrepancies between majority cultural adoption and religious cultural maintenance, I examined the Concordance Model of Acculturation, CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002), which is a modification of the IAM. The CMA explains how the interaction of acculturation orientations between majority society and minority groups may produce harmonious, problematic, or conflictual outcomes. The CMA differentiates between four types of concordances to assess whether the orientations of both groups are in accord with each other; namely, consensual, culture-problematic, contact-problematic, and conflictual. In this thesis, the consensual and conflictual levels are relevant. A consensual level is reached if the acculturation attitudes of the majority group match those of the minority group. A conflictual stage is reached if the acculturation attitudes between the majority and minority groups conflict (Piontkowski et al., 2002).

Minority group members often prefer to identify with the majority culture and maintain their own cultural identity (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In contrast, majority group members view minorities who adopt majority culture more favorably than those who continue to identify with their own culture (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). A conflict arises when the acculturation orientations of minorities differ from the expectations of majority members (Piontkowski et al., 2002). For instance, when majority group members

expect assimilation for minorities, they may show a bias toward those who maintain their heritage culture. As such, this mismatch may lead to problematic outcomes, such as antagonistic attitudes toward minorities, because the minority group is perceived as a threat to the majority (Schwartz et al., 1990).

Religious Acculturation

Traditionally, acculturation research has focused on the majority group culture and the heritage culture of minorities. In this thesis, I have replaced heritage culture with religious culture, while I am still examining the majority group culture. Large-scale immigration from Muslim-majority countries has changed the religious repertoire of Western societies (Simon, 2004). Following 9/11, Muslims' religious practices, values, beliefs, and behavior gained prominence in the media and politics (Poynting and Mason, 2007). For Muslim minorities in Western societies, their religious and cultural affiliation is a strong element of their self-identity, meaning-making, and cultural maintenance (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Psychological research on religious acculturation has focused on the role of religion in the acculturation process (e.g., Gungor et al., 2012; Gungor, 2020). These studies have examined religiosity and religious identity as elements of acculturative processes with respect to heritage group culture and examined religious acculturation as one of many personal identities (Gungor et al., 2013). To the best of my knowledge, no previous study has examined religious acculturation as one of the two cultural orientations and preferences, that is, *religious* culture instead of *heritage* culture and majority group culture. Therefore, religious acculturation is under-examined in the context of acculturation.

Since affiliation with and commitment to religious culture, values and group membership is more important for Western Muslims' self-definition than their ethnic affiliation (Saeed et al., 1999; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), this thesis focuses on religious acculturation. Religious acculturation refers to the degree to which individuals maintain and

prefer religious values, entertainment, friends, and festivals in their public and private life domains, whereas mainstream acculturation, in line with previous research (Berry, 1997), refers to the extent to which individuals adopt and adhere to the values and behaviors of the majority society.

Research on terrorism posits that perceived threats from society in the form of discrimination and humiliation might lead to separation or marginalization of Muslim minorities from the majority society (King & Taylor, 2011). Furthermore, literature suggests that marginalization and separation correlate with aggressive behavior and even political violence (Lyons-Padilla et al., 2015). Thus, even though perceived threats to one's identity might function as an important predictor of radicalization and political violence (Simon, et al., 2013), the acculturation process might mediate this relationship. While evidence suggests that religion may not act as the primary motivator for joining violent organizations (Zirkov et al., 2014), many Muslims might be attracted to violent religious groups as a result of disengagement and separation from the majority society (Hogg et al., 2010; Butler, 2015). That is, Muslim immigrants who perceive majority society as threatening their religious culture and norms may disidentify from mainstream culture or society. These violent organizations, with their clear ideology coated with religious teachings, may provide group certainty, a sense of belonging and meaning for such individuals. However, the ideologies of many militant organizations contrast sharply with Western culture, norms, and values. Therefore, in this thesis I argue that Muslims living in Western societies who show high majority cultural adoption (i.e., adopting its norms and culture) are less likely to support violent religious ideologies or behavior of such organizations (e.g., see Huddy, Feldman, Taber, & Lahav, 2005).

Critique of the Bi-dimensional Model of Acculturation

One of the most significant discussions in acculturation research was conducted by Rudmin (2003; 2009) regarding operational definitions of the Bi-dimensional Acculturation Model. Rudmin (2003) criticizes the four acculturation strategies and argues that individuals classified into one of the four categories imply that a high score on one scale necessarily means a low score on the other three (Rudmin, 2003). Furthermore, research on acculturation has been generally criticized for adopting a “one size fits all” perspective (Rudmin, 2003). Immigrants belong to different ethnicities and religions, and have varied socioeconomic statuses, language proficiencies, and motivations for immigration. The two acculturation orientations and four acculturation strategies identify all minorities equally, not considering their various identities and profiles. Rudmin (2003) also states that, since culture is defined by shared values and meanings, the goal for minorities should be to adopt mainstream culture.

Originally, acculturation research focused on minorities’ adoption of majority culture while choosing to keep or reject their own culture. However, the trend in research on acculturation has shifted. Recent studies on acculturation have focused on minority and majority perspectives and have examined how minorities adopt the majority culture while maintaining their own culture (e.g., Bagasra & Mackinem, 2019) and how majority groups adopt the minority culture and maintain their own culture, giving new meaning to the process of acculturation (see Kunst et al., 2021)

Theories on Intergroup Relations in this Thesis

When two or more culturally, and socially different groups interact with each other, the interaction and resulting attitude and behavior is referred to as intergroup relationship (Sherif et al., 1961; Sherif, 1966). In this thesis, I have used Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT) (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) and Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET) (Mackie & Smith, 2000) to examine intergroup relations between Muslim minorities and their society of living.

One of the greatest challenges faced by the Muslim minority and majority society is that both groups view each other as posing a threat to each other's culture, values, beliefs, economic position, and voice in society (Strelan & Lawani, 2010; Awan, 2014; Elkassem et al., 2018; Helbling & Traummuller, 2020). These perceptions have been displayed in the form of fear, and negative intergroup relations between the two groups (e.g., Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993; Wallrich et al., 2020). Therefore, in this thesis, I explored these perceived threats through Integrated Threat Theory in paper 1.

Furthermore, I studied the role of emotions in explaining negative intergroup evaluations in this thesis. Emotions are described as "ongoing states of mind that are marked by mental, bodily or behavioral symptoms" (Parrott, 2001, p. 3). Why is it relevant to study emotions in intergroup relations? Keltner and Haidt (2001) proposed that emotions guide an individual on how to respond to a situation and prepare the individual for a reaction in the future even when the circumstances that triggered the situation are absent. In addition, emotions may facilitate the definition of group membership and boundaries (Keltner & Haidt, 2001). At the cultural level, emotions and individual action tendencies are linked with an individual's acceptance of his or her own values, as well as how they evaluate others' cultural associations and values (for an overview, see Scherer, Schorr, & Johnstone, 2001).

In the context of Muslims in Western societies, I aimed to examine the evaluation (resentment toward Muslims) and action tendency (social exclusion) of the majority group members toward Muslims when this group is presented as preferring a specific acculturation strategy. Because certain emotions and group evaluations are linked (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015), I used Intergroup Emotions Theory to examine negative intergroup attitudes and behavior from an emotion appraisal perspective in paper 3.

Intergroup Threat Theory

Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT) describes how perceptions of threats from an out-group generate unfavorable and hostile views and behaviors toward them (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan et al., 2009). An important element of this theory is that threats do not have to be real (Stephan et al., 1998). Only a *perception* of a threat from the out-group is enough to elicit a negative response. An older version of this theory, known as the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan and Stephan, 1993), comprises four components namely, realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. The modification of the older version, namely the Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002), focuses on two basic types of threats: symbolic and realistic threats. In this recent development of the model, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety are considered as another form of realistic and symbolic threat instead of separate forms of threats (Rios et al., 2018).

This thesis examines Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). In addition to realistic and symbolic threats, I added another form of threat, which was previously considered a sub form of realistic threat, named as ‘safety threat,’ in paper 1 due to empirical and qualitative differences and its distinct role in predicting attitudes toward out-groups (Crawford, 2014).

Perceived *realistic* threats arise when a group perceives another group as posing a threat to their current political and economic power, social welfare, and scarce resources such as land, security, wealth, and employment opportunities (Obaidi et al., 2018). *Symbolic* threats arise when there is a perceived difference between the values and worldviews of an in-group and out-group. The difference can make the in-group feel that the out-group poses a threat to their group’s morals, standards, beliefs, and attitudes (Zarate et al., 2004). Thus, these threats are strongly linked to a group's sense of identity (Stephan & Stephan, 1993). Finally, *safety* threat refers to the perception of threat to the physical safety, security, and well-being of a

group (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). While symbolic and realistic threats are often associated with resentment and antipathy toward the out-group as emotional responses, safety threat tends to be linked with fear of the other group (Uenal, 2016).

In paper 1, I argue that Muslim minority members might perceive the majority society as a threat to their religious culture and practices, economic stability, and safety, which in turn might be related to out-group hostility and retaliatory reactions in the form of violence (Fischer, Haslam, & Smith, 2010). It is now well established from a variety of studies that perceived threat to religious cultural norms and values can result in aggression and correlates with support for antipathy and political violence toward an out-group (see Sniderman et al., 2004; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). I argue that perceived realistic, safety and symbolic threats might act as factors that initiate violent attitudes and violent behavioral intentions among the Muslim diaspora living in Western countries. I examined this hypothesis among Muslims in Norway and the U.K.

Intergroup Emotions Theory

Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET) explains how emotions are determined and influenced by intergroup interactions (Mackie and Smith, 2000; Mackie et al., 2000; Mackie et al., 2009). According to the IET, social membership and categorizations are important parts of a person's self-definition. When individuals change their social categorization, they explicitly recategorize them as members of the new group (Gaertner, et al., 1989). However, because group membership is an important part of an individual's self-definition, the group attains emotional significance for these individuals. Hence, membership in that group is evaluated by other members according to the benefit individuals bring to the group (Smith et al., 2007).

A minority group is evaluated according to the social significance it has for the majority group, which generates certain negative and positive intergroup emotions (Seger et

al., 2017). Numerous studies have established a direct relationship between emotions and biased intergroup behavior (Stangor et al., 1991; Talaska et al., 2008). Studies have demonstrated that emotions indirectly affect the link between acculturation preferences and negative behavioral tendencies toward minorities, specifically from majority group members, while a few have examined the mediating role of emotions in the relationship between acculturation preferences and biased behavior from a majority and minority group perspective (Smith & Ellsworth, 1985; Mackie et al., 2000; Zick et al., 2001; Lopez-Rodriguez et al., 2016;). A meta-analysis by Talaska et al. (2008) showed that emotions toward ethnic minorities predict discriminatory behaviors. Furthermore, studies have shown that resentment, as an intergroup emotion, is associated with unfavorable views of minorities within a society (Kinder & Dale-Riddle, 2011). The literature also points out that individuals who are resentful of minorities tend to perceive high cultural discrepancy (Henry & Sears 2002). Indeed, high levels of resentment are associated with out-group blaming and negative tendencies, such as violence and the social exclusion of minorities (Sieckelinck et al., 2019).

IET posits that different groups elicit different emotional reactions toward out-group members, depending on the type of social categorization that is activated in the perceiver (Doosje et al., 2009). Muslims' religious affiliation and their presence are linked to a higher prevalence of terrorist attacks (Hellevik, 2020). I argue that this may give rise to resentment and attitudes toward the social exclusion of the Muslim minority among majority group members. Several studies support this argument. For instance, Bakker-Simonsen and Bonikowski (2020) revealed in their study that Muslims' religious affiliation was linked to social exclusion in 41 European countries due to feelings of anger and dislike toward Muslims' religiosity. In the U.K., a study by Helbling and Traummuller (2020) found that the majority group members' negative views toward Muslims were the result of a rejection of

Muslims' religious behavior, which was perceived as a danger to national security and considered contrary to the democratic values of British society.

Although Islamic-inspired terrorism threats are lower in Canada than in the U.S., research has shown that the majority of Canadians view homegrown Islamic terrorism as a major threat to society (Angus Reid Institute, 2014), and public debates underscore that Islamic and Canadian values are incompatible (Campana & Tanner, 2019). In addition, as Canada shares political, economic, and social ties with the U.S., terrorist attacks conducted by radicalized members of the Muslim community in the U.S. may evoke emotional reactions among Canadian majority group members. In paper 3, I argue that these experiences may foster resentment toward Muslims' religious practices in majority group members, resulting in negative tendencies, such as the social exclusion of Muslims. Therefore, I incorporated resentment toward Muslims based on their religious affiliation in paper 3. Religious resentment refers to the degree to which majority group members indicate feelings of anger and dislike toward Muslims due to their religious affiliation.

The Question of Muslims Loyalty

In paper 2, Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. and their own religious group were incorporated as mediators. The existing body of research on coalitional psychology suggests that groups that are coordinated with each other may manage themselves better in times of conflict because of in-group solidarity and cohesion (Tooby & Cosmides, 2010; Atran, 2016). For individuals, the functional benefit of association with a group is dependent on the members' adherence to the group's values, social norms, in-group solidarity, and loyalty toward the group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), thus, in times of conflict, group members know who to depend on (Gaertner et al., 2006). Loyalty to the group may be a central element of group membership. Loyalty is defined as an inclination to support one's group even if doing so is personally deleterious (Van Vugt & Hart, 2004).

For immigrants, adherence to more than one cultural and political position may make the majority group members concerned about where these minority group members' loyalty lies (Kastoryano, 2000; 2004). This concern may be especially pronounced when the socially dominant group is faced with an intergroup threat. Hence, simultaneous identification with two cultures is discouraged by majority members because of loyalty concerns for the majority group (Petersen et al., 2010). From this perspective, minorities who represent their own cultural identity, together with the identity of the majority society, may be subject to bias and perceived as a threat to the majority group members' cultural values, norms, and behavior (Scheepers et al., 2014).

In paper 2, I argue that Muslims in the U.K. are often questioned in the media and in public debates about whether their loyalty lies with the state or with the Muslim group (Poynting, & Mason, 2006; Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012). Thus, in paper 2, Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. and to their own religious group were proposed as the mediating factors through which Muslims' perceived acculturation orientations were examined to influence trust and support for surveillance among majority group members. Moreover, I also examined whether a clash between the expected and perceived acculturation orientations of Muslims among majority group members would influence the question of Muslims' loyalty, trust and support for surveillance of Muslims.

Thesis Aims

From the foregoing literature review, it can be deduced that the association between religious acculturation and intergroup relations requires further examination. The focus of this thesis is twofold, based on the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments in Figure 1: (1) To investigate how Muslims respond to the majority society when they perceive threats to their cultural preferences?

(2) To examine how the majority society responds to Muslims' cultural preferences and profiles, given the increasing anti-Muslim sentiments?

Based on the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments (Figure 1), these questions are answered in three papers. In paper 1, I examine the relationship between perceived symbolic, realistic and safety threats, and violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence in two samples of Muslims from Norway and the U.K. Importantly, the study aims to investigate the mediating role of religious and mainstream acculturation in the relationship between perceived threats and violence. The study differentiates between two types of violence. First, support for Muslim military violence is measured, which is treated as a proxy measure of support for organizations such as ISIS. That is, participants were asked to indicate whether they support that Muslim majority states use military force to achieve their interests. Second, participants' own intentions to conduct violence as a proxy of behavior is measured (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977).

Paper 2, through two pre-registered experiments, tests whether a clash between majority group members' religious and mainstream acculturation expectations for Muslims, and the perceived acculturation orientations of Muslims with respect to their religious and majority culture impact intergroup bias, in the form of distrust and support for surveillance of Muslims, mediated by British Muslims' perceived loyalty to the U.K and own religious group.

Finally, in paper 3 I delve into the Canadian experience with Muslim minorities with respect to their acculturation strategies as perceived by the majority society and their effects, mediated by religious resentment, on the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society.

Hypotheses

In paper 1, I expected that the higher the perception of threat, the more Muslims would show violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence. As the focus

was on three types of threat, I also tested their deferential roles on the outcomes of interest. Research shows mixed results regarding the relationship between commitment to religious belief and violence. While some literature indicates that high religiosity may predict less violence among Muslims living in Muslim majority countries (Zirkov et al., 2014), other suggest that it predicts more violence among European Muslims (Canetti, et al., 2010; Zirkov et al., 2014). However, there is, to the best of my knowledge, no literature on the relationship between religious acculturation and violence. Thus, as an exploratory research objective, I aimed to examine the direction of the relationship between religious acculturation and violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence.

As higher degrees of host society acculturation involve adopting and endorsement of Western norms and values, I predicted that it should be negatively related to violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence. Lastly, as I expected perceived threats to be positively related to Muslims' religious acculturation and inversely related to their mainstream acculturation, I also expected these two constructs to mediate the effects of threats on the violence constructs.

In paper 2, two studies were conducted assessing the same hypotheses. Research suggests that majority group members show positive attitudes toward minority group members who are inclined to adopt the majority culture (e.g., see Osbeck et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011). Thus, I predicted that the participants would display higher degrees of trust and lower degrees of support for surveillance of Muslims when the latter were presented as adopting the majority culture. I also expected that the participants would exhibit more distrust and support for surveillance of Muslims who were described as maintaining their religious culture. Next, I tested whether concerns about the perceived disloyalty of Muslims to the majority society and strong loyalty to their religious group may mediate these effects. Specifically, the perceptions that Muslims

are loyal to the U.K. would be positively related to trust and negatively related to support for surveillance, whereas perception of Muslims as loyal to their own religious group would be negatively related to trust and positively related to support for surveillance. Consequently, both variables were expected to mediate the effects predicted in the first two hypotheses.

I also tested the interactive effects between majority group members' acculturation expectations and the experimental manipulation. A similarity of cultural preferences between majority and minority groups has been shown to lead to positive attitudes by majority group members toward minorities (Hogg, 1992; Kastoryano, 2004). In contrast, a discrepancy between these acculturation attitudes can lead to intergroup bias (Piontkowski et al., 2000). Thus, I predicted that participants who expected Muslims to relinquish their religious culture would show more distrust and support for surveillance when these were described as maintaining their religious culture. Moreover, I also predicted that participants who expected Muslims to adopt the majority culture would indicate more distrust and support for surveillance when these were described as maintaining their religious culture. In addition, participants who expected Muslims to adopt the majority society culture were expected to indicate more trust and less support for surveillance when these were described as adopting the mainstream culture. For each of these tests, I also investigated whether loyalty perceptions would mediate the predicted moderated effects.

In paper 3, I argue that Muslims' religious values are perceived as inconsistent with Canadian democratic values, reflecting the European trend (McCoy & Knight, 2016). Based on this reasoning, I proposed that when Muslims were perceived as choosing assimilation and integration as acculturation strategies the participants will not endorse the social exclusion of Muslims, whereas when Muslims were perceived as choosing separation and marginalization as acculturation strategies the participants will support social exclusion of Muslims. Next, feelings of religious resentment toward Muslims in Canada will reflect when Muslims were

presented to choose separation and marginalization, but not when they were presented to prefer assimilation or integration as acculturation strategies (Henry & Sears, 2002): Finally, as I expected participants in the assimilation and integration conditions to indicate low levels of religious resentment, while participants in the separation and marginalization conditions were expected to show high levels of religious resentment, I also expected religious resentment to mediate the effects of the acculturation strategies on the social exclusion of Muslims.

Aims of Paper 1

Paper 1 aimed to investigate how perceptions of threat in the form of symbolic, realistic, and safety threats from the majority society undergird violent behavioral intentions and attitudes among Muslims living in Norway and the U.K. The paper also focused on the mediating role of acculturation in the relationship between perceived threats and support for violence.

Aims of Paper 2

Paper 2 investigated how the perception of Muslims' acculturation orientations in religious and majority group cultures influences trust and support for surveillance of Muslims among majority group members. Furthermore, the studies in this paper examined the mediating role of Muslims' perceived loyalty toward the majority society and their own religious group in the link between Muslims' perceived acculturation orientations and trust and support for surveillance. Another aim of the studies was to investigate whether a discord between acculturation expectations by the majority society for Muslims and the perceptions of Muslims' acculturation orientations would impact Muslims perceived (dis)loyalty toward the majority society, and toward their own religious group, and trust and support for surveillance.

Aims of Paper 3

Paper 3 set out to explore the role of Muslim's perceived acculturation strategies on the social exclusion of Muslims in Canadian society. Another aim of the study in this paper

was to investigate whether religious resentment toward Muslim's religious cultural practices would mediate the relationship between Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies and social exclusion.

2. Methods

2.1 Measures of Paper 1

Sample

A total of 253 participants from Norway and 194 from the U.K., randomly allocated, completed an online survey on Qualtrics. The mean age was 32.49, $SD = 10.02$, in Norway, and 37.13, $SD = 13.70$, in the U.K. The age difference between the two samples was significant $t(341) = 4.13$, $p = .001$, $\Delta M = 4.81$, 95% CI [2.61, 7.01]. The sample comprised of both Sunni and Shia Muslims. However, Sunni Muslims were dominant in the sample (Norway = 91.2%, U.K. = 75.0%).

Procedure

This study was a cross-sectional survey. Originally, the study had a longitudinal design with the aim of collecting data from the same sample at two different points in time, with a gap of one year. For that purpose, I had to request the participants to give their e-mail addresses so that they could be contacted later. However, owing to the sensitivity of the topic, the Norwegian Center for Data Research (NSD) did not provide data storage clearance for this design. They stated that if an individual with potential violent tendencies participated in the survey, I might be contacted by the intelligence agencies to provide information about that person. This would impact my integrity as a researcher because I would have to choose between maintaining law and order and confidentiality of the participants. For this reason, the study design was changed, and I collected data only once.

Several mosques, and Islamic cultural and ethnic organizations in Norway and the U.K. were contacted and requested to distribute an anonymous link of the survey to their listservs on their Facebook and Instagram pages and Whatsapp groups. The criteria for participation in this study were that the participants are Muslims, residing in Norway and the U.K. and above 18 years of age. Data collection was conducted between January to February

2018. At the beginning of the survey, the participants read an informed consent. Participation in the study was anonymous and voluntary. The participants were informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time. The participants were also informed that the IP addresses were not saved due to the sensitivity of the topic. For that reason, no incentives in any form were given for participation. The study was approved by NSD, approval number 55559 / 3 / PEG.

Demographics

The questionnaire was developed in English. For Norwegian participants, it was forward-back translated into Norwegian by a translation company. I did not translate the survey into various ethnic languages because I did not differentiate Muslims based on their ethnicities. The participants were asked to indicate their age and gender. Marriage status was assessed with the question: “What is your marital status?”. Response categories were: single, married, and other. Participants indicated their employment status by responding to the question “What is your job status?”. Response alternatives were: Employed, student, retired, and unemployed.

The participants were asked to indicate their religious orientation within Islam with the question, “Which direction within Islam do you follow?”. Responses were: Sunni, Shia, and other. In addition, the participants were asked to indicate if they are part of a religious organization with the question, “Are you a member of a religious group or organization?” The answers were: Yes and No. The participants were also asked to indicate whether they are U.K. and Norwegian nationals. Moreover, they were also asked to indicate whether they are visible Muslims. The response alternatives were: Use visible clothes and not visible. Finally, the study also examined the level of education of the participants with the following question, “What is your highest education”. The response alternatives included: No education, primary school, elementary school, high school, college/university, and other.

Realistic, Symbolic and Safety Threats

Realistic (e.g., “Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims have more difficulties in finding a job”) and symbolic threats (e.g., “Muslim norms and values are being threatened because of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons”) were measured through two separate threat scales, developed by González, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008). Each scale contained three items rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*). The Cronbach alpha value for realistic threat scale was $\alpha = .86$ in the Norwegian sample and $\alpha = .91$ in the U.K. sample. The reliability coefficient for symbolic threat was $\alpha = .87$ in the Norwegian sample and $\alpha = .94$ in the U.K. sample.

The scale for safety threats was specifically designed for this study because we wanted to assess whether Muslims are concerned for their physical safety in their respective societies. The scale comprised of 3-items (e.g., “Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims are physically threatened”). For safety threats, the alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .87$ among Norwegian Muslims and $\alpha = .97$ among British Muslims.

Factor analyses showed that the three threat types were distinct from each other. Measurement invariance was conducted for all instruments to examine whether the same constructs were measured across both samples (Cheung, 2008). For the threat scales, configure invariance was achieved.

Acculturation scale

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000) was used to measure religious (10 items) and mainstream (10 items) acculturation for the current study. Originally, the VIA measures heritage and mainstream culture orientation, but the heritage culture dimension here was adjusted to measure religious acculturation. The VIA has the advantage of capturing several domains relevant to both cultures. Thus, the items for mainstream culture referred to attitudes and behaviors across

various domains such as cultural traditions, values, and entertainment (e.g., “I often participate in Islamic cultural traditions/ I often participate in Norwegian/British cultural traditions”). Both scales were rated on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). The 20-items scale did not achieve configural invariance. Cronbach alpha value for religious acculturation was $\alpha = .87$ in the Norwegian sample and $\alpha = .84$ in the U.K. sample. For mainstream acculturation, the reliability coefficient was $\alpha = .89$ in the Norwegian sample and $\alpha = .85$ in the U.K. sample.

Support for Muslim Military Violence

Support for Muslim military violence was assessed by adapting six items from the Attitude towards Violence (ATV) scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995), abbreviated by Davidson and Canivez (2012), e.g., “Muslim nations should be ready with a strong military at all times.” We used this scale because it described violence from a group perspective. Responses were scored on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) rating scale. The 6-item scale did not achieve measurement invariance. However, after deleting 3-items from the scale, configural equivalence was achieved, and this version of the scale with three items ($\alpha = .68$ in the Norwegian sample and $\alpha = .71$ in the U.K. sample) was used in further analysis.

Violent Behavioral Intentions

Violent behavioral intentions were measured by using the 7-item scale adapted from Obaidi, Kunst, Kteily, Thomsen, and Sidsnius (2018). The items were answered on a six-point response scale with 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores suggest a higher propensity toward violent behavioral intentions and were the reason we used this scale (e.g., “As a last resort, I am personally ready to use violence for the sake of other Muslims”). The 7-item scale did not achieve configural invariance. Therefore, two negatively worded items were deleted, so that configural invariance was achieved. For further analysis, the resulting 5-items scale was used. Cronbach’s alpha values for this scale were $\alpha = .83$ for both samples.

2.2 Measures of Paper 2

Sample

A power analysis was performed for sample size estimation by G*power 3.1.9.2 (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992) for study 1. A sample size of 117 participants was required to reach a power of 0.8, with a medium effect size of 0.15 and an α level of 0.05 for regression analyses. In addition, a Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects was performed through the online application MARlab (Schoemann et al., 2017). The results showed that a power of 0.80 ($p = .05$) is reached with 96 to 120 participants in a model with two parallel mediators. We assumed small correlations of $r = 0.1$ between the independent variable X, the mediators M, and the dependent variable Y. Three hundred and thirty-five participants took the survey. One participant was excluded because of incorrect response to the attention check item, “What is the name of the town in the text?” (Correct answer was “Fapton”). A total of 334 respondents ($M_{age} = 37.48$, $SD_{age} = 12.54$) comprised the final sample. Participants were recruited from Prolific and were paid £6/hour.

When the manuscript was sent to a journal for publication, the reviewer emphasized low power in the study 1. Thus, only main effects and mediation were tested in the first study. As recommended by the reviewer, we conducted a second study with adequate power to test interactions.

In study 2, for the moderation analysis, G*Power estimated a sample size of 395 participants to achieve a power of 0.80 ($p < .05$), with a small effect size of 0.02. Since our aim was to run a moderated-mediation analysis, we collected a larger sample. The sample size for moderated mediation is based on Model 2 by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007) that describe type I error rates and empirical power in moderated mediation models and recommend a sample size of 500 to 700 participants to achieve a combine power of 0.80 ($p = .05$) and medium effect size of 0.40 for conditional indirect effects with two parallel

mediators and two levels of the independent variable (Sim et al., 2022). Eight hundred and twelve participants took the online survey on Prolific in September 2022. We screened the survey to exclude participants that had previously taken the survey in Study 1 before administering data collection. From 812 participants, two participants were excluded due to incorrect response to the attention check item. The final sample comprised of eight hundred and ten respondents ($M_{age} = 38.95$, $SD_{age} = 13.45$).

Procedure

Both studies were vignette-based experiments, and a questionnaire was used to collect data. The criteria for participation in the study were (a) White, (b) non-Muslim respondents (c) U.K. residents, and (d) older than 18 years. The participants were randomly allocated to read one of the three texts. Participation was anonymous and voluntary. Informed consent was provided, and the participants were thoroughly debriefed at the end of the study. For study 1, data was collected in October 2019 by posting an anonymous survey link in English on Prolific. The second study followed the same design and included the same measures as in Study 1. Data was collected in September 2022 by posting an anonymous link on Prolific. The study was approved by NSD, approval number 920963.

Demographics

The participants were asked to indicate their age and gender. Employment status was assessed with the question: “What is your employment status?”. Response categories were: Unemployed, self-employed part-time, self-employed full-time, part-time employment within organization/company, full-time employment within organization/company, and retired. Level of education of the participants was measured with the following question, “What is the highest level of education you have completed”. The response alternatives included: Primary school, GCSEs or equivalent, A-levels or equivalent, University undergraduate program, university postgraduate program, doctoral degree, and other. The participants were asked to

indicate their religious orientation with the question, “Do you practice a religion, and if so, which one?”. Responses were: None, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Paganism, Sikhism, Other, I prefer not to answer.

In addition, the participants were asked to indicate their ethnic origin with the question, “How would you best describe your ethnic origin?”. The response alternatives were: White, Mixed, Asian or British Asian, Black or Black British, Chinese, and other ethnic group. The participants were also asked to indicate their income level, “How would you describe your income level?”. The response alternatives were: Below average U.K. income, average U.K. income, above average U.K. income. Finally, the participants were asked to indicate their area of living. The responses were, city, suburban, and rural.

Acculturation Expectations

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) was used in paper 2. The scale was adapted to measure acculturation expectations. The participants indicated to what extent they wanted Muslims in the U.K. to maintain their religious culture (ten items) and adopt the majority culture (ten items) across several life domains, such as traditions, and social circle. The items were measured on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), e.g., “I would like Muslims to maintain or develop their Islamic cultural practices.” (Study 1: $\alpha = .92$, Study 2: $\alpha = .91$) or “I would like Muslims to maintain or develop British cultural practices.” (Study 1: $\alpha = .89$, Study 2: $\alpha = .90$).

Acculturation Vignettes

Inspired by the Vancouver Index of Acculturation developed by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) three different vignettes were developed as experimental manipulations. One text described Muslims living in the fictional town of “Fapton” in the U.K and maintaining their religious culture. The second text described Muslims as adopting the majority group or

mainstream culture in the same fictional town. The third text was a control condition with no specific group of people or any acculturation orientation. The text measured acculturation of the same life domains as stated by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000). An example of vignette in the mainstream adoption condition is as follows:

A neighborhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about British cultural heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in British cultural traditions, such as dressing up in British clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating fish and chips, pork, and beer, is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop British cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends with a non-Muslim, British background and they also enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Britons. They also enjoy entertainment such as British TV shows, football, and films. Often, their jokes and humor are also related to the British culture. Since British culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a non-Muslim, British spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim mainstream society and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

The vignettes for religious maintenance and control conditions are provided in Appendix A.

Attention Check Item

After reading the text, the participants were forwarded to an attention check item. These items are used to identify participants who do not pay attention during a survey or follow instructions (Kung et al., 2008). The participants completed the attention check item after reading the vignettes with the question, “Please indicate the name of the town discussed in the text above?”. Response alternatives were, Farch, Vilhail, Fapton, Burkton, Hartfield. The correct response was Fapton.

Perceived Muslims’ Loyalty to the U.K

A 6-item scale developed by Kunst, Thomsen and Dovidio (2019) was adapted to measure how the participants assessed Muslims’ loyalty to the U.K. (e.g., “Muslims in Fapton are loyal to the U.K.”). The items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). The reliability coefficient was $\alpha = .95$ for both studies.

Perceived Muslims' Loyalty to their own Religious Group

The same 6-item scale by Kunst, Thomsen and Dovidio (2019) measured how the participants perceived Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group (e.g., "Muslims in Fapton are loyal to their religious group"). The Cronbach alpha value in both studies was $\alpha = .95$ for this scale.

Trust Toward Muslims

Three items derived from the widely used General Social Survey (Glaeser et al., 2000) measured whether the participants trusted Muslims in Fapton. The first item, "Do you think Muslims in Fapton can be trusted or you can't be too careful?", was measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*you cannot be too careful*) to 10 (*they can be trusted*). The second item, "Do you think that Muslims in Fapton would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?" was measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*they would try to take advantage of me*) to 10 (*they would try to be fair*). The third item, "Would you say that most of the time Muslims in Fapton try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?" was measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*they are mostly looking out for themselves*) to 10 (*they mostly try to be helpful*). An average of these items was calculated. Reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha = .86$ in study 1, and $.87$ in study 2.

Support for Surveillance

Eight items were specifically designed for this study to measure the extent to which the participants indicated their support for surveillance of Muslims in the fictional town (e.g., "It may be a smart precaution for the police to monitor phones and emails of Muslims in Fapton", or "It may be good to have a form of special identification system that identifies Muslims living in Fapton (such as an ID badge or a registry)"). The items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). One item was

deleted from the scale due to low factor loading (.22). The final measure comprised of seven items.

Because the support for surveillance measure was developed for both studies, it was important to confirm its unifactorial factor structure in this study. Indeed, the fit of the model with maximum likelihood (robust) estimator was satisfactory, $\chi^2 = 3241.403$, $p < .001$, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .15, sRMR = .03 based on the CFI and sRMR, though the RMSEA suggested a non-optimal fit. In addition, the support for surveillance scale consisting of 7 items explained 68% of the variance in a one factor solution with factor loadings from .438 to .729.

2.3 Measures of Paper 3

Sample

An a priori power analysis by G*Power 3.1 (see Faul et al., 2009) with power $(1 - \beta)$ set at 0.80 and $\alpha = .05$, two-tailed to observe a small effect size (0.02) suggested a sample size of ninety respondents for linear multiple regression analyses for a fixed model with R^2 deviating from zero. A Monte Carlo power analysis for mediation model suggested a sample size between 110 to 250 participants. Two hundred and eight Canadians participated in the survey. Ten participants were excluded due to incorrect responses to the attention check item, what is the name of the sport mentioned in the text? (Correct response: Ice Hockey). The final sample comprised of 194 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 33.86$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 11.75$).

Procedure

This study was a vignette-based experiment followed by a questionnaire. Participants were recruited from the online platform MTurk and were paid \$2/hour for their participation. The criteria for participation in the study were (a) White, (b) non-Muslim respondents (c) residing in Canada, and (d) older than 18 years. Participation was anonymous and voluntary. The participants were randomly allocated to read one of five texts. Informed consent was provided, and the participants were thoroughly debriefed at the end of the study. Data was

collected between April and May 2020 by posting an anonymous link of the survey on MTurk. The study received ethical clearance from the University of Guelph's ethics review board (REB) in Canada prior to data collection, approval number 20-02-007.

Demographics

The participants were asked to indicate their age and gender. Several questions assessed demography of the participants. Nationality was measured through "Are you Canadian citizen?", with response categories: yes and no. Level of education was assessed by, "What is the highest level of education you have achieved?", with response alternatives: Less than high school degree, high school graduate, some university/college but no degree, college/university graduate (Bachelor's degree), postgraduate/professional degree (Master's, PhD, JD, MD). Ethnic origin was measured with the question, "Which of the following best describes your ethnic background?", responses were: Indigenous (Inuit/First Nations/Metit), White/European, Black/African/Caribbean, Southeast Asian(e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Filipino etc.), Arab (Palestinian, Saudi Arabian, Iraqi etc.), South Asian (Indian, Srilankan etc.), Latin American (Costa Rican, Guatemalan, Brazilian, Columbian etc), West Asian (Iranian, Afghani etc.), and other. Employment status was assessed with the question, "What is your employment status?". The responses were: Unemployed, self-employed, employed within organization or company, and retired. Income level was measured with the question, "How do you describe your annual income level?" with the responses: Below \$52,600, close to \$52,600, and above \$52,600. Finally, participants were asked if they practice a religion with the question "Do you practice a religion, and if so, which one?". Response alternatives were: Atheism, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Paganism, Sikhism, other, I prefer not to answer and agnostic.

Acculturation Strategies Vignettes

We used the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000) in paper 3. Five different vignettes describing the four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, marginalization, and separation) and one control text inspired by the VIA were used as experimental manipulation and control condition. The texts contained information about Canadian Muslims who either prefer integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization as acculturation strategies in various life domains, such as values, culture, and entertainment. The assimilation condition text is as follows:

Some Muslims strongly care about Canadian cultural heritage only, and not their religious culture. For them, active participation in Canadian cultural traditions, such as dressing up in western clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating hamburgers and apple pie, and beer is very important. They prefer their Canadian culture on their religious culture. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop Canadian cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They prefer to have friends with non-Muslim, Canadian background and they enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Canadians. They also enjoy entertainment such as Canadian TV shows, sports such as ice hockey, movies, and music. Often their jokes and humor are related to the Canadian culture. Finally, it is very important for them to work with colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim, mainstream society and, therefore, they feel comfortable working with them.

The vignettes for integration, separation, marginalization, and control conditions are provided in Appendix A.

Attention Check Item

One attention check item was used to assess whether the participants carefully read through the text. The item was, “what is the name of the sport mentioned in the text?”. Responses were: Land hockey, ice hockey, cricket, soccer. The correct response was “Ice hockey”.

Religious Resentment Toward Muslims

Nine items, of which four were reverse coded, derived from the Muslim American Resentment scale were adapted from Lajevardi, & Kassra (2018) to measure participants’

religious resentment toward Canadian Muslims as a proxy of old and deep-rooted anti-Muslim sentiments. The scale has been used to measure negative attitudes toward Muslims in several studies (e.g., Collingwood et al., 2018; Khan et al., 2019; Lajevardi & Abrajano, 2019). The items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*), to 7 (*strongly agree*), e.g., “Muslims do not have the best interests of Canada at heart”, $\alpha = .89$.

Social Exclusion of Muslims

Ten items, with two items reverse coded, specifically designed for the study measured the extent to which the participants were willing to exclude Muslims in various social situations such as at the workplace, renting a portion to Muslim tenants, and voting for a Muslim MP (e.g., “I would not like Muslims as my neighbors”, $\alpha = .94$). The items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

2.4 Statistical Analysis in Paper 1

Standard descriptive analyses were conducted to establish sample characteristics. The statistical program SPSS was used to examine demographics and to run independent samples *t*-tests and an analysis of variance (ANOVA). An independent samples *t*-test was run to examine gender differences in the level of perceived threats, acculturation, and violence. Moreover, *t*-test was also used to assess how membership in a religious organization influences the main study variables. In addition, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore how level of education and employment status effects the threat, acculturation, and violence constructs. Since the study aimed to investigate the mediating effects of acculturation orientations on the relationship between threats and violence, direct and indirect path analysis was determined through MPlus software version 8.0 with the Maximum Likelihood (ML) estimator. Measurement invariance was also assessed through the same statistical program.

2.5 Statistical Analysis in Paper 2

In both studies in paper 2, sample characteristics and demographics were examined by standard descriptive analyses in SPSS. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the effects of the three conditions on trust and support for surveillance, followed by a planned contrast comparing each experimental condition (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption) to the control group and with each other. Similarly, a one-way ANOVA was run to investigate the effects of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. and their own religious group, followed by planned contrasts where the manipulation conditions were compared to the control group. To investigate the effects of the loyalty variables on trust and support for surveillance, regression analysis was conducted.

Next, in both studies, path analysis was conducted where Muslims' perceived loyalty to the U.K. and loyalty to their own religious group mediated the effects of religious maintenance and mainstream adoption conditions (vs. the control group) on trust and support for surveillance. Model 4 of PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with a bootstrap estimation approach of 5,000 random resamples was used to examine the indirect effects.

To investigate the discrepancy in acculturation orientations between majority group members and the Muslim minority and its impact on loyalty and dependent variables, Model 1 of the PROCESS macro was used in both studies. For moderated mediation in study 2, Model 8 was utilized for indirect conditional effects.

2.6 Statistical Analysis in Paper 3

Sample characteristics were analyzed by simple descriptive statistics in SPSS. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the effects of the five acculturation conditions on social exclusion of Muslims and religious resentment, followed by planned contrasts where each experimental condition was compared to the control group and with each other (assimilation vs integration, assimilation vs. marginalization, assimilation vs.

separation, integration vs. marginalization, integration vs. separation and marginalization vs. separation). Next, path analysis was conducted using Model 4 of PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with bootstrap estimation approach of 5,000 random re-samples for the indirect effect.

3. Results

3.1 Results of Paper 1

Since configural invariance was not achieved for the acculturation variables, the models were tested separately for both samples.

Gender Differences

For the effects of gender differences in the Norwegian sample on the threats, violence and acculturation variables, an independent samples *t*-test revealed a significant difference between men and women's perceptions of safety threat, $t(237) = 2.16, p = .032, d = 0.27$, with men ($M = 3.38, SD = 1.67$) experiencing more safety threat than women ($M = 2.95, SD = 1.45$). The results also showed that men scored higher ($M = 6.56, SD = 1.42$) on mainstream acculturation than women ($M = 6.11, SD = 1.37$), $t(250) = 2.56, p = .011, d = 0.32$ in Norway. Scores on support for Muslim military violence scale were higher for men ($M = 3.58, SD = 1.38$) than women ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.36$), $t(249) = 2.48, p = .014, d = 0.31$ in Norway. Violent behavioral intentions, however, were significantly higher in women ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.23$) than men ($M = 4.26, SD = 1.32$), $t(249) = 2.46, p = .014, d = 0.31$ in the Norwegian sample.

In the U.K. sample, an independent samples *t*-test showed no significant gender differences in experiences of realistic, $t(193) = -1.30, p = .195$, safety, $t(193) = -1.45, p = .149$, and symbolic threats, $t(192) = -1.36, p = .195$, religious, $t(190) = -0.23, p = .819$; and mainstream acculturation, $t(193) = -1.50, p = .134$, violent behavioral intentions, $t(185) = -0.07, p = .944$, and support for Muslim military violence, $t(191) = -0.07, p = .335$.

Membership in a Muslim Organization

In the Norwegian sample, religious acculturation was significantly higher among individuals who were members of a religious organization ($M = 6.84, SD = 1.32$) than non-members ($M = 5.96, SD = 1.21$), $t(249) = -5.30, p < .001, d = 0.70$. However, mainstream

acculturation was also higher among members of religious organizations ($M = 6.48, SD = 1.38$) compared with non-members ($M = 6.07, SD = 1.44$), $t(248) = -2.25, p = .026, d = 0.29$.

In the U.K. sample, there were significant differences in religious acculturation depending on the participant's membership in a religious organization. Individuals who were not members of a religious organization ($M = 6.51, SD = 1.01$) indicated lower degrees of religious acculturation than individuals who were members of a religious organization ($M = 7.05, SD = 1.04$), $t(183) = -2.94, p = .004, d = 0.53$.

Level of Education and Income

In the Norwegian sample, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed significantly different levels of mainstream acculturation depending on their level of education, $F(3, 248) = 5.09, p = .002, \eta^2 = .25$. Tukey post-hoc test revealed that mainstream acculturation was significantly higher in participants with a university degree ($M = 6.48, SD = 1.25, p = .001$) than individuals with a high school diploma ($M = 5.60, SD = 1.78, p = .001$). A one-way ANOVA also showed a significant difference in mainstream acculturation orientations with regard to the informants' level of income, $F(3, 247) = 8.24, p = .006, \eta^2 = .23$. Specifically, mainstream acculturation was higher among individuals with high income ($M = 6.88, SD = 1.41$) compared to average ($M = 6.25, SD = 1.43, p = .026$) and low ($M = 5.69, SD = 1.23, p = .004$) income in Norway.

In the U.K. sample, there were significant differences in experiences of realistic, safety and symbolic threats depending on the participants' education level. University graduates ($M = 3.19, SD = 1.50$) experienced the lowest levels of realistic threats compared to individuals with an elementary school education ($M = 6.83, SD = 0.24, p = .006$) and individuals with a high school diploma ($M = 4.23, SD = 1.98, p = .053$), $F(3, 191) = 5.69, p = .001, \eta^2 = 0.30$. In addition, the highest degree of safety threat was reported among individuals with an elementary school education ($M = 6.33, SD = .94$) compared to university graduates ($M =$

3.11, $SD = 1.63$, $p = .036$) and respondents with a high school diploma ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 2.15$, $p = .320$), $F(3, 191) = 4.40$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = 0.27$. Moreover, individuals with an elementary school education ($M = 6.83$, $SD = 0.24$) reported higher levels of symbolic threat than university graduates ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.61$, $p = .011$), $F(3, 190) = 4.88$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = 0.28$.

In the U.K. sample, individuals with low income ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.52$) experienced higher levels of symbolic threat compared to individuals with high income ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 2.73$, $p = .038$), $F(3, 191) = 3.05$, $p = .030$, $\eta^2 = 0.22$. Moreover, individuals with a high income ($M = 6.33$, $SD = 1.14$) reported more mainstream acculturation than low ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 1.19$, $p = .043$) and no income individuals ($M = 5.33$, $SD = .90$, $p = .001$), $F(3, 191) = 5.61$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .30$. Violent behavioral intentions were also significantly higher among individuals with a high income ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.21$, $p < .001$) compared to low ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.18$, $p < .001$) or no income ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.05$, $p < 0.001$), $F(3, 183) = 10.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .41$.

Attitudes regarding support for Muslim military violence did not yield significant results in the U.K. sample with respect to income levels, $F(3, 189) = 1.95$, $p = .124$. Significant ANOVA results were found for realistic threat, $F(3, 191) = 2.82$, $p = .040$, $\eta^2 = .21$, and religious acculturation, $F(3, 188) = 2.69$, $p = .047$, $\eta^2 = .21$, with respect to income levels. However, post-hoc tests (Tuckey and Scheffe tests) did not reveal any significant differences between the groups (all $ps > .056$).

Path Analysis

First, two unmediated, fully saturated models were run for each sample to test the first hypothesis. In the Norwegian sample, safety threat showed no significant impact on support for Muslim military violence or violent behavioral intentions (all $ps > .767$). However, realistic threat was positively related to violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = .20$, $p = .006$), but not to support for Muslim military violence ($p = .412$) supporting the hypothesis. In addition,

symbolic threat had a positive effect on support for Muslim military violence ($\beta = .31, p < .001$) but an unexpected negative effect on violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = -.36, p < .001$). In the U.K. sample, path analysis did not show any significant effect of realistic and safety threats on support for Muslim military violence and violent behavioral intentions (all $ps > .129$). Symbolic threat did not influence violent behavioral intentions ($p = .700$), however a strong, positive effect on support for Muslim military violence was found ($\beta = .54, p < .000$) supporting the hypothesis.

Next, for the rest of our hypotheses, a separate mediated model was estimated for both samples due to lack of measurement invariance. The indirect effects were tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 random re-samples. The chi-square test and standard fit indices indicated a well-fitting mediation model in Norway, $\chi^2(1, N = 253) = 0.09, p = .770$, RMSEA < 0.001 , 90% CI, [0.000, 0.112], CFI = 1.0, sRMR = 0.003. In the U.K., the chi-square test, $\chi^2(1, N = 193) = .86, p = .354$, and other fit indices showed a very close fit, CFI = 1.0, RMSEA < 0.001 , 90% CI [0.000, 0.185], sRMR = 0.01.

In the Norwegian sample, results indicated a positive relationship between religious acculturation and support for Muslim military violence ($\beta = .18, p = .002$), but no link between religious acculturation and violent behavioral intentions ($p = .942$). In the U.K., religious acculturation showed a significant positive effect on support for Muslim military violence ($\beta = .30, p < .001$), but a negative effect on violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = -.21, p = .003$). In addition, in the Norwegian sample, mainstream acculturation had no significant relationship with support for Muslim military violence and violent behavioral intentions ($ps > .134$). In the U.K., mainstream acculturation was not related to support for Muslim military violence ($p = .526$), but mainstream acculturation was positively associated with violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = .28, p < .001$), not supporting the hypothesis.

Additionally, in the Norwegian sample, religious and mainstream acculturation did not mediate the relationship between the independent variables and the outcome variables.

In the U.K., religious acculturation mediated the relationship between symbolic threat and support for Muslim military violence (indirect effect: $\beta = 0.12$, $p = .016$, 90% CI [.004, .22]) partially supporting the hypothesis. However, the opposite indirect relationship was observed in terms of violent behavioral intentions. Here, symbolic threat predicted higher levels of religious acculturation, which in turn predicted lower levels of violent behavioral intentions, resulting in an indirect negative relationship ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .036$, 90% CI [-.17, -.02]). No evidence indicated that mainstream acculturation mediated the relationship between threat and violence in this sample, thus this hypothesis was also partially supported

Exploratory analyses were also conducted where the acculturation strategies were computed using the midpoint-split procedure (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2007). The procedure entails the mid-point of the Likert scale as the cutoff point to classify participants into low or high acculturation groups in terms of mainstream and religious culture. Based on these groups, conceptualization of Berry (1997) was followed where the participants were categorized into one of the four acculturation strategies. In both countries, integration was the most frequent strategy (Norway = 71.3%, U.K.= 66.8%), followed by separation (Norway = 14.6%, U.K. = 25.4%), assimilation (Norway = 11.8%, U.K.= 6.2%), and marginalization (Norway = 2.4%, U.K. = 1.6%).

Further, a one-way ANOVA with Tuckey's post-hoc comparisons was conducted in each country to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences in the independent (threats) and dependent (violence) variables depending on the acculturation strategies. In Norway, participants' symbolic threat differed significantly depending on their acculturation strategy, $F(3, 250) = 4.81$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = 0.24$, while no difference was observed for realistic, $F(3, 250) = 1.85$, $p = .138$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$, and safety threat, $F(3, 250) = 1.59$, $p =$

.192, $\eta^2 = 0.02$. Tuckey's tests revealed that separated individuals experienced higher levels of symbolic threat than individuals who were integrated ($p = .008$) or assimilated ($p = .003$). There were also significant differences in support for Muslim military violence depending on participants' acculturation strategies, $F(3, 248) = 2.66, p = .049, \eta^2 = .18$. Separated individuals showed more Muslim military violence than assimilated individuals ($p = .045$). Significant differences were also found for violent behavioral intentions, $F(3, 247) = 4.62, p = .004, \eta^2 = 0.24$. Integrated individuals had higher violent behavioral intentions than marginalized individuals ($p = .046$). Moreover, assimilated individuals showed higher violent behavioral intentions than marginalized ($p = .016$) and separated individuals ($p = .047$).

In the U.K. sample, participants differed significantly in their perception of symbolic threat depending on their acculturation strategies, $F(3, 188) = 2.88, p = .038, \eta^2 = .21$. Symbolic threat was higher among separated individuals than assimilated individuals ($p = .020$). No significant differences were observed for realistic, $F(3, 189) = 1.65, p = .179, \eta^2 = 0.03$ and safety threat, $F(3, 250) = 1.65, p = .179, \eta^2 = 0.03$. Support for Muslim military violence was also significantly different between the four acculturation strategies, $F(3, 189) = 4.57, p = .004, \eta^2 = .27$. Specifically, separated individuals reported more Muslim military violence than assimilated individuals ($p = .006$). Moreover, violent behavioral intentions differed significantly between the four acculturation strategies $F(3, 188) = 5.53, p = .001, \eta^2 = .30$. Integrated and assimilated individuals reported higher violent behavioral intentions than separated individuals ($p = .005$ for integration and $p = .016$ for assimilation).

3.2 Results of Paper 2

Study 1

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed a significant effect of the three conditions on trust toward the Muslim community, $F(2, 331) = 5.74, p = .004, \eta^2 = 0.19$. The effect was followed with a planned contrast comparing each experimental condition (religious

maintenance and mainstream adoption) to the control group. The planned contrasts did not reveal significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on trust compared to the control group $t(331) = 0.80, p = .424$, not supporting the first hypothesis. Trust was significantly lower in the religious maintenance condition than in the control group, $t(331) = -2.43, p = .016, d = 0.27$, confirming the second hypothesis. Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated more trust toward Muslims in the mainstream adoption condition than in the religious maintenance condition, $t(331) = 3.23, p = .001, d = 0.36$.

Furthermore, the results indicated a significant effect of the experimental manipulation on support for surveillance, $F(2, 331) = 5.33, p = .005, \eta^2 = 0.03$. However, the planned contrasts revealed no significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance compared to the control group, $t(331) = -1.95, p = .052$, or of the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(331) = 1.27, p = .206$. These findings were contrary to the first and second hypotheses. However, an additional planned contrast showed that support for surveillance was significantly higher in the religious maintenance condition than in the mainstream condition, $t(331) = -3.24, p = .001, d = 0.43$.

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant omnibus effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group, $F(2, 330) = 120.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.87$. The planned contrasts revealed that the participants considered Muslims to be less loyal to their own religious group in the mainstream adoption condition compared to the control group, $t(330) = -6.88, p < .001, d = 0.76$. Additionally, Muslims in the religious maintenance condition were perceived as more loyal to their own religious group than in the control group, $t(330) = 8.45, p < .001, d = 0.93$. An ANOVA also indicated a significant effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., $F(2, 331) = 78.86, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.68$. Planned contrasts revealed that the participants' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was higher in the mainstream adoption condition than in the control group,

$t(331) = 5.71, p < .001, d = 0.63$. Conversely, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(331) = -6.73, p < .001, d = 0.74$.

Further, both support for surveillance and trust were regressed on loyalty to the U.K. and loyalty toward their religious group. For the model with trust as dependent variable, $F(2, 330) = 88.21, p < .001, R^2 = .33$, the results indicated a positive effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = .65, p < .001$, and a positive effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group, $\beta = .15, p = .003$. For the model with support for surveillance as dependent variable, $F(2, 330) = 26.35, p < .001, R^2 = .14$, the results indicated a negative effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = -.36, p < .001$, but the effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group on support for surveillance was non-significant, $\beta = .03, p = .597$. Hence, the third hypothesis was partially confirmed.

Mediation Analyses

The results showed that perceived loyalty of Muslims to the U.K. mediated the negative effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = -1.13, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.51, -.77]$. However, perceived loyalty of Muslims to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = .11, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.11, .33]$. The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted more trust in Muslims due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .95, 95\% \text{ CI } [.63, 1.30]$, whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate this effect, indirect effect: $B = -.09, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.28, .09]$.

The religious maintenance condition indirectly resulted in higher support for surveillance of Muslims due to lower perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .37, 95\% \text{ CI } [.23, .53]$, whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on support for

surveillance, indirect effect: $B = .09$, 95% CI [-.03, .22]. The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted less support for surveillance due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = -.31$, 95% CI [-.47, -.17], while Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not mediate the significant effect of mainstream adoption on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = -.07$, 95% CI [-.18, .03]. Thus, in the examined mediated relationship, only Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was a significant mediator, partially confirming the fourth hypothesis.

Moderation Analysis

The results showed no significant interaction between the religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* in a model with trust, $B = .14$, $p = .425$, 95% CI [-.20, .47], and support for surveillance, $B = -.16$, $p = .141$, 95% CI [-.37, .05], as the dependent variables. Furthermore, the results showed that the religious maintenance condition did not significantly interact with *majority adoption expectations* in a model with trust, $B = -.06$, $p = .801$, 95% CI [-.55, .42], and support for surveillance, $B = .18$, $p = .204$, 95% CI [-.10, .46], as the dependent variables. Additionally, there were no significant interaction between the religious maintenance condition and religious maintenance expectations on loyalty to the U.K., $B = .23$, $p = .073$, 95% CI [-.02, .49] or loyalty to own religious group, $B = -.25$, $p = .057$, 95% CI [-.50, .01]. The interaction between the religious maintenance condition and *majority adoption expectations* was also not significant for loyalty to the U.K., $B = -.33$, $p = .061$, 95% CI [-.67, .02], and loyalty to own religious group, $B = -.01$, $p = .939$, 95% CI [-.32, .30], as the dependent variables. The hypotheses examining interaction effects were not confirmed.

In addition, the results indicated that the interaction between the mainstream adoption condition and participants' *religious maintenance expectations* was not significant when loyalty to the U.K., $B = -.01$, $p = .914$, 95% CI [-.28, .25], and loyalty to own religious group,

$B = -.10, p = .455, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.36, .16]$, were the dependent variables. The interaction between the mainstream adoption condition and *majority adoption expectations* was also not significant, with loyalty to the U.K., $B = .21, p = .211, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.12, .53]$, and loyalty to their own religious group, $B = -.16, p = .266, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.46, .13]$, as the dependent variables. Moreover, the results showed no significant interaction between the mainstream adoption condition and *majority adoption expectations* in a model with trust, $B = .22, p = .351, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.24, .67]$, and support for surveillance, $B = .03, p = .847, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.24, .29]$, as the dependent variables. Since no interactions were significant, moderated-mediation analysis was not conducted.

Study 2

To replicate the results of Study 1, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted which revealed a significant omnibus effect of the three conditions on trust toward the Muslim community, $F(1, 809) = 19.69, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.05$. We followed the omnibus effect with a planned contrast comparing each experimental condition (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption) to the control group. The planned contrasts did not reveal significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on trust compared to the control group $t(809) = .22, p = .830$. However, trust was significantly lower in the religious maintenance condition than in the control group, $t(809) = -5.32, p < .001, d = 0.45$. Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* trust toward Muslims in the mainstream adoption condition than in the religious maintenance condition, $t(809) = 5.55, p < .001, d = 0.47$.

The results indicated a significant effect of the experimental manipulation on support for surveillance, $F(2, 799) = 18.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.05$. However, the planned contrasts revealed no significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance compared to the control group, $t(799) = .158, p = .874$. Contrary to study 1, support for surveillance was high in the religious maintenance condition compared to the

control group, $t(799) = 5.38, p < .001, d = 0.44$. Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* support for surveillance in the religious maintenance condition than in the mainstream adoption condition, $t(799) = 5.15, p < .001, d = 0.43$.

A one-way ANOVA also revealed a significant omnibus effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group, $F(807, 2) = 260.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.39$. The planned contrasts revealed that the participants considered Muslims to be less loyal to their own religious group in the mainstream adoption condition compared to the control group, $t(807) = -10.86, p < .001, d = 0.88$. Additionally, Muslims in the religious maintenance condition were perceived as more loyal to their own religious group than in the control group, $t(807) = 11.88, p < .001, d = 1.01$.

An ANOVA indicated a significant effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., $F(2, 809) = 184.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.31$. The planned contrasts revealed that the participants' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was higher in the mainstream adoption condition than in the control group, $t(809) = 10.73, p < .001, d = 0.76$. Conversely, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(809) = -6.73, p < .001, d = 0.90$.

To test whether our proposed mediators (loyalty) predicted the dependent variables, both support for surveillance and trust were regressed on loyalty to the U.K. and loyalty toward their religious group. For the model with trust as dependent variable, $F(2, 807) = 218.39, p < .001, R^2 = .35$, the results indicated a positive effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = .64, p < .001$, and a positive effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group, $\beta = .13, p < .001$. For the model with support for surveillance as dependent variable, $F(2, 799) = 67.51, p < .001, R^2 = .15$, the results indicated a negative effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = -.37, p < .001$, but the effect of perceived

loyalty to their religious group on support for surveillance was non-significant, $\beta = .02, p = .647$.

Mediation Analysis

To replicate the results of Study 1, we tested whether Muslims' perceived loyalty to the U.K. and to their own religious group mediated the experimental effects of religious maintenance and mainstream adoption conditions (vs. the control group) on trust and support for surveillance.

Similar to Study 1, the results showed that perceived loyalty of Muslims to the U.K. mediated a negative indirect effect of religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = -1.11, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.37, -.87]$. Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = .09, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.03, .22]$. The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted more trust in Muslims due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .88, 95\% \text{ CI } [.67, 1.09]$, whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate this effect, indirect effect: $B = -.08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.20, .03]$.

Replicating the results from Study 1, the analysis showed that the religious maintenance condition indirectly increased support for surveillance of Muslims due to lower perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .30, 95\% \text{ CI } [.22, .39]$, whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = .04, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.093, .02]$. The mainstream adoption condition indirectly decreased support for surveillance due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = -.24, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.31, -.17]$. Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = -.04, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.09, .02]$.

Moderation Analysis for Outcome Variables

We set out to test whether a discrepancy in acculturation attitudes between majority-group members and the Muslim minority would impact the mediators and dependent variables, which was not confirmed in study 1. First, we estimated the interaction between acculturation conditions presented in the vignettes (religious = 1 and mainstream = 2 vs. control group = 0) and religious maintenance and majority adoption expectations of the participants.

With respect to the fifth hypothesis that was not confirmed in study 1, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to abandon their religious culture would in particular show distrust and support for surveillance of Muslims when they were described as maintaining their religious culture. The manipulation conditions are compared to the control group. The results showed a significant interaction between the religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* on trust, $B = .23, p = .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [.00, .46]$. Simple slopes tests revealed that, in comparison with the control group, trust was prominent in the religious maintenance condition when religious maintenance expectations were low, $B = -1.17, p < .001, 95\% [-1.16, -.73]$, compared to medium, $B = -.86, p < .001, 95\% [-1.17, -.55]$, and high, $B = -.54, p < .02, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.99, -.10]$.

The interaction between religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* was significant for support for surveillance as well, $B = -.22, p = .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.35, -.09]$. Simple slopes showed that support for surveillance increased when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture especially when participants expected low religious maintenance, $B = .78, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.53, 1.03]$, and to less of an extent when these expectations were moderate, $B = .48, p < .001, 95\% [.30, .65]$, and not significant at the high level of the moderator $B = .18, p = .167, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.04, .43]$. Thus, the hypothesis (5a) was confirmed.

Next, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to adopt the majority culture would indicate distrust and support for surveillance when they were described as maintaining their religious culture. The results showed that the religious maintenance condition did not significantly interact with *majority adoption expectations* in a model with trust, $B = .14, p = .379, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.17, .44]$, and support for surveillance, $B = -.12, p = .153, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.29, .05]$, as the dependent variables, not confirming the hypothesis (5b).

Further, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to adopt the mainstream society culture would indicate more trust and less support for surveillance when the latter were described as adopting the mainstream culture. The results showed no significant interaction between the mainstream adoption condition and *majority adoption expectations* in a model with trust, $B = .23, p = .148, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.07, .53]$, and support for surveillance, $B = -.03, p = .685, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.20, .13]$, as the dependent variables. Thus, this hypothesis (5c) was also not confirmed in study 2.

Moderation Analysis for Mediation Variables

We also examined the interaction effects between the acculturation conditions and acculturation expectations (religious maintenance and majority adoption) on the mediators (i.e., the loyalty variables). The manipulation conditions (religious maintenance, and mainstream adoption) are compared to the control group.

The results showed a positive interaction between religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* on loyalty to the U.K. $B = .22, p = .02, 95\% \text{ CI } [.04, .37]$. Examination of the interaction plot showed that, compared to the control group, Muslims loyalty to the U.K. were salient when religious maintenance expectations were low, $B = -1.62, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.94, -1.29]$, compared to medium, $B = -1.32, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.55, -1.09]$ and high, $B = -1.03, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.36, -.69]$ in the religious maintenance condition.

Lastly, the results indicated a significant, negative interaction between mainstream acculturation and *mainstream adoption expectations* on loyalty toward own religious group, $B = -.28, p = .005, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.48, -.09]$. Simple slopes showed that compared to the control group, perceptions of loyalty to own religious group were marked when mainstream adoption expectations were low, $B = -.90, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.25, -.58]$, compared to medium, $B = -1.24, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.47, -1.01]$ and high, $B = -1.57, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.89, -1.25]$.

Moderated Mediation Analysis

In the paper, we tested a model that has been discussed by Edwards and Lambert (2007, p. 4) as “direct effect and first stage moderation model”. Specifically, the indirect effect of acculturation conditions (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption) on trust and support for surveillance via loyalty variables, conditioned upon acculturation expectations (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption vs control) were examined.

Moderated mediation is examined only when there is a significant interaction between the independent variable and the moderator. Since our two interaction hypotheses (5b and c) did not show any significant interaction effects, we only examined moderated mediation when there was a significant interaction between religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* (hypothesis 5a). In the moderated mediation model, the results showed that the negative indirect effect of religious maintenance condition on trust via loyalty to the U.K. was significant and strongest when *religious maintenance expectations* were low, $B = -1.07, SE = 0.13, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.33, -0.81]$, as compared to moderate, $B = -0.87, SE = 0.10, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.07, -0.68]$, and high, $B = -0.68, SE = .13, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.94, -0.44]$. The index of moderated mediation was significant, indicating a significant role of religious maintenance expectations on the indirect effects of religious maintenance condition on distrust toward Muslims through loyalty to the U.K., index: 0.14, 95% CI [.02, .26].

Finally, the positive indirect effect of the religious maintenance condition on support for surveillance via loyalty to the U.K. was significant and largest when religious maintenance expectations were low, $B = 0.25$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [.15, .36], as compared to moderate, $B = 0.20$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [.12, .30], and high, $B = 0.16$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [.08, .25]. The overall moderated mediation model was supported by the significant index of moderated mediation, -0.03 , 95% CI [-.06, -.01].

3.3 Results of Paper 3

A one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated a significant omnibus effect of the five conditions on social exclusion of Muslims, $F(4, 185) = 3.56$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = 0.3$. Planned contrasts revealed that social exclusion of Muslims was significantly lower in the perceived assimilation condition than the control group, $t(185) = -2.79$, $p = .006$. However, planned contrasts did not reveal any significant effects of Muslims' perceived integration $t(185) = -1.76$, $p = .08$, separation, $t(185) = -.57$, $p = .57$ and marginalization, $t(185) = .51$, $p = .61$ conditions on social exclusion of Muslims compared to the control group, partially confirming the hypothesis. The four acculturation strategies were also compared to each other, and their effects on the social exclusion of Muslims were examined. The results of planned contrasts showed that social exclusion of Muslims endorsed by the participants was significantly higher in the separation $t(185) = 2.23$, $p = .027$ and marginalization conditions, $t(185) = 3.27$, $p = .001$ compared to the assimilation condition. In addition, social exclusion of Muslims was higher in the marginalization condition compared to the integration condition, $t(185) = 2.25$, $p = .026$.

With respect to religious resentment, the results from a one-way ANOVA showed a significant main effect of religious resentment toward Muslims on the various conditions, $F(4, 185) = 3.55$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = 0.3$. Planned contrasts indicated that religious resentment toward Muslims was lower in the assimilation condition compared to the control group, $t(185) = -$

2.22, $p = .028$. However, planned contrasts did not reveal significant effects of integration, $t(185) = -1.23, p = .22$ separation, $t(185) = .47, p = .64$ and marginalization conditions, $t(185) = 1.13, p = .26$ on religious resentment, partially confirming the hypothesis.

Additionally, the four acculturation strategies were compared to each other to examine their main effects on religious resentment toward Muslims. Planned contrasts revealed that religious resentment was significantly higher in the separation $t(185) = 2.67, p = .008$ and marginalization conditions, $t(185) = 3.31, p = .001$ compared to the assimilation condition, whereas religious resentment was higher in the marginalization condition $t(185) = 2.34, p = .02$ when compared to integration condition.

Mediation Analysis

The results showed that the assimilation condition indirectly decreased the social exclusion of Muslims due to low degrees of religious resentment toward Muslims, indirect effect: $B = -.51, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.96, -.08]$. No significant indirect effects were found when religious resentment mediated the relationship between integration, indirect effect: $B = -.28, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.74, .17]$, separation, indirect effect: $B = .08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.29, .47]$ and marginalization conditions, indirect effect: $B = .20, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.16, .55]$ and social exclusion, partially confirming the hypothesis.

4. Discussion

This chapter reviews the purpose of the thesis and presents a discussion of the results based on the research findings from the data collected, strengths and limitations of the studies, directions for future work, societal implications of the findings and conclusion.

In the post-9/11 era, Muslims' religious affiliation, practices, and behavior are given increased importance in social and cultural psychology (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). However, religious cultural orientations in the context of acculturation research have not been investigated. The main aim of this thesis was to investigate the bias and tense intergroup relationship between Muslim minorities and the majority societies based on actual and perceived acculturation preferences of Muslims by examining the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments (Figure 1) in three Western countries (Norway, the U.K., and Canada), from a majority and minority group perspective. Specifically, the thesis examined two questions: 1) How do Muslims respond to the wider society when faced with threats toward their cultural preferences, and 2) How the majority society responds to Muslims' acculturation orientations and attitudes, given the increasing anti-Muslim sentiments.

4.1 Main Findings

The primary objective of paper 1 was to investigate the factors that might underpin Muslims' willingness to support and engage in religiously motivated violence when they perceive the majority society as threatening their safety, religious and cultural values, and scarce resources in society, such as jobs, land, and power, using data from Muslim diaspora in Norway and the U.K. The main results of paper 1 in this thesis show that Muslims in both samples perceived symbolic threats from the majority society in their respective countries. Specifically, perceptions of symbolic threats were higher among individuals who were separated in both samples. While perceptions of symbolic threats also predicted support for Muslim military violence among Muslims in both countries, it was only separated individuals

who indicated this support compared to other acculturation strategies. Furthermore, perceptions of symbolic threat increased religious acculturation among Muslims in both countries. In addition, integrated and assimilated individuals in both countries showed greater violent behavioral intentions.

Only Norwegian Muslims' perceptions of symbolic threat revealed lower tendencies toward mainstream acculturation. Perceptions of symbolic threat also indicated lower degrees of violent behavioral intentions. In addition, Norwegian sample showed that perceptions of realistic threat predict lower mainstream acculturation but higher levels of violent behavioral intentions. Moreover, religious acculturation among Norwegian Muslims indicated more support for Muslim military violence. Finally, the Norwegian sample did not yield significant indirect effects of the threats on violence with religious and mainstream acculturation as the mediating variables.

Regarding the U.K. sample, the results showed that perceptions of symbolic threat increased religious acculturation among British Muslims. Religious acculturation also predicted more support for Muslim military violence among British Muslims, while religious acculturation of British Muslims decreased violent behavioral intentions at the individual level. On the other hand, mainstream acculturation predicted higher violent behavioral intentions among British Muslims. The results also showed that religious acculturation mediated the positive relationship between perceptions of symbolic threats and support for Muslim military violence, resulting in an indirect negative relationship.

Hence, based on the results, the findings suggest that Muslims in Norway and the U.K. perceive the majority society as posing one or another form of threat to their religious cultural values, beliefs, and their social and economic positions. The results also reveal that the higher the mainstream orientation of British Muslims, the higher it predicts violent behavioral intentions in them. The results indicate that Muslims in these countries might respond to these

perceptions of threats by supporting military organizations in Muslim majority countries, or even intent to conduct individual violent behavioral actions. It is important to remind the reader that, according to the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002), these threats do not have to be real. Only *perception* is sufficient to initiate a negative response. These findings answer the first aim of this thesis and examine the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments from a minority perspective.

The main goal of paper 2 was to investigate the role of loyalty perceptions as an underlying mechanism in the discrepancy between the acculturation expectations of the majority group toward Muslims and the perceived acculturation orientations of British Muslims with respect to their religious and majority society's cultures. The results of both studies showed that the participants did not trust Muslims and showed higher levels of support for surveillance of Muslims when they were perceived as maintaining their religious culture. However, respondents indicated higher levels of trust and lower levels of support for surveillance when Muslims were perceived as adopting the mainstream culture.

The participants also considered Muslims to be less loyal to their own religious group when they were presented as adopting the majority culture, whereas they were considered more loyal to their religious group when they were shown to maintain their religious culture. In addition, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to their own religious group when they were perceived as adopting the majority culture, whereas they were perceived as loyal to the U.K. when shown as adopting the majority culture. The results also showed that the more Muslims were perceived as loyal to the U.K., the greater they were trusted, and the less the participants indicated their support for surveillance. In contrast, the more they were viewed as loyal to their own religious group, the more they were considered untrustworthy, and the participants indicated higher support for surveillance.

Importantly, only Muslims' perceived loyalty to the U.K. mediated the effects between the two acculturation conditions and trust and support for surveillance. When Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture, perceived loyalty to the U.K. indirectly resulted in lower levels of trust and greater support for surveillance. In contrast, when Muslims were shown as adopting the mainstream culture, the participants perceived Muslims as more loyal to the U.K., which resulted in greater trust and less support for surveillance.

Furthermore, interaction effects showed that, compared to the control group, trust was low, support for surveillance was high, and Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. when they were presented as maintaining their religious culture specifically when religious maintenance expectations were salient. The results also indicated that when Muslims were presented to adopt the majority culture, they were perceived as disloyal to own religious group when mainstream adoption expectations were marked. In the moderated mediation analysis, the results showed a significant role of religious maintenance expectations in the indirect effects of the religious maintenance on distrust and support for surveillance through loyalty to the U.K.

In paper 3, the main purpose of the experimental study was to examine whether religious resentment explains the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society as an outcome of Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies. The results revealed a rather surprising outcome. Only when Muslims in Canada were presented as assimilated into Canadian society did the participants indicate less religious resentment toward Muslims and more social inclusion in society. Moreover, only when Muslims were shown to adopt Canadian culture did the participants indicate lower levels of religious resentment toward Muslims, which decreased the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society.

Based on these results, the findings suggest that the majority society in the U.K. and Canada perceive Muslims in their respective societies as untrustworthy, disloyal to the state,

and suspicious (U.K.) if they prefer to maintain their religious culture. However, if they prefer to adopt majority culture they are viewed as trustworthy, loyal to the society, and unsuspecting. Moreover, in Canada, which is admired for its multicultural approach, the results demonstrated that Muslims were accepted in the social domain if they were perceived as assimilated in Canadian society. Hence, the findings address the second aim of the thesis and the majority perspective in the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments (Figure 1).

Overall, these results indicate that the relationship between Muslims and the majority societies in their respective countries can be considered negative and bias, confirming the cycle of anti-Muslim and anti-Western sentiments. There are several possible explanations for these findings.

4.2 Discussion of the Results

Majority group members in Western societies may have negative perceptions of Muslims due to incidents of Islamic-inspired terror by some members of the Muslim community and constant negative stereotyping of Muslims in the media and public debate (Doosje et al., 2009; Saleem et al., 2017; Kanji, 2018; Rahman & Emadi, 2018; Hellevik, 2020). However, terrorism is not the only factor influencing wider societies' perceptions of Muslim communities. Apart from a few oil-producing rich Muslim majority countries, the Muslim world, with its laws established within the Islamic framework, is characterized by economic and political instability and insecurity, dictatorships, poor law and order situations, single-leader rule within political parties, and a lack of religious freedom (Shakil and Yousaf, 2015).

On the other hand, Muslims in Western societies have not only been intimidated by Western involvement in their respective countries (Rabassa et al., 2004), but also by perceived discrimination (Kunst et al., 2012), threats to their employment opportunities, political power, religious freedom (Uenal, 2016), and the safety of their lives and places of worship in their

societies of living (Awad, 2010). Furthermore, Muslims living in the West have frequently been questioned about their loyalty to the majority society (Awan, 2014). Thus, the intergroup relationship between the Muslim community and the majority society may have followed a continuous cycle of negative attitudes and behaviors toward each other. The following sections are divided into two parts to address the contributions of the three studies, to discuss the research questions and to examine the cycle.

Muslim Minority Perspective

Findings from paper 1 showed that for Muslims in Norway and the U.K., symbolic threat was related to more support for military violence by Muslim states in both countries. A powerful military institution is considered an essential component of survival in a competitive world (Morgenthau, 1951). A significant number of respondents in paper 1 indicated their origin from Pakistan, and they constitute the largest non-Western ethnic minority group in Norway and the U.K. (Werbner, 2005; 2007; Office for National Statistics, 2020). Most Pakistanis in their country and those living abroad are generally promilitary (Naurath & Ray, 2011). The Pakistani military enjoys the support of its countrymen and has been envisioned as a messiah-like figure of the nation, especially during political crises (Ahmad, 2013). This support for the military also projects distrust toward government and civilian institutions that are deemed unfit to solve national and international challenges. Indeed, the Pakistani military enjoyed the support and trust of 78% of Pakistanis even after the Pakistani military and intelligence services were accused of knowing about Osama bin Laden's hideout (Naurath & Ray, 2011). Thus, since the country's establishment in 1947, the Pakistani military has been an integral part of Pakistani society and has a stronghold in the political, economic, and state development in Pakistan (Lieven, 2010; Rizvi, 2000) as the governing institution.

Furthermore, in 1977, military dictator Zia-ul-Haq reinforced the idea of Muslim identity in military and state institutions and started the Islamization process by implementing

strict Islamic policies and the formation of an Islamic court to establish a model Islamic state (Ziring, 1982). It can be argued that, for the majority of Pakistani Muslims in Pakistan and across the globe, the Pakistani military is considered a model Islamic army. Therefore, I argue that in paper 1, Muslim military support was high among the Muslim communities in both countries when symbolic threat was high because the respondents might consider the Muslim military as saviors of religious values when they perceived symbolic threat from the society.

In contrast to previous research (Obaidi, Kunst et al., 2018), symbolic threat was related to less violent behavioral intentions in Norway. However, violent behavioral intentions were explained by the perception of realistic threat in Norway. These results suggest that Muslims in Norway are unwilling to use violence if they fear the West as a danger to their Islamic culture and values. Yet, in line with previous studies, they would be prepared to use violence if they perceive the majority society as rivals for scarce economic resources (Caldwell et al., 2004; Obaidi, et al., 2018). Still, it is also important to note that the link between realistic threats and violent behavioral intentions in the Norwegian sample might suggest a suppressor effect as no such relationship was observed in terms of zero-order correlations. Hence, this finding must be interpreted with caution.

In the U.K. sample, higher levels of mainstream acculturation were positively related to violent behavioral intentions. Research suggests that Muslims in the U.K. are expected to adopt a common British identity replacing their religious affiliation (Awan, 2014). Increased participation in the mainstream culture provides better opportunities for work, improved language skills, and social inclusion and network. However, in some instances, high degrees of engagement in the host society may also give more awareness of prejudiced sentiments, discrimination, and negative attitudes toward one's group (Foroutan, 2008; Awad, 2010). After 7/7 attacks, the British Muslim community attracted political focus. Identity, belongingness, and loyalty to British society have become central elements of discussion in terrorism debate

limiting identity categories to a common British identity, closing identity negotiation for Muslims (McDonald, 2011). This may explain the positive link between mainstream acculturation and violent behavioral intentions in the U.K. However, no such relationship was observed among Norwegian Muslims. Hence, violent behavioral intentions seem for Norwegian Muslims to have little to do with how they acculturate and engage in the national sphere, and more with the (realistic) threats they experience from the majority society due to their group membership.

Another important finding in the U.K. sample was that religious acculturation was negatively linked with violent behavioral intentions and mediated the effects of symbolic threat. Confirming previous research (Zirkov et al., 2014), this finding suggests that Muslims' religious involvement does not predict a higher willingness to commit violence but may even have the opposite effect. In media and public debate and policymaking, British Muslims' religious association is viewed as unfit with British liberal values and culture (Field, 2013; Sheridan, 2006). To negate this perception, it is possible that British Muslims increased their religious acculturation even more, showing lower levels of violent behavioral intentions when they faced threats toward their religious culture and belief system. British Muslims reduced violent behavioral intentions may be seen as an attempt to reduce intergroup tensions and counter the negative image Britons may have of Muslims as intolerant and violent extremists (see Krueger & Malečková, 2003; Bakker et al., 2013). Hence, for British Muslims, an increased involvement in their religious culture may be a negative predictor of violent behavior, and this process may be influenced by perceptions of symbolic threat (Zirkov et al., 2014). This important point should be noted by policy makers and organizations that work with intergroup relations.

Contrastingly, religious acculturation increased support for Muslim military violence and thus mediated the effects of symbolic threat in the U.K. In accordance with these results,

previous studies have demonstrated that second-hand experiences of violence and adversities may lead to more support for political violence (Carnagey & Anderson, 2007; see Obaidi et al., 2018). However, this relationship was non-existent in Norway. Compared to the U.K., Norway has no history as a colonial power and is less involved in foreign interventions. Hence, I argue that this may explain why Norwegian Muslims did not support Muslim military violence.

Finally, the analyses also examined the participants with respect to their acculturation strategies. The majority of respondents in both samples were integrated individuals, followed by separation and assimilation. Only few individuals fell into the marginalized category. This finding is consistent with previous studies, which show that Muslims living in Western societies prefer integration (Ansari, 2004; Berry, 2006; Stroink, 2007; Fenton, 2007; Gardham, 2009).

Majority Group Perspective

Combining the results of papers 2 and 3, the findings showed that perceptions of Muslims' association with their religious culture led to distrust, support for surveillance, and the social exclusion of Muslims by majority group members; confirming previous findings on this topic (for e.g., see Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Rohmann et al., 2008).

In the U.K., Muslims' religious cultural affiliation is often linked with negative evaluation and unfavorable treatment by the majority society, and the loyalty of Muslims has been questioned and interchangeably used with identity politics (Mandeville, 2009; Kalra & Kapoor, 2009; Foddy et al., 2009; Acik & Pilkington, 2018). In contrast, when Muslims were presented as adopting mainstream culture, perceptions of loyalty to the U.K. increased thereby explaining more trust and less support for surveillance, supporting previous observations (e.g., see Poynting & Mason, 2006). Majority group members expect Muslims in the U.K. to hold a common/single identity (McGhee, 2003). If Muslims prefer to associate with their religious culture, they are perceived as disloyal to the U.K. resulting in a negative evaluation of their group (Dovidio et al., 2016; Hehman et al., 2012). I interpret these findings

to suggest that since Muslims' religious culture is viewed as inconsistent with British values, and public and media debates have focused on British Muslims' loyalty, the respondents clearly indicated a preference for Muslims who adopted British culture instead of their religious culture. The results of paper 2 are supported by those of paper 1. In paper 1, perceptions of symbolic threat among British Muslims predicted high support for Muslim military violence, while high adoption of mainstream acculturation indicated high violent behavioral intentions. If the majority society perceives Muslims' religious cultural affiliation as conflictual with British culture (Paper 2), and Muslims perceive the society as threatening their religious cultural values (Paper 1), the result would be a negative and tense relationship between the two groups. One interesting finding in paper 2 is that Muslims' perceived loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the experimental effects. Majority group members, thus, seem most concerned about British Muslims not being loyal to the majority group, rather than fearing their loyalty to other entities.

Consistent with the literature (Dovidio et al., 2016; Hehman et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), Muslims' religious acculturation not only led to perceptions of disloyalty to the U.K. but also resulted in negative evaluation of their group. Strikingly, adopting the majority group culture also did not significantly lead to less support for surveillance and more trust among majority group members who expected high majority cultural adoption. Thus, even though majority group members expect mainstream adoption, they do not seem to reward it.

In line with our expectations, trust decreased, and support for surveillance increased especially when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture and participants preferred them to abandon it. This finding is in line with interactive models of acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2002). Moreover, when Muslims maintained their religious culture, they were perceived as less loyal to the U.K., especially among participants who expected them to abandon this culture. This result supports evidence

from previous observations, which state that majority group members favor minorities who share similar values and other cultural similarities with them (Bloom et al., 2015). When the participants expected Muslims to adopt the mainstream culture and they read about Muslims who adopted the British culture, they considered them as reducing their loyalty to their religious culture, which is often perceived as incompatible with the British culture (Mend, 2015). Thus, even though this manipulation did not describe that Muslims who adopted the mainstream culture give up their religious culture, participants appeared to assume this (but see a discussion regarding limitations of the vignettes below).

By conducting pre-registered moderated mediation tests, we attained deeper insights into the process and conditions of the intergroup relationship between Muslims and the majority society in the U.K by adding loyalty variables to the equation. Specifically, we found that when Muslims were described as maintaining their religious culture, trust decreased, and support for surveillance increased mediated by perceptions of disloyalty and especially so among participants who wanted Muslims to give up their religious culture. These results again show that Muslims' religious cultural affiliation is perceived as disloyalty to the majority country (Meer & Modood, 2009; Pew Global Attitudes, 2006), but also that this influences intergroup attitudes especially among those with unwelcoming acculturation expectations. Indeed, in the U.K., Muslims' religious and British identity are often discussed as two competing dimensions (Field, 2013). The emergence of extremist Islam in the U.K. has brought to the fore Muslims' assumed conflict of loyalties between their religion and country of residence, leading to biased responses from the majority society (Ajala, 2014).

Findings from paper 3 show that religious resentment explains the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society as an outcome of Muslims' acculturation strategies as perceived by majority group members, consistent with the literature (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2007; Bourhis et al., 2009).

The investigated direct and mediated relationships were only significant in the assimilation condition whereas the other acculturation strategies, and especially integration, did not yield any significant relationship even though the integration strategy is observed as a predictor of social inclusion of minorities (Zagefka & Brown, 2011).

Canada has an official multicultural policy. It is viewed as a “country of immigrants”, where not only minorities are encouraged to maintain their heritage and religious customs and traditions in addition to adherence to the majority society’s culture, but the majority society is also encouraged to celebrate diversity (Litchmore & Safdar, 2015). One explanation for this result is that since assimilation implies low cultural dissimilarity with respect to language, values, and beliefs, majority group members were not only positively inclined toward Muslims who they perceived as assimilated but were also more likely to form social relationships with such individuals (Kunst & Sam, 2014).

In addition, individuals tend to view their group membership positively indicating in-group favoritism (Tajfel, 1982). Hence, Muslims who were perceived as assimilated into the majority society may be socially categorized as members of the majority in-group by the participants. This positive in-group categorization may have resulted in a favorable attitude toward Muslims by the participants. Thus, a second explanation for the result in paper 3 is that the participants socially included Muslims who they perceived as a part of their in-group due to similar values and cultural habits (Osbeck et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Matera et al., 2020).

4.3 Strengths, Limitations, and Directions for Future Research

Although this thesis provides new and important insights into acculturation research, it has several limitations. In paper 1, convenience samples were drawn from the Norwegian and British Muslim communities. This was a necessity because the public registries in neither country record inhabitants’ religious or ethnic backgrounds, making representative sampling

almost impossible. In both samples, several Muslim organizations, specifically one Norwegian Muslim organization that has been in the limelight due to its members supporting violence, did not respond to the invitation to participate in the research. Not being able to recruit members from such organizations might have hindered us from sampling possibly more radical views than those represented in our samples. Moreover, the small samples in this study comprised of mostly respondents with a Pakistani origin who belonged to the Sunni direction within Islam. Furthermore, I did not differentiate Muslims' various ethnicities in the study. Since the majority of participants identified as Pakistanis, the findings are not necessarily representative for the broader Muslim diaspora in the Norwegian and British societies. The interpretation of the results in terms of generalizability should, therefore, be done with caution. Nevertheless, in order to examine possibly different results, a replication of this study with diverse samples is recommended.

Furthermore, there was a significant age difference between the two samples. This difference was probably a result of the way data was collected (i.e., convenience sampling), rather than representing actual age differences in the population. The study used a cross-sectional approach, which does not allow for causal inferences. A suggestion for future research would be to conduct a longitudinal study to establish causal relationships between perceived threats and the violence variables, and to establish the role of acculturation as causal mediator.

Direct cross-cultural comparison was not possible in paper 1 because measurement invariance was not achieved for the acculturation scales. Absence of invariance can reveal important cross-cultural differences between samples. The lack of invariance in the study can reflect important contextual differences at the conceptual level as Norway's approach to questions related to religious diversity and religious governance are different than the U.K., even though a well-established acculturation instrument was used, which was thoroughly translated from English to Norwegian. This may suggest that the lack of measurement

invariance was caused by acculturation orientations having different cultural meanings for participants in both countries. Yet, future research may try to replicate these findings with different types of acculturation scales that were developed specifically for the European context and for Muslim populations.

Finally, in paper 1, out-group hostility was measured through violent behavioral intentions instead of actual behavior. Thus, the results do not directly indicate whether Muslims would act violently, rather they show Muslims' intent to act violently for the sake of other Muslims. For this purpose, it is also important to mention that actual behavior is, both methodically and ethically, difficult to measure. Hence, as intentional behavior is a proxy for actual behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), Muslims' willingness to act violently was assessed.

In papers 2 and 3, an online survey platform was used to recruit participants for the studies. This method allowed us to attain an adequate sample size as determined by the power analysis of majority members in the U.K. and Canada within a short period of time. However, the samples were not representative of British or Canadian society, thus limiting the generalizability of the results. Future studies may aim to replicate these findings with more representative samples.

Another limitation of online experiments is their often limited ecological validity. Papers 2 and 3 measured majority society's attitudes toward a Muslim group either residing in a fictional town, or with no information of any specific place. The use of a real-world example from a Muslim community may have led to different results. Data collection through the internet has another limitation. Online experiments only include a certain segment of a society that has access to the internet. Hence, opinions from some groups are excluded from this study. Therefore, future studies should take a mixed-method approach where they interview individuals who may not have access to or the competence for using the internet,

such as the older generation. Moreover, while causal effects of the experimental intervention were established, the association between the mediators and dependent variables was correlational. Thus, to establish causality between the constructs, experimental designs that assign participants randomly to various levels of the mediators may be beneficial.

I also would like to note that one of the measures used in paper 2 (i.e., the support for surveillance measure) was developed specifically for this study. Although it showed high reliability and its validity was supported by factor analysis in two studies, the mean on the scale was somewhat low. Also, the scale showed satisfactory fit on two of three fit indices, highlighting the need to improve it further. Future research may compare the scale to established scales or try to further adjust items to achieve a more normally distributed response distribution.

The vignettes presented Muslims' acculturation orientations with respect to religious culture or British culture in paper 2. It was designed to not describe Muslims' choosing one of the four acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, assimilation separation or marginalization; Berry, 1997) or dual vs. common identification. Still, it seems as if participants inferred separation from the religious culture maintenance condition and assimilation from the mainstream culture adoption condition, but this could not be directly tested. Such an inference could have been the results of formulations about Muslims "preferring" certain things (e.g., partners, friends) from one culture. Moreover, the term "Muslims" may in the mainstream culture adoption condition have suggested that participants maintained their religious culture, thereby mirroring integration. Furthermore, in paper 3, where I used the four acculturation strategies, the participants indicated favorable attitudes when Muslims were presented as assimilated. It may have happened that majority group members in Canada inferred integration from the assimilation vignette due to the formulations in the text. Therefore, future

research may attempt to further refine the vignettes to avoid confounds between acculturation strategies and orientations.

Additionally, in the mainstream adoption vignette in paper 2 and assimilation vignette in paper 3, “preference for beer” was used as an indicator of mainstream cultural adoption in British, and assimilation in Canadian societies compared to other vignettes. This behavioral preference of Muslims indicates a strong rejection of Islamic cultural practices because refusing alcohol consumption indicates obedience and adherence to Islamic values (Bagasra & Mackinem, 2019). Thus, Muslims perceived as preferring to drink beer may have influenced participants’ perceptions of Muslims as rejecting Islamic cultural values and adopting British and Canadian values, showing significant results in mainstream adoption in paper 2 and assimilation condition in paper 3, compared to other conditions in both papers.

During the data collection for paper 3, it is important to mention that the study was conducted during the rapidly evolving COVID-19 pandemic. The data was collected when lockdowns were imposed globally and Canada, along with the rest of the world, closed its borders to contain the pandemic. The uncertain and unexpected nature of the circumstances might have affected the participants’ opinions on matters related to Muslims’ presence in Canada because it was difficult to obtain a larger sample size despite recruiting through MTurk. A study conducted during the pandemic found that Canadians supported stricter immigration policies, and promoted closed borders (Newbold, 2020). In addition, shaped by the pandemic, anti-Muslim hate crimes took place in Canada where a man drove a car into a Muslim family in London, Ontario killing four of five family members (NPR, 2021). Thus, a follow-up study with the same sample characteristics is recommended to examine whether these effects are present when the pandemic is mitigated.

In papers 2 and 3, we did not include a manipulation check item. However, the experiment included an attention check item, “What is the name of the town in the text?” in paper 2 and, “What is the name of the sport in the text?” in paper 3. This was done to ensure that the participants read the text and did not rush through the assigned vignette, without paying attention to the wording of the text. While the experiment included an attention check item, manipulation checks could for instance have helped assessing whether the experimental conditions had similarly strong effects on perceived acculturation orientations and strategies.

4.4 Societal Implications

This thesis showed that the intergroup relationship between Muslim communities and their wider society is negative and tense in Norway, the U.K., and Canada. These tensions will continue to be exploited by opportunistic actors on both sides if intergroup relations between Muslim minority and majority group do not improve. This thesis has valuable implications for improving intergroup relationships.

This thesis shows that realistic and symbolic threats are related to out-group hostility. Importantly, it extended previous knowledge by showing that threat perceptions relate not only to Muslims own violent intentions but also to more support for military violence by Muslim states. While direct support for ISIS was not assessed, this finding may suggest that the more Muslims in the West perceive threats to their culture, the more they may support such extremist state-like organizations. Hence, one important way to reduce sympathies for ISIS or similar organizations may be to reduce the threat perceptions Muslims feel in the West. Here, policymakers are advised to actively engage in portraying a positive image of the Muslim community in their respective societies by providing basic and positive information about Islam to social workers, first-line workers, teachers, and health care professionals, to name a few (see e.g., Barise, 2005). It is also important to have common goals that require intergroup cooperation to decrease distrust between the Muslim minority group and majority society. For

that purpose, partnerships between policymakers, social workers, and Imams (religious leaders) are recommended in order to eliminate incorrect images that Muslims can have of the mainstream society, and vice versa, due to the heated political climate. In their effort to counter terrorism and eliminate violent radicalization, government officials and policymakers are advised to make less intrusive policies for the mainstream Muslim community, such as banning female head covering and other cultural practices. Rather, it is important to have more focus on institutions and mosques that can approach people who are at risk of becoming violent extremists.

Some of the acculturation findings in paper 1 may also have important societal implications. Mainstream acculturation was associated with more violent behavioral intentions in the U.K., which suggests that increasing Muslims' involvement in the host society is not necessarily a solution but may even backfire in terms of extremist violence. Although not assessed in paper 1, this relationship is likely moderated by the degree of exclusion and discrimination Muslims experience. While mainstream acculturation may be related to less extremist tendencies in a tolerant society, the opposite may be the case in contexts characterized by intergroup tensions and intolerance. This, once more, highlights the importance of any intervention that may reduce Islamophobia in society.

The finding that religious acculturation was related to more support for Muslim military violence, but less personal violent intentions in paper 1 shows that religious acculturation can be both a detriment and asset for society. Religious organizations, specifically mosques and Muslim religious leaders and stakeholders from the mainstream society, should work together to find ways to capitalize on the positive effect of Muslims' religious acculturation, while minimizing its negative effects. Ultimately, however, this is also a global political problem because Muslims' tendency to support military violence by Muslim states likely is nurtured by foreign interventions by the West (Obaidi et al., 2018).

The results of paper 2 suggest several courses of action for interventions that aim to minimize the gap created between the majority society and the Muslim community in the U.K. after 9/11 and 7/7. The fictional texts presented Muslims in scenarios in which they either followed their religious culture or mainstream British culture. It did not state that these Muslims only followed one of the two cultures (as in separation or assimilation). The texts also did not present Muslims as posing a direct threat or risk to the socially dominant group. Nevertheless, reading the religious maintenance text led to more perceived disloyalty to the U.K. and elicited negative responses from the participants. In a polarized society where anti-Muslim hostility and vengeance attacks between the majority group and Muslim minority are increasing, policymakers are advised to implement interventions that help overcome the notion that Muslims are disloyal to the society in which they live. To reduce distrust and suspicion and to increase understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims, the deep-rooted assumption of a “clash of civilizations,” where Islamic practices are viewed as incompatible with Western democracy, should be challenged. The depiction of Muslims as a “fifth column,” “an enemy within” (Akbarzadeh & Roose, 2011), or a disloyal traitor attempting to support and enforce their religious culture in the U.K. (Bordelon, 2015) should be contested. Instead, multicultural policies, allowing Muslims to incorporate their religious practices into their national identities, rather than perceiving them as competing entities, should be encouraged. As British Muslims also demonstrate, by participating in various fields in democratic ways as citizens of the U.K. (Archer, 2009; Malik, 2009; Booth, 2016; Hasan, 2022), affiliation with their religious culture does not mean disloyalty to their British identity (Hussain & Bagguley, 2005). It is important to emphasize that narratives, which compete Muslims’ identities and loyalty to the majority society as two opposing parts, not only exclude British Muslims from the mainstream society but also tend to weaken the basis of a democratic and egalitarian British society. Therefore, institutions, government officials, and

policymakers should recognize the increasingly stern intergroup conflict and project measures that aim to diminish the negative consequences of the perceived otherness of British Muslims (Parekh, 2006).

With respect to paper 3, future studies should investigate factors that might explain why assimilation was the only significant predictor of social inclusion, whereas integration did not reveal any significant results. Furthermore, Muslim religious leaders and policymakers are recommended to promote Muslims' religious and mainstream cultural associations as an integral part of their Canadian Muslim identity so that Canada circumvents the European trend, where the idea of the inclusivity of various cultural identities is being replaced by a single cultural identity based on the majority group's culture (see Ouseley, 2001). In paper 3, religious resentment had an omnibus effect on the social exclusion of Muslims. This finding will be of interest to organizations working in the social inclusion domain. Finally, I recommend that future studies focus on religious acculturation, in addition to heritage acculturation, in an acculturation framework to examine and understand the dynamics of intergroup relations, identity formation, and cultural markers with respect to minorities' religious culture.

4.5 Conclusion

In this thesis, I investigated the intergroup relationship between Muslim communities and their wider societies in three Western multicultural countries: Norway, the U.K., and Canada. The bi-dimensional model of acculturation laid the theoretical foundation for this thesis, along with intergroup threat theory, intergroup emotions theory, and coalition psychology perspectives. I have examined intergroup relationships through the cycle of anti-Western and anti-Muslim attitudes and behaviors. The studies in this thesis confirm the cycle and reveal that the relationship between these two groups has constantly been negative and

tense since the attacks of 9/11, 2001. This thesis suggests measures for relevant agencies to improve the relationship between the two groups.

4.6 My Role in this Thesis – A Reflection

This section is included because it is my belief that, in presenting an interpretation of the results, there should be a focus on the researcher's role based on their professional and personal background. It is unrealistic to believe that any research is entirely "objective". Therefore, I would like to acknowledge that some of the findings reported in this study were interpreted through my own perspective. For example, the finding in paper 1 where Muslims in Norway and the U.K. supported Muslim military violence was interpreted because I have a Pakistani background. Having a similar background as the respondents made it easier for me to understand why they would support Muslim military violence when faced with symbolic threat. Furthermore, data collection among Muslims in the U.K. for paper 1 was not an easy task. I encountered difficulties in recruiting participants. Due to the state-sponsored program Prevent, which aims to detect early signs of radicalization and distrust in state institutions, religious and ethnic organizations showed little to no interest in participating in this study. In fact, almost all organizations considered me a government spy and asked me to present my government issued ID card and validate my status as a Ph.D. student. They required my complete information in the form of affiliation to the university, a note from my supervisor, why I contacted them, and the need to conduct this study. Even though this was solved by contacting leaders of these organizations several times directly on phone, participation rate was still lower in the U.K. sample than in the Norwegian sample where I had the advantage of providing my authenticity to the organizations much quicker due to my Norwegian association.

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Appendix A

1. Evaluation from Norwegian Center for Data Storage (Norwegian)
2. Evaluation from Norwegian Center for Data Storage (Norwegian)
3. Approval from University of Guelph's Review Ethics Board (REB) (English)
4. Questionnaire Paper 1 (English)
5. Questionnaire Paper 2 (English)
6. Questionnaire Paper 3 (English)
7. Study 2 Pre-registration (English)
8. Confirmation Letter from Main Supervisor for Data Collection in the U.K. (English)

Hajra Tahir
Christiesgate 13
5020 BERGEN

Vår dato: 18.10.2017

Vår ref: 55559 / 3 / PEG

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

Tilråding fra NSD Personvernombudet for forskning § 7-27

Personvernombudet for forskning viser til meldeskjema mottatt 30.08.2017 for prosjektet:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| 55559 | <i>Identity Threat and Violent Extremism among Muslim Minorities in Contemporary Multicultural European Societies</i> |
| Behandlingsansvarlig | Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder |
| Daglig ansvarlig | Hajra Tahir |

Vurdering

Etter gjennomgang av opplysningene i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon finner vi at prosjektet er unntatt konsesjonsplikt og at personopplysningene som blir samlet inn i dette prosjektet er regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. På den neste siden er vår vurdering av prosjektopplegget slik det er meldt til oss. Du kan nå gå i gang med å behandle personopplysninger.

Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:

- opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon
- vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2
- eventuell korrespondanse med oss

Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke endringer du må melde, samt endringskjema.

Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i Meldingsarkivet.

Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Ved prosjektslutt 15.08.2019 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt dersom du har spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet!

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Pernille Ekornrud Grøndal

Kontaktperson: Pernille Ekornrud Grøndal tlf: 55 58 36 41 / pernille.grondal@nsd.no

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering



MELDEPLIKTIG PROSJEKT

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at prosjektet ditt er meldepliktig, grunnet den mulige koblingen mellom datamaterialet og IP-adresse/e-poster som kan forekomme ved bruk av ekstern databehandler.

FORMÅL

Formålet med studien er å undersøke hvorvidt religiøs involvering og identitet, og symbolske og/eller realistiske trusler, har direkte betydning for akkulturasjon på individplan, og om disse faktorene indirekte sier noe om voldelig atferd og voldelige holdninger hos enkeltindivider.

SÆRLIG SENSITIVE PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Personvernombudet er av den oppfatning at det behandles særlig sensitive personopplysninger om etnisk bakgrunn og/eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning, i form av registrering av ekstremistiske holdninger. Dette stiller strenge krav til at rekruttering og innhenting av samtykke foregår på en slik måte at det frivillighet og konfidensialitet blir tilfredsstillende ivaretatt. Ettersom opplysningene hovedsakelig vil fremstå som anonyme, vurderer Personvernombudet at konfidensialiteten ivaretas på en god måte.

UTVALG OG REKRUTTERING

Utvalget informeres skriftlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. I meldeskjemaet oppgir du at du skal ta kontakt med utvalget gjennom muslimske og etniske organisasjoner, og at du skal "videresende [undersøkelsene] på mailinglister" med organisasjonenes samtykke. Ettersom du ikke lenger skal ha tilgang til e-poster, forutsetter Personvernombudet at forespørsel om deltakelse i undersøkelsen formidles via ledelsene i de respektive organisasjonene.

INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE

Informasjonsskrivet er i all hovedsak godt utformet. På telefon til oss den 16.10.17 informerer du om at du ikke skal gjennomføre oppfølgingsstudier, slik du opprinnelige planla. Du har derfor bestemt deg for ikke å samle inn e-poster fra utvalget. Du opplyser at du skal benytte deg av den anonyme innsamlingsløsningen til Qualtrics.

DATABEHANDLER

Du opplyser om at du skal benytte deg av Qualtrics som ekstern databehandler. Det forutsettes også at det foreligger, eventuelt inngås, en databehandleravtale mellom UiB og Qualtrics, og at Qualtrics behandler data på en måte som ivaretar konfidensialiteten til utvalget.

INFORMASJONSSIKKERHET

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at alle data og personopplysninger behandles i tråd med Universitetets i

Bergen sine retningslinjer for innsamling og videre behandling av forskningsdata og personopplysninger.

PROSJEKTLUTT OG ANONYMISERING

Forventet prosjektlutt er 15.08.2019. Ifølge meldeskjema skal data anonymiseres innen denne datoen.

[Meldeskjema](#) / [Acculturation demand and preferences](#) / Vurdering

Vurdering

| Referansenummer | Type | Dato |
|-----------------|----------|------------|
| 920963 | Standard | 02.05.2022 |

Prosjektittel

Acculturation demand and preferences

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Universitetet i Bergen / Det psykologiske fakultet / Institutt for samfunnspsykologi

Prosjektansvarlig

Hajra Tahir

Prosjektperiode

12.04.2022 - 31.10.2023

Kategorier personopplysninger

Alminnelige

Særlige

Rettslig grunnlag

Samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a)

Uttrykkelig samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a)

Behandlingen av personopplysningene kan starte så fremt den gjennomføres som oppgitt i meldeskjemaet. Det rettslige grunnlaget gjelder til 31.10.2023.

[Meldeskjema](#) 

Kommentar

OM VURDERINGEN

Personverntjenester har en avtale med institusjonen du forsker eller studerer ved. Denne avtalen innebærer at vi skal gi deg råd slik at behandlingen av personopplysninger i prosjektet ditt er lovlig etter personvernregelverket.

Personverntjenester har nå vurdert den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at behandlingen er lovlig, hvis den gjennomføres slik den er beskrevet i meldeskjemaet med dialog og vedlegg.

VIKTIG INFORMASJON TIL DEG

Du må lagre, sende og sikre dataene i tråd med retningslinjene til din institusjon. Dette betyr at du må bruke leverandører for spørreskjema, skylagring, videosamtale o.l. som institusjonen din har avtale med. Vi gir generelle råd rundt dette, men det er institusjonens egne retningslinjer for informasjonssikkerhet som gjelder.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige personopplysninger og særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om etnisk opprinnelse og religion frem til 31.10.2023.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG

Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

For alminnelige personopplysninger vil lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 a.

For særlige kategorier av personopplysninger vil lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen være den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER

Personverntjenester vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen:

- om lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen

Behandlingsgrunn

- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet.

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

Vi vurderer at informasjonen om behandlingen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18) og dataportabilitet (art. 20).

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

Personverntjenester legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1 f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

Ved bruk av databehandler (spørreskjemalerverandør, skylagring, videosamtale o.l.) må behandlingen oppfylle kravene til bruk av databehandler, jf. art 28 og 29. Bruk leverandører som din institusjon har avtale med.

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må prosjektansvarlig følge interne retningslinjer/rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER

Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til oss ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilken type endringer det er nødvendig å melde:

<https://www.nsd.no/personverntjenester/fylle-ut-meldeskjema-for-personopplysninger/melde-endringer-i-meldeskjema>

Du må vente på svar fra oss før endringen gjennomføres.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

Vi vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet.

Kontaktperson hos oss: Markus Celiussen

Lykke til med prosjektet!

APPROVAL PERIOD: April 8, 2020
EXPIRY DATE: April 7, 2021
REB: G
REB NUMBER: 20-02-007
TYPE OF REVIEW: Delegated
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Safdar, Saba (ssafdar@uoguelph.ca)
DEPARTMENT: Psychology
SPONSOR(S): N/A
TITLE OF PROJECT: Cultural Preferences of individuals in contemporary multicultural societies and their Implications for intergroup relations

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:

- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and **approved** by the REB.
- Receive approval from the REB for any **modifications** before they can be implemented.
- Report any **change in the source of funding**.
- Report **unexpected events or incidental findings** to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for **ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements** with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:

- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.
- Submit an **Annual Renewal** to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi-year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the **EXPIRY DATE**, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature:

Date: April 8, 2020



Stephen P. Lewis
Chair, Research Ethics Board-General

Questionnaire (Paper 1)

Informed Consent

I am a PhD candidate at the Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen, and I am conducting a comprehensive cross-cultural research project that deals with religious and national identity and discrimination based on religious affiliation. In large parts of Europe, there are dominant views that indicate that Islamic values are incompatible with Western culture.

Many political and cultural debates have placed particular emphasis on issues related to religion, integration and terrorism in the Muslim population. By allowing Muslims to speak for themselves, this survey seeks to gain an insight into various aspects of being a Muslim and Norwegian. This will contribute to a more nuanced image of what Muslims think and do not think about questions related to integration and practice of their religion. This study is conducted in parallel in Norway and the U.K and focuses on the Muslim community in both countries.

- This survey is aimed for people 18 years and above.
- You will be asked to answer questions about your religion and the Norwegian society. The survey will take about 15 minutes.
- Participation is voluntary and all information you provide is treated confidentially. Only the researcher and the supervisors will have access to your answers.
- The survey is anonymous and your answers are not trackable.
- Note that some questions may be quite similar. However, it is important that you answer each of them. Answer the questions spontaneously and write your honest views. There are no correct or incorrect answers.
- You are free to withdraw from the survey at any time, if you wish without giving any reason. You are free to leave a question if you do not want to answer it. If you withdraw, all information about you will be anonymized, but the answers can still be used for research. The results of the research will be published in an international scientific journal.
- The study will end in August 2019. Upon completion of the study, all data will be kept confidentially with the researcher associated to the University of Bergen.
- The study has been reported to the Norwegian Center for Research Data AS (NSD).
- If you want the researcher to send you the results of the survey, or you have questions regarding the survey, please contact the researcher Hajra Tahir at hajra.tahir@uib.no, or Dr. Jonas Rønningsdalen Kunst at j.r.kunst@psykologi.uio.no or Professor David L. Sam at david.sam@uib.no and the researchers will gladly answer you.

I have understood the informed consent and I am willing to participate in the survey.

Yes

No

1. Are you a Muslim?

Yes

No

Thank you for your interest in our survey. Unfortunately, you do not qualify for our survey.

1. Gender: Male ---- Female _____

2. How old are you?

3. What is your civil status?

Married

Widowed

Divorced

Separated

Single

Partner

Other

4. What is your nationality?

Norwegian

Other. Please specify: _____

5. What is your employment status?

Full time employed

Part time employed

On a leave

Business owner

Student

Pension

Unemployed at the moment

6. What is your highest education?

No education

Primary School

Elementary School

High School

College/University

Other

7. Which income group do you belong? (After tax deduction)

No income

Low income (less than kr 15 000/month)

Medium income (kr 20 000 – 40 000)

High income (Kr 42 000 and above)

8. Which Sect within Islam do you follow?

Sunni ____

Shia ____

Other _____

Realistic Threat

Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements.

1(Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree)

Because of the presence of Norwegians, Muslims have fewer resources.

Because of the presence of Norwegians, Muslims are threatened.

Because of the presence of Norwegians, Muslims are unsafe.

Symbolic Threat

Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements

Muslim identity is being threatened because of non-Muslim Norwegians.

Muslim norms and values are being threatened because of non-Muslim Norwegians.

Non-Muslim Norwegians are a threat to the Muslim culture.

Safety Threat

Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements

Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims are physically threatened.

Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims are unsafe.

Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims' well-being is under threat.

Religious Acculturation Scale

Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling one of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement. Many of these questions will refer to your religious traditions (Islamic culture and traditions).

1 (Strongly Disagree) 2 3 (Disagree) 4 5 (Neutral) 6 7 (Agree) 8 9 (Strongly Agree)

I often participate in Islamic traditions.

I would be willing to marry a person from my religious background.

I enjoy social activities with people from the same religious background as myself.

I am comfortable working with people of the same religious background as myself.

I enjoy entertainment (e.g., tv shows, music) from my religious background.

I often behave in ways that are typical of my religious background.

It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my religious background.

I believe in the values of my religious background.

I enjoy the jokes and humor of my religious background.

I am interested in having friends from my religious background.

Mainstream Acculturation Scale

Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling one of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement. Many of these questions will refer to the Norwegian culture.

1 (Strongly Disagree) 2 3 (Disagree) 4 5 (Neutral) 6 7 (Agree) 8 9 (Strongly Agree)

I often participate in mainstream Norwegian cultural traditions (17. may, Christmas party etc.).

I would be willing to marry a Norwegian/Britons.

I enjoy social activities with Norwegians/Britons.

I am comfortable working with Norwegians/Britons.

I enjoy Norwegian/British entertainment (tv shows, music).

I often behave in ways that are typically Norwegian/British.

It is important for me to maintain or develop Norwegian/British cultural practices.

I believe in Norwegian//British jokes and humor.

I am interested in having Norwegian/British friends.

Support for Muslim military Violence Scale

Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements.

1(Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree)

Muslim nations should be ready with a strong military at all times.

The manufacture of weapons is necessary for Muslim nations.

For Muslim countries, war is often necessary.

Muslim countries should be aggressive with its military internationally.

Killing of Muslim civilians should be accepted as an unavoidable part of war.

Muslim countries have the right to protect its borders.

Violent Behavioral Intentions Scale

Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements.

1(Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree)

As a last resort, I am personally ready to use violence for the sake of other Muslims.

If nothing else helps I am prepared to use violence to defend Muslims.

I am ready to go and fight for Muslims in another country.

I will not personally use violence to help Muslims.

I am not prepared to use violence in any situation.

I will personally use violence against people harming other Muslims that I care about.

Even as a last resort, I will not use violence for the sake of others Muslims.

1. Are you a member of a religious group or organization? Yes No

Questionnaire (Paper 2)

Informed Consent

I am a PhD candidate at the Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen Norway, and I am conducting a comprehensive research project that deals with immigration and its impact on memory. In the U.K, the topics related to immigration are widely discussed. The aim of this survey is to gain an insight into the opinions that Britons have regarding issues related to immigration. This will contribute to a more nuanced image of what Britons think and do not think about questions related to immigration. The survey starts with a section where you will be asked to choose an answer, followed by a few demography questions,

People 18 years and above can participate in the survey.

You will be asked to answer questions about the British society. The survey will take about 12 minutes.

Participation is voluntary and all information you provide is treated confidentially. Only the researcher and the supervisors will have access to your answers.

The survey is anonymous, and your answers are not trackable.

Note that some questions may be quite similar. However, it is important that you answer all of them.

Answer the questions spontaneously and write your honest views. There are no correct or incorrect answers.

You are free to withdraw from the survey at any time, if you wish without giving any reason. You are free to leave a question if you do not want to answer it. If you withdraw, all information about you will be anonymized, but the answers can still be used for research. The results of the research will be published in an international scientific journal.

The study will end in August 2023. Upon completion of the study, all data will be kept confidentially with the researcher associated to the University of Bergen.

The study has been reported to the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD). - If you have any questions regarding the survey, please contact Hajra Tahir at hajra.tahir@uib.no, and the researcher shall gladly answer you.

I have understood the informed consent and I am willing to participate in the survey.

Yes No

Before you start, please switch off your phone/ e-mail/ music so you can focus on this study. Please enter your Prolific ID here:

How old are you?

Religious Maintenance Expectations Scale

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1 (Strongly Disagree) 2 3 4 5(Neutral) 6 7 8 9(Strongly Agree)

I would like Muslims to often participate in Islamic cultural traditions.

I would like Muslims to be willing to marry a person from their own religious background.

I would like Muslims to enjoy social activities with other Muslims.

I would like Muslims to be comfortable working with other Muslims.

I would like Muslims to enjoy entertainment (TV shows, music) from their religious background.

I would like Muslims to often behave in ways that are typical of their religious background.

I would like Muslims to maintain or develop their Islamic cultural practices.

I would like Muslims to believe in the values of their religion.

I would like Muslims to enjoy jokes and humor of their religious background.

I would like Muslims to be interested in having Muslim friends.

Mainstream Adoption Expectations Scale

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1 (Strongly Disagree) 2 3 4 5(Neutral) 6 7 8 9(Strongly Agree)

I would like Muslims to often participate in British cultural traditions.

I would like Muslims to be willing to marry a non-Muslim British person.

I would like Muslims to enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Britons.

I would like Muslims to be comfortable working with non-Muslim Britons.

I would like Muslims to enjoy British entertainment (tv shows, music).

I would like Muslims to often behave in ways that are typically British.

I would like Muslims to maintain or develop British cultural practices.

I would like Muslims to believe in British values.

I would like Muslims to enjoy typical British jokes and humor.

I would like Muslims to be interested in having non-Muslim, British friends.

Acculturation Vignettes

Control text: Read the text about a neighbourhood in Fapton below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

A neighbourhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant community. For people living in the neighbourhood, active participation in traditions, such as dressing up in nice clothes and celebrating festivals, is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop these practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Inhabitants of Fapton prefer to have friends with different background and they enjoy social activities with people. They also enjoy entertainment such as TV shows, football and films. Often their jokes and humor are also witty. The community in Fapton marry by personal choice. Finally, it is very important for the community in Fapton to work and they feel comfortable working with their colleagues.

Mainstream: Read the text about a neighbourhood in Fapton below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

A neighbourhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about British cultural heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in British cultural traditions, such as dressing up in British clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating fish and chips, pork and beer is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop British cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends with a non-Muslim, British background and they also enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Britons. They also enjoy entertainment such as British TV shows, football and films. Often their jokes and humor are also related to the British culture. Since British culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a non-Muslim, British spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim mainstream society and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

Religious: Read the text about a neighbourhood in Fapton below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

A neighbourhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about its religious heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in their religious cultural traditions, such as daily prayers at the local mosques, dressing up in their religious clothes, and fasting during Ramadan is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop their Islamic cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends from their religious background and they enjoy social activities with people who also are Muslim. They also enjoy entertainment (such as Islamic TV shows and music) from their religious background. Often their jokes and humor are also related to their religious culture. Since religious culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a Muslim spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with colleagues that share their belief in Islam and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

Loyalty to the U.K. Scale

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding inhabitants of Fapton.

1 (Strongly Disagree) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9(Strongly Agree)

Muslims in Fapton are loyal to the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would do whatever it takes to support the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would make any sacrifice necessary to support the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would never betray the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would always put U.K.'s interests first.

Muslims in Fapton would be loyal to the U.K in good as in bad times.

Loyalty to own Religious Group scale

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding inhabitants of Fapton.

1 (Strongly Disagree) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9(Strongly Agree)

Muslims in Fapton are loyal to their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would do whatever it takes to support their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would make any sacrifice necessary to support their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would never betray their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would always put their religious groups' interests first.

Muslims in Fapton would be loyal to their religious group in good as in bad times.

Trust Scale:

Do you think Muslims in Fapton can be trusted or you can't be too careful?

1 (you cannot be too careful) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (they can be trusted)

Would you say that most of the time Muslims in Fapton try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?

1 (they are mostly looking out for themselves) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (they mostly try to be helpful)

Do you think that Muslims in Fapton would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?

1 (they would try to take advantage of me) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (they would try to be fair)

Support for Surveillance Scale

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

1 (Strongly Disagree) 7 (Strongly Agree)

2

3

4

5

6

7 (Strongly Agree)

It may be a smart precaution for the police to monitor phones and emails of Muslims in Fapton.

I support secret searches of homes that belong to Muslims in Fapton.

It may be good to have a form of special identification system that identifies Muslims living in Fapton (such as an ID badge or a registry).

Law enforcement should be able to stop or detain people of Muslim backgrounds in Fapton if these individuals are thought to be involved in suspicious activities.

I think that the police should try to infiltrate Muslims places of worship in Fapton.

I support stricter conditions that Muslims in Fapton have to fulfill to obtain British citizenship.

Muslims in Fapton who experience hate crimes should not receive any help from society.

I would support political parties that want to introduce restrictive policies for Muslims living in Fapton.

Attention check item:

Please indicate the name of the town discussed in the text above?

Farch

Vilhail

Fapton

Burkton

Hartfield

What is your gender?

Male

Female

Other

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Primary school

GCSEs or equivalent

A-Levels or equivalent

University undergraduate program

University post-graduate program

Doctoral degree

Other

Do you practise a religion, and if so, which one?

None (atheism)

Buddhism

Christianity

Hinduism

Islam

Judaism

Paganism

Sikhism

Other

I prefer not to answer

How would you best describe your ethnic origin?

White

Mixed

Asian or Asian British

Black or Black British

Chinese

Other ethnic group

What is your employment status?

Unemployed

Self-employed part-time

Self-employed full time

Part-time employment within organisation/company

Full-time employment within organisation/company

Retired

How would you describe your income level?

For my age group, below average UK income

For my age group, average UK income

For my age group, above average UK income

What type of area do you live in?

City

Sub-urban

Rural

Purpose of the Study:

Earlier in our consent form we informed you that the purpose of the study was to investigate the effects of immigration on memory. In actuality, our study is about British perceptions of the Muslim community in the U.K in terms of their acculturation orientations and expectations. We also aim to investigate whether these perceptions and expectations influence trust and loyalty towards the Muslims in the U.K.

Unfortunately, in order to properly test our hypothesis, we could not provide you with all of these details prior to your participation. This ensures that your reactions in this study were spontaneous and not influenced by prior knowledge about the purpose of the study. If we had told you the actual purposes of our study, your ability to give your opinion regarding Muslims in a made up town "Fapton" could have been affected. We regret the deception but we hope you understand the reason for it.

Confidentiality:

Please note that although the purpose of this study has changed from the originally stated purpose, everything else on the consent form is correct. This includes the ways in which we will keep your data confidential and anonymous.

Please do not disclose research procedures to anyone who might participate in this study in the future as this could affect the results of the study.

Final Report:

If you would like to receive a copy of the final report of this study (or a summary of the findings) when it is completed, please feel free to contact us.

Useful Contact Information:

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, its purpose or procedures, or if you have a research-related problem, please feel free to contact the researcher Hajra Tahir at hajra.tahir@uib.no.

Questionnaire (Paper 3)

1. How old are you? (in years) ____ (numeric, 18+ restriction)

2. Are you a Canadian citizen? Yes No

3. What is your gender?

Woman

Man

My gender identity is not listed above _____

Choose not to respond

4. What is the highest level of education you have reached? Please check the box that applies.

a) Less than high school degree

b) High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent)

c) Some college/university, but no degree

d) College/university graduate (Bachelor's degree or equivalent)

e) Post-graduate/professional degree (Master's, PhD, JD, MD)

5. How would you best describe your ethnic origin?

a) White

b) Mixed

c) Asian

d) Black

e) Chinese

d) Other ethnic group

e) Prefer not to say

6. What is your employment status?

a) Unemployed

- b) Self-employed
- c) Employment within organisation/company
- d) Retired

7. How would you describe your income level? (Average Canadian income in 2019)

- a) Below \$ 52.600
- b) Close to \$ 52.600
- c) Above \$ 52.600.

8. Do you practice a religion, and if so, which one?

- a) None (atheism)
- b) Buddhism
- c) Christianity
- d) Hinduism
- e) Islam
- f) Judaism
- g) Paganism
- h) Sikhism
- i) Other
- j) I prefer not to answer

Acculturation strategies vignettes

Read the text about a minority group in Canada below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

Separation:

Some Muslims strongly care about their religious heritage and not the culture of the majority society. For them, active participation in their religious cultural traditions, such as weekly prayers at the local mosque, dressing up in religious clothes, and fasting during Ramadan is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop their Islamic cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They have only Muslim friends and they enjoy social activities with people who are only Muslims. They also enjoy entertainment only from their religious background (such as Islamic TV shows, movies, sports and music) and do not follow Canadian entertainment or sports such as ice hockey. Often their jokes and humor are related to their religious culture. Finally, it is very important for them to work with colleagues that share their belief in Islam and, therefore, they feel comfortable working with them.

Assimilation:

Some Muslims strongly care about Canadian cultural heritage and not their religious culture. For them, active participation in Canadian cultural traditions, such as dressing up in western clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating hamburgers and apple pie, and beer is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop Canadian cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They prefer to have friends with non-Muslim, Canadian background and they enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Canadians. They also enjoy entertainment such as Canadian TV shows, ice hockey, movies and music. Often their jokes and humor are related to the Canadian culture. Finally, it is very important for them to work with colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim mainstream society and they thus feel comfortable working with them.

Integration:

Some Muslims care strongly about their religious and Canadian cultural heritage. For them, active participation in both cultural traditions is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop both culture's practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They prefer to have friends with both Muslims and non-Muslim background and they enjoy social activities with them. They also enjoy entertainment from both religious and Canadian culture such as Islamic TV shows, Canadian TV shows, movies, music and sports such as ice hockey. Often their jokes and humor are related to both cultures. Finally, it is very important for them to work with colleagues that belong to both Muslims and non-Muslim cultures and they thus feel comfortable working with them.

Marginalization:

Some Muslims do not care about their religious culture, nor do they prefer to follow the Canadian culture. For them, active participation in either cultural traditions is not important. They do not prefer to maintain and develop either cultures' practices or values. Neither do they prefer to have friends with either Muslims or non-Muslims. They do not prefer to watch any religious or Canadian entertainment or sport such as ice hockey. Finally, they do not prefer to work with colleagues that belong to either cultures.

Control:

Some people are known to be vibrant in their community. They actively participate in various traditions, such as dressing up in nice clothes and celebrating festivals, because they consider it very important. For them, it is equally important to maintain and develop these practices and values, because they are an important part of their upbringing. They prefer having friends with different background and they enjoy social activities with others. They also enjoy entertainment such as TV shows, sports such as ice hockey and films. Often their jokes and humor are also witty. They marry by personal choice. Finally, it is very important for them to work and they feel comfortable working with their colleagues.

Attention check item

What is the name of the sport mentioned in the text?

1. Land hockey
2. Ice hockey
3. Cricket

4. Soccer

Social exclusion scale

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding Muslims in Canada. Please circle the appropriate number to the right of each statement.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

1. I would not like it if a Muslim got a job at my workplace.
2. I would not like Muslims as my neighbors.
3. I would not invite a Muslim to my house.
4. If a Muslim wants to befriend me at my work or college/university, I will accept their friendship (r).
5. I would not like to rent a portion in my house to Muslims even if they would pay on time.
6. I would not have contact with Muslims even if they approach me.
7. I would vote for a Muslim MP (r).
8. I think the presence of Muslims is bad for our economy.
9. I think Muslim immigration should stop.
10. I would not sell my house to a Muslim.

*Items 4 and 7 were reverse coded (r) so that increasing values also indicated greater social exclusion.

Muslim Resentment scale

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding Muslims in Canada. Please circle the appropriate number to the right of each statement.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

Respondents are asked to agree or disagree with all six, or the first four, of the following statements, Kinder and Sanders 1996:

- 1) I think Muslims integrate successfully into Canadian culture without any special favors (r),
- 2) Muslims do not have the best interests of Canada at heart,
- 3) Muslims living in Canada should be subject to more surveillance than others,
- 4) Muslims, in general, tend to be more violent than other people,
- 5) Most Canadian Muslims reject jihad and violence (reverse coded),
- 6) Most Canadian Muslims lack basic English language skills,
- 7) Most Canadian Muslims are not extremists (reverse),
- 8) Wearing headscarves should be banned in all public places, and
- 9) Muslim Canadians do a good job of speaking out against Islamic terrorism (r).

*Items 1, 5, 7, and 9 were reverse coded (r) so that increasing values also indicated greater resentment.



Discrepancies between acculturation orientations and expectations towards Muslims and their effects on Loyalty, trust and suspicion.

Update in progress ▾ Updates ▾



Metadata

Study Information



Title

Discrepancies between acculturation orientations and expectations among the Muslims and the majority population in contemporary western societies.

Authors Description

No response

Hypotheses

Direct effects:

H1: Mainstream acculturation (condition) will have a direct and positive effect on trust, but a negative effect on suspicion.

H2: Religious acculturation (condition) will have a direct and negative effect on trust, but a positive effect on suspicion.

H3: Perceptions of loyalty towards the U.K will have a positive effect on trust, but a negative effect on suspicion, whereas perceptions of loyalty towards own religious group will have a negative effect on trust, but a positive effect on suspicion.

Indirect effects:

H4: Religious acculturation (condition) will have an indirect negative effect on trust and an indirect positive effect on suspicion, mediated by higher perception of loyalty to their own religious group and by lower perceptions of loyalty towards the U.K. By contrast, mainstream acculturation (condition) will have an indirect positive effect on trust and an indirect negative effect on suspicion, mediated by higher loyalty towards the U.K and possibly lower loyalty to their own religious group. Moderation effects:

H5: Religious acculturation expectations (measure) are expected to moderate the relationship between religious and mainstream acculturation orientations (conditions) and trust and suspicion (outcome variables). Respondents, who are primed with religious acculturation (condition) will perceive the Muslim community as less trustworthy and more suspicious especially if they also indicate low religious

expectations (measure) for the Muslim community. Moreover, respondents, who are primed with mainstream acculturation (condition), will perceive the Muslim community as

more trustworthy and less suspicious if they also indicate high mainstream acculturation expectations (measure) for the Muslim community. Additionally, respondents, who are primed with religious acculturation (condition) will perceive the Muslim community as more trustworthy and less suspicious especially if they also indicate high mainstream expectations (measure) for the Muslim community.

Moderated-mediation:

H6: Religious acculturation (condition) influences trust (negatively) and suspicion (positively) through its relationship with high perceptions of loyalty towards own religious group and low perceptions of loyalty towards the U.K.; and the indirect effects will be stronger when high religious acculturation and low mainstream acculturation (measures) is expected. In other words, the first leg of the moderation model and the main effect are expected to be moderated.

H7: Mainstream acculturation (condition) influences trust (positively) and suspicion (negatively) through its relationship with high perceptions of loyalty towards the U.K. and low perceptions of loyalty towards own religious group; and the indirect effect will be marked when low religious acculturation and high mainstream acculturation (measures) is expected. In other words, the first leg of the moderation model and the main effect are expected to be moderated.

Design Plan

Study type

Experiment - A researcher randomly assigns treatments to study subjects, this includes field or lab experiments. This is also known as an intervention experiment and includes randomized controlled trials.

Blinding

For studies that involve human subjects, they will not know the treatment group to which they have been assigned.

Is there any additional blinding in this study?

No response

Study design

The study is randomized experimental, having a between-subject design.

No les selected

Randomization

No response

Sampling Plan

Existing Data

Registration prior to creation of data

Explanation of existing data

No response

Data collection procedures

Participants will be recruited through Prolific. The participants will be paid £6/hour for participation. Participants must be above 18 years old, reside in the U.K. and must be white and non-Muslim. Data collection is expected in October 2019. Analysis in November. Write-up between December- February.

No items selected

Sample size

304 participants as suggested by GPower 3.1. Expected Effect size: 0.20, Power (1- β): 0.80 in a 3x3 factorial design. The pilot study consisting of 30 participants showed that three participants failed the attention check. Thus, since 10% failed the attention check, we will include 334 participants in case the respondents answer incorrectly to the attention check item.

Sample size rationale

No response

Stopping rule

No response

Variables

Manipulated variables

No response

No items selected

Measured variables

The outcome variables are perceptions of trust and suspicion British majority society have regarding the Muslims in the fictional town "Fapton" in the U.K. We will measure this by asking the participants to indicate their agreement on statements such as:

Trust (developed by the authors):

1. 'Do you think Muslims in Fapton can be trusted or you can't be too careful?' (on a scale of 1-10, 1 being 'you cannot be too careful', 10 being 'they can be trusted').
2. Do you think that Muslims in Fapton would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair? (on a scale of 1-10, 1 being 'they would try to take advantage of me', 10 being 'they would try to be fair').
3. Would you say that most of the time Muslims in Fapton try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves? (on a scale of 1-10, 1 being 'they are mostly looking out for themselves', 10 being 'they mostly try to be helpful').

Suspicion (developed by the authors):

(on a scale of 1-7, 1 being 'Strongly disagree', 9 being 'strongly agree').

1. 'It may be a smart precaution for the police to monitor phones and emails of Muslims.'
2. 'I support secret searches of homes that belong to Muslims in Fapton.'
3. 'It may be good to have a form of special identification system that identifies Muslims living in Fapton (such as an ID badge or a registry).'
4. 'Law enforcement should be able to stop or detain people of Muslim backgrounds in Fapton if

these individuals are thought to be involved in suspicious activities.’

5. ‘I think that the police should try to infiltrate Muslims places of worship in Fapton.’
6. ‘I support stricter conditions that Muslims in Fapton have to fulfil to obtain British citizenship.’
7. ‘Muslims in Fapton who experience hate crimes should not receive any help from society.’
8. ‘I would support political parties that want to introduce restrictive policies for Muslims living in Fapton.’

In addition, the study has the following variables:

Moderators.

Religious Acculturation Expectations (adapted by Ryder et al., 2000): (on a scale of 1-9, 1 = Strongly disagree, 9 = strongly agree)

I would like Muslims to often participate in Islamic cultural traditions.

I would like Muslims to be willing to marry a person from their own religious background. I would like Muslims to enjoy social activities with other Muslims.

I would like Muslims to be comfortable working with other Muslims.

I would like Muslims to enjoy entertainment (TV shows, music) from their religious background. I would like Muslims to often behave in ways that are typical of their religious background.

I would like Muslims to maintain or develop their Islamic cultural practices. I would like Muslims to believe in the values of their religion.

I would like Muslims to enjoy jokes and humor of their religious background. I would like Muslims to be interested in having Muslim friends.

Mainstream Acculturation Expectations (scale of 1-9):

I would like Muslims to often participate in British cultural traditions.

I would like Muslims to be willing to marry a non-Muslim British person. I would like Muslims to enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Britons.

I would like Muslims to be comfortable working with non-Muslim Britons. I would like Muslims to enjoy British entertainment (tv shows, music).

I would like Muslims to often behave in ways that are typically British. I would like Muslims to maintain or develop British cultural practices. I would like Muslims to believe in British values.

I would like Muslims to enjoy typical British jokes and humor.

I would like Muslims to be interested in having non-Muslim, British friends.

Mediators.

Loyalty towards the U.K (adapted by Kunst, Thomsen & Dovido, 2018): (On a scale of 1-9,

where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 9 = strongly agree)

Muslims in Fapton are loyal to the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would do whatever it takes to support the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would make any sacrifice necessary to support the U.K. Muslims in Fapton would never betray the U.K.

Muslims in Fapton would always put U.K.'s interests first.

Muslims in Fapton would be loyal to the U.K. in good as in bad times.

Loyalty towards own religious group: (On a scale of 1-9, where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 9 = strongly agree)

Muslims in Fapton are loyal to their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would do whatever it takes to support their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would make any sacrifice necessary to support their religious group. Muslims in Fapton would never betray their religious group.

Muslims in Fapton would always put their religious groups' interests first. Muslims in Fapton would be loyal to their religious group in good as in bad times.

Independent variable.

Acculturation orientations (Inspired by Ryder et al., 2000)

We will manipulate acculturation orientations of Muslims living in a fictional town "Fapton". The three levels of this categorical variable are: Mainstream acculturation orientations, neutral acculturation orientations and religious acculturation orientations.

Mainstream Acculturation:

Read the text about a neighbourhood in Fapton below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

A neighbourhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about British cultural heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in British cultural traditions, such as dressing up in British clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating fish and chips, pork and beer is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop British cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends with a non-Muslim, British background and they also enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Britons. They also enjoy entertainment such as British TV shows, football and films. Often their jokes and humor are also related to the British culture. Since British culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a non-Muslim, British spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with

colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim mainstream society and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

Religious Acculturation:

Read the text about a neighbourhood in Fapton below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

A neighbourhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about its religious heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in their religious cultural traditions, such as daily prayers at the local mosques, dressing up in their religious clothes, and fasting during Ramadan is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop their Islamic cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing.

Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends from their religious background and they enjoy social activities with people who also are Muslim. They also enjoy entertainment (such as Islamic TV shows and music) from their religious background. Often their jokes and humor are also related to their religious culture. Since religious culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a Muslim spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with colleagues that share their belief in Islam and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

Neutral Condition:

Read the text about a neighbourhood in Fapton below. It is very important that you read it carefully as we will ask you questions about it later:

A neighbourhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant community. For people living in the neighbourhood, active participation in traditions, such as dressing up in nice clothes and celebrating festivals, is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop these practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing.

Inhabitants of Fapton prefer to have friends with different background and they enjoy social activities with people. They also enjoy entertainment such as TV shows, football and films. Often their jokes and humor are also witty. The community in Fapton marry by personal choice. Finally, it is very important for the community in to work and they feel comfortable working with their colleagues.

No files selected

Indices

No response

No files selected

Analysis Plan

Statistical models

One-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) will be used to estimate the main effects of the independent variable: acculturation orientations (three levels) (Hypotheses 1-3). PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) will be used to examine indirect effects of acculturation orientations on the dependent variables, and moderation effects of acculturation expectations on the relationship between acculturation orientations and the outcome variables. Moderated-mediation analysis will be executed in this study by using PROCESS macro.

No files selected

Transformations

No response

Inference criteria

No response

Data exclusion

No response

Missing data

No response

Exploratory analysis

No response

Other

Other

No response

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UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
Department of Psychosocial Science
Society and Workplace Diversity Research Group

January 15, 2018.

TO WHO IT MAY CONCERN

Research confirmation letter for PhD candidate Ms. Hajra Tahir

This is to confirm that I, David Lackland Sam, am the main supervisor of Ms. Hajra Tahir on her PhD thesis with the following working title: ***Effects of identity threat on Muslim Minorities' acculturation strategies in Contemporary Multicultural European Societies.***

Ms. Hajra Tahir is part of the Society and workplace Diversity Research Group, the Department of Psychosocial Sciences, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway.

I also confirm that as part of her PhD research project, Ms. Tahir is looking at ***Muslim identity, Islamophobia and acculturation of Muslim minorities in multicultural European societies.*** This sub-project investigates the effects of identity threat, acculturation and Islamophobia.

The study has been reported to the Norwegian Center for Data Research and received approval for data collection.

I will be very grateful if your office can assist her in her data collection in the United Kingdom. Please do not hesitate to contact if you need more information regarding this confirmation letter.

Yours Sincerely,

David Lackland Sam, PhD

Professor of Cross-cultural Psychology
Carnegie Diasporan Fellow (University of Ghana)

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Threat, Anti-Western Hostility and Violence among European Muslims: The Mediating Role of Acculturation

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ABSTRACT

In many Western countries, the public has extensively debated factors potentially leading Muslim minority-group members to support violence by foreign extremist states or to commit violence themselves. Here, one central question has been whether their acculturation orientations may play a role. Combining perspectives from intergroup threat theory and acculturation psychology, the present study investigated whether one reason for why threat perceptions lead to higher violent behavioral intentions among Muslims, as evidence by previous research, may be that they are related to distinct acculturation orientations. It tested this proposition in two samples comprising of Norwegian (N = 253) and British Muslims (N = 194). The more Norwegian Muslims perceived realistic threat, the more violent behavioral intentions they showed, but this relation was not mediated by acculturation. Among British Muslims, mainstream acculturation orientation was related to more violent intentions, while threat was not. In both samples, symbolic threat was associated with more support for Muslim military violence and this relationship was mediated by religious acculturation in the U.K. In contrast to previous research, symbolic threat was linked with less personal intentions to commit violence in the U.K., mediated by religious acculturation. Complementary analyses calculating acculturation strategies indicated that assimilated, and to some extent integrated, Muslims in both countries tended to show the highest violent behavioral intentions. By contrast, separated individuals showed the highest level of support for Muslim military violence. Ways in which these findings can be used to counter violence and improve intergroup relations in Western ethnically diverse societies are discussed.

Introduction

Academic research and the wider public debate in many Western countries has increasingly focused on Islamic terrorism in the aftermath of the attacks of 9/11. The discussions have mainly centered on the cultural position of Muslim terrorists in their respective societies. A common question has been whether being integrated, assimilated, marginalized or separated from society – cultural styles that in academic research commonly are referred to as acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997; Lyons-Padilla, Gelfand, Mirahmadi, Farooq, & van Egmond, 2015) – constitute risk factors (see e.g., Stroink, 2007; Martinez, 2016). On the one hand, anecdotal evidence such as the case of Karim Cheurfi, a French national with a criminal record who in April 2017 shot three police officers in the Champs-Élysées (Dearden, 2017) implies that marginalization may play a role for radicalization and violent acts. On the other hand, the case of the assaulters involved in the London bombings in 2005 suggest that highly educated and well-integrated individuals, who

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are born and raised in Western societies and positioned in well-paying occupations, might support or conduct terrorist acts (Krueger & Malečková, 2003).

Against this background, the present research aims to investigate the factors that undergird violent behavioral intentions and attitudes among Muslims living in two Western European countries. It focuses especially on the mediating role of acculturation in the relationship between perceived threats and support of violence.

Perceived threat and hostility towards out-groups

Integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 1993) explains how perceiving threats to one's group can contribute to negative attitudes and hostility towards an out-group. ITT includes four types of factors, namely realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. A more recent development of the model, Intergroup Threat Theory, focuses primarily on two basic types of threats – realistic and symbolic (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). In addition, another form of threat, which was previously considered a sub-form of realistic threat, named 'safety threats,' is treated as distinct in the present research, due to empirical and qualitative differences and its different role in predicting attitudes towards outgroups (Crawford, 2014). Symbolic threats arise as a result of perceived threats to the cultural norms, traditions, and belief system of a group (Stephan & Stephan, 1993). Realistic threats arise when a group perceives other groups as a threat to their social welfare and resources, which are short in supply, such as jobs, politics, land and power (Obaidi, Bergh, Sidanius, & Thomsen, 2018; Quillian, 1995). Finally, safety threat refers to the perception of threat towards the physical safety, security and well-being of the group (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). While symbolic and realistic threats are often associated with resentment and antipathy towards the out-group as emotional responses, safety threat tends to be linked with fear of the other group (Uenal, 2016).

According to the Intergroup Threat Theory, threat does not have to be real (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Turkaspa, 1998). The very perception of it is sufficient to initiate a prejudiced response. As minorities in western countries, Muslims are often confronted with intergroup tensions and external stressors such as perceived and actual discrimination, Islamophobic sentiments in everyday lives and in the media (Kunst & Sam, 2013; Kunst, Tajamal, Sam, & Ulleberg, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Thus, in the current study, we argue that Muslim minority members might perceive the majority society as a threat to their religious culture and practices, economic stability and safety, which in turn might be related to out-group hostility and retaliatory reactions in the form of violence (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Fischer, Haslam, & Smith, 2010). There is ample evidence to support the idea that perceived threat to religious cultural norms and values can result in aggressive outcomes and correlates with support for antipathy, political violent intentions and behavior towards an out-group (see e.g., Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). Thus, perceived realistic, safety and symbolic threat, might act as factors that initiate violent attitudes and violent behavioral intentions among the Muslim Diaspora living in Western countries.

The potential mediating role of acculturation

When an individual moves from one cultural society to another, their experiences in the new society may modify their cultural self-concept through the process of acculturation (Berry, 1997). Berry (1997)'s acculturation model proposes four strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. *Assimilation* occurs when individuals give up their heritage culture in favor of the host society's culture. *Integration* is the outcome when individuals adopt the new culture while maintaining their heritage culture. *Separation* happens when an individual maintains his or her heritage culture, and rejects the dominant culture. Finally, *marginalization* takes place when individuals give up their heritage culture and do not adopt the new culture. Marginalization and separation are linked with less positive psychological adaptation (i.e., psychological problems and poor well-being), whereas integration and assimilation tend to be associated with the best psychological adaptation (i.e., fewer experiences of discrimination and greater occupational success; see Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Vancluyesen & Van Craen, 2010). This fourfold view of acculturation has, however, been criticized for its lack of conceptual framing, weak psychometric properties and inability to explain differences between individuals and groups (see Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001 for a discussion). Therefore, in the field of acculturation, many researchers nowadays focus mainly on ethnic and host culture orientations and, sometimes compute the four strategies in addition.

Instead of examining acculturation orientations in terms of an individual's ethnic culture in addition to the host country's culture, as is commonly done, the present research focus on their *religious* culture. Religion is considered a powerful source of group identity for many individuals, as religious cultural norms form cognition and direct actions, providing its followers with a sense of security, a set of shared values, and group boundaries (Kinnvall, 2004; Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikan, & Courtemanche, 2015; Gattino, Miglietta, Rizzo, & Testa, 2016). Studies show that for a high proportion of Western Muslims, affiliation with and commitment to their religious culture, values and group membership is a more important element of their self-definition than affiliation with their ethnic culture (Modood, 2003; Saeed, Blain, & Forbes, 1999; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). For this purpose, the current research focuses on religious acculturation rather than religious identity. Religious acculturation, in this study, refers to the degree to which individuals prefer or choose religious values, entertainment and religious sociability, whereas host acculturation, in line with previous research, refers to the extent to which individuals adopt and adhere to the values and behaviors that are a part of the majority society.

Research on terrorism posits that perceived threat from the society in the form of discrimination, and perceived humiliation might lead to separation or marginalization from the host society (King & Taylor, 2011; Moghaddam, 2005). Further, literature suggests that marginalization and separation correlates with aggressive behavior and even political violence (Lyons-Padilla et al., 2015). Thus, we argue that even though threat might function as important predictors of radicalization and political violence (Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013), the acculturation process might mediate this relationship. While evidence suggest that religion may not act as the

primary motivator for joining violent extremist organizations or committing acts of terrorism (Pearce, 2014; Zirkov, Verkuyten, & Weesie, 2014), many Muslims might be attracted to violent religious groups as a result of disengagement and separation from the host society (Hogg, Adelman, & Blagg, 2010; Butler, 2015). That is, for Muslim immigrants who perceive the majority society as threatening their religious culture and norms and therefore dis-identify from the mainstream culture or society, these organizations, with their clear ideology coated with religious teachings, may provide group certainty, a sense of belonging and significance. By contrast, the ideologies of many militant organizations contrast sharply with Western culture, norms and values. Hence, we argue that Muslims living in Western societies who show high host cultural adoption (i.e., adopting its norms and culture) are less likely to support violent religious ideologies or behavior of such organizations (e.g., see Huddy, Feldman, Taber, & Lahav, 2005; Buijs, Demant, & Hamdy, 2006). Based on this argument, the current research investigates the potential role of religious and mainstream acculturation in mediating the relationship between perceived threats and violence.

Anti-muslim rise in Norway and the U.K.

We wanted to examine the relations of interest in two countries to test for their cultural dependency versus generalizability. For that reason, we choose the Muslim communities in Norway and the U.K. Both communities share many cultural similarities, and, are, therefore, comparable on several dimensions. While both countries encouraged immigration from Muslim majority countries for work and study purposes during the 1960s (Ali, 2015; Darke, 2019; Mathismoen, 2005), the nation state of Norway has historically been a relatively homogeneous country, whereas the U.K., due to its colonial history, has experienced different types of migration from Muslim countries for longer parts of their history. Hence, we were interested to which extent the phenomena of interest would differ or be the same in both contexts.

Norway. Modern day Norway is the homeland of various ethnic minorities, with third-generation immigrants currently accounting for 14.1% of the total population (Statistics Norway, 2017). Norwegian-Muslims constitute approximately 5% of the entire Norwegian population (Statistics Norway, 2017). The attacks of 9/11 brought an intense focus on the Muslim community's religious practices and their compatibility with European values (ECRI, 2009), giving birth to widespread skepticism towards the Muslim population (IMDI, 2007). However, the narrative took a new shift in the aftermath of the terror attacks on 22nd July 2011 by the Norwegian, White right-wing extremist and Islamophobe Anders Behring Breivik who proclaimed a war against Islam and demanded the deportation of Muslims from Europe. After the attacks, the Norwegian nation responded with positive attitudes towards the Muslim minority (Jakobsson & Blom, 2014). Yet, due to the emergence of ISIS and their attacks on Western soil, and a high proportion of second-generation Norwegian Muslims' going to Syria as foreign fighters (Kristiansen, 2016), frequent and widespread suspicion and prejudiced attitudes towards Muslims were reported in Norway (Moen & Hoffmann, 2017). More specifically, concern for foreign fighters' motivation to carry out attacks in Norway (PST, 2018), combined with the immensely debated Islamic religious practices, created an environment of distrust and contributed to anti-Muslim hate (Bangstad, 2016; Urbye, 2018). Moreover, due to the high outflow of Norwegian Muslims to Syria and the frequent terror attacks in other parts of Europe following the "refugee crisis," the populist Norwegian government comprising of the anti-immigration Progress Party started blaming the previously governing Labor Party for their lenient immigration policies. As a result, the party's campaigns directed negative media and public attention towards Norwegian Muslims (Bangstad, 2016; Færaas, 2011).

Consequently, Muslims in Norway experience multifaceted levels of religious discrimination, attacks on mosques and verbal and physical hate crimes (Johnsen, 2016; Linstad, 2018). As a result, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) criticized the current Norwegian government for their insufficient efforts to stop hate speech (ECRI, 2015).

U.K. Approximately 6% of the U.K.'s total population comprises of Muslims (Office for National Statistics, 2017). The country has lately witnessed reports of increasingly negative attitudes towards the Muslim Diaspora and, more recently, serious hate crimes, cyber bullying, and verbal and physical threats against Muslims (Field, 2013; Sheridan, 2006). Specifically, following the high outflow of U.K. born Muslims to Syria to join the ISIS (Bakker, Paulussen, & Entenmann, 2013), combined with the Woolwich attacks in 2013, British Muslims are being stereotyped more often as violent extremists. Additionally, a potential threat of British-born ISIS fighters trained in combat, instructed to conduct violent attacks on British soil has further increased anti-Muslim prejudice, making it an inveterate part of not only public and political discourse but also the mainstream society (Awan, 2014). Following these events, a sharp rise in anti-Muslim sentiments and behavior has been reported, where mosques have been the target of vandalism. Moreover, multiple incidents of acid attacks on Muslims by non-Muslims, and Islamophobic assaults on individuals with a visible Muslim identity have been recorded (Atta, Randall, Charalambou, & Rose, 2018; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Littler & Feldman, 2015).

Furthermore, as a consequence of the announcement of Brexit in June 2016, the already existing and well documented anti-Muslim racism during the Brexit campaign escalated even more (Atta et al., 2018). Since Brexit dealt with "who belongs to the U.K.," visible and non-visible Muslims alike and individuals who were perceived as looking like citizens of a Muslim country experienced increased verbal and physical racism and were repeatedly told to abide by the British laws and rules or leave (Burnett, 2017; Virdee & McGeever, 2018). Consequently, Muslim individuals, despite succeeding in higher education more than their non-Muslim counterparts, face labor market and housing discrimination due to the label of belonging to a "suspect community" (Stevenson et al., 2017; Office for National Statistics, 2018).

The present research

The focus of this paper is to examine the relationship between perceived symbolic, realistic and safety threats, and violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence in two samples of Muslims from Norway and the U.K. Importantly, the

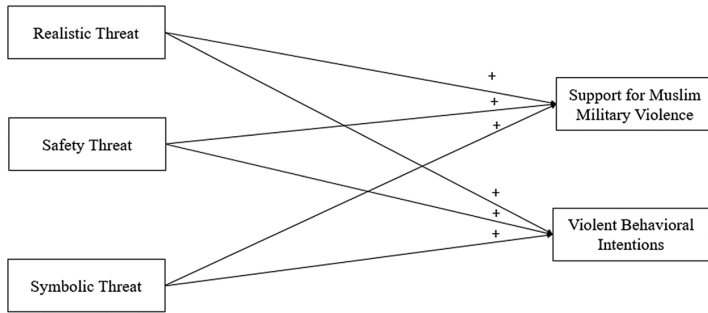


Fig. 1. Hypothetical structural equation model for the first hypothesis.

study aims to investigate the mediating role of religious and mainstream acculturation in the relationship between perceived threats and violence.

The research differentiates between two types of violence. First, we measure support for Muslim military violence, which we treat as a proxy measure of support for organizations such as ISIS. That is, we ask the participants whether they support that Muslim majority states use military force to achieve their interests. Second, we measured participants' own intentions to conduct violence as a proxy of behavior (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977).

We expected that the higher the perception of threat, the more Muslims would show violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence (Fig. 1). As our focus was on three types of threat, we also test their deferential roles on the outcomes of interest,

H1. Symbolic, realistic and safety threats are expected to have a *direct* and positive association with violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence.

Next, research shows mixed results regarding the relationship between commitment to religious belief and violence. While some literature indicates that high religiosity may predict less violence among Muslims living in Muslim majority countries (Zirkov et al., 2014), other suggest that it predicts more violence among European Muslims (Canetti, Hobfoll, Pedahzur, & Zaidise, 2010; Zirkov et al., 2014). However, there is, to the best of our knowledge, no literature on the relationship between religious acculturation and violence. Thus, as an exploratory research objective, we aimed to examine the direction of the relationship between religious acculturation and violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence.

H2. Religious acculturation is expected to be related to the violence constructs, but we had no clear predictions in terms of the valence of this relationship.

Yet, because higher degrees of host society acculturation involve adopting and endorsement of Western norms and values, we predict that it should be negatively related to violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim military violence.

H3. Mainstream acculturation will be negatively related to violent military and behavioral intentions.

As we expect perceived threats to be positively related to Muslims' religious acculturation and inversely related to their mainstream acculturation, we also expect these two constructs to mediate the effects of threats on the violence constructs.

H4. All threat constructs are expected to have an *indirect* positive effect on violent military support and violent behavioral intentions, mediated by religious and mainstream acculturation.

Method

Participants

In total, 253 participants from Norway and 194 from the U.K. completed the survey. The mean age was 32.49, *SD* = 10.02, in Norway, and 37.13, *SD* = 13.70, in the U.K. The age difference between the two samples was significant $t(341) = 4.13, p = .001, \Delta M = 4.81, 95\% \text{ CI } [2.61, 7.01]$. Table 1 summarizes results for the demographic variables in both samples.

Procedure

We contacted various mosques, Islamic cultural and ethnic organizations in both countries, and asked them to distribute an anonymous link of the survey via their listservs and post it on their Facebook page. Data was collected from January to February 2018. Participants read an informed consent at the beginning of the survey where they were informed about the purpose of the study, and the time it would take to participate. The informed consent also contained information about confidentiality and anonymity. To

Table 1
Demographic Variables of the Sample.

| | Norway (n = 253) | U.K. (n = 194) |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Age (M, SD) ^a | 32.49 (10.02) | 37.13 (13.70) |
| Gender women in % | 52.2 | 51.8 |
| Civil status % | | |
| Married | 62.1 | 63.6 |
| Single | 30.4 | 28.3 |
| Other | 7.5 | 8.1 |
| Socioeconomic Status (M, SD) | 1.88 (.82) | 1.40 (1.01) |
| Occupation in % | | |
| Employed | 69.8 | 56.7 |
| Student | 19.8 | 19.6 |
| Retired | 2.4 | 5.7 |
| Unemployed | 8.0 | 14.4 |
| Religious orientation % | | |
| Sunni | 91.2 | 75.0 |
| Others | 8.8 | 15.0 |
| Religiously visible in % | 49.4 | 47.7 |
| Host nationality in % | 75.5 | 80.0 |
| Membership in religious organization in % | 63.1 | 20.0 |

There is a significant age difference between the two samples $t(341) = 4.31, p = .001, \Delta M = 4.81, 95\% \text{ CI}[2.61, 7.01]$. The remaining missing percentages corresponds to missing responses.

take part in the study, respondents had to identify as a Muslim and be above 18 years old. Due to the sensitivity of the topic, the internet survey did not save IP addresses of the respondents. The study was approved by the Norwegian Center for Research Data.

Measures

The questionnaire was originally developed in English and was forward-back translated into Norwegian by a translation company. All scales were tested for configural invariance (same structure across groups, Cheung & Rensvold, 2009) using MPLUS version 8.0 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017).

Realistic, symbolic and safety threats. Two separate threat scales, developed by González, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008), measured realistic (e.g., “Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims have more difficulties in finding a job”) and symbolic (e.g., “Muslim norms and values are being threatened because of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons”) threats. Each scale had three items that were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*).

A third scale, designed specifically for this study, measured safety threat. The scale comprised of 3-items (e.g., “Because of the presence of non-Muslim Norwegians/Britons, Muslims are physically threatened”). Factor analyses showed that the three threat types were distinct from each other and configural invariance was achieved (see Supplementary Online Materials [SOM]).

Acculturation scale. Twenty items from the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000) captured several domains relevant to religious (10 items) and mainstream (10 items) acculturation for the current study. Originally, the VIA measures heritage and mainstream culture orientation, but the heritage culture dimension here was adjusted to measure religious acculturation. Items for mainstream culture referred to attitudes and behaviors across various domains such as cultural traditions, values and entertainment (e.g., “I often participate in Islamic cultural traditions/ I often participate in Norwegian/ British cultural traditions”). Both scales were rated on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) as in the original version of Ryder et al. (2000). The 20-items scale did not achieve configural invariance (see SOM).

Support for Muslim military violence. Six items from the Attitude towards Violence (ATV) scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995), abbreviated by Davidson and Canivez (2012), were adapted to measure participants’ support for Muslim military violence. The participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with statements such as, “Muslim nations should be ready with a strong military at all times.” Responses were scored on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) rating scale as used by Davidson and Canivez (2012). The 6-items scale did not achieve measurement invariance (see SOM). However, after deleting 3-items from the scale, configural equivalence was achieved, and this version of the scale was used in further analysis.

Violent behavioral intentions. A 7-item scale was adopted from Obaidi, Kunst, Kteily, Thomsen, and Sidsnius (2018) to measure violent behavioral intentions (e.g., “As a last resort, I am personally ready to use violence for the sake of other Muslims”). Responses were scored on a 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) rating scale as in the original version that Obaidi, Kunst et al. (2018) used. The 7-items scale did not achieve configural invariance (see SOM). Therefore, two negatively worded items were deleted, so that configural invariance was achieved. For further analysis, the resulting 5-items scale was used.

All the scales had acceptable to satisfactory Cronbach’s alpha values for both groups of Muslims. The reliability coefficients ranged from .68 to .94 (see Table 2 for details).

Table 2
Means, SDs, Cronbach Alpha values and Correlations (Norway and U.K).

| Variables | M | SD | α | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|-----------|-----------|---------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1. Realistic Threat | 3.75/3.32 | 1.54/1.61 | .86/.91 | – | .80** | .78** | .26** | –.07 | .34** | –.25** |
| 2. Safety Threat | 3.15/3.25 | 1.57/1.72 | .87/.97 | .57** | – | .82** | .24** | –.03 | .30** | –.28** |
| 3. Symbolic Threat | 2.95/3.37 | 1.58/1.67 | .87/.94 | .55** | .69** | – | .34** | –.11 | .44** | –.26** |
| 4. Religious Acculturation | 6.50/6.58 | 1.68/1.08 | .87/.84 | .05 | .14* | .19** | – | –.11 | .42** | –.28** |
| 5. Mainstream Acculturation | 6.32/5.78 | 1.41/1.11 | .89/.85 | –.20** | –.11 | –.26** | –.04 | – | –.12 | .31** |
| 6. Support for Muslim Military Violence | 3.35/4.03 | 1.38/1.30 | .68/.71 | .09 | .16* | .26** | .24** | –.14* | – | –.37** |
| 7. Violent Behavioral Intentions | 4.47/4.06 | 1.29/1.25 | .83/.83 | –.01 | –.16* | –.27** | –.07 | .16* | –.32** | – |

Note. Standardized coefficients are presented for the correlations. Norwegian sample (non-italic values), the U.K. sample (italic values), * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Results

Table 2 displays the correlations between the major variables for each sample. Because configural invariance could not be achieved for the acculturation scales that were an integral part of our model, we analyzed both datasets and estimated our models separately.

Norwegian sample

Gender differences. An independent samples *t*-test was run to determine if there were gender differences in the level of perceived threats, acculturation or violence. There was a significant difference between men and women’s perceptions of safety threat, $t(237) = 2.16, p = .032, d = 0.27$, with men ($M = 3.38, SD = 1.67$) experiencing more safety threat than women ($M = 2.95, SD = 1.45$). The results also showed that men scored higher ($M = 6.56, SD = 1.42$) on mainstream acculturation than women ($M = 6.11, SD = 1.37$), $t(250) = 2.56, p = .011, d = 0.32$. Scores on support for Muslim military violence scale were higher for men ($M = 3.58, SD = 1.38$) than women ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.36$), $t(249) = 2.48, p = .014, d = 0.31$. Violent behavioral intentions, however, were significantly higher in women ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.23$) than men ($M = 4.26, SD = 1.32$), $t(249) = 2.46, p = .014, d = 0.31$.

Level of education and income. As determined by a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), individuals showed significantly different levels of mainstream acculturation depending on their level of education, $F(3, 248) = 5.09, p = .002, \eta^2 = .25$. Tukey post-hoc test revealed that mainstream acculturation was significantly higher in participants with a university degree ($M = 6.48, SD = 1.25, p = .001$) than individuals with a high school diploma ($M = 5.60, SD = 1.78, p = .001$). A one-way ANOVA also showed a significant difference in mainstream acculturation orientations with regard to the informants’ level of income, $F(3, 247) = 8.24, p = .006, \eta^2 = .23$. Specifically, mainstream acculturation was higher among individuals with high income ($M = 6.88, SD = 1.41$) compared to average ($M = 6.25, SD = 1.43, p = .026$) and low ($M = 5.69, SD = 1.23, p = .004$) income.

Membership in a religious organization. Religious acculturation was significantly higher among individuals who were members of a religious organization ($M = 6.84, SD = 1.32$) than non-members ($M = 5.96, SD = 1.21$), $t(249) = -5.30, p < .001, d = 0.70$. However, mainstream acculturation was also higher among members of religious organizations ($M = 6.48, SD = 1.38$) compared with non-members ($M = 6.07, SD = 1.44$), $t(248) = -2.25, p = .026, d = 0.29$.

UK sample

Gender. An independent samples *t*-test showed no significant gender differences in experiences of realistic, $t(193) = -1.30, p = .195$, safety, $t(193) = -1.45, p = .149$, and symbolic threats, $t(192) = -1.36, p = .195$, religious, $t(190) = -0.23, p = .819$; and mainstream acculturation, $t(193) = -1.50, p = .134$, violent behavioral intentions, $t(185) = -0.07, p = .944$, and support for Muslim military violence, $t(191) = -0.07, p = .335$.

Level of education and income. There were significant differences in experiences of realistic, safety and symbolic threats depending on the participants’ education level. University graduates ($M = 3.19, SD = 1.50$) experienced the lowest levels of realistic threats compared to individuals with an elementary school education ($M = 6.83, SD = 0.24, p = .006$) and individuals with a high school diploma ($M = 4.23, SD = 1.98, p = .053$), $F(3, 191) = 5.69, p = .001, \eta^2 = 0.30$. In addition, the highest degree of safety threat was reported among individuals with an elementary school education ($M = 6.33, SD = .94$) compared to university graduates ($M = 3.11, SD = 1.63, p = .036$) and respondents with a high school diploma ($M = 4.19, SD = 2.15, p = .320$), $F(3, 191) = 4.40, p = .005, \eta^2 = 0.27$. Moreover, individuals with an elementary school education ($M = 6.83, SD = 0.24$) reported higher levels of symbolic threat than university graduates ($M = 3.23, SD = 1.61, p = .011$), $F(3, 190) = 4.88, p = .003, \eta^2 = 0.28$.

In the U.K. sample, individuals with low income ($M = 3.82, SD = 1.52$) experienced higher levels of symbolic threat compared to individuals with high income ($M = 2.87, SD = 2.73, p = .038$), $F(3, 191) = 3.05, p = .030, \eta^2 = 0.22$. Moreover, individuals with a high income ($M = 6.33, SD = 1.14$) reported more mainstream acculturation than low ($M = 5.71, SD = 1.19, p = .043$) and no income individuals ($M = 5.33, SD = .90, p = .001$), $F(3, 191) = 5.61, p = .001, \eta^2 = .30$. Violent behavioral intentions were also significantly higher among individuals with a high income ($M = 4.77, SD = 1.21, p < .001$) compared to low ($M = 3.63,$

Table 3
Significant and Non-significant Direct Effects.

| Independent Variable | Dependent Variable | Norway | | U.K. | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|
| | | β | <i>p</i> | β | <i>p</i> |
| Realistic threat | Support for Muslim Military Violence | -.07 | .334 | .10 | .409 |
| | Violent behavioral Intentions | .20 | .006 | -.05 | .691 |
| Safety Threat | Support for Muslim Military Violence | -.02 | .848 | -.22 | .130 |
| | Violent behavioral Intentions | -.03 | .768 | -.16 | .300 |
| Symbolic threat | Support for Muslim Military Violence | .31 | .000 | .54 | .000 |
| | Violent behavioral intentions | -.36 | .000 | -.09 | .491 |

Note. $p < .001$. Significant effects in italics.

$SD = 1.18, p < .001$) or no income ($M = 3.66, SD = 1.05, p < 0.001$), $F(3, 183) = 10.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .41$. Attitudes regarding support for Muslim military violence did not yield significant results with respect to income levels, $F(3, 189) = 1.95, p = .124$. Significant ANOVA results were found for realistic threat, $F(3, 191) = 2.82, p = .040, \eta^2 = .21$, and religious acculturation, $F(3, 188) = 2.69, p = .047, \eta^2 = .21$, with respect to income levels. However, post-hoc tests (Tuckey and Scheffe tests) did not reveal any significant differences between the groups (all $ps > .056$).

Membership in a religious organization. There were significant differences in religious acculturation depending on the participant's membership in a religious organization. Individuals who were not members of a religious organization ($M = 6.51, SD = 1.01$) indicated lower degrees of religious acculturation than individuals who were members of a religious organization ($M = 7.05, SD = 1.04$), $t(183) = -2.94, p = .004, d = 0.53$.

Structural equation model results

For the current research, we used MPLUS software version 8.0 with the Maximum Likelihood (ML) estimator. The models were tested separately for both samples given the lack of configural invariance on some of the key variables.

Hypothesis 1. To test the first hypothesis, we ran two unmediated, fully saturated models, one for each sample. See Table 3 for the direct effects in each sample.

Norway. In the Norwegian sample, safety threat showed no significant impact on support for Muslim military violence or violent behavioral intentions (all $ps > .767$). Yet, realistic threat was positively related to violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = .20, p = .006$), but not to support for Muslim military violence ($p = .412$) giving some support for the first hypothesis. In addition, symbolic threat had a positive effect on support for Muslim military violence ($\beta = .31, p < .001$) but an unexpected negative effect on violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = -.36, p < .001$).

U.K. In the U.K. sample, the path analysis did not show any significant effect of realistic and safety threats on support for Muslim military violence and violent behavioral intentions (all $ps > .129$). Symbolic threat did not influence violent behavioral intentions ($p = .700$), however a strong, positive effect on support for Muslim military violence was found ($\beta = .54, p < .000$), giving partial support to the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2. For the second and the remaining hypotheses, we estimated a mediated model. Again, this model was estimated separately for both samples due to lack of measurement invariance for the acculturation scales. All possible paths between the outcome (violence), independent (threats), and mediating (religious and mainstream acculturation) variables were drawn in the initial stage of constructing the model (Fig. 2). The indirect effects were tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 random re-samples. The chi-square test and standard fit indices indicated a well-fitting mediation model in Norway, $\chi^2(1, N = 253) = 0.09, p = .770, RMSEA < 0.001, 90\% CI, [0.000, 0.112], CFI = 1.0, sRMR = 0.003$. Also in the U.K., the chi-square test, $\chi^2(1, N = 193) = .86, p = .354$, and other fit indices showed a very close fit ($CFI = 1.0, RMSEA < 0.001, 90\% CI [0.000, 0.185], sRMR = 0.01$), see Fig. 3 and 4 for the estimated mediation model with standardized effects for each sample. Full models with all paths displayed (including non-significant ones) can be found in SOM.

Norway. In the Norwegian sample, results indicated a positive relationship between religious acculturation and support for Muslim military violence ($\beta = .18, p = .002$), but no link between religious acculturation and violent behavioral intentions ($p = .942$).

U.K. In the U.K., religious acculturation showed a significant positive effect on support for Muslim military violence ($\beta = .30, p < .001$), but a negative effect on violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = -.21, p = .003$).

Hypothesis 3. Norway. In the Norwegian sample, mainstream acculturation had no significant relationship with support for Muslim military violence and violent behavioral intentions ($ps > .134$). Thus, the third hypothesis found no empirical support in the Norwegian sample.

U.K. In the U.K., mainstream acculturation was not related to support for Muslim military violence ($p = .526$). However,

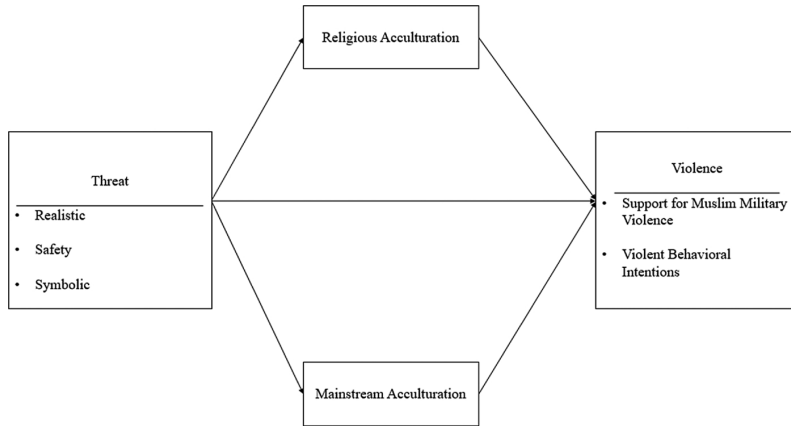


Fig. 2. Hypothetical path model. Various types of threats and violence are each presented under one variable for presentational purposes.

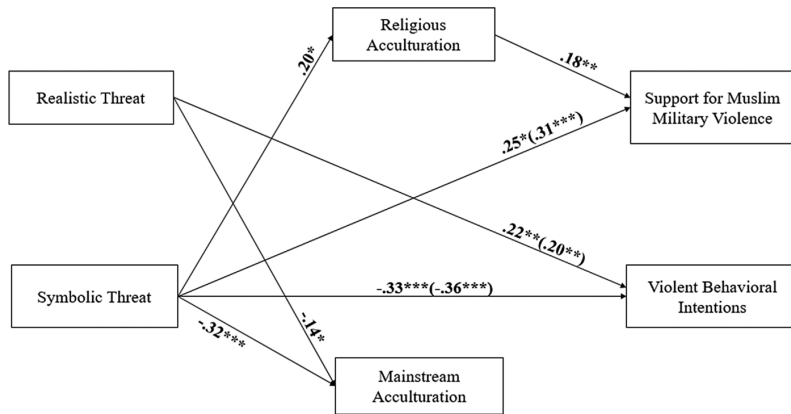


Fig. 3. Significant, standardized paths in structural equation model predicting Muslim military violence support and behavioral intentions among Muslims in Norway. Unmediated direct effects are presented in parentheses. Non-significant paths and variables with no significant effect are not displayed for simplicity. Please see SOM for full model containing all paths. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

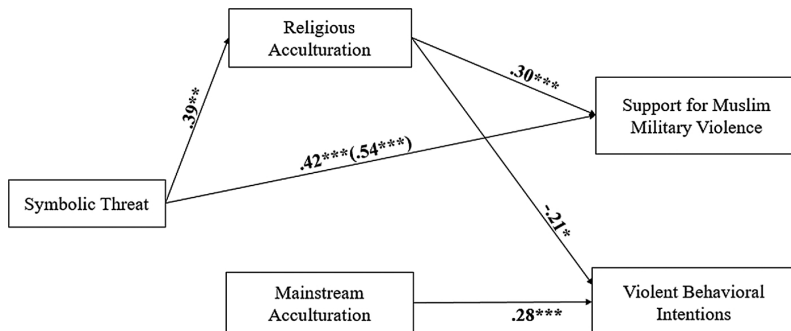


Fig. 4. Significant standardized paths in structural equation model predicting Muslim military violence support and behavioral intentions among Muslims in the U.K. Unmediated direct effects are presented in parentheses. Non-significant paths and variables with no significant effect are not displayed for simplicity. Please see SOM for full model containing all paths * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4
Standardized Significant and Non-significant Indirect effects in Norway and the U.K.

| Independent Variables | Mediator | Dependent Variables (Violence) | Norway | | | U.K. | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|--------------|
| | | | β | <i>p</i> | 90% C.I | β | <i>p</i> | 90% C.I |
| Realistic Threat | Religious Acculturation | Support for Muslim Military Violence | -.06 | .412 | [-.05, .01] | .02 | .648 | [-.06, .09] |
| | | Violent behavioral Intentions | .00 | .954 | [-.02, .02] | -.01 | .663 | [-.07, .05] |
| | Mainstream Acculturation | Support for Muslim Military Violence | .01 | .431 | [-.01, .09] | .00 | .809 | [-.02, .03] |
| | | Violent behavioral Intentions | -.01 | .314 | [-.04, .00] | -.02 | .640 | [-.10, .05] |
| Safety Threat | Religious Acculturation | Support for Muslim Military Violence | .01 | .376 | [-.01, .05] | -.04 | .278 | [-.11, .03] |
| | | Violent behavioral Intentions | .00 | .960 | [-.02, .01] | .03 | .300 | [-.02, .08] |
| | Mainstream Acculturation | Support for Muslim Military Violence | -.01 | .373 | [-.05, .01] | -.01 | .604 | [-.05, .02] |
| | | Violent behavioral Intentions | .02 | .24 | [-.00, .05] | .06 | .131 | [-.01, .14] |
| Symbolic Threat | Religious Acculturation | Support for Muslim Military Violence | .04 | .094 | [.00, .08] | .12 | .016 | [.04, .22] |
| | | Violent behavioral Intentions | -.00 | .947 | [-.03, .02] | -.08 | .036 | [-.17, -.02] |
| | Mainstream Acculturation | Support for Muslim Military Violence | .02 | .309 | [-.02, .06] | .01 | .589 | [-.02, .05] |
| | | Violent behavioral intentions | -.03 | .179 | [-.07, .01] | -.06 | .087 | [-.14, .01] |

Significant effects in italics.

contrary to the hypothesis, mainstream acculturation was positively associated with violent behavioral intentions ($\beta = .28, p < .001$), giving no support to the third hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4. In the fourth hypothesis, we expected that the threat constructs would have an *indirect* positive effect on support for Muslim military violence and behavioral intentions, mediated by religious and mainstream acculturation. All standardized significant and non-significant indirect effects in Norway and the U.K. are presented in Table 4.

Norway. As the model did not reveal any significant indirect effects in the Norwegian sample, we can conclude that, in this sample, religious and mainstream acculturation did not mediate the relationship between the independent variables and the outcome variables.

U.K. In the U.K., religious acculturation mediated the relationship between symbolic threat and support for Muslim military violence (indirect effect: $\beta = 0.12, p = .016, 90\% \text{ CI } [.004, .22]$), partially supporting the hypothesis. However, the opposite indirect relationship was observed in terms of violent behavioral intentions. Here, symbolic threat predicted higher levels of religious acculturation, which in turn predicted lower levels of violent behavioral intentions, resulting in an indirect negative relationship ($\beta = -.08, p = .036, 90\% \text{ CI } [-.17, -.02]$).

No evidence indicated that mainstream acculturation mediated the relationship between threat and violence in this sample. Hence, the fourth hypotheses gained partial support in the U.K. sample, but found no empirical confirmation in the Norwegian sample.

Acculturation strategies

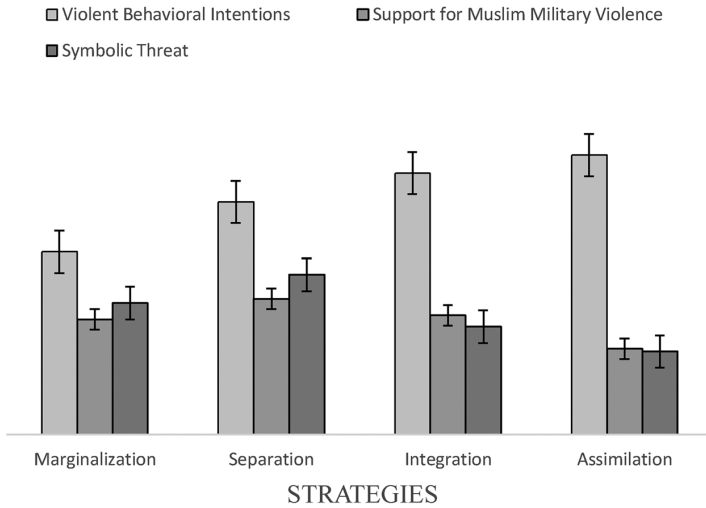
In addition to these tests of our hypotheses, we also conducted some exploratory analyses computing acculturation strategies using the midpoint-split procedure (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2007). Here, the mid-point of the Likert scale was taken as the cut-off point to classify participants into low or high acculturation groups in terms of mainstream and religious culture. Based on these groups, we then, following the conceptualization of Berry (1997), categorized each participant into one of the four acculturation strategies. In both countries, integration was the most frequent strategy (Norway = 71.3%, U.K. = 66.8%), followed by separation (Norway = 14.6%, U.K. = 25.4%), assimilation (Norway = 11.8%, U.K. = 6.2%), and marginalization (Norway = 2.4%, U.K. = 1.6%). We ran a one-way ANOVA with Tukey’s post-hoc comparisons in each country to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences in the independent (threats) and dependent (violence) variables depending on the acculturation strategies (see Fig. 5). Please note that we recoded the violent behavioral intentions variable from 0 – 6 to 1 – 7 to facilitate comparisons with the other scales.

Norway. While participants’ symbolic threat differed significantly depending on their acculturation strategy, $F(3, 250) = 4.81, p = .003, \eta^2 = 0.24$, no difference was observed for realistic, $F(3, 250) = 1.85, p = .138, \eta^2 = 0.02$, and safety threat, $F(3, 250) = 1.59, p = .192, \eta^2 = 0.02$. Tukey’s tests revealed that separated individuals experienced higher levels of symbolic threat than individuals who were integrated ($p = .008$) or assimilated ($p = .003$), see Fig. 5.

There were also significant differences in support for Muslim military violence depending on participants’ acculturation strategies, $F(3, 248) = 2.66, p = .049, \eta^2 = .18$. Separated individuals showed more Muslim military violence than assimilated individuals ($p = .045$). Significant differences were also found for violent behavioral intentions, $F(3, 247) = 4.62, p = .004, \eta^2 = 0.24$ (Fig. 5). Integrated individuals had higher violent behavioral intentions than marginalized individuals ($p = .046$). Moreover, assimilated individuals showed higher violent behavioral intentions than marginalized ($p = .016$) and separated individuals ($p = .047$).

U.K. In the U.K. sample, participants differed significantly in their perception of symbolic threat depending on their acculturation strategies, $F(3, 188) = 2.88, p = .038, \eta^2 = .21$. No significant differences were observed for realistic, $F(3, 189) = 1.65, p = .179, \eta^2 = 0.03$ and safety threat, $F(3, 250) = 1.65, p = .179, \eta^2 = 0.03$. As shown in Fig. 5, symbolic threat was higher among separated

Norway



U.K.

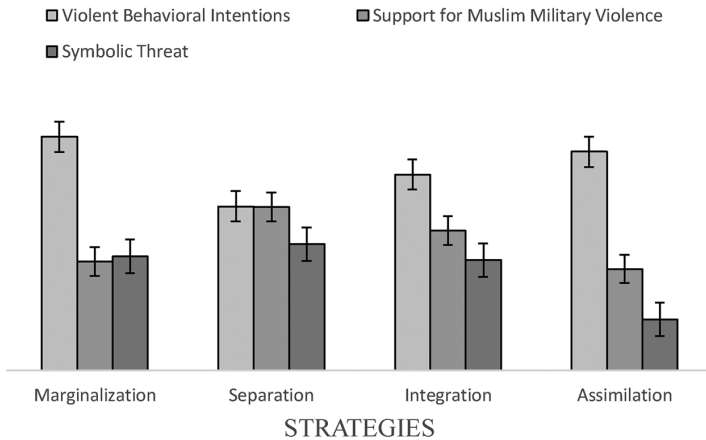


Fig. 5. Acculturation Strategies on the Main Study Variables in Norway and the U.K. Error bars represent standard error.

individuals than assimilated individuals ($p = .020$). Support for Muslim military violence was also significantly different between the four acculturation strategies, $F(3, 189) = 4.57, p = .004, \eta^2 = .27$. Specifically, separated individuals reported more Muslim military violence than assimilated individuals ($p = .006$). Moreover, violent behavioral intentions differed significantly between the four acculturation strategies $F(3, 188) = 5.53, p = .001, \eta^2 = .30$. Integrated and assimilated individuals reported higher violent behavioral intentions than separated individuals ($p = .005$ for integration and $p = .016$ for assimilation comparison).

Discussion

The primary objective of this study was to investigate the factors that might underpin European Muslims’ willingness to support and engage in religiously motivated violence using data from Muslim diaspora in two countries. For that purpose, the study, based on

Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan et al., 2009), examined the relationship of three forms of perceived threats with violent behavioral intentions and support for Muslim majority countries' military violence, and the potential mediating role of religious and mainstream acculturation.

Whether threat perceptions were related to the violence variables depended on the type of threat and the cultural context. To start with, symbolic threat was related to more support of military violence by Muslim states in both countries. The majority of participants from both Norway and the U.K. had a Pakistani background. Many regard a powerful military institution as an essential component for survival in a competitive world (Morgenthau, 1951). Since Pakistan's establishment as a country in 1947, the Pakistani military has been known for being an integrated part of the Pakistani society, and for having a strong hold in the political, economic and state development in Pakistan (Lieven, 2010; Rizvi, 2000) by not only influencing politics from the sidelines, but also as the governing institution. In 1977, the military dictator Zia-ul-Haq reinforced the idea of a Muslim identity and started the Islamization of state institutions, especially the Pakistani military, to establish a model Islamic state (Ziring, 1982). Thus, it can be argued that for majority Pakistani Muslims in Pakistan and across the globe, the Pakistani military is considered a model Islamic army. Indeed, according to a public survey, the Pakistani military enjoyed support and trust of 78% of Pakistanis, more than any other state institution in the country, even after the Pakistani military and intelligence services were accused of knowing about Osama bin Laden's hideout (Naurath & Ray, 2011). This cultural background may explain why in the present study, participants who experienced threat to the symbolic values of Muslims' belief system, were supportive of Muslim military aggression and presence internationally.

However, it is important to note that the path model in the Norwegian sample showed that symbolic threat at the same time was also related to *less* violent behavioral intentions, in contrast with previous research (Obaidi, Kunst et al., 2018). Realistic threat was also related to more violent behavioral intentions only in Norway. These results suggest that Muslims in Norway are not willing to use violence if they fear the West as a danger to their Islamic culture and values. However, in line with previous studies, they would be prepared to use violence if they perceive the majority society as rivals for scarce economic resources (Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004; Obaidi, Kunst et al., 2018). It is also important to note that the link between realistic threats and violent behavioral intentions in the Norwegian sample might suggest a suppressor effect as no such relationship was observed in terms of zero-order correlations. Hence, this finding has to be interpreted with caution.

While safety threat had a significant correlation with violent behavioral intentions, in the path model it did not predict this variable. Yet, the correlation between realistic and safety threat was strong indicating that both independent variables shared variance, which might explain why safety threat did not predict violent behavioral intentions, while realistic threat did in this more controlled analysis.

The role of acculturation orientations and strategies

One central objective of this paper was to investigate the link between acculturation and Muslims' own intentions to commit violence and their support for military violence by Muslim states. Some interesting relations were observed. To our surprise, in the U.K. model, higher levels of mainstream acculturation were *positively* related to violent behavioral intentions. Research suggests that increased participation in the mainstream culture provides better opportunities for work, improved language skills and social network. However, in some instances, high degrees of engagement in the host society may also give more awareness of prejudiced sentiments, discrimination and negative attitudes towards one's group (Awad, 2010; Foroutan, 2008). Thus, this may possibly explain the positive link between mainstream acculturation and violent behavioral intentions in the U.K. No such relationship was, however, observed among Norwegian Muslims. Hence, violent behavioral intentions seem for Norwegian Muslims have little to do with how they acculturate, including whether or not they are engaged in the national sphere, and more with the (realistic) threats they experience from the majority society due to their group membership.

Again, only in the U.K. path model was religious acculturation negatively associated with violent behavioral intentions and mediated the respective effects of symbolic threat. In line with previous research (Zirkov et al., 2014), this finding suggests that Muslims' religious involvement does not predict a higher willingness to commit violence, but may even have the opposite effect. It is possible that when faced with threats towards their religious culture and belief system, religious British Muslims increased their religious acculturation even more, in turn, showing lower levels of violent behavioral intentions. These reduced violent behavioral intentions may be seen as an attempt to reduce intergroup tensions, and counter the negative image that many Britons may have of Muslims as intolerant and violent extremists (see e.g., Krueger & Malečková, 2003; Bakker et al., 2013). Hence, for British Muslims, an increased involvement in their religious culture may be a negative predictor of violent behavior, and this process may be elicited by perceptions of symbolic threat (Zirkov et al., 2014).

Yet, how can such an interpretation be reconciled with the fact that religious acculturation predicted more support of Muslim military violence and thus mediated the effects of symbolic threat? Literature points out that although indirect and direct observation and experiences of violence and adversities may lead to more support of political violence, vicarious experiences may be the most powerful ones (Carnagey & Anderson, 2007; but see Obaidi, Bergh et al., 2018). It is possible that religiously acculturated Muslims in particular feel solidarity with Muslims living in countries experiencing Western military occupations, drone strikes and bombings. For example, since the War on Terror, the involvement of Western military and NATO troops has been salient in Pakistan particularly due to its geographical location next to Afghanistan. Consequently, Pakistanis living in Pakistan and across the world have numerous times protested against the presence of Western military and NATO troops (BBC, 2013). It may be that British-Pakistani Muslims perceive Western involvement in their homeland as an attempt to westernize their ethnic country's Islamic and cultural values. This may explain why religiously acculturated Muslims in the U.K. sample were supportive of Muslim countries being militarily armed and

active. One reason for why such a relationship was not observed in Norway may be that the country has no history as colonial power and is less involved in foreign interventions than the U.K.

To complement our analyses, we also divided our samples into the four acculturation strategies (Berry, 1995). In accordance with previous research (Berry et al., 2006), the majority of respondents in both samples were integrated individuals, followed by separation and assimilation. Only few individuals fell into the marginalized category. Therefore, the interpretation of the results involving this strategy must be done with caution. Separated and marginalized individuals tend to be prone to poor adaptation and are at a higher risk of engaging in and justifying violent behavior in the form of political violence (Stroink, 2007; Treadwell & Garland, 2011), while assimilated and integrated individuals are considered as acculturative successful (Berry et al., 2006). In the current study, and to some extent in both countries, it was, however, integrated and assimilated individuals who indicated higher degrees of violent behavioral intentions than separated and marginalized individuals. By contrast, in both samples, separated individuals showed more support for Muslim military violence than assimilated individuals did. One answer to this finding may be that separated individuals also experienced higher levels of symbolic threat and, hence, their motivation and goals may differ as discussed earlier. Assimilated and integrated individuals may have personally experienced discrimination and exclusion, which drives them to react violently in a retaliatory manner. Separated individuals, may perceive higher degrees of symbolic threats from the mainstream society and feel stronger allegiance with their Muslim countries of origin, and therefore support violence by Muslim states' militaries abroad.

Strengths, limitations and future directions

To the best of our knowledge, the present study is the first to test the role of acculturation in the relationship between perceived threats and extremist violence. Although our study provides new and important insights, several limitations should be noted.

First, we used convenience samples that were drawn from the Norwegian and British Muslim communities. This was a necessity because the public registries in neither country records inhabitants religious and ethnic background, making representative sampling almost impossible. In both samples, several Muslim organizations, and specifically one Norwegian Muslim organization that has been in the limelight due to its members supporting violence, did not respond to the invitation to participate in the research. Not being able to recruit members from such organizations might have hindered us from sampling possibly more radical individuals than those represented in our samples. Moreover, the small samples in this study comprised of mostly respondents with a Pakistani origin who belonged to the Sunni direction within Islam. Hence, findings are not necessarily representative for the broader Muslim Diaspora in the Norwegian and British societies. The interpretation of the results in terms of generalizability should, therefore, be done with caution. Nevertheless, in order to examine possibly different results, we recommend a replication of this study with diverse samples.

There was a significant age difference between the two samples. This difference was probably a result of the way the data was collected (i.e., convenience sampling), rather than representing actual age differences in the population.

The study used a cross-sectional approach, which does not allow for causal inferences. A suggestion for future research would be to conduct a longitudinal study to establish causal relationships between perceived threats and the violence variables, and to establish the role of acculturation as causal mediator.

Direct cross-cultural comparison was not possible within the current work because measurement invariance was not achieved for the acculturation scales. Absence of invariance can reveal important cross-cultural differences between samples. The lack of invariance in the current study can reflect important cultural differences at the conceptual level. We used a well-established acculturation instrument, which was thoroughly translated from English into Norwegian. This may suggest that lack of measurement invariance was caused by the acculturation orientations having different cultural meanings to participants in both countries. Yet, future research may try to replicate our findings with different types of acculturation scales that preferably were developed specifically for the European context and for Muslim populations.

Finally, the current work measured outgroup hostility through violent behavioral intentions instead of actual behavior. Thus, the results do not *directly* indicate whether Muslims would act violently, rather they show Muslims' *intent* to act violently for the sake of other Muslims. For this purpose, it is also important to mention that actual behavior is, both methodically and ethically, difficult to measure. Hence, as intentional behavior is a proxy for actual behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), we assessed Muslims' willingness to act violently.

Societal implications

We believe that the present research has valuable implications for improving intergroup relations and for the government policymakers and religious institutions that work with Muslim communities in the West. The current work showed that realistic and symbolic threats are related to outgroup hostility. Importantly, it extended previous knowledge by showing that threat perceptions not only relate to own violent intentions but also to more support for military violence by Muslim states. While we did not directly assess support for ISIS, this finding may suggest that the more Muslims in the West perceive threats to their culture, the more they may support such extremist state-like organizations as well. Hence, one important way to reduce sympathies for ISIS or similar organizations may be to reduce the threat perceptions Muslims feel in the West. Here, policymakers are advised to actively engage in portraying a positive image of the Muslim community in their respective societies by providing the majority society with basic and positive information about Islam (see e.g., Barise, 2005). It is also important to have common goals that require intergroup cooperation to decrease distrust between the Muslim minority group and the majority society. For that purpose, partnership between policymakers, social workers and Imams (religious leaders) is recommended in order to eliminate incorrect images that Muslims can

have of the mainstream society due to the heated political climate. In their effort to counter terrorism and eliminate violent radicalization, government officials and policymakers are advised to make less intrusive policies for the mainstream Muslim community, such as banning the female head covering and other cultural practices. Rather, it is important to have more focus on institutions and mosques that can approach people who are at risk of becoming violent extremists.

Some of the acculturation findings may also have important societal implications. Mainstream acculturation was associated with *more* violent behavioral intentions in the U.K., which suggests that increasing Muslims' involvement in the host society is not necessarily a solution but may even backfire in terms of extremist violence. Although not assessed in the present research, we believe that this relationship is likely moderated by the degree of exclusion and discrimination Muslims experience. While mainstream acculturation may be related to less extremist tendencies in a tolerant society, the opposite may be the case in contexts characterized by intergroup tensions and intolerance. This, once more, highlights the importance of any intervention that may reduce Islamophobia in society.

Finally, the finding that religious acculturation was related to more support for Muslim military violence but less personal violent intentions shows that religious acculturation can be both a detriment and asset for society. We recommend that religious organizations, specifically mosques and Muslim religious leaders and stakeholders from the mainstream society, should work together to find ways to capitalize on the positive effect of Muslims' religious acculturation, while minimizing its negative effects. Ultimately, however, this is also a global political problem because Muslims' tendency to support military violence by Muslim states likely is nurtured by foreign interventions by the West.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary material related to this article can be found, in the online version, at doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.08.001>.

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Acculturation Preferences and Perceived (dis)loyalty of Muslims in the U.K.: Two Vignette-Based Experimental Studies

Abstract

Muslims in the U.K. who maintain their religious culture are often viewed as a suspect community. This pre-registered experimental research examined the mediating role of perceived (dis)loyalty as underlying process and the moderating role of acculturation expectations. A total of 334 non-Muslim White British participants in Study 1 and 810 in Study 2 were asked to indicate their acculturation expectations towards Muslims. They were then randomly assigned to read a text that described Muslims in a fictional town as either (a) maintaining their religious culture or (b) adopting the mainstream British culture, or they read (c) a neutral control text. As expected, in Study 1, when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture, trust decreased compared to the control group. Conversely, when described as adopting the mainstream culture, trust increased while support for surveillance of Muslims decreased. Both effects were mediated by the perception of Muslims being disloyal or loyal to the U.K in both studies, respectively. Perceived loyalty to their religious group did not significantly mediate any effect. We replicated these findings in Study 2. Moreover, we showed that describing Muslims as maintaining their religious culture decreased trust and increased support for surveillance especially among participants who expected Muslims to give up their religious culture. Moderated mediation analysis showed that these effects were partly mediated by perceived loyalty to the U.K. We discuss the societal implications of the findings for policymakers and Muslim leaders along with recommendations for future research.

Keywords:

acculturation, loyalty, intergroup relations, Muslims, religion

In the wake of the 9/11 terror attacks, the immigration debate in Western Europe has focused largely on Muslim minorities' religious practices (Betz & Meret, 2008; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2012). Even though the growing presence of Muslims in European societies is a reality (Roy, 2004), Muslims' cultural values are still by many seen as incompatible with those of Europe (Kunst et al., 2012). In acculturation research, studies often refer to a mismatch between the acculturation attitudes of minorities, with respect to their heritage culture and the culture of the majority society, and the expectations of majority-group members about how minorities should acculturate (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006; Bourhis et al., 2009).

Kunst, Thomsen, and Dovidio (2019), in a series of experiments, demonstrated that majority-group members display negative attitudes towards dually identified minority-group members due to perceptions of potential disloyalty to the socially dominant group. Moreover, a study by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2020) found that immigrants with national citizenship were perceived as loyal to the country of residence compared to foreign nationals that were perceived as more loyal to their country of origin (also see Verkuyten et al., 2022; Verkuyten et al., 2022). The present study builds on the study by Kunst et al. (2019) and Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., (2020) by focusing on the framework of acculturation psychology rather than social identification in two pre-registered experiments. It aims to empirically demonstrate that an underlying element in the incompatibility of acculturation orientations with respect to the majority and religious minority cultures is that majority-group members might perceive Muslim minority-group members as disloyal to the majority society and too loyal to their own religious group, which should influence trust and support of surveillance of the Muslim community.

Discordant Acculturation Orientations and Intergroup Relations

The concordance model of acculturation (CMA) by Piontkowski, Rohmann, and Florack (2002), explains how socially dominant groups perceive acculturation orientations adopted by minority groups relative to their own expectations and how perceived differences may result in harmonious, problematic, or conflictual outcomes. Minority-group members often prefer to identify with the majority culture as well as maintaining their own cultural identity (Zagefka & Brown, 2002; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012). By contrast, majority-group members often expect and compel minority-group members to adopt and maintain the majority society's culture. They often view minorities who prefer to adopt the majority society's culture more favorably than those who choose to identify with their own as well as the majority culture (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

A culture-problematic dissonance arises when the acculturation orientations of minorities differ from the expectations of the majority-group members (Piontkowski et al., 2002). For instance, when majority-group members expect minorities to adopt the majority society's culture, they may show bias towards those who prefer to maintain their own culture. As such, this mismatch may lead to problematic outcomes, such as antagonistic attitudes towards minorities because the minority group is perceived as a threat to the majority in-group (Schwartz et al., 1990). In the present study, we examine acculturation orientations with respect to the majority society's culture and minorities' religious cultural affiliation because religion is considered an important and central element of self- and group identity for many Muslims (Ben-Nun Bloom, Arian, & Courtemanche, 2015).

Perceptions of Disloyalty of British Muslims

The functional benefit of association with a group is dependent on group member's adherence to the group's values, social norms, in-group solidarity and loyalty towards the

group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tooby & Cosmides, 2010). Loyalty can here be defined as an inclination to support one's group even if doing so is personally deleterious (Van Vugt & Hart, 2004). In an immigration context, individuals who associate with two cultures may create uncertainty in majority-group members. Their adherence to more than one cultural and political position may make people concerned about where these minority-group members' loyalty lies (Kastoryano, 2000). This concern may be especially pronounced when the socially dominant group is faced with an intergroup threat. Hence, simultaneous identification with two cultures might be problematic and discouraged by majority members due to loyalty concerns for, and the welfare of, the in-group (Petersen et al., 2010)

One group that often has been accused of disloyalty are Muslims living in the U.K. Currently, Muslims constitute approximately 6.3% of the country's total population (Office for National Statistics, 2020). The U.K. has a long history of immigration and cultural diversity. However, the country has been dealing with its share of negative relations with the British Muslim community, which escalated especially after the attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 (Sheridan, 2006). Since then, the public debate increasingly focused on Muslims as potentially dangerous and disloyal to the U.K. (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012). Moreover, the upsurge of terrorist attacks from radicalized members of the Muslim community in the U.K., and the high outflow of young Muslims leaving for Syria to join ISIS and then returning, further delineated a negative picture of British Muslims. Consequently, the public discourse has tended to emphasize the importance of community cohesion in the form of a collective British identity instead of the integration of Muslims into British society (McGhee, 2003; Awan, 2014).

The notion that Muslims prefer their religious culture above the culture of the majority society and that their religious culture conflicts with the British culture, posing Muslims as a threat to the U.K., has also been evident in national discussions on preventing terrorism

(Poynting, & Mason, 2006). Hence, due to the representation of Muslims as violent and a threat to society by media, the public and political debates, the state and general population has singled out Muslims as suspects, labeling them a “suspect community” (Awan, 2014). The identification as ‘suspects’ has led to problematic outcomes for members of the Muslim community in the form of labor and housing discrimination, anti-Muslim sentiments and attacks on mosques and properties belonging to Muslims, such as the Finsbury Park attack in 2017 and London Mosque attack in 2020 (BBC, 2018, 2020).

Aims and Hypotheses

Previous research has shown that majority-group members perceive minorities as disloyal to the majority society when these minorities indicate dual group identification (Kunst et al., 2019, Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2020). However, the study by Kunst et al., (2019) did only in supplementary analyses and only partly consider the moderating role of identity expectations that majority-group members hold. Moreover, the research focused only on social identity, which is one of many dimensions in acculturation research.

Thus, the present study aims to extend this previous work. The specific objective of this study is to test whether a clash between majority-group members’ religious and mainstream acculturation expectations for Muslims, and the acculturation orientations of Muslims with respect to their religious and majority culture may lead to intergroup bias, in the form of distrust and support for surveillance of Muslims, mediated by British Muslims’ perceived loyalty to the U.K. and own religious group.

Two vignette-based, pre-registered experimental studies with White British participants were conducted to investigate this research question. In both studies, the respondents first indicated their expectations that Muslims in the U.K. should/should not adopt the majority culture and that Muslims should/should not maintain their religious culture. Next, they were randomly assigned to read vignettes that described Muslims in a fictional

town named “Fapton” as adopting the mainstream culture or maintaining their religious culture or a neutral control text. Participants then rated the extent to which they believed the Muslims in the vignette were loyal to the U.K. and loyal to their own religious group as well as their trust towards Muslims and support for surveillance of Muslims residing in the fictional town.

Research suggests that majority-group members show positive attitudes toward minority-group members who are inclined to adopt the majority culture (e.g., see Osbeck et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011). Thus, we predicted that the participants would display higher degrees of trust and lower degrees of support for surveillance for Muslims when the latter were presented as adopting the majority culture (H1). Conversely, we expected that the participants would exhibit more distrust and support for surveillance when Muslims were described as maintaining their religious culture (H2).

Next, we tested whether concerns about the perceived disloyalty of Muslims to the majority society and strong loyalty to their religious group may mediate these effects. Specifically, we expected that perceptions that Muslims are loyal to the U.K. would be positively related to trust and negatively related to support for surveillance, whereas perception of Muslims as loyal to their own religious group would be negatively related to trust and positively related to support for surveillance (H3). Consequently, both variables were expected to mediate the effects predicted in the first two hypotheses (H4).

The next hypotheses tested interactive effects between majority-group members’ acculturation expectations and the experimental manipulation. A similarity of cultural preferences between majority and minority groups has been shown to lead to positive attitudes by majority-group members towards minorities (Hogg, 1992; Kastoryano 2004). By contrast, a discrepancy between these acculturation orientations can lead to intergroup bias (Piontkowski et al., 2000). Thus, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to

relinquish their religious culture would show more distrust and support for surveillance when these were described as maintaining their religious culture (H5a). Moreover, we also predicted that participants who expected Muslims to adopt the majority culture would indicate more distrust and support for surveillance when these were described as maintaining their religious culture (H5b)¹. In addition, participants who expected Muslims to adopt the majority society culture were expected to indicate more trust and less support for surveillance when these were described as adopting the mainstream culture (H5c). For each of these tests, we also investigated whether the predicted moderated effects would be mediated by loyalty perceptions (H6 and H7). Figure 1 (top panel) presents a summary of our hypothesized model.

As the reviewer emphasized the low power in Study 1, we only tested main effects and mediation in the first study and report interactions in the Supplementary Online Materials (SOM). As suggested, we then conducted a second study with adequate power to test for interactions and moderated mediation as well.

Study 1

Methods

Participants

We recruited participants from Prolific and paid them equivalent to £6/hour for their participation. A power analysis was performed for sample size estimation by G*power 3.1.9.2 (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992). A sample size of 117 participants was required to reach a power of 0.8, with a medium effect size of 0.15 and an α level of 0.05 for the regression analyses. In addition, a Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects was performed through the online application MARlab (Schoemann et al., 2017). The results showed that a power of 0.80 ($p =$

¹ In the preregistration, the fifth hypothesis (5b) proposed an interaction between the majority adoption expectation and religious maintenance condition and their effects on increased trust and decreased support for surveillance. This was a writing mistake, as we predicted distrust and support for surveillance of Muslims in the religious maintenance condition as a function of this moderator.

.05) is reached with 96 to 120 participants in a model with two parallel mediators. We assumed small correlations of $r = 0.1$ between the independent variable X, the mediators M, and the dependent variable Y. Three hundred thirty-five respondents participated in the study after which data collection ceased. One participant was excluded due to an incorrect response to the attention-check item, “What is the name of the town in the text?” (correct answer was “Fapton”). Thus, the final sample comprised 334 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.48$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.54$). Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the sample. Participation in the study was limited to White, non-Muslim respondents who resided in the U.K., and were 18 years or older. Data was collected in October 2019 by posting an anonymous link of the survey on Prolific.

Procedure

The participants were informed that the study dealt with Britons’ opinions on issues related to immigration. After informed consent was obtained, the participants answered questions about their acculturation expectations towards Muslims in the U.K. From there, the participants were randomly allocated to read one of three vignettes describing the Muslim community in a fictitious town named “Fapton” or a neutral control text. The participants then finished the attention-check item. After the attention-check item, the participants recorded their answers to the mediating and dependent variables described below. Finally, the participants completed a demographic section assessing their age, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.

At the end of the survey, the participants were thoroughly debriefed about the purpose of the study. All procedures and analyses were preregistered for this and the second study (https://osf.io/uewc2/?view_only=2fb463dd52664a20b4d540ef3dfe7bdf3). Hypothesis 1 to 5 are confirmatory hypotheses, while H6 and 7 are exploratory.

Moderators

Acculturation Expectations. The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) was adapted to measure acculturation expectations. On a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) participants indicated to what extent they wanted Muslims in the U.K. to maintain their religious culture (ten items) and adopt the majority culture (ten items). As in the original VIA scale, the items measured the participants' acculturation expectations of Muslims across several life domains, such as traditions, and social circle. Example items are "I would like Muslims to maintain or develop their Islamic cultural practices." or "I would like Muslims to maintain or develop British cultural practices." The reliability coefficients for this and all remaining variables were satisfactory, ranging from 0.86 to 0.95 (see Table 2 for details).

Experimental Vignette Manipulation. Three different vignettes inspired by the Vancouver Index of Acculturation developed by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) were used as experimental manipulations to examine the two acculturation orientations: mainstream and religious acculturation. Two texts contained information about Muslims living in the fictional town of "Fapton" in the U.K. whereas one just focused on the town (control condition). In the religious maintenance condition, the participants read the following text describing Muslims as maintaining their religious culture:

A neighborhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about its religious heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in their religious cultural traditions, such as daily prayers at the local mosques, dressing up in their religious clothes, and fasting during Ramadan, is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop their Islamic cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends from their religious background and they enjoy social activities with people who also are Muslim. They also enjoy entertainment (such as Islamic TV shows and music) from their religious background. Often their jokes and humor are also related to their religious culture. Since religious culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a Muslim spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with colleagues that share their belief in Islam and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

In the mainstream adoption condition, the participants read the following text describing Muslims as adopting the mainstream culture:

A neighborhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant Muslim population that cares strongly about British cultural heritage. For Muslims living in Fapton, active participation in British cultural traditions, such as dressing up in British clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating fish and chips, pork, and beer, is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop British cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Muslims living in Fapton prefer to have friends with a non-Muslim, British background and they also enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Britons. They also enjoy entertainment such as British TV shows, football, and films. Often, their jokes and humor are also related to the British culture. Since British culture is important for the Muslim community in Fapton, most people also prefer to have a non-Muslim, British spouse/partner. Finally, it is very important for the Muslims in Fapton to work with colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim mainstream society and they, thus, feel comfortable working with them.

In the control condition, the participants did not receive information about Muslims or any specific culture:

A neighborhood in Fapton is known for its vibrant community. For people living in the neighborhood, active participation in traditions, such as dressing up in nice clothes and celebrating festivals, is very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop these practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. Inhabitants of Fapton prefer to have friends with different background and they enjoy social activities with people. They also enjoy entertainment such as TV shows, football, and films. Often their jokes and humor are also witty. The community in Fapton marry by personal choice. Finally, it is very important for the community in Fapton to work and they feel comfortable working with their colleagues.

Mediators

Perceived Muslims' Loyalty to the U.K. A 6-item scale developed by Kunst, Thomsen and Dovidio (2019) was adapted to measure how the participants assessed Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. (e.g., "Muslims in Fapton are loyal to the U.K."). The items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Perceived Muslims' Loyalty to their own Religious Group. The same 6-item scale (Kunst, Thomsen and Dovidio, 2019) assessed how the participants perceived Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group (e.g., "Muslims in Fapton are loyal to their religious group").

Dependent Variables

Trust Towards Muslims. Three items derived from the General Social Survey (Glaeser et al., 2000) measured whether the participants trusted Muslims in Fapton. The first item, “Do you think Muslims in Fapton can be trusted or you can't be too careful?”, was measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*you cannot be too careful*) to 10 (*they can be trusted*). The second item, “Do you think that Muslims in Fapton would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?” was measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*they would try to take advantage of me*) to 10 (*they would try to be fair*). The third item, “Would you say that most of the time Muslims in Fapton try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?”, was measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*they are mostly looking out for themselves*) to 10 (*they mostly try to be helpful*). As with the other scales, an average of these items was calculated.

Support for Surveillance. We designed eight items specifically for the study to measure the extent to which the participants indicated their support for surveillance of Muslims in the fictional town (e.g., “It may be a smart precaution for the police to monitor phones and emails of Muslims in Fapton”, or “It may be good to have a form of special identification system that identifies Muslims living in Fapton (such as an ID badge or a registry)”). The items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). One item was deleted from the scale due to low factor loading (.22). The final measure comprised of seven items.

Results

Zero-order correlations among the independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 2.

Main Effects of Manipulation on the Outcome Variables

Trust Towards Muslims

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed a significant omnibus effect of the three conditions on trust towards the Muslim community, $F(2, 331) = 5.74, p = .004, \eta^2 = 0.19$. We followed the omnibus effect with a planned contrast comparing each experimental condition (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption) to the control group. Contrary to the first hypothesis, the planned contrasts did not reveal significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on trust compared to the control group $t(331) = 0.80, p = .424$ (Figure 2). However, in line with the second hypothesis (H2), trust was significantly lower in the religious maintenance condition than in the control group, $t(331) = -2.43, p = .016, d = 0.27$ (Figure 2). Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* trust towards Muslims in the mainstream adoption condition than in the religious maintenance condition, $t(331) = 3.23, p = .001, d = 0.36$ (Figure 2).

Support for Surveillance

The results indicated a significant effect of the experimental manipulation on support for surveillance, $F(2, 331) = 5.33, p = .005, \eta^2 = 0.03$. However, the planned contrasts revealed no significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance compared to the control group, $t(331) = -1.95, p = .052$, or of the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(331) = 1.27, p = .206$ (Figure 3). These findings were contrary to the first and second hypotheses. However, an additional planned contrast showed that support for surveillance was significantly higher in the religious maintenance condition than in the mainstream condition, $t(331) = -3.24, p = .001, d = 0.43$ (Figure 3).

Main Effects of Manipulation on the Mediating Variables

Muslims' Loyalty to Their Own Religious Group

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant omnibus effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group, $F(2, 330) = 120.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.87$. The planned contrasts in Figure 4 revealed that the participants considered Muslims to be less loyal to their own religious group in the mainstream adoption condition compared to the control group, $t(330) = -6.88, p < .001, d = 0.76$. Additionally, Muslims in the religious maintenance condition were perceived as more loyal to their own religious group than in the control group, $t(330) = 8.45, p < .001, d = 0.93$.

Muslims' Loyalty to the U.K.

An ANOVA indicated a significant effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., $F(2, 331) = 78.86, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.68$. As displayed in Figure 5, the planned contrasts revealed that the participants' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was higher in the mainstream adoption condition than in the control group, $t(331) = 5.71, p < .001, d = 0.63$. Conversely, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(331) = -6.73, p < .001, d = 0.74$.

Effect of Loyalty Mediators on the Outcome Variables

To test whether our proposed mediators (loyalty) predicted the dependent variable, both support for surveillance and trust were regressed on loyalty to the U.K. and loyalty towards their religious group. For the model with trust as dependent variable, $F(2, 330) = 88.21, p < .001, R^2 = .33$, the results indicated a positive effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = .65, p < .001$, and a positive effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group, $\beta = .15, p = .003$.

For the model with support for surveillance as dependent variable, $F(2, 330) = 26.35$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .14$, the results indicated a negative effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = -.36$, $p < .001$, but the effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group on support for surveillance was non-significant, $\beta = .03$, $p = .597$. Hence, the third hypothesis was partially confirmed.

Mediation Analyses

Next, we tested whether the participants' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. and loyalty to their own religious group mediated the previously observed effects of the religious maintenance and mainstream adoption conditions (vs. the control group) on trust and support for surveillance. To examine mediation, we used Model 4 of the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with a bootstrap estimation approach of 5,000 random resamples for the indirect effects. The full mediation models with standardized coefficients are presented in Figures 6a and 6b.

Trust Towards Muslims

The results showed that perceived loyalty of Muslims to the U.K. mediated the negative effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = -1.13$, 95% CI [-1.51, -.77]. However, perceived loyalty of Muslims to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = .11$, 95% CI [-.11, .33].

The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted more trust in Muslims due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .95$, 95% CI [.63, 1.30], whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate this effect, indirect effect: $B = -.09$, 95% CI [-.28, .09].

Support for Surveillance

The religious maintenance condition indirectly resulted in higher support for surveillance of Muslims due to lower perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .37$, 95% CI [.23, .53], whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = .09$, 95% CI [-.03, .22].

The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted less support for surveillance due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = -.31$, 95% CI [-.47, -.17], while Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not mediate the significant effect of mainstream adoption on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = -.07$, 95% CI [-.18, .03]. Thus, in the examined mediated relationship, only Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was a significant mediator, partially confirming the fourth hypothesis.

Study 2

Methods

Participants

The target sample size for moderated mediation was based on Model 2 by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007) that describes Type I error rates and empirical power in moderated mediation models. These authors recommend a sample size of approximately 470 to 700 participants to achieve a combine power of 0.80 ($p = .05$) to detect a medium effect size of 0.40 for conditional indirect effects with two parallel mediators and two levels of the independent variable (i.e., corresponding to the contrasts we tested; Sim et al., 2022). Eight hundred and twelve participants took part in the online survey on Prolific in September 2022. Two participants were excluded due to incorrect response to the attention-check item, "What is the name of the town in the text?" (Correct answer was "Fapton"). The final sample comprised of eight hundred and ten respondents ($M_{\text{age}} = 38.95$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.45$). We screened

the survey to exclude participants who had previously taken the survey in Study 1. Sample characteristics are described in Table 3.

Procedure

The study followed the same design and included the same measures as in Study 1. See Table 4 for reliability coefficients and zero-order correlations among the independent and dependent variables. Because the support for surveillance measure was developed for this set of studies, it was important to confirm its unifactorial factor structure in this study. Indeed, the fit of the model with maximum likelihood (robust) estimator was satisfactory, $\chi^2 = 3241.403$, $p < .001$, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .15, sRMR = .03 based on the CFI and sRMR, though the RMSEA suggested a non-optimal fit. In addition, the support for surveillance scale consisting of 7 items explained 68% of the variance in a one factor solution with factor loadings from .438 to .729.

Results

Main Effects of Manipulation on the Outcome Variables

Trust Towards Muslims. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed a significant omnibus effect of the three conditions on trust towards the Muslim community, $F(1, 809) = 19.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.05$. We followed the omnibus effect with a planned contrast comparing each experimental condition (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption) to the control group. Contrary to the first hypothesis, the planned contrasts did not reveal significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on trust compared to the control group $t(809) = .22$, $p = .830$ (Figure 7). However, in line with the second hypothesis (H2), trust was significantly lower in the religious maintenance condition than in the control group, $t(809) = -5.32$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.45$ (Figure 7). Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* trust towards Muslims in the mainstream adoption condition than in the religious maintenance condition, $t(809) = 5.55$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.47$ (Figure 7).

Support for Surveillance. The results indicated a significant effect of the experimental manipulation on support for surveillance, $F(2, 799) = 18.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.05$. However, the planned contrasts revealed no significant effects of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance compared to the control group, $t(799) = .158, p = .874$. Contrary to study 1, support for surveillance was high in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(799) = 5.38, p < .001, d = 0.44$ (Figure 8) as stated in hypothesis 2. Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* support for surveillance in the religious maintenance condition than in the mainstream adoption condition, $t(799) = 5.15, p < .001, d = 0.43$ (Figure 8).

Main Effects of Manipulation on the Mediating Variables

Muslims' Loyalty to Own Religious Group. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant omnibus effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group, $F(807, 2) = 260.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.39$. The planned contrasts in Figure 9 revealed that the participants considered Muslims to be less loyal to their own religious group in the mainstream adoption condition compared to the control group, $t(807) = -10.86, p < .001, d = 0.88$. Additionally, Muslims in the religious maintenance condition were perceived as more loyal to their own religious group than in the control group, $t(807) = 11.88, p < .001, d = 1.01$.

Muslims' Loyalty to the U.K. An ANOVA indicated a significant effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., $F(2, 809) = 184.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.31$. As displayed in Figure 10, the planned contrasts revealed that the participants' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was higher in the mainstream adoption condition than in the control group, $t(809) = 10.73, p < .001, d = 0.76$. Conversely, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(809) = -6.73, p < .001, d = 0.90$.

Effect of Loyalty Mediators on the Outcome Variables

To test whether our proposed mediators (loyalty) predicted the dependent variable, both support for surveillance and trust were regressed on loyalty to the U.K. and loyalty towards their religious group. For the model with trust as dependent variable, $F(2, 807) = 218.39, p < .001, R^2 = .35$, the results indicated a positive effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = .64, p < .001$, and a positive effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group, $\beta = .13, p < .001$.

For the model with support for surveillance as dependent variable, $F(2, 799) = 67.51, p < .001, R^2 = .15$, the results indicated a negative effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims' to the U.K., $\beta = -.37, p < .001$, but the effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group on support for surveillance was non-significant, $\beta = .02, p = .647$.

Mediation Analysis

To replicate the results of Study 1, we tested whether Muslims' perceived loyalty to the U.K. and to their own religious group mediated the experimental effects of religious maintenance and mainstream adoption conditions (vs. the control group) on trust and support for surveillance. To examine mediation, we used Model 4 of the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with a bootstrap estimation approach of 5,000 random resamples for the indirect effects. The full mediation models with standardized coefficients are presented in Figures 11a and b.

Trust Towards Muslims. As in Study 1, the results showed that perceived loyalty of Muslims to the U.K. mediated a negative indirect effect of religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = -1.11, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.37, -.87]$. Also as in Study 1, Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = .09, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.03, .22]$.

As in Study 1, the mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted more trust in Muslims due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .88$, 95% CI [.67, 1.09], whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate this effect, indirect effect: $B = -.08$, 95% CI [-.20, .03].

Support for Surveillance. Replicating the results from Study 1, the analysis showed that the religious maintenance condition indirectly increased support for surveillance of Muslims due to lower perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = .30$, 95% CI [.22, .39], whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = .04$, 95% CI [-.093, .02].

The mainstream adoption condition indirectly decreased support for surveillance due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = -.24$, 95% CI [-.31, -.17]. Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = -.04$, 95% CI [-.09, .02].

Moderation Analysis for Outcome Variables

As part of Hypothesis 5, we set out to test whether a discrepancy in acculturation orientations between majority-group members and the Muslim minority would impact the mediators and dependent variables. First, we estimated the interaction between religious maintenance and majority adoption expectations of the participants and acculturation conditions presented in the vignettes (religious = 1 and mainstream = 2 vs. control group = 0) using PROCESS macro model 1. Figure 1 (bottom panels) illustrate hypotheses 5a-c in both acculturation conditions.

With respect to hypothesis 5a, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to abandon their religious culture (i.e., scoring low on religious maintenance expectations)

would in particular show distrust and support surveillance when they were described as maintaining their religious culture. The manipulation conditions are compared to the control group. The results showed a significant interaction between religious maintenance expectations and the religious maintenance condition on trust, $B = .23, p = .049, 95\% \text{ CI } [.00, .46]$. Simple slopes tests (Figure 12a) revealed that trust decreased when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture especially for participants who had a low religious maintenance expectation, $B = -1.17, p < .001, 95\% [-1.16, -.73]$. By contrast this effect was weaker when religious maintenance expectations were moderate, $B = -.86, p < .001, 95\% [-1.17, -.55]$, or high, $B = -.54, p = .017, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.99, -.10]$.

The interaction between religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* was significant for support for surveillance as well, $B = -.22, p = .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.35, -.09]$. Simple slopes showed that support for surveillance increased when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture especially when participants expected low religious maintenance, $B = .78, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.53, 1.03]$, and to less of an extent when these expectations were moderate, $B = .48, p < .001, 95\% [.30, .65]$, and not significantly at the high level of the moderator $B = .18, p = .167, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.04, .43]$ (see figure 12b). Thus, hypothesis 5a was confirmed.

Considering hypothesis 5b, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to adopt the majority culture would indicate distrust and support for surveillance when they were described as maintaining their religious culture. The results showed that the religious maintenance condition did not significantly interact with *majority adoption expectations* in a model with trust, $B = .14, p = .379, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.17, .44]$, and support for surveillance, $B = -.12, p = .153, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.29, .05]$, as the dependent variables. Thus, hypothesis 5b was not confirmed.

In Hypothesis 5c, we predicted that participants who expected Muslims to adopt the mainstream society culture would indicate more trust and less support for surveillance when the latter were described as adopting the mainstream culture. The results showed no significant interaction between the mainstream adoption condition and *majority adoption expectations* in a model with trust, $B = .23, p = .148, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.07, .53]$, and support for surveillance, $B = -.03, p = .685, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.20, .13]$, as the dependent variables. Thus, hypothesis 5c was not confirmed. See table 5 for significant and non-significant interaction effects.

Moderation Analysis for Mediation Variables

We also examined the interaction effects between the acculturation conditions and acculturation expectations (religious maintenance and majority adoption) on the mediators (i.e., the loyalty variables). The manipulation conditions (religious maintenance, and mainstream adoption) are compared to the control group.

The results showed a positive interaction between religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* on loyalty to the U.K., $B = .22, p = .014, 95\% \text{ CI } [.04, .37]$. An examination of the interaction plot (figure 12c) showed that when Muslims were described as maintaining their religious culture, lower loyalty perceptions to the U.K. were reported especially among participants with low religious maintenance expectations $B = -1.62, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.94, -1.29]$, but also when these expectations were moderate, $B = -1.32, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.55, -1.09]$, or high, $B = -1.03, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.36, -.69]$.

Lastly, the results indicated a significant negative interaction between mainstream acculturation and *mainstream adoption expectations* on loyalty towards Muslims own religious group, $B = -.28, p = .005, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.48, -.09]$. As illustrated in figure 12d, simple slopes showed that when Muslims were described as adopting the mainstream culture, this led to lower perceived loyalty to their religious group especially among participants with high

mainstream adoption expectations, $B = -1.57, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.89, -1.25]$, but also among those with moderate, $B = -1.23, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.46, -.99]$, or low expectations, $B = -.89, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.23, -.55]$.

Moderated-Mediation Analysis

As part of Hypotheses 6 and 7, we aimed to investigate whether the predicted moderated effects in hypotheses 5 a-c would be mediated by loyalty perceptions. We tested a model that has been discussed by Edwards and Lambert (2007, p. 4) as “direct effect and first stage moderation model” and by Hayes (2013) as Model 8. We depict this model in Figure 1 (top panel). Specifically, we used the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) in SPSS 28.0 (Model 8) to calculate bootstrap confidence intervals (CIs) for the indirect effect of acculturation conditions (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption versus control) on trust and support for surveillance of Muslims via the loyalty variables, conditioned upon acculturation expectations (religious maintenance and mainstream adoption expectations). No significantly moderated indirect effects were observed when comparing the mainstream adoption condition to control. All non-significant indices of moderated mediation are reported in the SOM.

Since hypothesis 5b and c did not show any significant interaction effects, we only examined moderated mediation in the relationship described in hypothesis 5a. In the moderated mediation model, the results showed that the negative indirect effect of religious maintenance condition on trust via loyalty to the U.K. was significant and strongest when *religious maintenance expectations* were low, $B = -1.07, SE = 0.13, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.33, -0.81]$, as compared to moderate, $B = -0.87, SE = 0.10, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.07, -0.68]$, and high, $B = -0.68, SE = .13, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.94, -0.44]$. The index of moderated mediation was significant, indicating a significant role of religious maintenance expectations on the indirect effects of religious maintenance condition on distrust towards Muslims through loyalty to the U.K., index: 0.14, $95\% \text{ CI } [.02, .26]$.

Finally, the positive indirect effect of the religious maintenance condition on support for surveillance via loyalty to the U.K. was significant and largest when religious maintenance expectations were low, $B = 0.25$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [.15, .36], as compared to moderate, $B = 0.20$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [.12, .30], and high, $B = 0.16$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [.08, .25]. The overall moderated mediation model was supported by the significant index of moderated mediation, -0.03 , 95% CI [-.06, -.01].

Discussion

Several studies have shown that majority-group members favor especially those minorities who tend to affiliate with the socially dominant group only (Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Rohmann et al., 2006). Focusing on the case of majority-group members' attitudes towards Muslims living in the U.K., the main goal of this research was to extend previous work (Kunst et al., 2019; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2020) by investigating the role of loyalty perceptions as underlying mechanism on the discrepancy between acculturation expectations of the majority group towards Muslims and the acculturation orientations of British Muslims with respect to their religious and majority society's cultures.

As predicted, the participants perceived Muslims as untrustworthy when they were presented as maintaining their religious culture. This finding is consistent with the public discourse in which Muslims' religious cultural affiliation often is linked with negative evaluation and unfavorable treatment by the majority society (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009; Acik & Pilkington, 2018). Supporting our predictions, this effect was mediated in both studies by a heightened perception that Muslims are disloyal to the U.K, which is in line with societal observations in the U.K. (Jackson, 2007). Terror attacks that often were generalized as being carried out by Muslims against the West, the upsurge of Muslim foreign fighters traveling to Syria and the radicalization of Muslim youth in the U.K. has led to Muslims often being considered a threat to in-group cohesion and solidarity and as disloyal members of the British

community. Because of this perception, positive intergroup attitudes have been largely replaced with biased opinions in the U.K. (Foddy et al., 2009). Our studies highlight loyalty as a process underlying these options. It showed that when Muslims were presented as adopting the mainstream culture, perceptions of loyalty to the U.K. increased thereby explaining more trust and less support for surveillance. These results support evidence from previous observations (e.g., see Poynting & Mason, 2006).

In reviewing the literature on intergroup relations in the U.K., evidence shows that British Muslims do not perceive Islam as their only form of cultural association (Ansari, 2004) and identify themselves as loyal to the U.K. (Gardham, 2009). Yet, research shows that the majority society contests this relation and often perceives Muslims' religious cultural affiliation as incompatible with the mainstream culture and particularly threatening to community cohesion (Fenton, 2007). Consistent with the literature (Dovidio et al., 2016; Hehman et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), Muslims' religious acculturation not only led to perceptions of disloyalty to the U.K. but also resulted in negative evaluation of their group. Strikingly, adopting the majority-group culture did not significantly lead to less support for surveillance and more trust among majority-group members who expected high adoption. Thus, even though majority-group members expect mainstream adoption, they do not seem to reward it.

One interesting finding is that Muslims' loyalty towards their own religious group did not significantly mediate the experimental effects. As in previous research (Kunst et al., 2019), majority-group members, thus, seem most concerned about British Muslims not being loyal to the majority group's in-group rather than fearing their loyalty to other entities.

In line with our expectations, trust decreased, and support for surveillance increased especially when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture and participants preferred them to abandon it. This finding is in line with interactive models of

acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997). Moreover, when Muslims maintained their religious culture, they were perceived as less loyal to the U.K., especially among participants who expected them to abandon this culture. This result supports evidence from previous observations, which state that majority group members favor minorities who share similar values and other cultural similarities with the majority group (Bloom et al., 2015). When the participants expected Muslims to adopt the mainstream culture and they read about Muslims who adopted the British culture, they considered them as reducing their loyalty to their religious culture, which is often perceived as incompatible with the British culture (Mend, 2015). Thus, even though this manipulation did not describe that Muslims who adopted the mainstream culture give up their religious culture, participants appeared to assume this (but see a discussion regarding limitations of the vignettes below).

By conducting pre-registered moderated mediation tests, we attained deeper insights into the process and conditions of the intergroup relationship between Muslims and the majority society in the U.K by adding loyalty variables to the equation. Specifically, we found that when Muslims were described as maintaining their religious culture, trust decreased, and support for surveillance increased mediated by perceptions of disloyalty and especially so among participants who wanted Muslims to give up their religious culture. These results again show that Muslims' religious cultural affiliation is perceived as disloyalty to the majority country (Meer & Modood, 2009; Pew Global Attitudes, 2006), but also that this influences intergroup attitudes especially among those with unwelcoming acculturation expectations. Indeed, in the U.K., Muslims' religious and British identity are often discussed as two competing dimensions (Field, 2013). The emergence of extremist Islam in the U.K. has brought to the fore Muslims' assumed conflict of loyalties between their religion and country of residence, leading to biased responses from the majority society (Ajala, 2014).

Limitations and Future Directions

Some limitations of the present research should be noted. We used an online survey panel platform to recruit participants in both studies. This method allowed us to attain an adequate sample size of majority-group members in the U.K. within a time frame as determined by the power analysis. However, the samples are not representative of British society, thus, limiting the generalizability of the results. Future studies may aim to replicate our findings with more representative samples to address this issue. Another limitation of online experiments is their often limited ecological validity. The present research measured majority society's attitudes towards a Muslim group residing in a fictional town. The use of a real-world example of a Muslim community may have led to different results.

We also would like to note that one of the measures used in the present research (i.e., the support for surveillance measure) was developed specifically for this study. Although it showed high reliability and its validity was supported by factor analysis in two studies, the mean on the scale was somewhat low. Also, the scale showed satisfactory fit on one of three fit indices, highlighting the need to improve it further. Future research may compare the scale to established scales or try to further adjust items to achieve a more normally distributed response distribution.

While we established causal effects of the experimental intervention, the association between the mediators and dependent variables was correlational. Thus, to establish causality between all constructs, experimental designs that assign participants randomly to various levels of the mediators may be beneficial.

Another potential limitation of the present research might be the lack of a manipulation check item. While the experiment included an attention check item,

manipulation checks could for instance have helped assessing whether both experimental conditions had similarly strong effects on perceived acculturation orientations.

The vignettes presented Muslims' acculturation orientations with respect to religious culture or British culture. It was designed to not describe Muslims' choosing one of the four acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, assimilation separation or marginalization; Berry, 1997) or dual vs. common identification. Still, it seems as if participants inferred separation from the religious culture maintenance condition and assimilation from the mainstream culture adoption condition, but this could not be directly tested. Such an inference could have been the results of formulations about Muslims "preferring" certain things (e.g., partners, friends) from one culture. Moreover, the term "Muslims" may in the host culture adoption condition have suggested that participants maintained their religious culture, thereby mirroring integration. Therefore, future research may try to further refine the vignettes to avoid confounds between acculturation strategies and orientations. We also recommend future research to test the effect of the four different acculturation strategies separately.

Societal Implications

The findings of this study have several important practical implications. They suggest several courses of action for interventions that aim to minimize the gap that has been created between the majority society and the Muslim community in the U.K. after 9/11 and 7/7. The fictional texts presented Muslims in scenarios in which they engaged in their religious culture or mainstream British culture. It did not state that these Muslims only preferred one of both cultures across the different domains (as in separation or assimilation), yet we acknowledge that some formulations in some domains (e.g., friendship, partner choice) could give that impression. The texts also did not present Muslims as posing a direct threat or risk to the socially dominant group. Nevertheless, reading the religious maintenance text led to more perceived disloyalty to the U.K. and elicited negative responses from the participants.

In a polarized society where anti-Muslim hostility and vengeance attacks between the majority and Muslim minority are increasing, policymakers are advised to implement interventions that help overcome the notion that Muslims are disloyal to the society in which they live. To reduce distrust and suspicion of British Muslims who adhere to their religious culture and to increase understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims, the deep-rooted assumption of a “clash of civilizations,” where Islamic practices are viewed as incompatible with Western democracy, should be challenged. The depiction of Western Muslims as a “fifth column,” “an enemy within” (Akbarzadeh & Roose, 2011), or a disloyal traitor attempting to support and enforce their religious culture in the U.K. (Bordelon, 2015) should be contested.

Instead, multicultural policies, allowing Muslims to incorporate their religious practices into their British identities, instead of perceiving them as competing entities, should be encouraged. For that purpose, the state, policy makers, social scientists, and media, while recognizing Muslims as British citizens, should work to replace the widespread perception that Muslims’ religious affiliation is an alternative or incompatible identity to British identity. As British Muslims also demonstrate, by participating in various fields in democratic ways as citizens of the U.K. (Archer, 2009; Malik, 2009), affiliation with their religious culture does not mean disloyalty to their British identity. It is important to emphasize that narratives, which set up Muslims’ religious identities and loyalty to the majority society as two opposing parts, are not only excluding British Muslims from the mainstream society but also tend to weaken the basis of a democratic and egalitarian British society. Therefore, institutions, government officials and policy makers should recognize the increasingly stern intergroup conflict and project measures that aim to diminish the negative consequences of the perceived otherness of British Muslims (Parekh, 2006; Adida et al., 2010).

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Figure 1.

Schematic representation of the direct effect and first stage moderated mediation model (top panel) and the first stage moderated mediation model in the religious maintenance condition (bottom left panel) and mainstream adoption condition (bottom right panel) tested in Study 1 and 2.

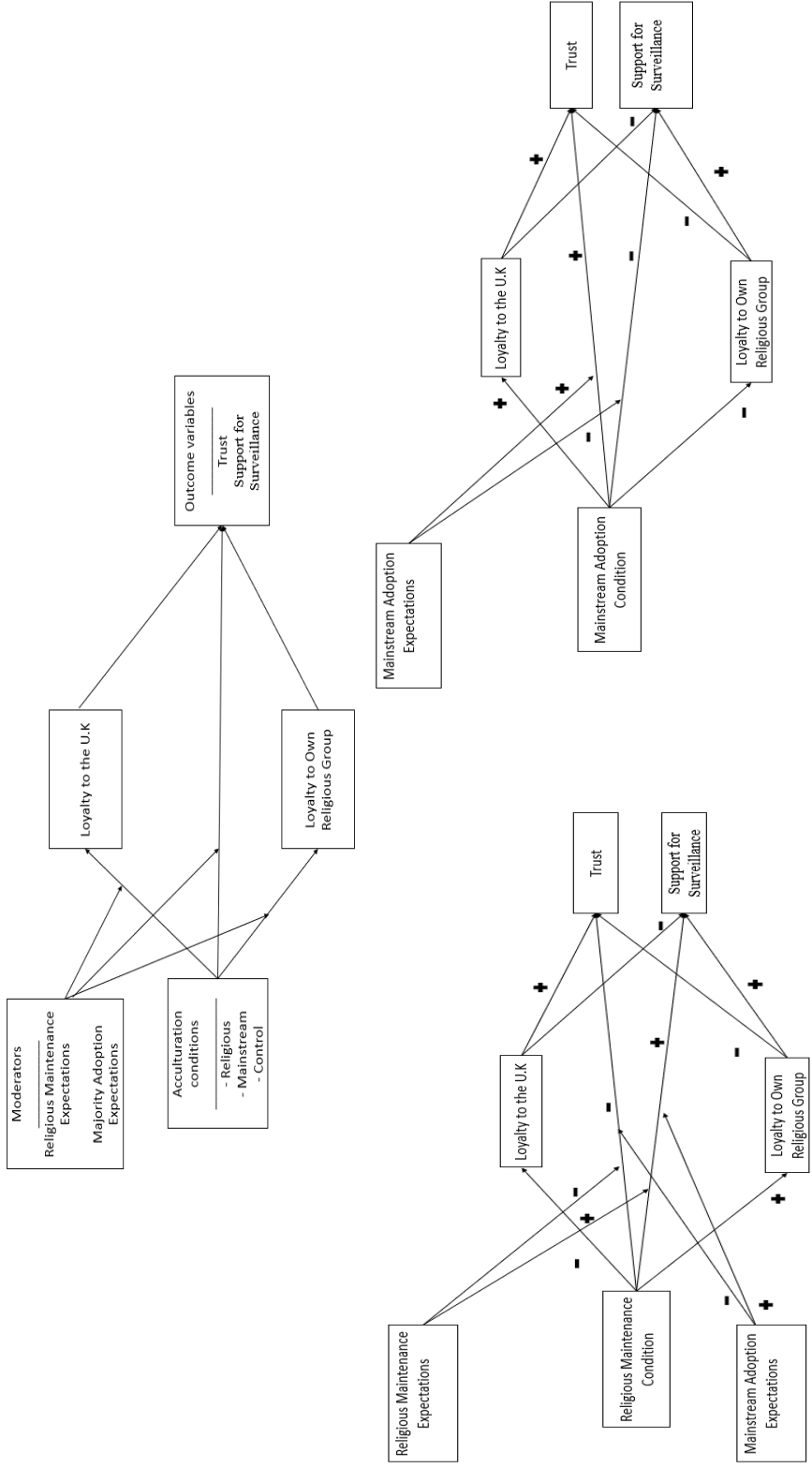
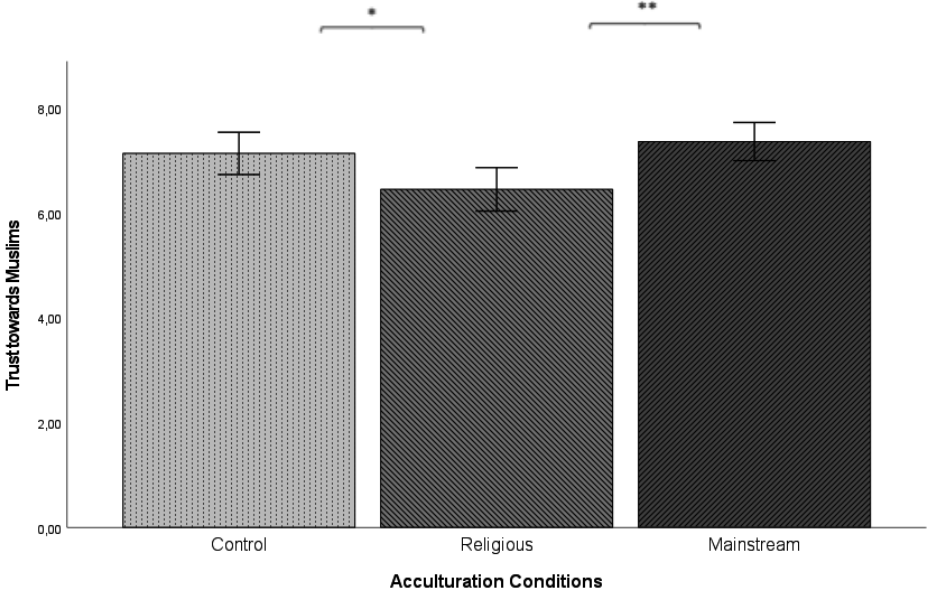


Figure 2

Effects of Experimental Manipulation on Trust in Study 1



Note: Error Bars represent 95% Confidence Intervals.*p<.05, **p<.01

Figure 3

Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Support for Surveillance in Study 1.

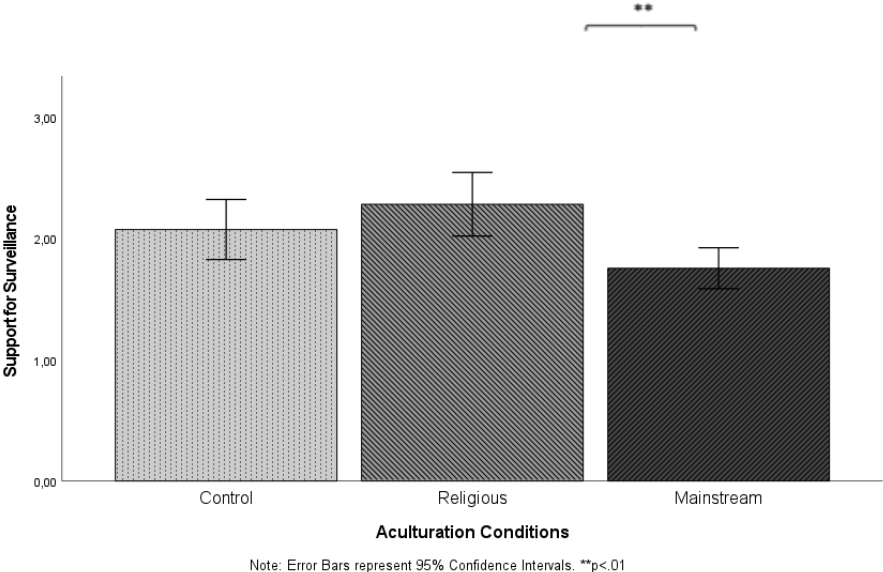
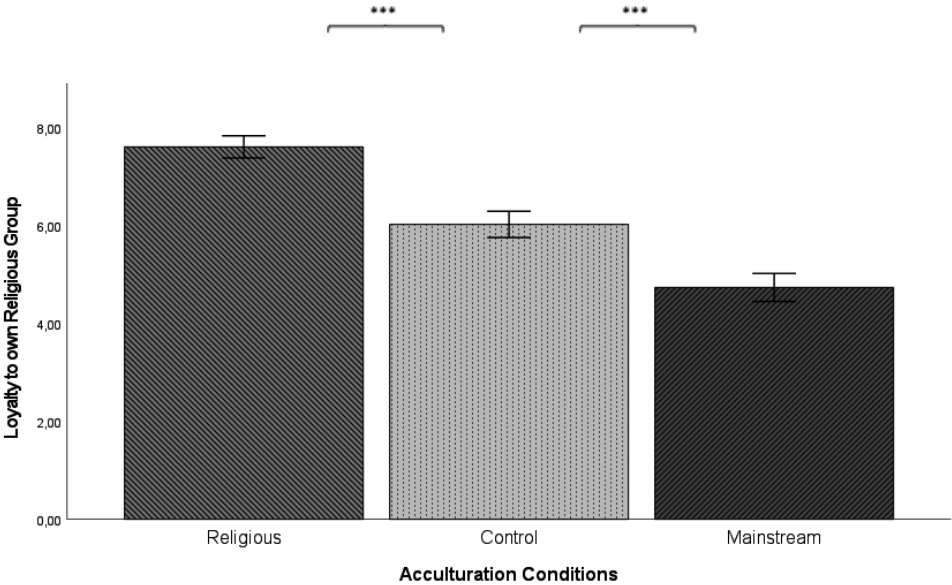


Figure 4

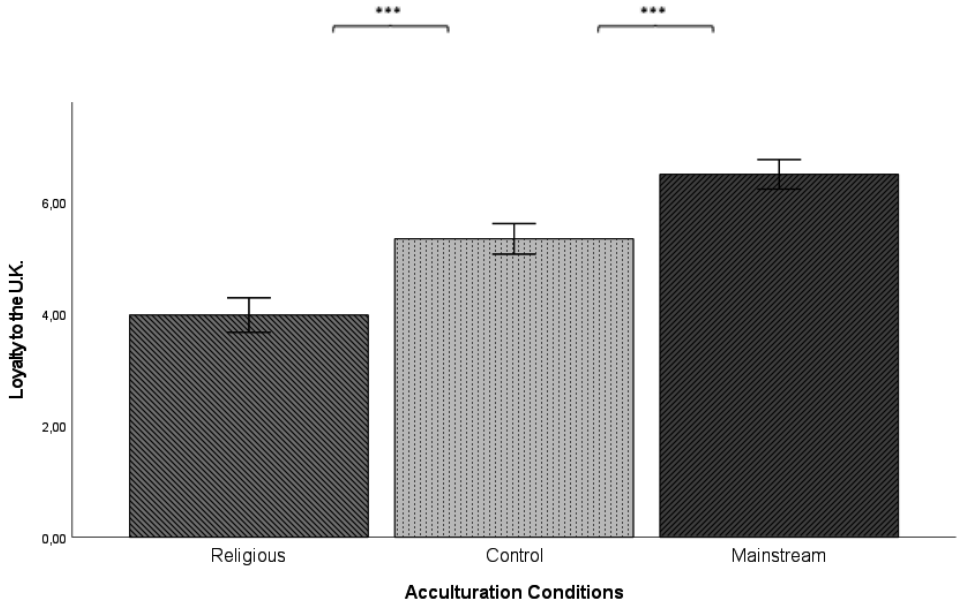
Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Loyalty to own religious group in Study 1.



Note: Error Bars represent 95% Confidence Intervals. ***p<.001

Figure 5

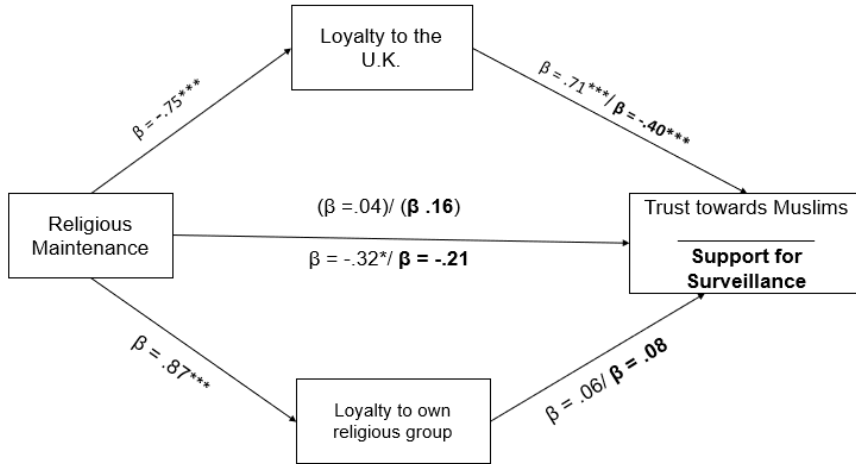
Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Loyalty to the U.K in Study 1.



Note: Error Bars represent 95% Confidence Intervals. ***p<.001

Figure 6a

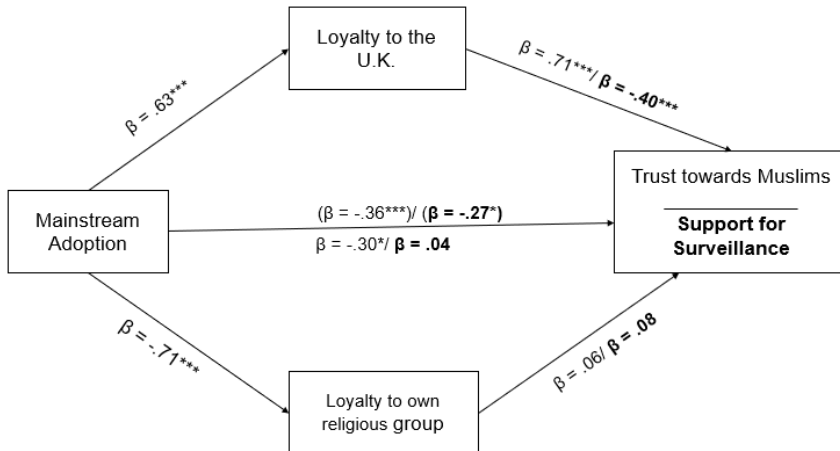
Mediation Model in Study 1



Note. The estimates in parentheses represent the direct effects before mediators were added to the model. Estimates are standardized. Paths displayed in bold are for the variable support for surveillance. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Figure 6b

Mediation Model in Study 1.



Note. The estimates in parentheses represent the direct effects before mediators were added to the model. Estimates are standardized. Paths displayed in bold are for the variable support for surveillance. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Figure 7

Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Trust towards Muslims in Study 2.

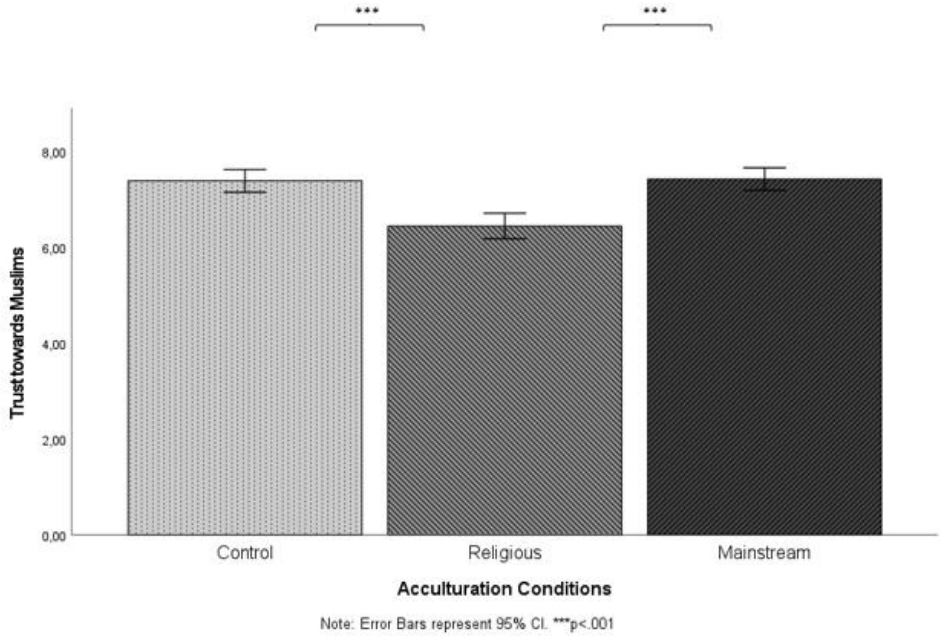


Figure 8

Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Support for Surveillance in Study 2.

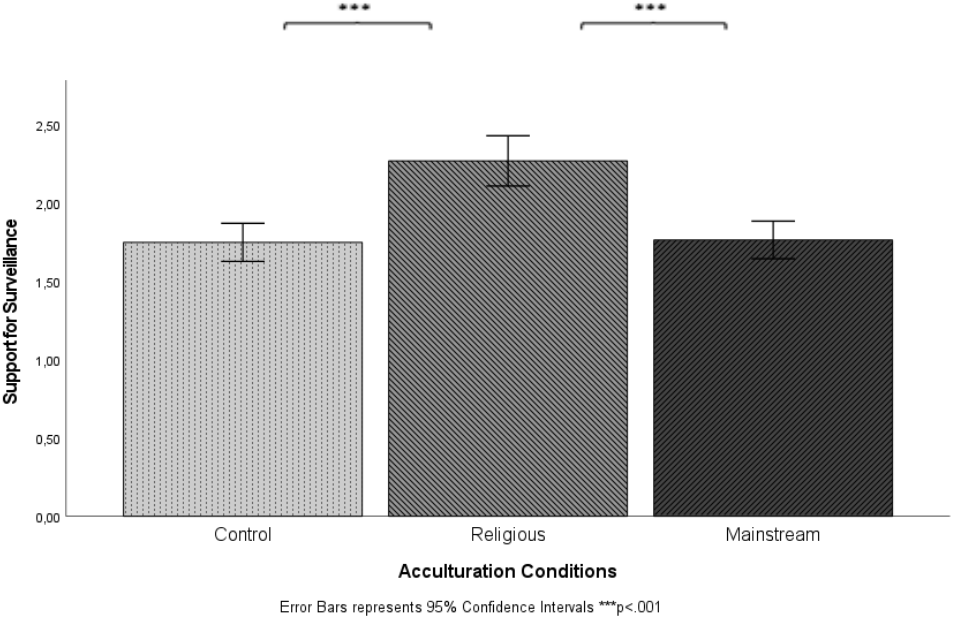


Figure 9

Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Loyalty towards own Religious Group in Study 2.

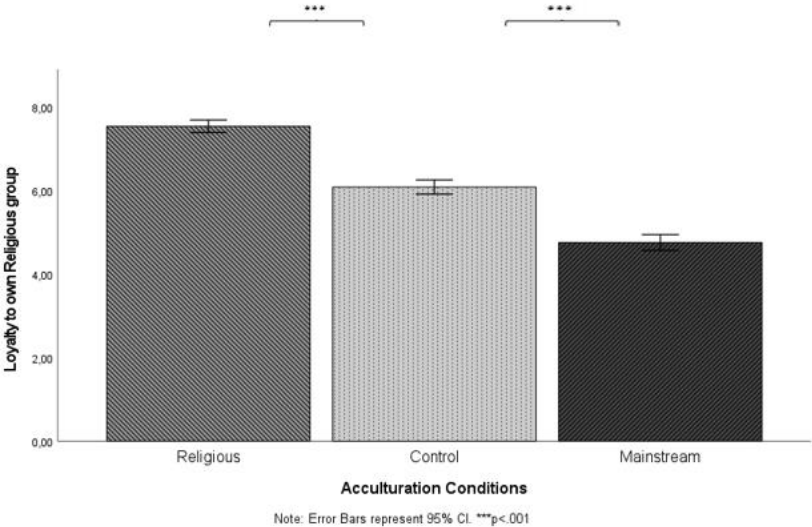


Figure 10

Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Loyalty to the U.K. in Study 2.

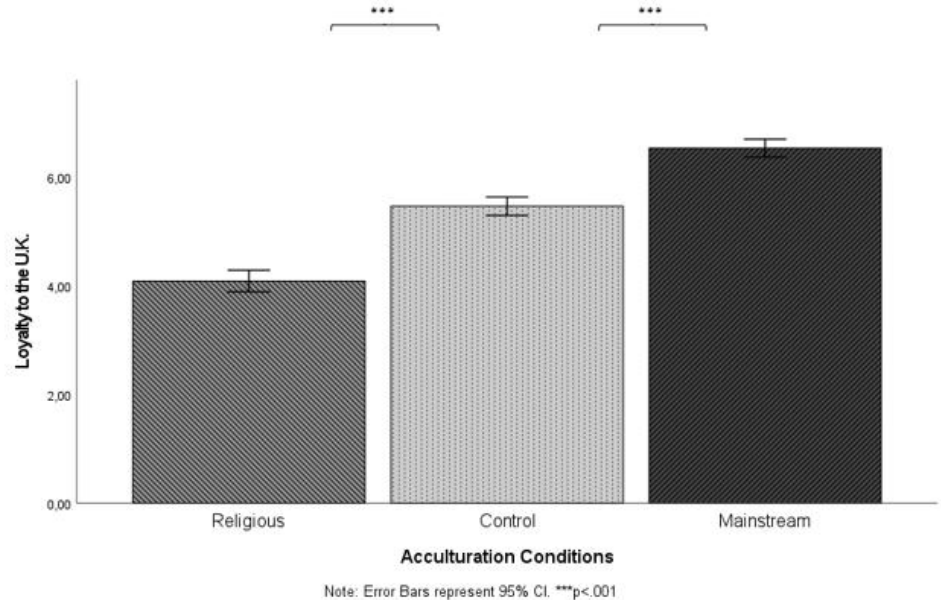
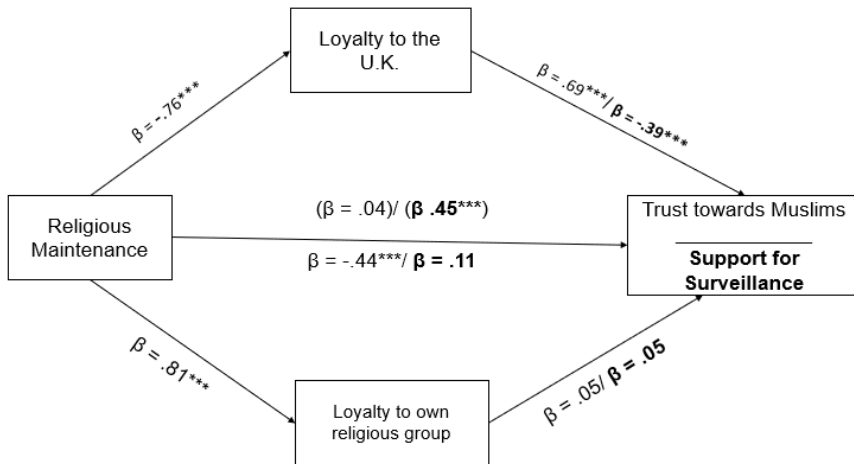


Figure 11a

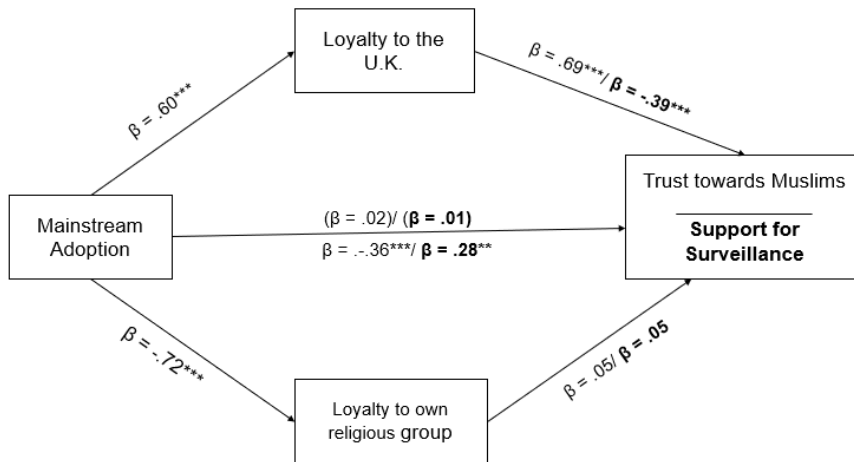
Mediation Model in Study 2.



Note. The estimates in parentheses represent the direct effects before mediators were added to the model. Estimates are standardized. Paths displayed in bold are for the variable support for surveillance. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Figure 11b

Mediation Model in Study 2.



Note. The estimates in parentheses represent the direct effects before mediators were added to the model. Estimates are standardized. Paths displayed in bold are for the variable support for surveillance. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Figure 12a

The interaction of religious maintenance condition and religious maintenance expectations (compared to control condition) on trust towards Muslims. The simple effects are presented in the figure at ± 1 standard deviation around the mean of the moderator (religious maintenance expectations) for the sake of presentation.

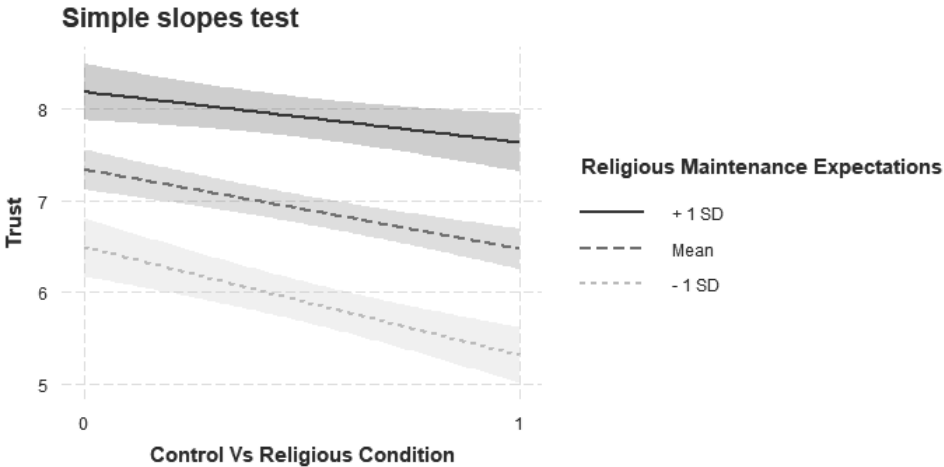


Figure 12b

The interaction of religious maintenance condition and religious maintenance expectations (compared to control condition) on support for surveillance. The simple effects are presented in the figure at ± 1 standard deviation around the mean of the moderator (religious maintenance expectations) for the sake of presentation.

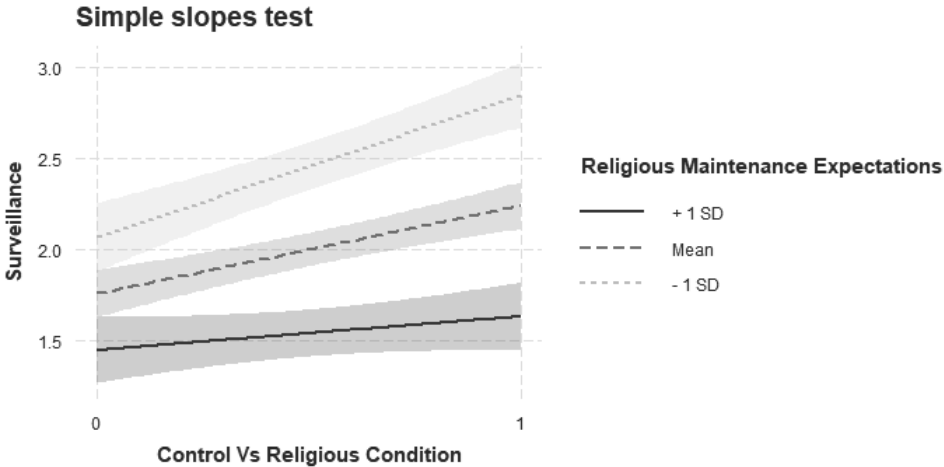


Figure 12c

The interaction of religious maintenance condition and religious maintenance expectations (compared to control condition) on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. The simple effects are presented in the figure at ± 1 standard deviation around the mean of the moderator (religious maintenance expectations) for the sake of presentation.

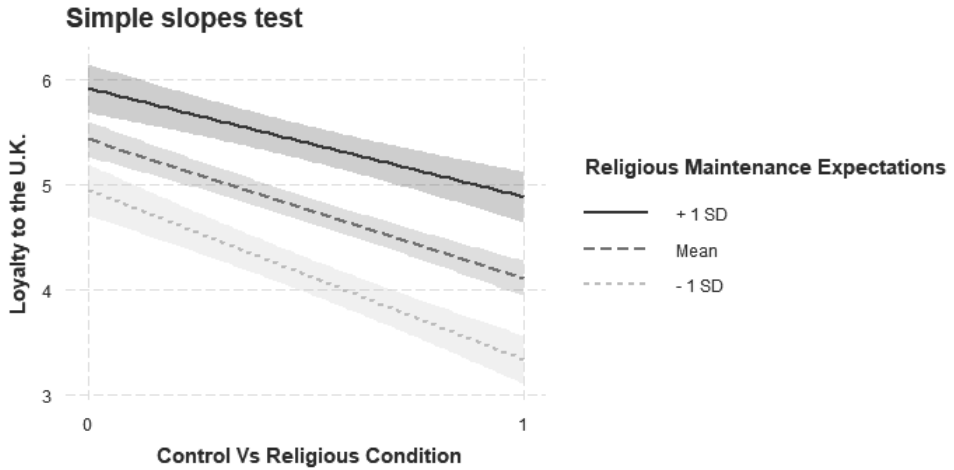


Figure 12d

The interaction of mainstream adoption condition and mainstream adoption expectations (compared to control condition) on perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to own religious group. The simple effects are presented in the figure at ± 1 standard deviation around the mean of the moderator (mainstream adoption expectations) for the sake of presentation.

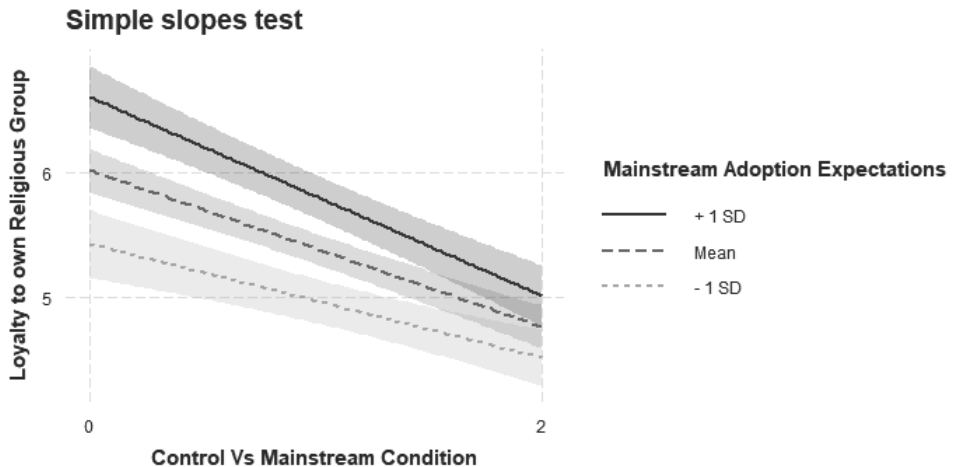


Table 1*Demographic variables of the sample in Study 1(N = 334)*

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| Age (<i>M, SD</i>) | 37.48 (12.54) |
| Gender women in % | 52.9 |
| Employment % | |
| Unemployed | 17.3 |
| Employed | 74.3 |
| Retired | 8.4 |
| Religious orientation % | |
| None | 71.2 |
| Christianity | 21.6 |
| Other | 7.2 |
| Area of living % | |
| City | 29.6 |
| Suburb | 53.6 |
| Rural | 16.8 |
| Education % | |
| Primary | 1.2 |
| A-levels | 41.9 |
| University | 56.0 |
| Other | 0.9 |
| Income % | |
| Below U.K. average | 35.2 |
| Average | 53.0 |
| Above U.K. average | 11.7 |

Note. The remaining missing percentages corresponds to missing responses.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Across the Experimental Conditions in Study 1 (N = 334).

| Variable | Mean | SD | α | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|------|------|----------|---|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. Religious Maintenance Expectations | 6.21 | 1.44 | .92 | 1 | .36** | .33** | .08 | .50** | -.36** |
| 2. Majority Adoption Expectations | 7.05 | 1.19 | .89 | | 1 | .03 | .23** | .04 | .03 |
| 3. Muslims' Loyalty to the U.K. | 5.27 | 1.82 | .95 | | | 1 | -.47** | .58** | -.38** |
| 4. Muslims' Loyalty to own Religious Group | 6.11 | 1.82 | .95 | | | | 1 | -.16** | -.20** |
| 5. Trust towards Muslims | 6.98 | 2.13 | .86 | | | | | 1 | -.54** |
| 6. Support for Surveillance | 2.03 | 1.23 | .92 | | | | | | 1 |

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3*Demographic variables of the sample (N = 810) in Study 2*

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| Age (<i>M, SD</i>) | 38.95 (13.45) |
| Gender women in % | 55.4 |
| Employment % | |
| Unemployed | 16.0 |
| Employed | 74.6 |
| Retired | 9.1 |
| Religious orientation % | |
| None | 61.0 |
| Christianity | 32.4 |
| Other | 6.0 |
| Area of living % | |
| City | 28.0 |
| Suburb | 53.1 |
| Rural | 18.6 |
| Education % | |
| Primary | 0.9 |
| A-levels | 42.8 |
| University | 55.4 |
| Other | 0.9 |
| Income % | |
| Below U.K. average | 37.2 |
| Average | 51.4 |
| Above U.K. average | 10.7 |

Note. The remaining missing percentages corresponds to missing responses.

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Across the Experimental Conditions in Study 2 (N = 810).

| Variable | Mean | SD | α | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|--|------|------|----------|---|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. Religious Maintenance Expectations | 6.31 | 1.37 | .91 | 1 | .44** | .35** | .07 | .44** | -.34** |
| 2. Majority Adoption Expectations | 7.03 | 1.19 | .90 | | 1 | .05 | .21** | .05 | .08* |
| 3. Muslims' Loyalty to the U.K. | 5.35 | 1.79 | .95 | | | 1 | -.45** | .58** | -.38** |
| 4. Muslims' Loyalty to own Religious Group | 6.11 | 1.82 | .95 | | | | 1 | -.16** | .18** |
| 5. Trust towards Muslims | 7.07 | 2.10 | .87 | | | | | 1 | -.54** |
| 6.. Support for Surveillance | 2.17 | 1.14 | .92 | | | | | | 1 |

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5
Moderation model coefficients in Study 2.

| Variables | Trust | | | Support for Surveillance | | | Loyal to the U.K. | | | Loyal to own religious group | | |
|--|---------|-----|-----------------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------|-------------------|-----|-----------------|------------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| | B | SE | ΔR ² | B | SE | ΔR ² | B | SE | ΔR ² | B | SE | ΔR ² |
| Intercept | 7.38*** | .13 | | 1.75*** | .06 | | 5.45*** | .08 | | 6.00*** | .08 | |
| Religious maintenance condition | -.94*** | .17 | | .48*** | .09 | | -1.32*** | .12 | | 1.55*** | .12 | |
| Mainstream Adoption Condition | -.04*** | .07 | | .02 | .09 | | 1.07*** | .12 | | -1.24*** | .12 | |
| Religious maintenance expectations | .62*** | .08 | | -.23*** | .05 | | .36*** | .06 | | .25** | .06 | |
| Mainstream Adoption Expectations | -.08 | .12 | | .12 | .06 | | -.02*** | .08 | | .49*** | .08 | |
| Religious maintenance condition X Religious maintenance expectations | .23* | .12 | .01 | -.22** | .07 | .18*** | .22** | .09 | .01*** | -.18 | .09 | .003 |
| Mainstream Adoption Condition X Religious Maintenance Expectations | -.08 | .12 | | .07 | .07 | | -.12 | .09 | | -.16 | .09 | |
| Religious maintenance condition X mainstream adoption expectations | .14 | .16 | .03* | -.12 | .09 | .05 | -.03 | .11 | .01* | -.13 | .10 | .01* |
| Mainstream Adoption condition X Mainstream Adoption Expectations | .22 | .15 | | -.03 | .09 | | .21 | .11 | | -.28*** | .10 | |

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001



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Cultural similarity predicts social inclusion of Muslims in Canada: A vignette-based experimental survey

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Based on acculturation psychology and intergroup emotions theory, the current experimental study assessed the effects of Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies by the majority group on social exclusion of Muslims in Canada, and to what extent religious resentment mediated the relationship between Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies and social exclusion. The experimental study used a vignette-based approach. This model was examined among 190 non-Muslim Canadians. Results showed that when Muslims were viewed as assimilated in Canadian society, social exclusion of Muslims and religious resentment toward Muslims decreased. Furthermore, religious resentment mediated the association between Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies and social exclusion only when Muslims were perceived as assimilated. Our findings suggest that Canadian majority-group members indicated positive attitude toward Muslims when they were identified as assimilated in Canadian society. Results are discussed in terms of implications for future studies and intergroup relations.

KEYWORDS

acculturation, intergroup emotions theory, social exclusion, Canada, Muslims

Introduction

Continuous immigration from Muslim majority countries has changed the religious landscape of Canadian society. In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the majority group members' attitudes toward this new transformation have increasingly taken the shape of anti-Muslim sentiments (Yogasingam, 2017). The Islamic belief system, culture, and values are viewed as inconsistent with western norms (Litchmore and Safdar, 2015), while the religious affiliation and adherence of Muslim minorities is considered as a barrier in their societal integration (Foner and Alba, 2008). Based on their religious affiliation, political and public discussions have continuously focused on the cultural orientation of Muslims, i.e., whether Muslims prefer to integrate, assimilate, marginalize,

or separate in their respective societies, which in academic research are referred as acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997). For Muslim minorities, their religious identity is an important element of their self-concept, a source of meaning-making, and cultural continuity (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Research points out that even though most Muslims living in the West prefer to integrate or assimilate (e.g., Sam et al., 2016), the association of Muslims with terrorism and extremism in media and public debates, together with violent crimes orchestrated by radicalized Muslims in western societies have given rise to feelings of resentment toward the Muslim community because this association has increasingly generated views that the Muslim community prefers separation as acculturation strategy (Strelan and Lawani, 2010). Thus, anti-Muslim sentiments and rhetoric in western societies have been closely associated with the social exclusion of the Muslim community from the majority society (Yogasingam, 2017).

Against this backdrop, the present experimental study draws on theories of acculturation (Berry, 1997) and intergroup emotions (Smith, 1993), and attempts to examine the effects of Muslims' acculturation strategies as perceived by majority group members on the social exclusion of Muslims explained by religious resentment. In doing so, this study aims to contribute to the existing literature on the association between acculturation strategies and intergroup relations.

Negative out-group behavior due to unsimilar acculturation strategies

Acculturation is defined as a cultural and psychological change and adaptation over time when individuals from different backgrounds come into firsthand contact with each other (Berry, 1997). The four-fold model of acculturation proposed by Berry (1997) establishes four strategies undertaken by individuals in their new society of living. *Integration* occurs when individuals are willing to adopt the culture of the majority society and at the same time, they maintain their cultural heritage. *Assimilation* is the adaption of the majority society's culture while abandoning heritage culture. *Separation* refers to the preservation of cultural heritage and rejection of the dominant society's culture. Finally, the *marginalization* category applies to individuals who reject both the majority society and heritage cultures. Several studies have shown that integration and assimilation are associated with the best social and psychological adaptation of minority members (Zagefka and Brown, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Nguyen and Benet-Martinez, 2013). However, numerous studies have demonstrated that majority group members tend to favor minority group members who share similar values, attitudes, and cultural similarities as them, yielding positive attitudes and behavioral outcomes, such as social inclusion, from majority group members (Bloom et al., 2015). This preference for

similarity is also evident in many studies which indicate that majority group members prefer assimilation for immigrants, while they believe that immigrants prefer to maintain their heritage culture only, or choose separation as an acculturation strategy (see e.g., van Oudenhoven and Eisses, 1998; Verkuyten and Thijs, 2002; Florack et al., 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Pfafferot and Brown, 2006; van Oudenhoven et al., 2006; Safdar et al., 2017; Safdar and van de Vijver, 2019). Indeed, several studies have revealed that when majority group members perceive minorities as preferring intergroup contact as an acculturation strategy, they show positive attitudes and behavior toward them (Zagefka et al., 2009; Matera et al., 2011, 2012, 2015). Furthermore, research suggests that minorities' perceived preference for assimilation may reduce perceptions of intergroup emotions in the form of resentment and dislike among majority group members, which may arise as a negative outcome of intergroup relations (Stephan et al., 1999).

In addition, individuals tend to maintain a positive affiliation with their own group by perceiving their group membership positively. Thus, minority group members who choose to assimilate are perceived as respectful and non-threatening by majority group members because the discrepancy between the acculturation strategy preferred by the majority group members for the minority group, and the acculturation strategy adopted by the minority group is low (see for e.g., Grigoryev and van de Vijver, 2018). On the other hand, minority group members who do not share cultural values with the majority society are viewed as dissimilar due to discord of acculturation strategies, generating unfavorable attitudes and treatment, such as social exclusion, from majority group members (Safdar et al., 2008; Kunst and Sam, 2014).

Resentment and intergroup behavior

Intergroup emotions theory (IET) developed by Smith (1993) focuses on the role of emotions in intergroup behavior. The theory explains that when people identify with an important social group, group membership becomes an important part of the psychological self and the group attains emotional significance for these individuals. Consequently, a minority group is evaluated according to the social significance they have for the majority group, generating certain intergroup emotions (Seger et al., 2016). Numerous studies have established the direct relationship between emotions and biased intergroup behavior (Stangor et al., 1991; Talaska et al., 2008). Existing literature has also demonstrated that emotions indirectly affect the link between acculturation preferences and negative behavioral tendencies toward minorities, specifically among majority group members, while a few examined the mediating role of emotions on the relationship between acculturation preferences and biased behavior from a majority and minority perspective (Smith and Ellsworth, 1985; Mackie et al., 2000; Zick et al., 2001;

Zagefka et al., 2014; Lopez-Rodriguez and Navas, 2016; Olsson et al., 2019). Studies have shown that resentment, as an intergroup emotion, is associated with unfavorable views of minorities within a society (Kinder, 2012). Literature also points out that individuals that are resentful toward minorities tend to perceive high cultural discrepancy and associate the discordance of acculturation attitudes with social inequality (Henry and Sears, 2002). Indeed, high levels of resentment are associated with out-group blaming and negative action tendencies such as violence and social exclusion of minorities (Sieckelinck et al., 2019).

Studies indicate that Islam is viewed as a terroristic threat in European societies (Doosje et al., 2009). Muslims' religious affiliation and their presence are linked with a higher prevalence of terrorist attacks (Hellevik, 2020), which may give rise to resentment among majority group members toward the Muslim minority. Several studies have supported this association. Bakker-Simonsen and Bonikowski (2020) revealed in their study that Muslims' religious affiliation was linked with social exclusion in 41 European countries due to feelings of anger and dislike toward Muslims' religiosity. In the United Kingdom, a study by Helbling and Traummuller (2020) showed that the majority group members' negative views toward Muslims were the result of a rejection of Muslims' religious behavior, which was perceived as a danger to national security and considered as unfit with the democratic values of the British society. A German study by Wallrich et al. (2020) concludes that negative sentiments toward Muslims in Germany were stronger amongst majority group members than negative views against immigrants in general due to their religious behavior.

In this paper, we argue that the Canadian majority group may exhibit religious resentment toward the Muslim community. Even though Islamic inspired terrorism threat is low in Canada compared to the United States, research shows that the majority of Canadians view homegrown Islamic terrorism as a major threat to society (Angus Reid Institute, 2014), and public debates cement Islamic values and Canadian values to be incompatible (Campana and Tanner, 2019). In addition, as Canada shares political, economic, and social ties with the United States, terrorist attacks conducted by radicalized members of the Muslim community in the U. S may have evoked emotional reactions among Canadian majority group members. These experiences of negative emotions may foster resentment toward Muslims' religious practices in majority group members resulting in negative action tendencies such as the social exclusion of Muslims. In this study, we examined resentment toward Muslims based on their religious affiliation. Religious resentment refers to the degree to which majority group members indicate feelings of anger and dislike toward Muslims due to their religious affiliation. We choose to focus particularly on feelings of resentment toward Muslims and their religious affiliation because studies show that negative out-group behavior is predicted by high levels of resentment and

anger (see Mackie et al., 2000). Therefore, since we expected majority group members to socially exclude Muslims due to their religious behavior (Barlow et al., 2019), we examined the effects of resentment as a mediator on the perceived religious acculturation of Muslims in this experimental study.

Muslims in Canada

Canadian Muslims consist of 3.2% of Canada's total population and belong to diverse ethnic groups (Statistics Canada, 2016). Officially, Canada became a multicultural country in 1971 when the government adopted a multiculturalism policy through the multicultural act of 1988 (Wood and Gilbert, 2005), which refers to recognizing and valuing political pluralism, and the coexistence of a diverse society as a part of the Canadian identity. However, even though the notion of multiculturalism has been an internationally admirable characteristic of Canadian society, the events of 9/11 challenged this idea intensifying anti-Muslim hate crimes, surveillance of the Muslim community, ethnic profiling by law enforcement, discrimination at jobs, and restrictions on travel within and outside of Canada. As neighbors that share geographical borders, Canada has longstanding economic, political, and social ties with the United States. That is why the terrorist attacks of September 11, San Bernardino in 2015, and the Orlando nightclub shooting in 2016, to name a few, occurred on American soil, impacted Canada, as well as the rest of the world. Consequently, public perceptions of Muslims as law-abiding citizens were replaced with Muslims as intolerant and violent terrorists. In addition, despite being successfully integrated and represented in Canadian society in the media, and in various public and private institutions, Muslims were perceived as resistant to integration, while their lack of social and economic engagement was partly attributed to failed multiculturalism policy (Kazemipur, 2014). Moreover, Canadian Muslims came under intense scrutiny and received increased state attention due to the American Muslim ban and visa restrictions from citizens of Muslim majority countries in 2017 (Elkassem et al., 2018).

The present research

The purpose of this research is to delve into the Canadian experience with the Muslim minorities with respect to their acculturation strategies as perceived by the majority society and their effects on the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society. In a multicultural society, maintaining heritage culture as well as contact with the mainstream society's culture is not only encouraged, but also linked with positive intergroup relations (Kunst and Sam, 2014).

Therefore, the aim of the present study is to examine which acculturation strategies will yield unfavorable outcomes from the majority society. In this way, we tend to explore factors that can contribute to intergroup relations and conflicts, which may influence the relationship between the majority group, and the Muslim minority group in Canada.

Acculturation research commonly focuses on minorities' heritage culture and the culture of the majority society. In the present research, we examined acculturation in terms of *religious* and the *majority* society's cultural association because religion is considered an important part of self-identity for Muslims living in western countries (Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2007; Bloom et al., 2015).

Literature suggests that deep-rooted negative attitudes toward an out-group developed through experiences of negative associations are strongly linked with modern, subtle forms of hostile behavior, which may manifest through feelings of resentment toward the out-group (Vollhardt and Bilali, 2015). Muslims in the West have been labeled as barbaric and intolerant than other religious groups, and their religious cultural practices are constructed at odds with western norms and values, predominantly as a consequence of incidents of violence conducted by radicalized members of the Muslim community (Litchmore and Safdar, 2015). Thus, considering these dismaying circumstances we aim to examine attitudes supporting the social exclusion of Muslims by incorporating religious resentment as a mediating factor. The study tends to ascertain the extent to which majority-group members' feelings of religious resentment toward Muslims mediate the relationship between Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies and social exclusion endorsed by the majority group.

Hypotheses

Muslims' religious values are constantly perceived as inconsistent with western democratic values, whereas research shows that in a European context, majority-group members may show favorable attitudes toward immigrants who prefer to assimilate and integrate into the host society. Public, political, and media debates have negatively framed Muslims' religious cultural practices and religious acculturation attitudes in Canada in recent years, reflecting the European trend (McCoy et al., 2016). Based on this reasoning, we propose that,

H1: When Muslims are perceived as choosing assimilation and integration as acculturation strategies the participants will not endorse social exclusion of Muslims, whereas when Muslims are perceived as choosing separation and marginalization as acculturation strategies the participants will support social exclusion of Muslims.

Next, feelings of religious resentment toward Muslims in Canada will reflect when Muslims are presented to choose separation and marginalization, but not when Muslims are presented to prefer assimilation or integration as acculturation strategies (Henry and Sears, 2002):

H2: When Muslims are perceived as choosing assimilation and integration as acculturation strategies, the participants will show less religious resentment toward Muslims. Contrarily, when Muslims are perceived as choosing separation and marginalization as acculturation strategies the participants will indicate high levels of religious resentment toward Muslims.

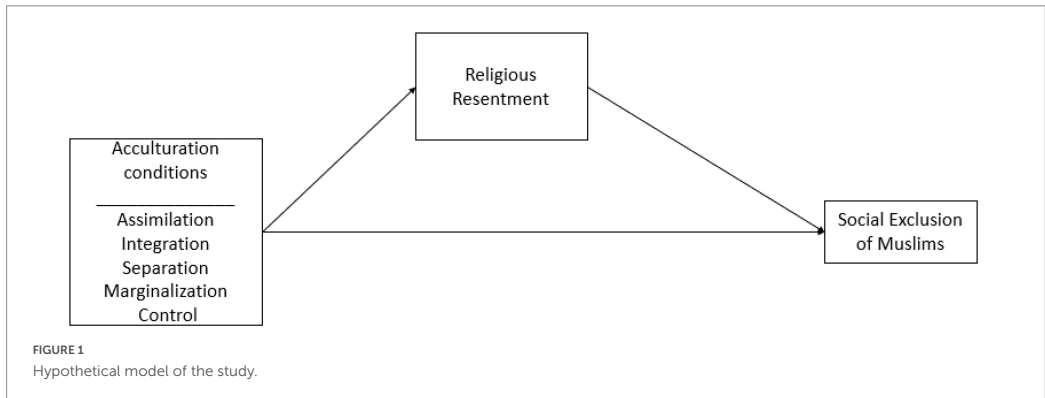
As we expected participants in the assimilation and integration conditions to indicate low levels of religious resentment, while participants in the separation and marginalization conditions are expected to show high levels of religious resentment, we also expect the acculturation strategies to have indirect effects on social exclusion of Muslims mediated by religious resentment.

H3: When Muslims are presented as assimilated or integrated in Canadian society, religious resentment toward Muslims will decrease, which in turn is expected to decrease the social exclusion of Muslims. On the contrary, when Muslims are presented as separated and marginalized, religious resentment toward Muslims will increase, which in turn will increase the social exclusion of Muslims (Figure 1).

Materials and methods

Participants

An *a priori* power analysis by GPower 3.1 (for a full description, see Faul et al., 2009) with power (1 - β) set at 0.80 and $\alpha = 0.05$, two-tailed to observe a small effect size (0.02) suggested a sample size of ninety respondents for linear multiple regression analyses for a fixed model with R^2 deviating from zero. We shared the link to the survey on Amazon Turk, where two hundred and eight Canadians participated. We included only White, non-Muslim participants in the study, and excluded four participants who indicated Islam as their religion. Respondents that resided in Canada and were 18 years and above were included in the study. Ten participants were excluded due to incorrect responses to the attention check item "What is the name of the sport in the text?". The final sample comprised of 194 participants (Mage = 33.86, SDage = 11.75). Table 1 summarizes the demographic variables in the study.



Procedure

The study received ethical clearance from the University of Guelph’s ethics review board (REB) in Canada prior to data collection. The participants were informed that the study examines immigration and its impact on learning about cultural differences. The survey started with informed consent, which contained information about confidentiality and anonymity. Following the informed consent, the participants completed a demographics section. Next, the participants were randomly allocated to read one of five different texts describing the Muslim community in Canada that prefers assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization in Canadian society (described below). The fifth text was a control condition. After the text,

the participants answered the attention check item. Finally, the participants registered their opinions on the dependent variables; religious resentment, and social exclusion (described below). All scales were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree), to 7 (strongly agree). Analyses were conducted with the PROCESS regression macros (Hayes, 2013). The survey comprised of the following measures.

Experimental vignettes

Five different vignettes inspired by the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder et al. (2000) were used as experimental manipulation and control condition. The texts contained information about Canadian Muslims who either prefer integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization as acculturation strategies in various life domains, such as values, culture, and entertainment. The fifth text was a control condition. In the assimilation condition, participants read the following text:

Some Muslims strongly care about Canadian cultural heritage only, and not their religious culture. For them, active participation in Canadian cultural traditions, such as dressing up in western clothes, celebrating Christmas, eating hamburgers and apple pie, and beer is very important. They prefer their Canadian culture on their religious culture. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop Canadian cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They prefer to have friends with non-Muslim, Canadian background and they enjoy social activities with non-Muslim Canadians. They also enjoy entertainment such as Canadian TV shows, sports such as ice hockey, movies, and music. Often their jokes and humor are related to the Canadian culture. Finally, it is very important for them to work with colleagues that belong to the non-Muslim, mainstream society and, therefore, they feel comfortable working with them.

TABLE 1 Demographic variables of the sample (n = 190).

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Age (M, SD) | 33.86 (11.75) |
| Gender women in% | 61.9 |
| Employment% | |
| Unemployed | 22.8 |
| Employed | 75.1 |
| Retired | 2.1 |
| Religious orientation% | |
| None | 27.8 |
| Christianity | 34.2 |
| Other | 38.0 |
| Education% | |
| Less than high school | 1.2 |
| High school graduate or equivalent | 41.9 |
| University | 56.0 |
| Income% | |
| Below Canadian average | 48.9 |
| Average | 15.4 |
| Above Canadian average | 35.6 |

The remaining missing percentages corresponds to missing responses.

In integration condition, the participants had the following text:

Some Muslims care strongly about their religious and Canadian cultural heritage. For them, active participation in both cultural traditions are very important. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop both culture's practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They prefer to have friends with both Muslims and non-Muslim background, and they enjoy social activities with them. They also enjoy entertainment from religious and Canadian culture such as Islamic TV shows, Canadian TV shows, movies, music, and sports such as ice hockey. Often their jokes and humor are related to both cultures. Finally, it is very important for them to work with colleagues that belong to both Muslims and non-Muslim cultures and, therefore, they feel comfortable working with them.

The separation condition contained the following information:

Some Muslims strongly care about their religious cultural heritage only, and not the Canadian culture. For them, active participation in only their religious cultural traditions, such as weekly prayers at the local mosque, dressing up in religious clothes, and fasting during Ramadan is very important. They prefer their religious culture on Canadian culture. It is equally important to them to maintain and develop Islamic cultural practices and values, which is also an important part of their upbringing. They have only Muslim friends and they enjoy social activities with people who are only Muslims. They also enjoy entertainment only from their religious background (such as Islamic TV shows, movies, sports, and music) and do not follow Canadian entertainment or sports such as ice hockey. Often their jokes and humor are related to their religious culture. Finally, it is very important for them to only work with colleagues that share their belief in Islam and, therefore, they feel comfortable working with them.

The text about marginalized Muslims included the following information:

Some Muslims do not care about their religious culture, nor do they prefer to follow the Canadian culture. For them, active participation in both cultural traditions is not important. They do not prefer to maintain and develop either cultures' practices or values. Neither do they prefer to have friends with either Muslims or non-Muslims. They do not prefer to watch any religious or Canadian entertainment or sport such as ice hockey. Finally, they do not prefer to work with colleagues that belong to either cultures.

The control condition, which did not provide information to the participants about Muslims or any specific acculturation strategy, comprised of the following text:

Some people are known to be vibrant in their community. They actively participate in various traditions, such as dressing up in nice clothes and celebrating festivals, because they consider it very important. For them, it is equally important

to maintain and develop these practices and values, because they are an important part of their upbringing. They prefer having friends with different background and they enjoy social activities with others. They also enjoy entertainment such as TV shows, sports such as ice hockey and films. Often their jokes and humour are also witty. They marry by personal choice. Finally, it is very important for them to work and they feel comfortable working with their colleagues.

Dependent variables

Religious resentment toward Muslims

Nine items derived from the Muslim American Resentment scale were adapted from Lajevardi and Kassra (2018) to measure participants' religious resentment toward Canadian Muslims as a proxy of old and deep-rooted anti-Muslim sentiments (e.g., "Muslims do not have the best interests of Canada at heart", $\alpha = 0.89$). Four items were reverse coded.

Social exclusion of Muslims

Ten items, with two items reverse coded, specifically designed for the study measured the extent to which the participants were willing to exclude Muslims in various social situations such as at the workplace, renting a portion to Muslim tenants, and voting for a Muslim MP (e.g., "I would not like Muslims as my neighbors", $\alpha = 0.94$).

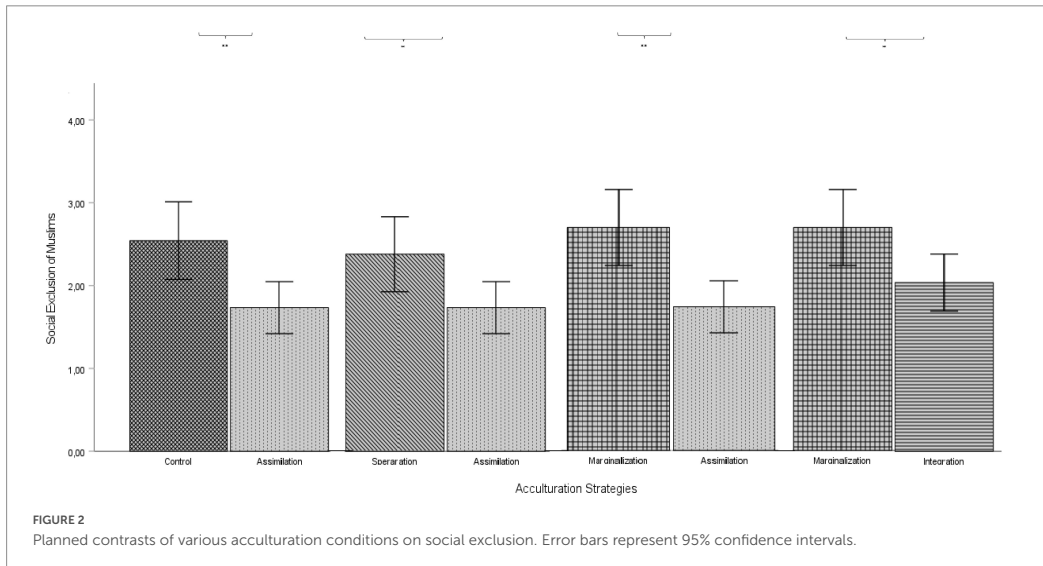
Result

Main effects of the conditions on the outcome variables

Social exclusion of Muslims

A one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated a significant omnibus effect of the five conditions on the social exclusion of Muslims, $F(4, 185) = 3.56, p = 0.008, \eta^2 = 0.3$. Planned contrasts in Figure 2 revealed that social exclusion of Muslims was significantly lower in the perceived assimilation condition than the control group, $t(185) = -2.79, p = 0.006$. However, planned contrasts did not reveal any significant effects of Muslims' perceived integration $t(185) = -1.76, p = 0.08$, separation, $t(185) = -0.57, p = 0.57$ and marginalization, $t(185) = 0.51, p = 0.61$ on social exclusion of Muslims compared to the control group. Hence, H1 was partially confirmed.

Although not part of the hypotheses, we compared the four acculturation strategies with each other, instead of only with the control condition, and examined their effects on the social exclusion of Muslims by using ANOVA. The results of planned contrasts showed that social exclusion of Muslims endorsed by the participants was significantly higher in the separation $t(185) = 2.23, p = 0.027$ (Figure 2) and marginalization



conditions, $t(185) = 3.27, p = 0.001$ compared to the assimilation condition. In addition, social exclusion of Muslims was higher in the marginalization condition compared to the integration condition, $t(185) = 2.25, p = 0.026$.

Religious resentment toward Muslims

Results from a one-way ANOVA showed a significant main effect of religious resentment toward Muslims on the various conditions, $F(4, 185) = 3.55, p = 0.008, \eta^2 = 0.3$. Planned contrasts indicated that religious resentment toward Muslims was lower in the assimilation condition compared to the control group, $t(185) = -2.22, p = 0.028$ (Figure 3). However, planned contrasts did not reveal significant effects of integration, $t(185) = -1.23, p = 0.22$ separation, $t(185) = 0.47, p = 0.64$ and marginalization conditions, $t(185) = 1.13, p = 0.26$ on religious resentment, partially confirming H2.

Although not part of the hypotheses, we also compared the four acculturation strategies with each other to examine their main effects on religious resentment toward Muslims. Planned contrasts revealed that religious resentment was significantly higher in the separation $t(185) = 2.67, p = 0.008$ (Figure 3) and marginalization conditions, $t(185) = 3.31, p = 0.001$ compared to the assimilation condition, whereas religious resentment was higher in the marginalization condition $t(185) = 2.34, p = 0.02$ when compared with integration condition.

Mediation analysis

Table 2 displays zero order correlations among the independent and dependent variables. We tested the indirect effects of acculturation strategies on social exclusion, mediated

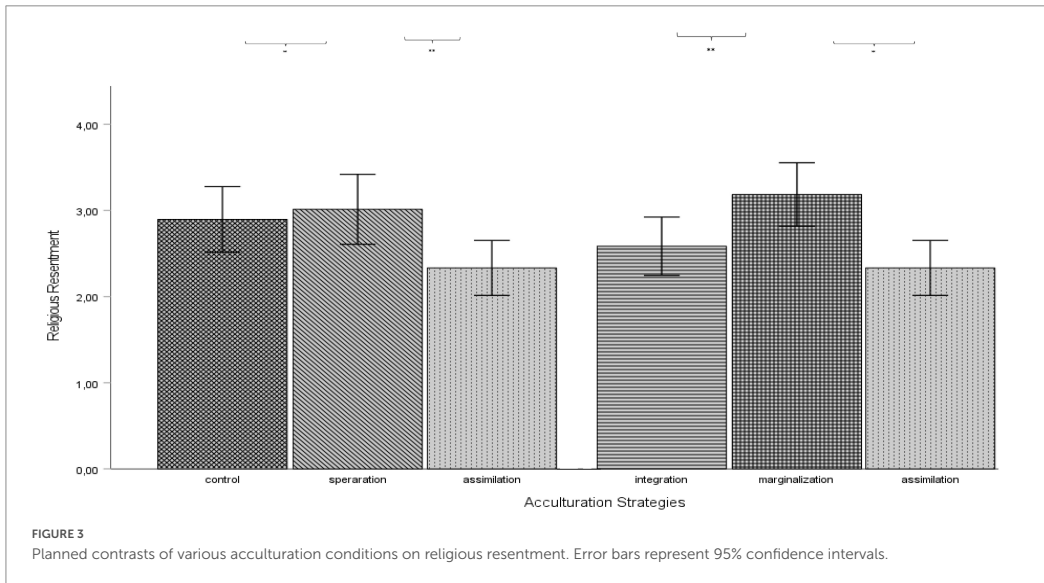
by religious resentment. For that purpose, we used Model 4 of PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with bootstrap estimation approach of 5,000 random re-samples for the indirect effect. Unless stated otherwise, the manipulation conditions were coded as integration = 1, assimilation = 2, separation = 3 and marginalization = 4 compared to the control group = 0.

Social exclusion of Muslims

As illustrated in Figure 4, the results showed that the assimilation condition indirectly decreased the social exclusion of Muslims due to low degrees of religious resentment toward Muslims (H3), indirect effect: $B = -0.51, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.96, -0.08]$. The results imply that when Muslims were perceived as assimilated in the Canadian society, the participants indicated lower levels of religious resentment toward Muslims which decreased the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society. However, no significant indirect effects were found when religious resentment mediated the relationship between integration (Figure 5), indirect effect: $B = -0.28, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.74, 0.17]$, separation, indirect effect: $B = 0.08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.29, 0.47]$ and marginalization conditions, indirect effect: $B = 0.20, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.16, 0.55]$ and social exclusion (Figures 6, 7), partially confirming H3.

Discussion

The main purpose of this experimental study was to examine whether religious resentment explains the social exclusion of Muslims from Canadian society as an outcome of Muslims'



acculturation strategies as perceived by majority group members using a vignette-based approach. The study revealed one area of great importance.

The investigated mediated relationships were only significant in the assimilation condition. Unlike the U.S, which is known as a “melting pot”, Canada is viewed as a multicultural “mosaic”, and a “country of immigrants”, where minorities are encouraged to maintain their heritage and religious customs and traditions in addition to adherence to the majority society’s culture (Litchmore and Safdar, 2015). Research suggests that minorities are viewed more favorably by majority group members when they indicate a preference for either assimilation or integration (Matera et al., 2011), while integration strategy is observed as a predictor of social inclusion of minorities (Zagefka and Brown, 2002). In the present study, we expected that Muslims’ social exclusion by majority group members would decrease when they were viewed as integrated or assimilated in Canadian society, while social exclusion would increase when they were viewed as separated and/or as a marginalized community. However, we found partial support for the former expectations, while we found no support for the latter ones. The relationship between Muslims’ perceived

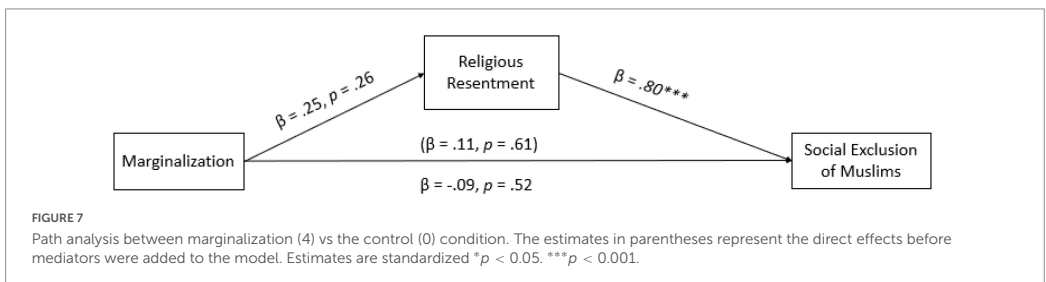
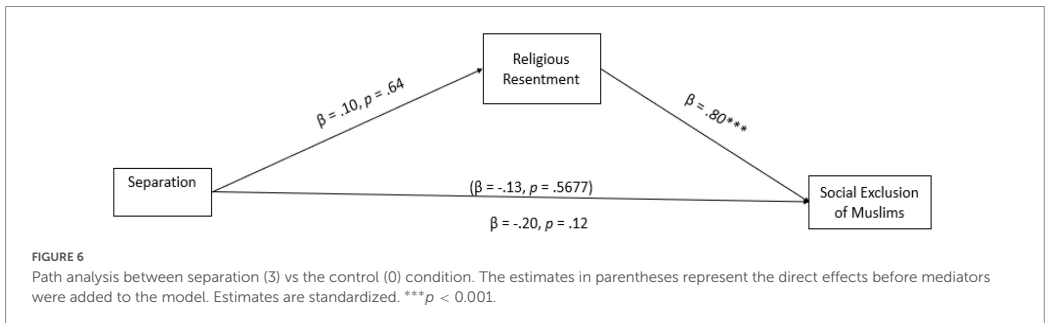
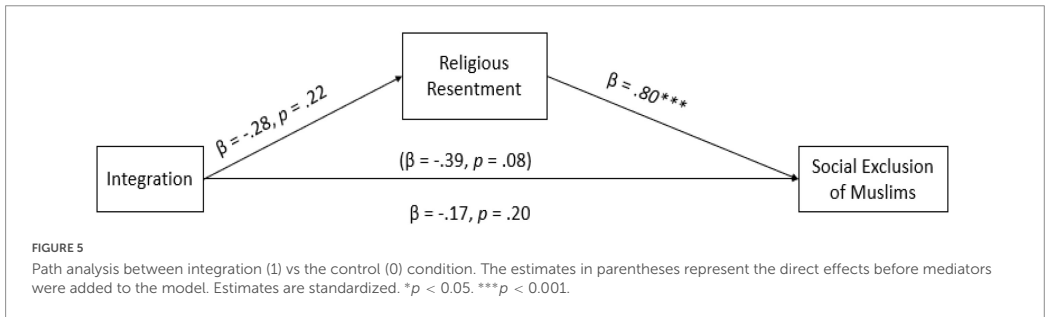
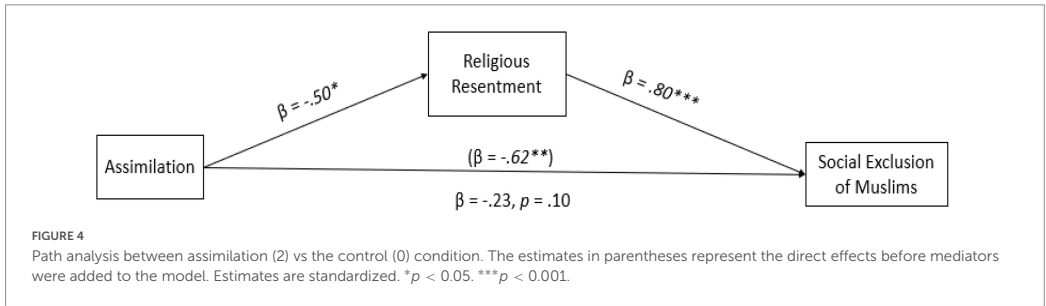
acculturation strategies and social exclusion was only significant when Muslims were presented as assimilated into society. No other relationship was significant with respect to other acculturation categories.

In the present study, the low means on social exclusion of Muslims, and religious resentment scales (see Table 2) reported by the participants indicate a weak tendency toward these attitudes in our sample. Therefore, we argue that even though the results showed a significant negative effect on the social exclusion of Muslims only in the assimilation condition, the results do not imply that Canadian society promotes the social exclusion of Muslim minorities. The main conclusion that emerged from this study, which is consistent with previous research, is that the majority group members in our study showed a preference for Muslims when they were perceived to adopt an assimilationist acculturation strategy (Bloom et al., 2015). One explanation of the result is that since assimilation implies low cultural dissimilarity with respect to language, values, and beliefs, majority group members are not only positively inclined toward Muslims who they perceived as assimilated but are also more likely to form social relationships with such individuals (Kunst and Sam, 2014).

In addition, individuals tend to view their group membership positively indicating in-group favoritism (Tajfel, 1982). Hence, Muslims who were perceived as assimilated into the majority society may be socially categorized as members of the majority in-group by the participants. This positive in-group categorization may have resulted in a favorable attitude toward Muslims by the participants. Thus, a second explanation for the result is that the participants socially included Muslims who

TABLE 2 Descriptive statistics and correlations among the main study variables.

| Variable | Mean | SD | 1 | 3 |
|--|------|------|--------|--------|
| 1. Social Exclusion of Muslims | 2.28 | 1.30 | 1 | 0.81** |
| 2. Religious Resentment toward Muslims | 2.81 | 1.14 | 0.81** | 1 |



they perceived as a part of their in-group due to similar values and cultural habits (Osbeck et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Matera et al., 2020). The findings also confirm previous

research, which states that intergroup relations between the majority and minority groups are dependent on whether their acculturation attitudes are in accord with each other. When the

majority group members prefer the minorities to assimilate, and the minority group adopts the mainstream culture, a consensual acculturative outcome is achieved resulting in positive intergroup relations such as social inclusion of the minorities (Rohmann et al., 2008), as it is also evident in the present study. In addition, the participant's preference for socially including Muslims that are perceived as assimilated into the Canadian society and showing low degrees of resentment toward them reflects the European trend. In the assimilation condition, Muslims were socially included because Muslims' religious practices were replaced with Canadian cultural habits, which portrays Muslims as less threatening to national security while at the same time their adoption of Canadian cultural habits is viewed as more liberal and democratic by the participants, hence, lowering feelings of resentment toward Muslims' religious behavior (Helbling and Traunmuller, 2020).

Previous research has shown that Muslims neither prefer to separate or assimilate into Canadian society, but instead prefer integration as a strategy to engage in Canadian society (Yousif, 1992). However, it is surprising that in the current study, the participants did not consider Muslims as integrated in the Canadian society as the relationship between integration and social exclusion was not significant. These results may again support the idea that majority group members prefer cultural similarity with minorities and are more socially favorable toward minorities when they prefer a common in-group identification (see for example, Kunst et al., 2019). In line with this reasoning, we argue that the social exclusion of Muslims was not significantly endorsed by the majority group members when Muslims were presented as integrated, because it implied maintaining their religious culture as well as the Canadian culture. The present study showed that for the participants, the similarity of cultural values is an important predictor of less social exclusion of Muslims. Therefore, the finding that only the assimilation condition was a salient predictor of decreased levels of social exclusion of Muslims in Canada, while integration, separation, and marginalization did not decrease or increase social exclusion of Muslims, as expected, requires further investigation.

Limitations and future implications

Our study, even though it contributes to the acculturation literature, has some limitations. First, we must take into consideration that the study took place during the rapidly evolving COVID-19 pandemic. The data was collected when lockdowns were imposed globally and Canada, along with the rest of the world, closed its borders to contain the pandemic. The uncertain and unexpected nature of the circumstances might have affected the participants' opinions on matters related to Muslims' presence in Canada. Indeed, a study conducted during

the COVID pandemic found that Canadians supported stricter immigration policies, and promoted closed borders (Newbold, 2020). In addition, shaped by the pandemic, anti-Muslim hate crimes where a man drove a car into a Muslim family in London, Ontario killing four out of five family members as well as demonstrations against Islam as a religion in Canada took place (Ellsworth, 2022). Thus, we suggest a follow-up study with the same sample characteristics to examine whether these effects are significant when the pandemic mitigates.

Second, we used Mturk to recruit participants for the study, which has the advantage of attaining an adequate sample size in a short period of time. However, a disadvantage is that the participants might have prior experience in taking surveys, which may cause response bias. Moreover, online experiments only include a certain segment of a society that has access to the internet. Hence, diverse opinions are excluded from this study. Therefore, we recommend future studies take a mix-method approach where they interview individuals who may not have access to or the competence for using the internet, such as the older generation. Additionally, the vignettes explaining various acculturation strategies preferred to either maintain or adopt religious and majority society culture could be confusing for the participants to understand. Therefore, in order to maintain the validity of the vignettes, we suggest future studies use simpler words and smaller texts to clearly represent the intended acculturation strategy when describing the acculturation profiles. Additionally, future studies may also use implicit attitude tests to assess whether Muslims' perceived acculturation strategies would yield social exclusion from society.

Moreover, in the assimilation vignette "preference for beer" was used as an indicator of assimilation into Canadian society compared to other vignettes. This behavioral preference of Muslims in the assimilation condition indicates a strong rejection of Islamic cultural practice because refusing the consummation of alcohol indicates obedience and adherence to Islamic values (Bagasra and Mackinem, 2019). Thus, Muslims perceived as preferring to drink beer may have influenced participants' perceptions of Muslims as rejecting Islamic cultural identity and adopting Canadian social values, thus showing significant results in the assimilation condition compared to other conditions.

Another potential limitation of the study might be that the current study did not include a manipulation check item. However, the experiment included an attention check item (What is the name of the sport in the text?). This was done to ensure that the participants read the text and do not rush through the assigned vignette, without paying attention to the wording of the text. Therefore, instead of a direct manipulation check, an attention check item also known as a trap question was included in the experiment (Oppenheimer et al., 2009).

The results of this study have practical implications. While Canadian multicultural policy at the state level promotes the maintenance of heritage, religious, and majority society's culture, the results showed that the participants only favored Muslims who were perceived as assimilated into Canadian society. We recommend future studies investigate other factors that might explain why assimilation was the only significant predictor of social inclusion, while integration did not reveal any significant results. One suggestion is to present Muslims' cultural practices as a threat to Canadian cultural identity to examine the underlying mechanism for preferring social inclusion for assimilated Muslims (see e.g., Tahir et al., 2019). Moreover, even though Canadian Muslims are integrated into Canadian society (McCoy et al., 2016), the perception is different among majority group members. Thus, we propose that Muslim religious leaders, social scientists, and subject persons encourage a widespread acceptance of Muslim religious practices, and shared values with the majority society. Furthermore, Muslim religious leaders and policymakers are recommended to promote Muslims' religious and mainstream cultural association as an integral part of their Canadian Muslim identity so that Canada circumvents the European trend, where the idea of inclusivity of various cultural identities is being replaced by a single cultural identity based on the majority group's culture (Ouseley, 2001). In this study, we found that religious resentment had an omnibus effect on the social exclusion of Muslims. This finding will be of interest to organizations working in the social inclusion domain. Specifically, policymakers, law enforcement agencies, and Muslim religious leaders are suggested to collaborate to create common grounds for intergroup and interfaith dialog and information exchange. An important policy can be to create social contexts that promote positive intergroup interactions in the effort to combat negative feelings toward Muslims who choose to integrate, instead of assimilation, or are on the verge of marginalization in their society of the living. This approach will also provide platforms to the majority society where they can learn positive information about Muslims and Islam (see e.g., Barise, 2005), which may reduce any gap that was created between the Muslim minority and the majority society because of past grievances.

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Data availability statement

The raw data supporting the conclusions of this article will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

Ethics statement

The studies involving human participants were reviewed and approved by Research Ethics Board, University of Guelph Canada. The patients/participants provided their written informed consent to participate in this study. Written informed consent was obtained from the individual(s) for the publication of any potentially identifiable images or data included in this article.

Author contributions

HT: conception and design, data collection and analysis, and drafting of the article. SS: interpretation of data, supervision of the data collection, and critical revision of the manuscript for important intellectual content. Both authors approved the final version to be published.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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|-------------------|-------------------------------|--|
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