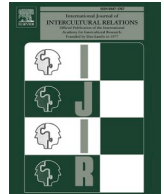




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International Journal of Intercultural Relations

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel

Acculturation preferences and perceived (dis)loyalty of Muslims in the U.K.: Two vignette-based experimental studies

Hajra Tahir ^{*,a}, Jonas Rønningsdalen Kunst ^b, David Lackland Sam ^a

^a University of Bergen, Postboks 7807, 5020 Bergen, Norway

^b University of Oslo, Postboks 1094 Blindern, 0317 Oslo, Norway

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Acculturation
Loyalty
Intergroup relations
Muslims
Religion

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.

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, 2009; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). 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 et al. (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 Verkuten, Yogeewaran, et al.,

* Correspondence to: Postboks 7807, 5020 Bergen, Norway.

E-mail addresses: hajra.tahir@uib.no (H. Tahir), j.r.kunst@psykologi.uio.no (J.R. Kunst), david.sam@uib.no (D.L. Sam).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101759>

Received 18 May 2022; Received in revised form 29 November 2022; Accepted 9 January 2023

Available online 15 January 2023

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2022; Verkuten, Gale, 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 et al. (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 (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). 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 (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998).

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 et al., 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, 2015). 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 (Awan, 2014; McGhee, 2008).

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). [Fig. 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 ($p = .05$) is reached with 96–120 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.

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.

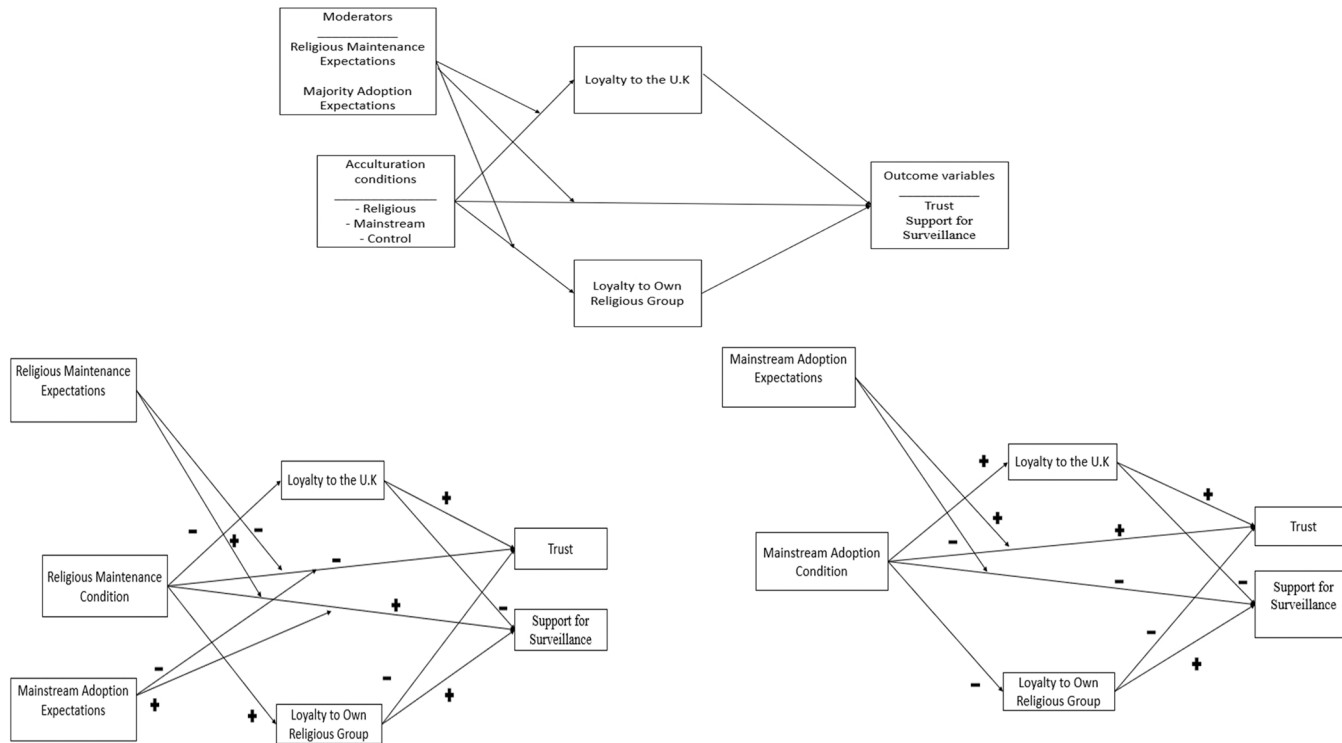


Fig. 1. Schematic representation of the direct effect and first stage moderated mediation model (top panel) and the first stage moderated mediation model in the religious maintenance condition (bottom left panel) and mainstream adoption condition (bottom right panel) tested in Study 1 and 2.

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

Age (M, SD)	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

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 1–5 are confirmatory hypotheses, while H6 and 7 are exploratory.

Moderators

Acculturation expectations. The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) developed by Ryder et al. (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 et al. (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.

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	0.92	1	0.36 **	0.33 **	0.08	0.50 **	-0.36 **
2. Majority Adoption Expectations	7.05	1.19	0.89		1	0.03	0.23 **	0.04	0.03
3. Muslims’ Loyalty to the U.K.	5.27	1.82	0.95			1	-0.47 **	0.58 **	-0.38 **
4. Muslims’ Loyalty to own Religious Group	6.11	1.82	0.95				1	-0.16 **	-0.20 **
5. Trust towards Muslims	6.98	2.13	0.86					1	-0.54 **
6. Support for Surveillance	2.03	1.23	0.92						1

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

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 (0.22). 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 $t(331) = 0.80, p = .424$ (Fig. 2). However, in line with the second hypothesis (H2), trust was significantly lower in the religious maintenance condition than in the control group, $t(331) = -2.43, p = .016, d = 0.27$ (Fig. 2). Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* trust towards Muslims in the mainstream adoption condition than in the religious maintenance condition, $t(331) = 3.23, p = .001, d = 0.36$ (Fig. 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, $t(331) = 1.27, p = .206$ (Fig. 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, $t(331) = -3.24, p = .001, d = 0.43$ (Fig. 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 Fig. 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 Fig. 5, the planned contrasts revealed that the participants' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the

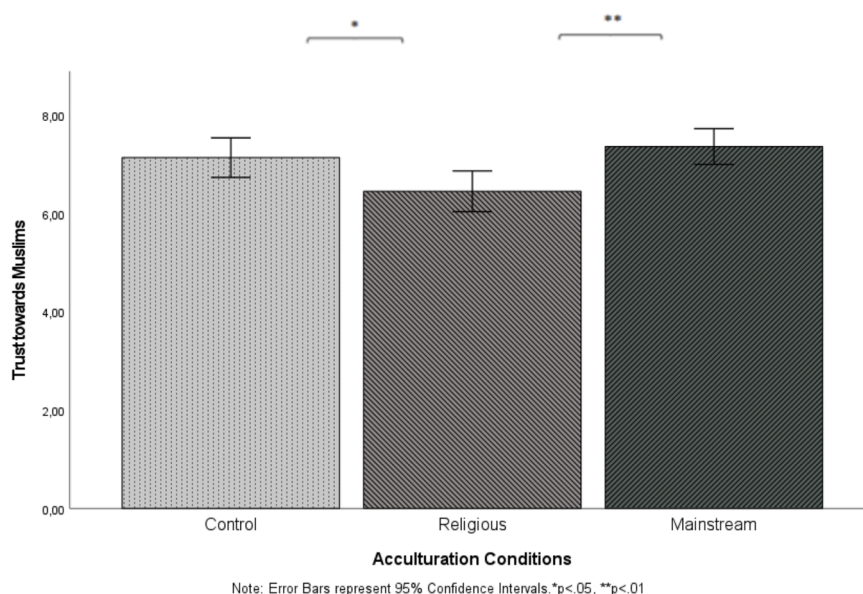


Fig. 2. Effects of experimental manipulation on trust in study 1.

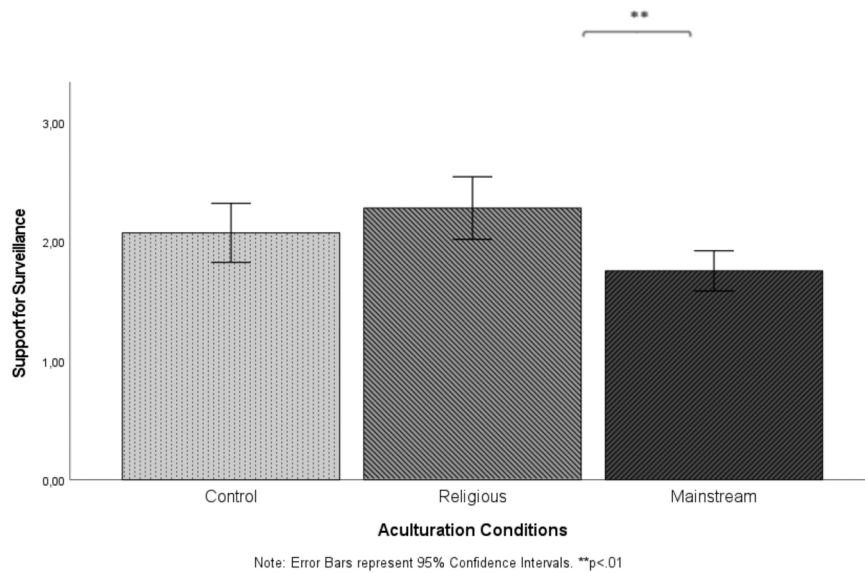


Fig. 3. Effects of the experimental manipulation on support for surveillance in study 1.

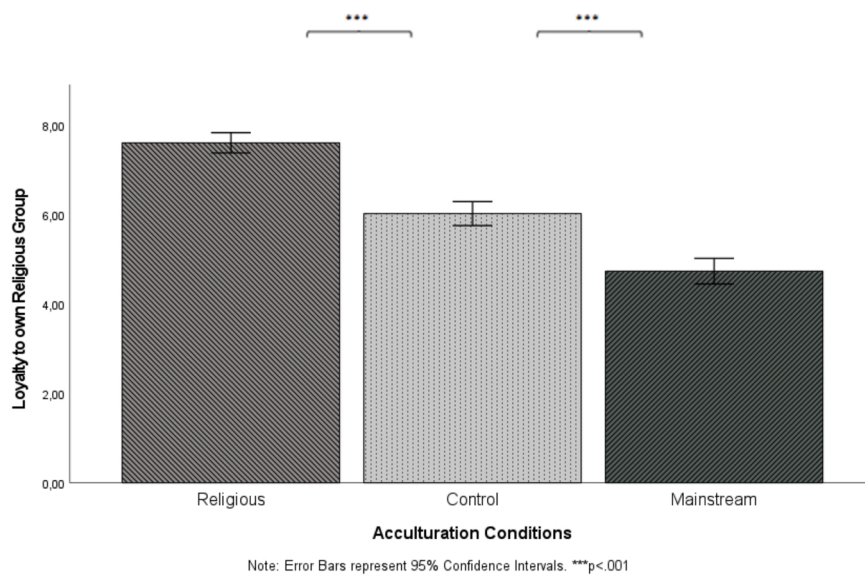


Fig. 4. Effects of the experimental manipulation on loyalty to own religious group in study 1.

U.K. was higher in the mainstream adoption condition than in the control group, $t(331) = 5.71, p < 0.001, d = 0.63$. Conversely, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(331) = -6.73, p < 0.001, d = 0.74$.

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., $\beta = 0.65, p < .001$, 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., $\beta = -0.36, p < .001$, but the effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group on support for surveillance was non-significant, $\beta = 0.03, p = .597$. Hence, the third hypothesis was partially confirmed.

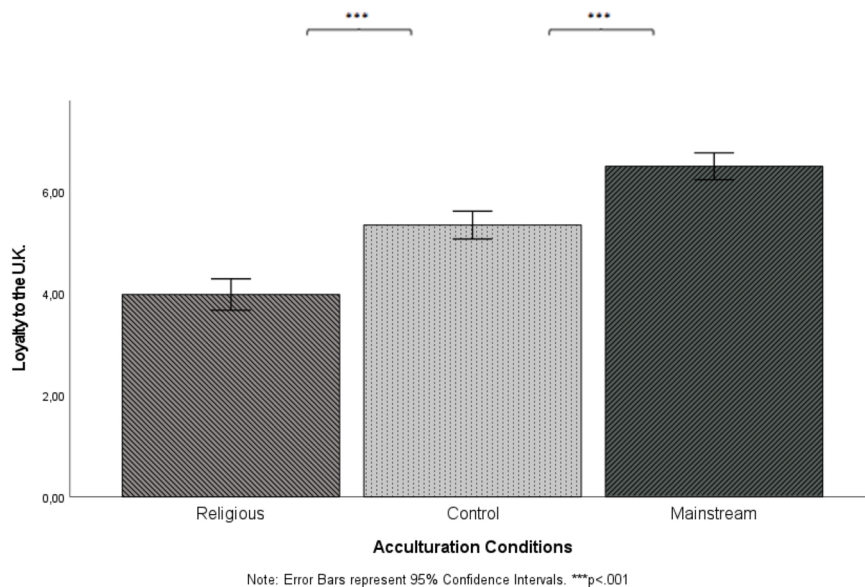


Fig. 5. Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Loyalty to the U.K in Study 1.

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 5000 random resamples for the indirect effects. The full mediation models with standardized coefficients are presented in Fig. 6a and b.

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 $[-1.51, -0.77]$. 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: $B = 0.11$, 95% CI $[-0.11, 0.33]$.

The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted more trust in Muslims due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = 0.95$, 95% CI $[0.63, 1.30]$, whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate this effect, indirect effect: $B = -0.09$, 95% CI $[-0.28, 0.09]$.

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: $B = 0.37$, 95% CI $[0.23, 0.53]$, 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: $B = 0.09$, 95% CI $[-0.03, 0.22]$.

The mainstream adoption condition indirectly predicted less support for surveillance due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = -0.31$, 95% CI $[-0.47, -0.17]$, while Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not mediate the significant effect of mainstream adoption on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = -0.07$, 95% CI $[-0.18, 0.03]$. Thus, in the examined mediated relationship, only Muslims' loyalty to the U.K. was a significant mediator, partially confirming the fourth hypothesis.

Study 2

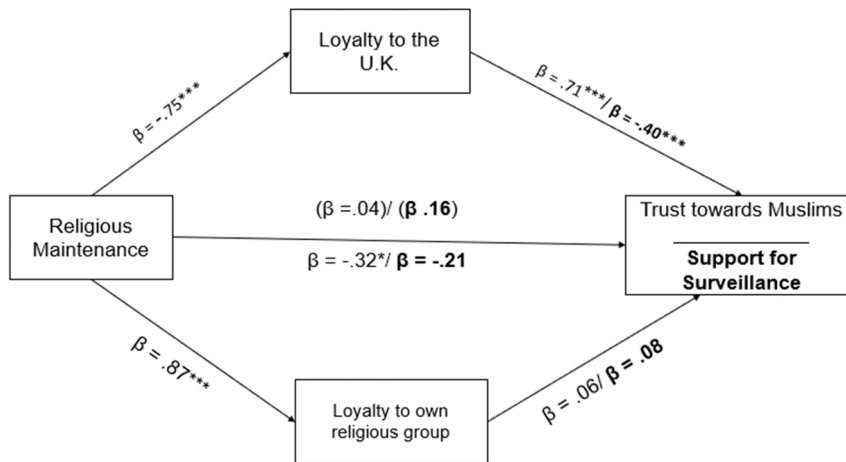
Methods

Participants

The target sample size for moderated mediation was based on Model 2 by Preacher et al. (2007) that describes Type I error rates and empirical power in moderated mediation models. These authors recommend a sample size of approximately 470–700 participants to

a

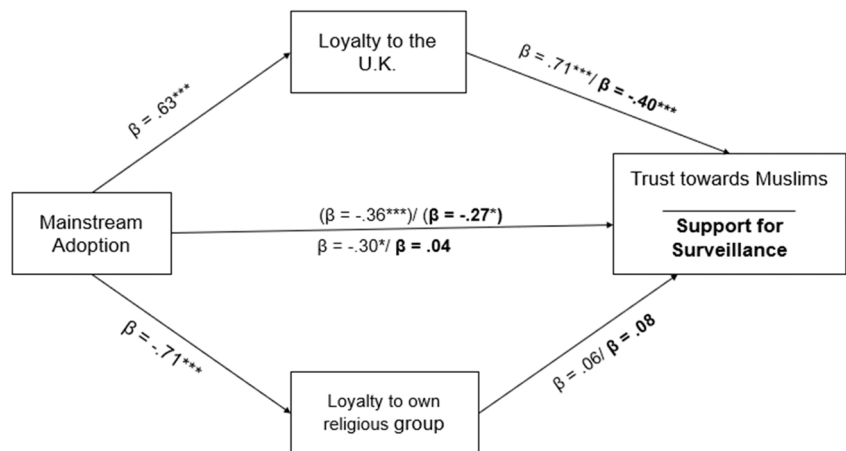
Mediation Model in Study 1



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

b

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

Fig. 6. (a) Mediation Model in Study 1. (b) Mediation Model in Study 1.

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 ($M_{age} = 38.95, SD_{age} = 13.45$). We screened the survey to exclude participants who had previously taken the survey in Study 1. Sample characteristics are described in Table 3.

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

Age (M, SD)	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.

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, $\chi^2 = 3241.403, p < .001, CFI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.15, sRMR = 0.03$ 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 $t(809) = 0.22, p = .830$ (Fig. 7). However, in line with the second hypothesis (H2), trust was significantly lower in the religious maintenance condition than in the control group, $t(809) = -5.32, p < .001, d = 0.45$ (Fig. 7). Additional planned contrasts revealed that the participants indicated *more* trust towards Muslims in the mainstream adoption condition than in the religious maintenance condition, $t(809) = 5.55, p < .001, d = 0.47$ (Fig. 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

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	0.91	1	0.44 **	0.35 **	0.07	0.44 **	-0.34 **
2. Majority Adoption Expectations	7.03	1.19	0.90		1	0.05	0.21 **	0.05	0.08 *
3. Muslims' Loyalty to the U.K.	5.35	1.79	0.95			1	-0.45 **	0.58 **	-0.38 **
4. Muslims' Loyalty to own Religious Group	6.11	1.82	0.95				1	-0.16 **	0.18 **
5. Trust towards Muslims	7.07	2.10	0.87					1	-0.54 **
6. Support for Surveillance	2.17	1.14	0.92						1

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

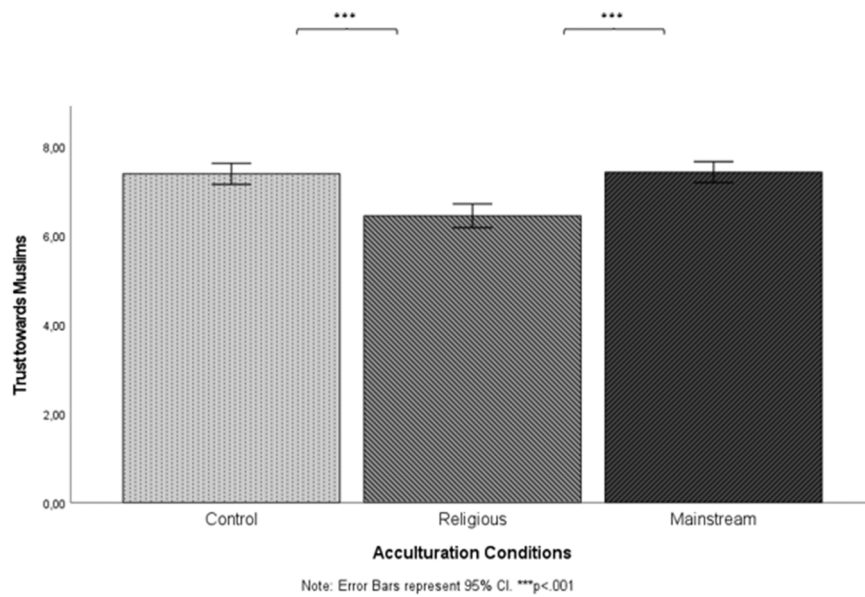


Fig. 7. Effects of the experimental manipulation on trust towards muslims in study 2.

surveillance compared to the control group, $t(799) = 0.158, p = .874$. Contrary to study 1, support for surveillance was high in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(799) = 5.38, p < .001, d = 0.44$ (Fig. 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, $t(799) = 5.15, p < .001, d = 0.43$ (Fig. 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, $F(807, 2) = 260.97, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.39$. The planned contrasts in Fig. 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, $t(807) = -10.86, p < 0.001, d = 0.88$. Additionally, Muslims in the religious maintenance condition were perceived as more loyal to their own religious group than in the control group, $t(807) = 11.88, p < 0.001, d = 1.01$.

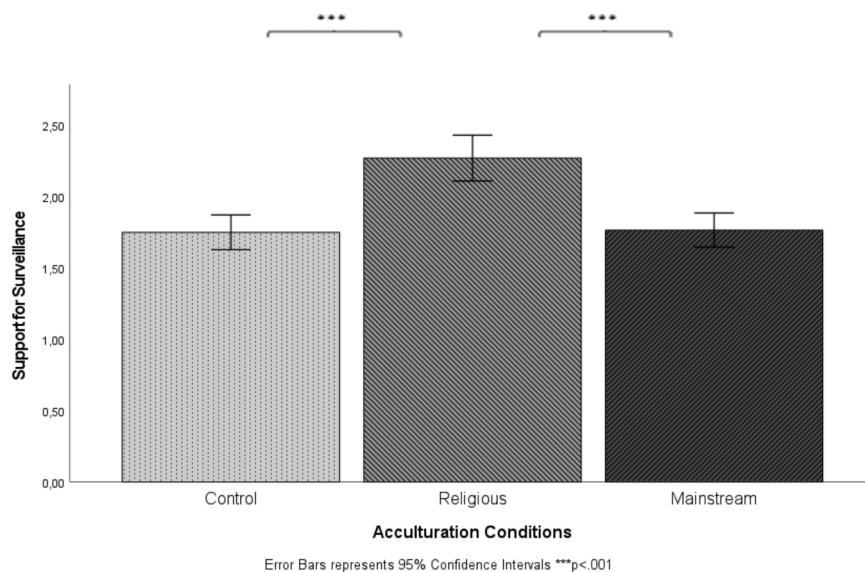


Fig. 8. Effects of the experimental manipulation on support for surveillance in study 2.

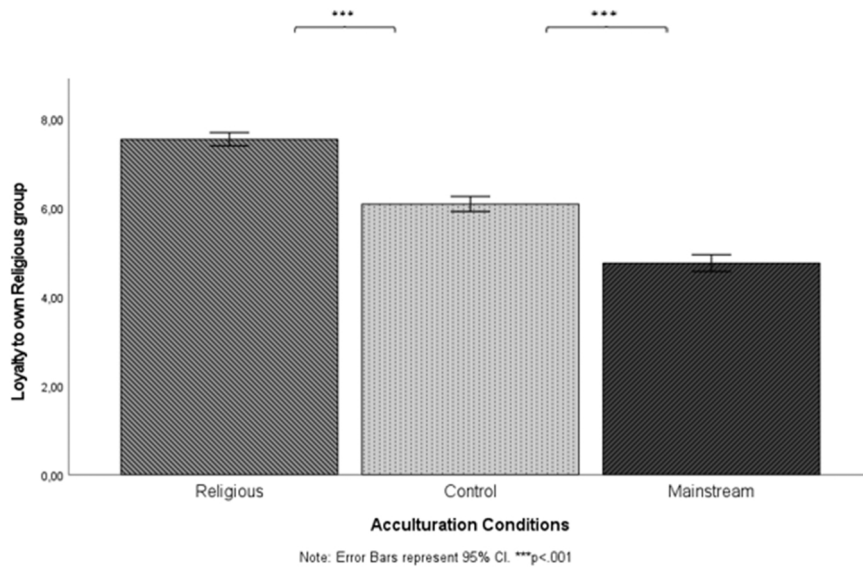


Fig. 9. Effects of the experimental manipulation on loyalty towards own religious group in study 2.

Muslims’ loyalty to the U.K. An ANOVA indicated a significant effect of the manipulation on perceptions of Muslims’ loyalty to the U.K., $F(2, 809) = 184.00, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.31$. As displayed in Fig. 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, $t(809) = 10.73, p < 0.001, d = 0.76$. Conversely, Muslims were perceived as disloyal to the U.K. in the religious maintenance condition compared to the control group, $t(809) = -6.73, p < 0.001, d = 0.90$.

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, $F(2, 807) = 218.39, p < 0.001, R^2 = .35$, the results indicated a positive effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims’ to the U.K., $\beta = 0.64, p < 0.001$, and a positive effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group, $\beta = 0.13, p < 0.001$.

For the model with support for surveillance as dependent variable, $F(2, 799) = 67.51, p < 0.001, R^2 = 0.15$, the results indicated a negative effect of perceived loyalty of Muslims’ to the U.K., $\beta = -0.37, p < 0.001$, but the effect of perceived loyalty to their religious group on support for surveillance was non-significant, $\beta = 0.02, p = 0.647$.

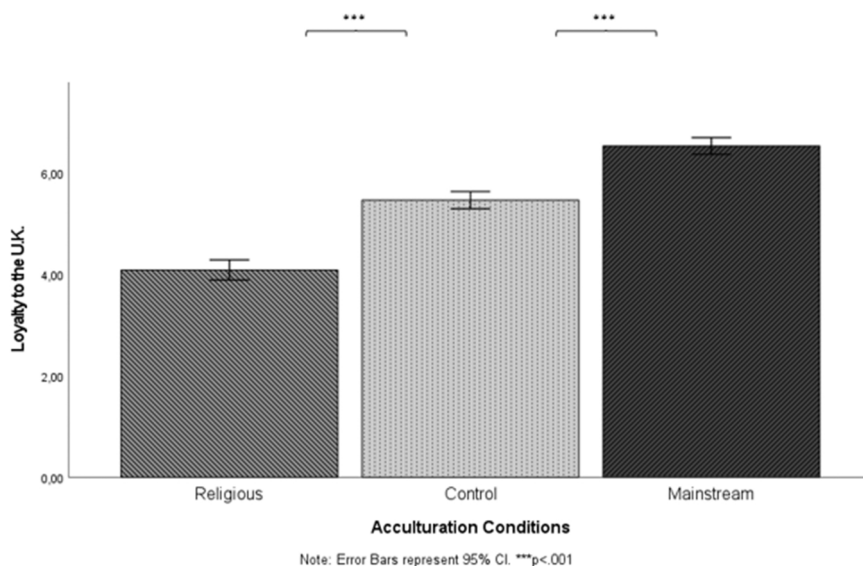


Fig. 10. Effects of the Experimental Manipulation on Loyalty to the U.K. in Study 2.

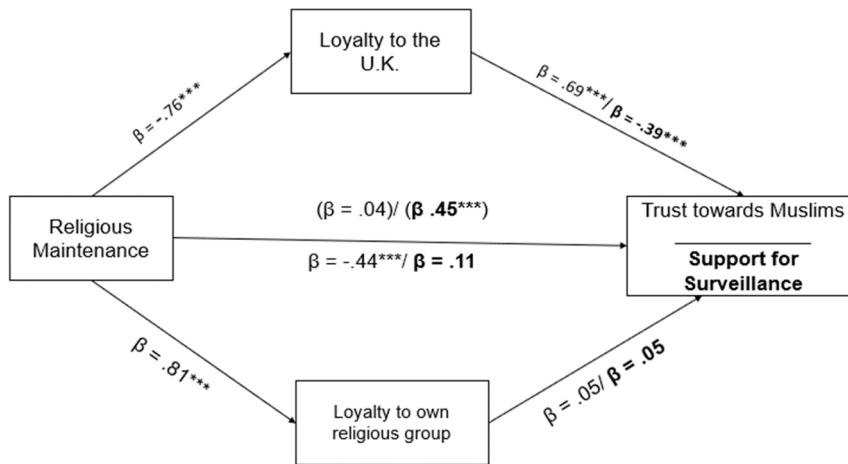
Mediation analysis

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 5000 random resamples for the indirect effects. The full mediation models with standardized coefficients are presented in Fig. 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% CI $[-1.37, -0.87]$. Also as in Study 1, Muslims'

a

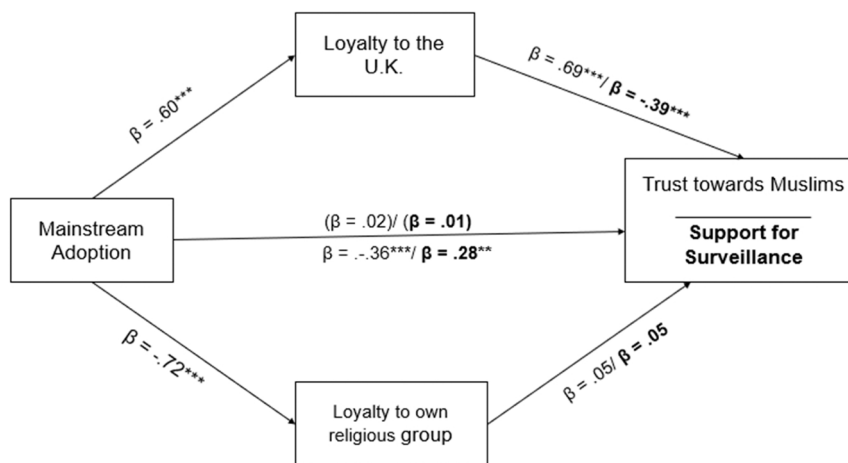
Mediation Model in Study 2.



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

b

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

Fig. 11. (a) Mediation Model in Study 2. (b) Mediation Model in Study 2.

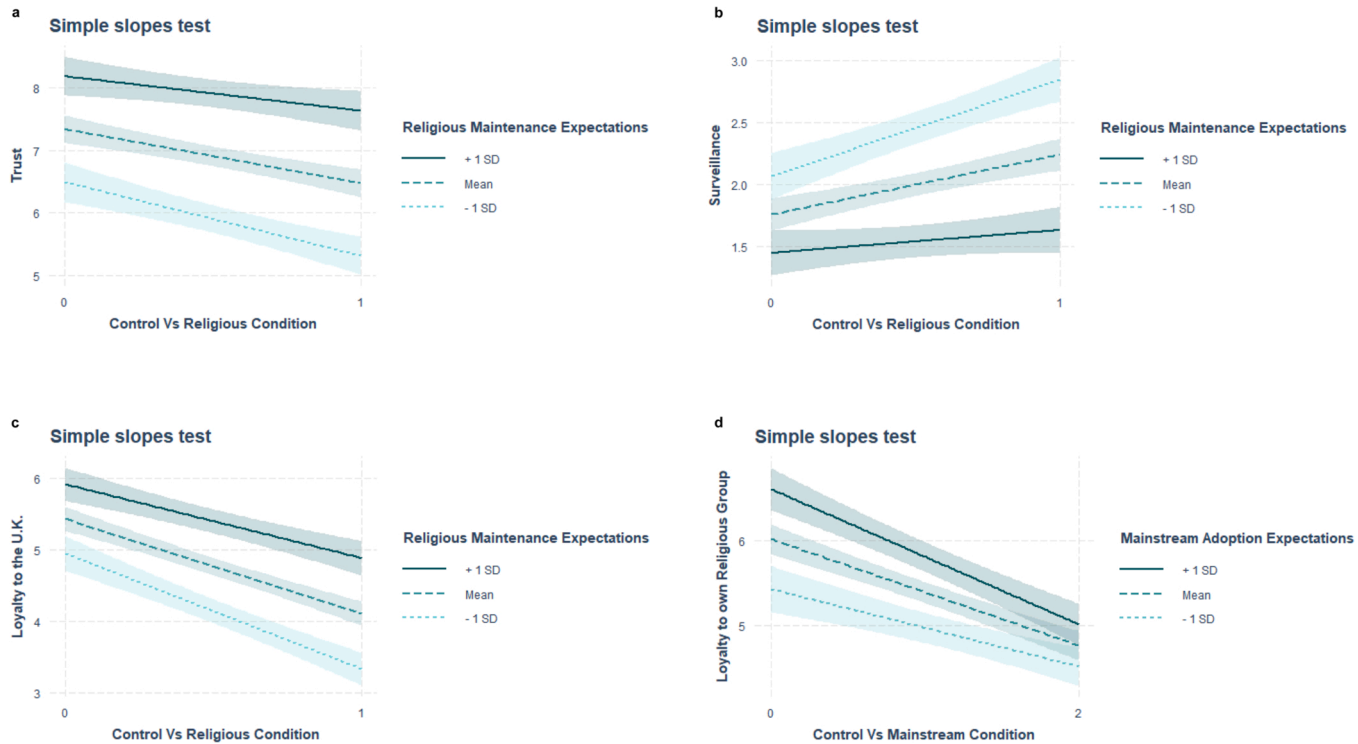


Fig. 12. (a) The interaction of religious maintenance condition and religious maintenance expectations (compared to control condition) on trust towards Muslims. The simple effects are presented in the figure at ± 1 standard deviation around the mean of the moderator (religious maintenance expectations) for the sake of presentation. (b) 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. (c) 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. (d) 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.

loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the religious maintenance condition on trust, indirect effect: $B = 0.09$, 95% CI $[-0.03, 0.22]$.

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: $B = 0.88$, 95% CI $[0.67, 1.09]$, whereas Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate this effect, indirect effect: $B = -0.08$, 95% CI $[-0.20, 0.03]$.

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: $B = 0.30$, 95% CI $[0.22, 0.39]$, 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: $B = 0.04$, 95% CI $[-0.093, 0.02]$.

The mainstream adoption condition indirectly decreased support for surveillance due to higher perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to the U.K., indirect effect: $B = -0.24$, 95% CI $[-0.31, -0.17]$. Muslims' loyalty to their own religious group did not significantly mediate the effect of the mainstream adoption condition on support for surveillance, indirect effect: $B = -0.04$, 95% CI $[-0.09, 0.02]$.

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. Fig. 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, $B = 0.23$, $p = .049$, 95% CI $[0.00, 0.46]$. Simple slopes tests (Fig. 12a) revealed that trust decreased when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture especially for participants who had a low religious maintenance expectation, $B = -1.17$, $p < 0.001$, 95% $[-1.16, -0.73]$. By contrast this effect was weaker when religious maintenance expectations were moderate, $B = -0.86$, $p < 0.001$, 95% $[-1.17, -0.55]$,

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 ***	0.13		1.75 ***	0.06		5.45 ***	0.08		6.00 ***	0.08	
Religious maintenance condition	-0.94 ***	0.17		0.48 ***	0.09		-1.32 ***	0.12		1.55 ***	0.12	
Mainstream Adoption Condition	-0.04 ***	0.07		0.02	0.09		1.07 * **	0.12		-1.24 ***	0.12	
Religious maintenance expectations	0.62 ***	0.08		-0.23 ***	0.05		0.36 ***	0.06		0.25 **	0.06	
Mainstream Adoption Expectations	-0.08	0.12		0.12	0.06		-0.02 ***	0.08		0.49 ***	0.08	
Religious maintenance condition X Religious maintenance expectations	0.23 *	0.12	0.01	-0.22 **	0.07	0.18 ***	0.22 **	0.09	0.01 ***	-0.18	0.09	0.003
Mainstream Adoption Condition X Religious Maintenance Expectations	-0.08	0.12		0.07	0.07		-0.12	0.09		-0.16	0.09	
Religious maintenance condition X mainstream adoption expectations	0.14	0.16	0.03*	-0.12	0.09	0.05	-0.03	0.11	0.01 *	-0.13	0.10	0.01*
Mainstream Adoption condition X Mainstream Adoption Expectations	0.22	0.15		-0.03	0.09		0.21	0.11		-0.28 ***	0.10	

* $P < .05$. ** $P < .01$. *** $P < .001$.

or high, $B = -0.54$, $p = 0.017$, 95% CI [- 0.99, - 0.10].

The interaction between religious maintenance condition and *religious maintenance expectations* was significant for support for surveillance as well, $B = -0.22$, $p = 0.001$, 95% CI [- 0.35, - 0.09]. Simple slopes showed that support for surveillance increased when Muslims were presented as maintaining their religious culture especially when participants expected low religious maintenance, $B = 0.78$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [0.53, 1.03], and to less of an extent when these expectations were moderate, $B = 0.48$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [0.30, 0.65], and not significantly at the high level of the moderator $B = 0.18$, $p = 0.167$, 95% CI [- 0.04, 0.43] (see Fig. 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, $B = 0.14$, $p = 0.379$, 95% CI [- 0.17, 0.44], and support for surveillance, $B = -0.12$, $p = 0.153$, 95% CI [- 0.29, 0.05], 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, $B = 0.23$, $p = .148$, 95% CI [- 0.07, 0.53], and support for surveillance, $B = -0.03$, $p = .685$, 95% CI [- 0.20, 0.13], 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., $B = 0.22$, $p = .014$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.37]. An examination of the interaction plot (Fig. 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 $B = -1.62$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [- 1.94, - 1.29], but also when these expectations were moderate, $B = -1.32$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [- 1.55, - 1.09], or high, $B = -1.03$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [- 1.36, - 0.69].

Lastly, the results indicated a significant negative interaction between mainstream acculturation and *mainstream adoption expectations* on loyalty towards Muslims own religious group, $B = -0.28$, $p = .005$, 95% CI [- 0.48, - 0.09]. As illustrated in Fig. 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, $B = -1.57$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [- 0.1.89, - 1.25], but also among those with moderate, $B = -1.23$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [- 1.46, - 0.99], or low expectations, $B = -0.89$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [- 0.1.23, - 0.55].

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 Fig. 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% CI [- 1.33, - 0.81], as compared to moderate, $B = -0.87$, SE = 0.10, 95% CI [- 1.07, - 0.68], and high, $B = -0.68$, SE = 0.13, 95% 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% CI [0.02, 0.26].

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 [0.15, 0.36], as compared to moderate, $B = 0.20$, SE = 0.04, 95% CI [0.12, 0.30], and high, $B = 0.16$, SE = 0.04, 95% CI [0.08, 0.25]. The overall moderated mediation model was supported by the significant index of moderated mediation, - 0.03, 95% CI [- 0.06, - 0.01].

Discussion

Several studies have shown that majority-group members favor especially those minorities who tend to affiliate with the socially dominant group only (Rohmann et al., 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). 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 (Acik & Pilkington, 2018; Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). 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 Project, 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 perceived 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 in the wider society. The depiction of Western Muslims in the media and public perception 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. (Boredelon, 2015) should be contested.

In addition, 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 (Adida et al., 2010; Parekh, 2008).

Appendix A. Supporting information

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found in the online version at [doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101759](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101759).

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