Perceived Discrimination in 'our' Nation

The effect of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional - national - identification of Turks and Moroccans with the Netherlands.

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Abstract

This paper examines the effect of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional - national - identification of Turks and Moroccans. The distinction between the three types of national identification is proposed as a more complete understanding of the processes through which national identification develops. It was hypothesised that perceived discrimination would have a negative effect on all three types - functional, normative and emotional – of national identification for both Turks and Moroccans. Additionally, it was hypothesised that functional and normative identification would mediate the relationship between perceived discrimination and emotional identification. The research is based on multiple regression analysis and data from the 'Netherlands Longitudinal Life Course Study' (NELLS). Results show that the effect of perceived discrimination on the three types of national identification differ between Turks and Moroccans. For Turks, perceived discrimination only negatively affects their emotional identification with the Netherlands. For Moroccans, perceived discrimination negatively affects both their functional and emotional identification with the nation. These findings contribute to existing literature by demonstrating the (distinct) effect of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional identification of Turks and Moroccans with the Netherlands.

Key words: Moroccans, national identification, national identity, perceived discrimination, Turks.

1. Introduction

The Netherlands has often been considered the locus of multiculturalism (De Hart, 2007). Until the 1990s, ethnic minorities were permitted their own institutions and maintain their cultural identity under the Dutch 'pillarisation' system (Entzinger, 2006). However, the multiculturalist approach has gradually been replaced by an assimilation discourse, fostered by the perception that the integration of minorities had failed (De Hart, 2007). The allegedly failed integration was considered to be due to ethnic minorities' multiple loyalties and distinct cultural identities (Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). In response, the national identity was proliferated, based on the ideas of a shared language, history and culture, which was supposed to foster the integration and loyalty of ethnic minorities. However, according to Slootman and Duyvendak (2015), the Dutch national identity is presented as a *zero-sum game*. Ethnic minorities have to fully assimilate and demonstrate exclusive emotional attachment to the Dutch national identity. This could have the perverse effect of reducing ethnic minorities' national identification, especially in the presence of perceived discrimination.

Prior research has demonstrated that perceived discrimination causes ethnic minorities to increase their ethnic identification. For instance, according to the *reactive ethnicity* concept, minorities react to perceived discrimination by increasing their ethnic identity (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005). A similar explanation, known as the *rejection-identification model*, posits that continuous discrimination fosters ethnic in-group identification as a coping mechanism (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). This increasing ethnic in-group orientation does not automatically imply less national identification. According to Sabatier (2008), ethnic identity and national identity vary independently in response to perceived discrimination, but it depends on the specific national context. In the Dutch context, Ghorashi (2009) notes that a harmonious combination of ethnic and national identity - hyphenated identity – is virtually impossible for minorities, because of the Dutch *zero-sum game.* In concordance, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) found that perceiving discrimination in the Netherlands increases the ethnic identification of Turkish-Dutch citizens, which subsequently reduces their national identification.

However, both politics and science typically reduce national identity to a sense of emotional attachment to the nation, which is an inadequate conception of national identification. According to the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007), national identification is about a sense of connectedness towards others and the nation that develop through shared interest, norms and emotions. Additionally, in accordance with Castells

(2003) and Johnson (1993), national identification develops through shared experiences in concrete places. In other words, national identification can also be functional - shared interest - or normative - shared norms - which generally develop through shared experiences in school, work, or other concrete places and which, according to Kremer (2013), contribute to a shared sense of belonging - emotions. As a consequence, research currently lacks an holistic understanding of how perceived discrimination affects national identification.

That is why this research follows the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007) in asserting that national identification consists of functional, normative and emotional identification. These three types of national identification all induce a sense of connectedness towards the nation and others (WRR, 2007). First, *functional identification* occurs when individuals engage in functional personal contact to pursue common interest, making ethnic differences less relevant (Kremer, 2013). Second, *normative identification* occurs when people develop similar norms and are able to articulate and defend their norms in meaningful public arenas (WRR, 2007). Finally, *emotional identification* entails a shared sense of belonging, or feeling at home in the Netherlands. This emotional attachment to the nation is most likely developed through the other two types of identification (Kremer, 2013).

The primary aim of this study is to address the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification. The secondary aim of this paper is to determine if the effect differs between ethnic minority groups. The two minority groups that experience the most discrimination in the Netherlands are Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch citizens - from now on Turks and Moroccans (SCP, 2014). Notwithstanding many similarities, the two groups differ in their ethnic orientation; Moroccans are strongly orientated towards the Netherlands, whereas Turks show a stronger ethnic orientation (Wissink, Deković, Yağmur, Stams & De Haan, 2008). As mentioned before, a stronger ethnic orientation can help cope with perceived discrimination and its negative effects on national identification. Altogether, the central research question is: *What is the influence of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional identification of Turks and Moroccans?*

Answering this questions isn't only scientifically relevant, but also socially, for example, for policy makers. Doing this research enables to illustrate how perceived discrimination is a significant hindrance to the national identification of Turks and Moroccans. Reducing discrimination is therefore important, not only for the national identification and integration of ethnic minorities, but also for the broader social cohesion that ensues out of shared interest, norms and emotions (WRR, 2007).

This paper follows with an theoretical elaboration of the three - functional, normative and emotional – types of national identification. In the same section, theoretically informed hypotheses are formulated, predicting that perceived discrimination reduces the functional, normative and emotional identification of both Turks and Moroccans, although the specific ethnic orientation might produce divergent results. In the section thereafter, the methodology will be discussed, specifically the data collection, operationalisation and the quantitative method used. The following section highlights that perceived discrimination has a negative, but divergent effect on the three types of national identification of Turks and Moroccans and also that the interrelation between the three types of national identification differs per ethnic group. The conclusion and discussion, provide an interpretation of these results, their theoretical implications and offers suggestions for further research.

2. National identity in the Netherlands

National identity has recently become an important political and public issue in the Netherlands. The issue of what it means to be 'Dutch' is particularly incited by the perception that the integration of immigrants had failed (WRR, 2007). Among the first to voice this view was a prominent member of the Dutch Labour party, Paul Scheffer (2000). He argued that the cultural relativism of the multicultural discourse impeded the cultural integration of ethnic minorities. Therefore, the Dutch should stress the cultural assimilation of ethnic minorities through coercive policies. Moreover, defining and propagating the national identity would guide the integration of immigrants (Scheffer, 2000).

These ideas have firmly been incorporated in current integration discourses and policies. Within the assimilation discourse, the perceived lack of minorities' integration is considered to be partly due to the implicit nature of the Dutch identity (Kremer, 2013). Reinforcing the national identity would provide minorities with the necessary information about Dutch society and would encourage their integration. Moreover, ethnic minorities are increasingly expected to demonstrate feelings of belonging and loyalty towards the Netherlands through symbolic actions (Duyvendak, 2011). For example, dual citizenship is seen as a sign of disloyalty and considered a hindrance to the integration of immigrants (WRR, 2007). The perception that foreign cultural identities and multiple loyalties impede the integration of minorities, means that national identity is politically presented as a *zero-sum game*. Ethnic minorities have to forgo their loyalties to other countries and cultures - which are regarded as a threat to emotional attachment to the Netherlands – and have to exclusively adopt the Dutch national identity

(Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). However, the *zero-sum game* could have the perverse effect of reducing ethnic minorities' national identification, especially in the presence of perceived discrimination.

According to Slootman and Duyvendak (2015), Turks and Moroccans constantly perceive discrimination against their claim to Dutchness, which causes them to identify more strongly with their ethnic in-group. They are not seen as Dutch by the majority population, but instead are labelled as Turk or Moroccan. In response, Turks and Moroccans start to consider themselves in accordance to their ascribed identity, even though they feel that they are (partly) Dutch. Other research also posits that perceived discrimination increases minorities' ethnic identification. According to the *reactive ethnicity* concept, minorities react to perceived discrimination by increasing their ethnic identification (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005). Similarly, the *rejection-identification model* posits that continuous discrimination fosters ethnic in-group identification as a coping mechanism against the negative effects of perceived discrimination (Branscombe et al., 1999). Thus, perceived discrimination causes ethnic minorities to emphasize their ethnic identity.

However, according to Sabatier (2008), a strong ethnic identification *an sich* does not imply a weak national identification. Rather, ethnic identity and national identity vary independently in response to perceived discrimination. Notwithstanding, Sabatier (2008) also notes that the interplay of ethnic and national identity depends on the nation context. In the Netherlands, this context presents national identity as a *zero-sum game*; minorities have to demonstrate sole emotional attachment to the Netherlands. According to Ghorashi (2009), precisely the Dutch *zero-sum game* makes a harmonious combination of the two - hyphenated identity - virtually impossible. This has been corroborated in research by Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007). They found that perceived discrimination increases the ethnic identification of Turkish-Dutch citizens, which subsequently reduces their national identification. However, one common shortcoming is that both politics and science typically reduce national identity to a sense of emotional attachment to the nation, which is an inadequate conception of national identification.

From national identity to pluralistic national identification.

Following the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007), this paper posits that national identification is about a sense of connectedness towards others and the nation that develop through shared interest, norms and emotions. Additionally, in accordance

with Castells (2003) and Johnson (1993), national identification develops through shared experiences in concrete places. Put differently, people generally develop shared interest and norms through shared experiences in school, work, politics, or other concrete places, which contribute to a shared sense of belonging. This illustrates how national identification does not develop in isolation and consists of more than emotional attachment to a nation. That is why the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007) differentiate between functional, normative and emotional identification, which in this paper is considered a more complete understanding of the processes through which national identification occurs.

First, *functional identification* occurs through the process of (ethnic) decategorization, followed by careful recategorization based on a functional role (Pettigrew, 1998; WRR, 2007). People then engage in *bridging* social interaction to pursue common interests or goals. This allows for processes of identification that cut across ethnicity (Kremer, 2013). While functional identification hinges on *bridging* social interaction, the interactions must meet certain requirements for positive functional identification to occur: people must have the same status, mutual interdependence, a common goal, repeated and intimate interactions – friendship potential – and institutional support (Pettigrew, 1998). The most realistic sites where functional identification develops are the workplace and school (WRR, 2007). Thus, functional identification develops when ethnic distinctions are blurred and people engage in meaningful personal contact in specific sites, such as the workplace or school.

Second, *normative identification* occurs when people have the opportunity to follow the norms they consider meaningful and have the ability to articulate theirs norms in important public arenas (WRR, 2007). Normative identification contains two elements: norm adjustment and norm articulation. Norm adjustment refers to the process by which minorities adapt to the national culture – *acculturation*. This process often takes place naturally; with time, most minorities develop similar norms as the Dutch (WRR, 2013). However, minorities are also able to change cultural practices through the process of norm articulation. According to Kremer (2013), discussion and conflict about norms in meaningful public arenas can cause subsequent changes in the national culture. In effect, these two processes imply less cultural distance – the discrepancy between ones' own culture and the national culture - both when individuals adapt to the norm or when they changes the dominant norm. Therefore, it could be argued that normative identification ensues out of a lack of cultural distance.

Finally, *emotional identification* refers to a sense emotional attachment to a nation. This attachment is encapsulated in a sense of belonging, pride, loyalty and feeling at home (WRR, 2007). Moreover, emotional identification is created through other types of identification

(Castells, 2003; Johnson, 1993). Put differently, emotional identification develops through concrete practices and shared experiences, which acquire personal and group meanings. For instance, citizens who found their place in work, usually feel more at home in the Netherlands (WRR, 2007). Similarly, the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007) posit that emotional attachment to the nation is conditional. People must have a shared awareness of themselves as shared nationals, or be in direct contact with one another. They also must understand each other, through shared language, habits and norms. This then further illustrates that emotional attachment is generally developed through functional and normative identification.

Effect of perceived discrimination on national identification.

Discrimination refers to the detrimental treatment of people because they belong to a particular group (SCP, 2014). Perceived discrimination entails the personal evaluation of an experience as discriminatory. Thus, discrimination and perceived discrimination do not necessarily coincide; events that are not 'actually' discriminatory can be experienced as such by people, and *vice versa* (SCP, 2014). What is particularly relevant here is the potential effect of perceived discrimination. According to Merton (1995), when people define situations as real, they become real in their consequences. One of these consequences could be less national identification (Ersanilli, 2009; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Of course, discrimination and exclusion can erect external and structural barriers that restrict the possibility of national identification for ethnic minorities (Omlo, 2011). Therefore, they will be included in the discussion as well.

A consequence of (perceived) discrimination may be reduced functional identification. Ordinarily, functional identification occurs when ethnic group boundaries blur and people engage in meaningful *bridging* social interaction (WRR, 2007). Discrimination can, however, hinder the development of functional identification. For instance, labour market discrimination - one of the main sites of functional identification – is a common occurrence in the Netherlands (Gowricharn, 2001; SCP, 2015a). Denying minorities entry to the labour market obstructs the formation of *bridging* social interaction and, thereby *a priori* prevents functional identification. Moreover, minorities also experience discrimination within the workplace and schools (Gowricharn, 2001; SCP, 2014). This could lead to school dropout (Felice, 1981) or work absenteeism (Meerman, 1999), which hinders functional identification, because of reduced – positive - *bridging* social interaction (WRR, 2007). Notwithstanding, the experience of discrimination need not be bound to specific locales, such as work or school, to have a negative

effect on functional identification. Both Pettigrew (1998) and Binder et al. (2009) assert that people reduce or avoid intergroup contact when they experience discrimination. Furthermore, discrimination also reinforced ethnic group boundaries. Discrimination, by definition, is an act of highlighting group distinctions. This also applies to the of ethnic minorities' perception of discrimination. As described earlier, both the *reactive ethnicity concept* (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005) and the *rejection-identification model* (Branscombe et al., 1999) posit that perceived discrimination causes ethnic minorities to emphasize their ethnic identity. Thus, perceived discrimination frustrates the process of functional identification that cut across ethnicity (Kremer, 2013). All in all, it can be expected that perceived discrimination reduces functional identification (*Hypothesis 1*).

Normative identification may also be reduced by perceived discrimination. Normative identification refers to the absence of cultural distance as a result of adjustment *to* the norm and adjustment *of* the norm. According to the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007), the adjustment to the norm by ethnic minorities transpires quite naturally; most minorities adapt and behave in accordance to the dominant norms. However, according to the 'Netherlands Institute for Social Research' (SCP, 2015b), perceived discrimination causes ethnic minorities to consolidate, or even strengthen their cultural identities. Hence, perceived discrimination maintains, or even increases the cultural distance between ethnic minorities and the majority. This is particularly salient for the two minority groups in this study. Most Turks and Moroccans adhere to Islam, which is an important source for their norms (SCP, 2015b). However, in the Dutch context, these Islamic norms are considered illiberal - particularly regarding sexuality, gender relations and self-determination - and inconsistent with the Dutch liberal values (Rath, 1992; WRR, 2007).

As a result, Muslims have become the primary target of public condemnation and assimilative pressure (Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). In response to the (perceived) discrimination against their norms, Turks and Moroccans have increased their Muslim identification (SCP, 2015b). Such a response is known as *resistance identity*: an identity that is constructed in opposition to the ruling norm in response to devaluation and stigmatization (Castells, 2003). Thus, the increased Muslim identification in response to perceived discrimination and in opposition to the ruling norm, increases the cultural distance between Muslims and the majority. At the same time, the ability of ethnic minorities to articulate and advocate their norms in meaningful societal arenas is limited (Kremer, 2013). Harchaoui (2004) states that ethnic minorities are constantly criticised within the Dutch cultural debate, but are seldom allowed to participate and voice their point of view. This perceived discrimination

against the norm articulation of minorities can cause minorities to withdraw into their cultural identity (Kremer, 2013) and thereby increase the cultural distance. All in all, the expectation is that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on normative identification (*Hypothesis 2*).

Finally, emotional identification could also be negatively affected by perceived discrimination. As noted earlier, perceived discrimination increases the ethnic identification of minorities (Branscombe et al., 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Verkuyten, 2005). However, according to Sabatier (2008), a strong ethnic identity does not necessarily mean a weak national identity, it partly depends on the national context. It is exactly this Dutch national context that makes ethnic and national identity mutually exclusive, at least for ethnic minorities. Slootman and Duyvendak (2015) note that Dutch national identity is a *zero-sum game*; minorities have to demonstrate exclusive emotional attachment to the Netherlands. In such a context, perceived discrimination is likely to reduce the national identification of ethnic minorities. Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) already demonstrated that perceived discrimination increases the ethnic identification of Turks, which subsequently reduces their national identification. Moreover, perceived discrimination can also take the form of being ascribed an ethnic identity by the majority. Slootman and Duyvendak (2015) found that Turks and Moroccans identify less with the Netherlands, because they are not considered Dutch by the majority. Altogether, it is expected that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on emotional identification (*Hypothesis 3*).

The negative effect of perceived discrimination on emotional identification could also be mediated by functional and normative identification. According to the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007), people do not intrinsically identify emotionally with a nation, certain conditions are necessary. For instance, national residents need to be in contact with each other somehow and understand one another through shared language and norms. Therefore, it could be expected that, when perceived discrimination reduces functional identification (contact), or normative identification (shared norms), this in turn, also reduces minorities emotional identification with the Netherlands (*Mediation hypothesis 4* and *Mediation hypothesis 5* respectively). The above hypothesis are visually represented in the conceptual model below (Figure 1).

Notwithstanding, the hypothesised effect of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional identification might not be the same for each minority group in the Netherlands. As the *rejection-identification model* demonstrates, ethnic identification can help minorities cope with the negative consequences of perceived discrimination (Branscombe et

al., 1999). Therefore, this research examines the two ethnic minorities groups that perceive the most discrimination in the Netherlands, but have distinct ethnic in-group orientations.

Figure 1: *Conceptual model.*

[Functional Identification] [Emotional Identification] [Normative Identification] [Perceived Discrimination] [Types of National Identification]

H1, H2, H3, H4, H5
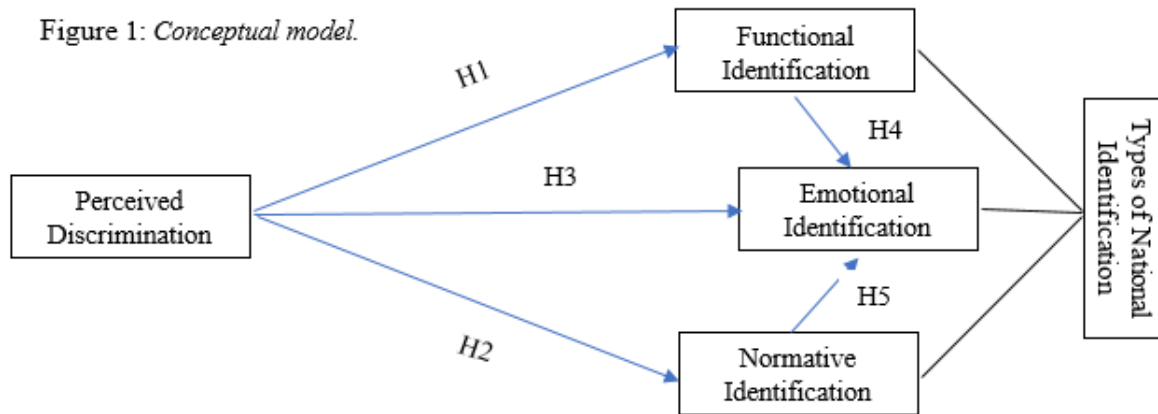
Differential effects between ethnic minority groups.

The two ethnic minority groups that report the most perceived discrimination are Turks and Moroccans (SCP, 2014). Although they are similar in many respects, they differ in their in-group orientation. According to Wissink et al. (2008), Moroccans have a strong orientation towards the Netherlands, whereas Turks have a strong ethnic in-group orientation. This distinct ethnic vis-à-vis national orientation pertains to perceived discrimination. Several social identity theorists have argued that the negative consequences of attribution to discrimination are buffered by stronger minority group identification (Branscombe et al., 1999; Shelton et al., 2005). Alternatively, the strong orientation towards the Netherlands makes Moroccans more sensitive to perceived discrimination (Buijs, Demant & Hamdy, 2006; Omlo, 2011). Buijs et al. (2006) call this an *integration paradox*: the stronger the orientation towards the Netherlands, the more an individual wants to integrate and the more sensitive a person is to perceived discrimination (p. 202). Subsequently, Verkuyten and Martinovic (2012) argue that this increased sensitivity to perceived discriminating negatively affects minorities' national identification. Hence, the specific orientation could matter for the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification. Thus, the distinct ethnic vis-à-vis national orientation of Turks and Moroccans respectively, warrants a separate investigation into the effect of

perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional identification of either group.

3. Methodology

Data

The data is obtained from the 'Netherlands Longitudinal Life Course Study' (NELLS) (De Graaf, Kalmijn, Kraaykamp & Monden, 2010). NELLS is a Dutch large-scale longitudinal panel study, aimed at allowing Dutch social scientists to study social cohesion, norms and values, and inequality - social dynamics. The survey is setup in a mixed-mode form, using both face-to-face interviews and a self-completion questionnaire (De Graaf et al., 2010). Respondents were recruited by employing two-stage stratified sampling. The first stage was a quasi-random selection by region and urbanization and the second stage was a random selection from the population registry based on age and country of birth of the respondent and his/her parents (De Graaf et al., 2010, p.5). Within the sampling strategy, people of Moroccan and Turkish origin were oversampled. This oversampling does not affect the representativeness of the data, because the two groups are analysed in isolation and not in comparison with the general population. Data collection started in December 2008 and finished in May 2010. The response rate was 52 per cent - around the national average – with Moroccans (46 per cent) and Turks (50 per cent) having the lowest response rates (De Graaf et al., 2010). In total, de dataset contains N=5,312 respondents, N=1,192 Moroccans and N=1,143 Turks. The operationalisation of the relevant variables will be discussed below.

Perceived discrimination

Perceived discrimination is measured using question SCG9: *Did you ever feel that you were discriminated against based on your ethnic origin in the following situations?* Which is subdivided in the following situations: (a) when applying for a job or internship (b) at work (c) at school, in class (d) on the street, in shops, on public transport (e) association, club, sports (f) at entertainment venues, nightclubs etc. The answers were measured using a 3-point Likert scale: (1) no, never (2) yes, occasionally (3) yes, quite often. Factor analysis shows that these items constitute a single dimension (*Appendix A*). Moreover, these items form a highly reliable scale (α = .81).

National identification

Functional identification is measured by the personal contact with natives in the two most prominent sites for functional identification, namely work and school (Kremer, 2013). Specifically, question SCB19a: *How often do you have personal contact with someone from Dutch origin at work and / or school?* Personal contact entails that respondents know the other person by name and actually talk to them. This implies a level of intimacy above impersonal contact and is the best available measure for meaningful *bridging* social contact. Answers are measured on a 8-point scale, ranging from: 1 = (almost) every day to 8 = not applicable (no personal contact with natives). Values 7 (never) and 8 (no personal contact with natives) have been merged into one, since they both imply no social contact. Additionally, the answers have been reverse coded so that a higher score indicates more personal functional contact with natives.

     Normative identification is measured by a cultural distance scale. Because the crux of the public and political discussions revolves around the assumed illiberal ideologies of Turks and Moroccans– Muslims – regarding sexuality, homosexuality and gender relations (WRR, 2007), it can be expected that the cultural distance will be most apparent concerning these so-called secular, liberal issues. Therefore, the cultural distance scale is constructed using question SCE13: *Do you find the following affairs wrong or not wrong?* Which is subdivided in: (a) homosexuality (b) abortion (c) divorce (d) voluntary childlessness (e) euthanasia (f) death penalty (g) sex before marriage (h) sex with a partner other than the marriage or cohabiting partner. The answers were measured using a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from: 1 = always wrong to 4 = never wrong. Factor analysis shows that these items constitute a single dimension, however items f and h have low factor loadings (*Appendix A*). Moreover, reliability analysis shows that omitting these two items would increase the reliability. Thus, sub question f and h are omitted, resulting in a highly reliable cultural distance scale (α = .88). To determine the cultural distance for each Turk and Moroccan, the following steps were taken. First, Independent Samples T-Test was conducted, which determined that the mean score of the native Dutch population differs significantly with both Turks (M = 2.51, SD = .80, $t(1374)$ = 30.12, $p \leq .001$) and Moroccans (M = 2.39, SD = .77, $t(1442)$ = 36.14, $p \leq .001$). Second, the mean score on the native Dutch population (M = 3.37, SD = .58) was obtained. Third, the cultural distance scale was constructed, in which the mean cultural score of the native Dutch population was subtracted from the cultural score of each individual Turk and Moroccan respondent (cultural

distance =3.373793 – cultural score). This then represents the cultural distance of Turk and Moroccan with the native Dutch population on secular, liberal issues.

Emotional identification is measured using questions, which are often used in research regarding identification (see Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). These questions are: "*I feel at home in Dutch society*", "*I strongly identify with the Netherlands*", "*I feel really connected to the Netherlands*" and "*my Dutch identity is an important part of me*". All items are measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree. The answers have been reverse coded so that a higher score indicated more emotional identification. The factor analysis shows that these items constitute a single dimension (*Appendix A*). Moreover, these items form a highly reliable scale ($\alpha = .86$).

Control and interaction variables

Within this study, *gender*, *age*, *education*, *generation*, *income*, *length of residency* and *religion* will be considered important individual background characteristics. Gender has been recoded so that 1 = female is the reference group. Age refers to the age of the respondent at the time of the survey. Education is divided into three group: lower, middle and higher education, to accommodate respondents who followed a foreign education. Generation has been recoded so that 1 = second generation is the reference group. Income is measures on a 16-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = less than 150 euro to 16 = 7000 euro or more. Respondent who did not know, or did not want to tell their income were recoded as missing. A dummy variable 'Length of residency' refers to the time people have contiguously lived in the Netherlands. For second generation this is their age at the time of the survey. For first generation it is their age minus the age at which they arrived in the Netherlands. Finally, religion has been recoded so that 1 = religious is the reference group.

Method

Multiple regression analysis will be employed to test the hypotheses. First, the key assumptions of multiple regression are considered - linearity, normal distribution, homoscedasticity, normally distributed residuals and multicollinearity (George & Mallery, 2010; De Vocht, 2014). Analysis reveals that none of the key assumptions are violated.

Separate models have been constructed for Turks and Moroccans and for each of the three - functional, normative and emotional – types of national identification. Since these three types of national identification all induce a sense of connectedness towards the nation and others

(WRR, 2007), they are considered dependent variables in their own right. For both functional and normative identification, model 1 contains the dependent (functional and normative identification respectively) and independent (perceived discrimination) variables, while model 2 adds the control variables. For emotional identification, model 1 contains the dependant (emotional identification) and independent (perceived discrimination) variables. In model 2, the functional and normative identification measures are added to test for mediation, while model 3 includes the control variables.

The mediation analysis will contain the following steps (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, perceived discrimination must be significantly related to emotional identification with the inclusion of the control variables (model 3 of emotional identification). Second, perceived discrimination must have a significant effect on functional and/or normative identification (obtained from model 2 of both functional and normative identification). Third, functional and/or normative identification must be significantly related to emotional identification with the inclusion of the control variables (model 3 of emotional identification). Fourth, the effect of perceived discrimination on emotional identification must disappear (full mediation) or decrease (partial mediation) when functional and normative identification are entered into the model (model 2 and 3 of emotional identification). Finally, in the case that the above conditions are met, the Sobel test will be employed to determine whether the mediation is significant. Rejection of the mediation hypotheses is required when the criterion of one of these steps are not met.

4. Mixed effects of perceived discrimination on the national identification of Turks and Moroccans

The results of both Turks and Moroccans will be discussed separately in the following results section for the sake of clarity, followed by a comparison between the two ethnic minority groups.

Moroccans

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the Moroccan sample. The total number of respondents is $n = 833$, of which 54 per cent is female, 95 percent is religious and 37 per cent is of the second generation. The average age is 30 and the average length of residency within the Netherlands is 21 years. Moreover, half of the Moroccan respondents is lower educated and the average net income is around 1100 euro's a month. Overall, the Moroccan sample doesn't

experiences a lot of discrimination (M = 1.36, SD = .42). However, they perceive the most discrimination out of all the ethnic groups within the NELLS panel survey. Notwithstanding, their emotional identification with the Netherlands is significantly higher than that of the Turkish sample (M = 3.80, SD = .75, $t(1645)$ = 3.99, $p \leq$ .001). On average, the frequency of their personal functional contact is between a couple of times per month and a couple of times per week. Finally, the Moroccan sample is the most culturally 'illiberal' of the ethnic groups (M = .99, SD = .77).

Tabel 1

Descriptive Statistics of Moroccan respondent (n = 833).

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Perceived Discrimination	1.00	3.00	1.36	.42
Emotional identification	1.00	5.00	3.80	.75
Cultural distance	-.63	2.37	.99	.77
Functional contact with natives	1	7	5.57	2.39
Higher Educated	0	1	.21	.41
Middle Educated	0	1	.29	.46
Lower Educated	0	1	.50	.50
Length of residency within the Netherlands	0	44	21.21	8.37
Gender (1 = female)	0	1	.54	.50
Generation (1= 2nd generation)	0	1	.37	.48
Religious (1 = yes)	0	1	.95	.21
Age	15	49	30.29	8.60
Income	1	16	5.19	2.52

Bivariate correlation analysis is conducted prior to the multiple regression to assess the relationship between the three types – functional, normative and emotional - of national identification (*Table 1.1*, *Appendix B*). Results indicate that there is a weak, negative correlation between functional and normative identification, r = -.196, $p \leq$ .001. Thus, an increase in personal functional contact is correlated with reduced cultural distance. Moreover, there is a weak, negative correlation between emotional and normative identification, r = -.147, $p \leq$ .001. Hence, increase in emotional attachment to the Netherlands is correlated with reduced cultural distance.

Hypothesis 1 is tested using multiple regression (Table 2). The hypothesis states that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on functional identification. Model 2 demonstrates that perceived discrimination indeed has a significant negative effect on

functional identification (B = -.529, $p \leq$ .01). Thus, experiencing discrimination leads Moroccans to reduce their personal functional contact with natives. Therefore, hypothesis 1 is supported for Moroccans.

Model 2 indicated that several of the control variables also have a significant effect on functional identification. Moroccan women have significantly less personal functional contact with natives (B = -.757, $p \leq$ .001). Personal functional contact with natives also significantly reduces with age (B = -.083, $p \leq$ .001). Meanwhile, personal functional contact with natives increases with higher income (B = .138, $p \leq$ .001). Moreover, second generation Moroccans have more personal functional contact with natives compared to the first generation (B = .497, $p \leq$ .05). Finally, higher (B = .774, $p \leq$ .001) and middle (B = .557, $p \leq$ .01) educated Moroccans have significantly more personal functional contact with natives than lower educated.

Table 2

Coefficients[a] Functional and Normative identification Moroccans

| | Functional identification | | | | Normative identification | | | |
| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
(Constant)	5.503[a]	.280	7.271[a]	.675	1.121[b]	.090	.581[b]	.215
Perceived discrimination	.052	.197	-.529**	.196	-.098	.063	-.008	.062
Age			-.083***	.015			.018***	.005
Income			.138***	.038			-.033**	.012
Generations (1=2nd gen)			.497*	.238			.022	.076
Gender (1=female)			-.757***	.164			-.099	.052
Length of residency within the Netherlands			.017	.011			-.025***	.004
Religious (1 = yes)			.365	.365			.691***	.116
Higher Educated [c]			.774***	.211			-.224***	.067
Middle Educated [c]			.557**	.184			-.025	.059
Nagelkerke R^2	.000		.151		.003		.162	

a. Dependent Variable: Functional contact with natives.   b. Dependent Variable: Cultural distance   c. Note: Education was represented as three dummy variables with lower education serving as the reference group.

d.. Functional identification is measured with functional contact at work / school with natives. . e. Normative identification is measured with cultural distance. *p≤.05. **p≤.01. ***p≤0.001.

Hypothesis 2 posits that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on normative identification, which would manifest in increased cultural distance (Table 2). The result show that perceived discrimination does not have a significant effect on normative identification (B = -.008, $p \geq$ .05). Therefore, hypothesis 2 is rejected for Moroccans; experiencing discrimination does not significantly increase the cultural distance between Moroccans and natives.

However, some of the control variables in model 2 do significantly affect the normative identification of Moroccans. The cultural distance between natives and Moroccans increases with age (B = .018, $p \leq$ .001). Moreover, religious Moroccans demonstrate significantly more

cultural distance towards the majority population compared to non-religious Moroccans (B = .691, $p ≤ .001$). As has been described in the theoretical section, most Moroccans adhere to Islam, which is an important source for their norms (SCP, 2015b). These norms often conflict with Dutch secular norms which results in increased cultural distance compared to non-religious Moroccans. In contrast, the cultural distance between natives and Moroccans decreases for higher educated (B = -.224, $p ≤ .001$) compared to lower educated Moroccans, as well as when Moroccans earn a higher income (B = -.033, $p ≤ .01$). Additionally, the longer Moroccans have resided in the Netherlands, the significantly less cultural distance between them and natives (B = -.025, $p ≤ .001$).

Finally, emotional identification with the Netherlands was hypothesised to be negatively affected by perceived discrimination (Table 3). Result indicate that perceived discrimination has a significantly negative relationship with emotional identification, even after the control variables are entered in model 3 (B = -.293, $p ≤ .001$). Thus, when Moroccans experience discrimination, their emotional attachment to the Netherlands is reduced. This supports hypothesis 3 for Moroccans.

Table 3

Coefficients[a] Emotional identification Moroccans

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
(Constant) [a]	4.129	.087	4.254	.115	4.002	.237
Perceived discrimination	-.239***	.061	-.254***	.060	-.293***	.064
Functional identification [d]			.007	.011	.012	.011
Normative identification [e]			-.147***	.034	-.109**	.036
Age					.000	.005
Income					.001	.012
Generations (1=2nd gen)					-.074	.078
Gender (1=female)					-.016	.054
Length of residency within the Netherlands					.017***	.004
Religious (1 = yes)					-.063	.121
Higher Educated [c]					-.124	.070
Middle Educated [c]					.024	.060
Nagelkerke R^2	.018		.043		.080	

a. Dependent Variable: Emotional identification. b. *p≤.05. **p≤.01. ***p≤0.001. c. Note: Education was represented as three dummy variables with lower education serving as the reference group.

d. Functional identification is measured with functional contact at work / school with natives. e. Normative identification is measured with cultural distance.

The mediation hypotheses posit that perceived discrimination would reduce the functional identification (contact), or normative identification (shared norms), which would in turn reduces minorities emotional identification with the Netherlands (*Mediation Hypotheses 4* and *5* respectively). The mediation analysis shows that there is no sign of full, or partial mediation. Even though perceived discrimination does have a significant effect on emotional identification

(B = -.293, $p \leq .001$), it does not have a significant relation with normative identification (B = -.008, p $\geq$ .05, Table 2). Moreover, while functional identification is significantly affected by perceived discrimination (B = -.529, p $\leq$ .01, Table 2), functional identification is not significantly related to emotional identification (B = .012, p $\geq$ .05). Thus, step 2 of the mediation analysis failed for normative identification and step 3 for functional identification. Hence, Sobel test for mediation is omitted and mediation hypotheses 4 and 5 are rejected for Moroccans. Put differently, the negative effect of perceived discrimination on emotional identification does not operate through functional or normative identification. However, model 3 does show that normative identification significantly increases Moroccans' emotional attachment to the Netherlands (B = -.109, $p \leq .01$). Hence, Moroccans' emotional attachment with the Netherlands increases when the cultural distance between them and natives decreases. Additionally, model 3 indicates that the longer Moroccans live in the Netherlands, the more they emotionally identify with the nation (B = .017, $p \leq .001$).

In conclusion, the main findings and relations can be summed up as followed (Figure 2). Perceived discrimination leads Moroccans to reduce their personal functional contact with natives at work or at school and lowers their emotional attachment to the Netherlands (supporting hypothesis 1 and 3). However, perceiving discrimination does not significantly affect the cultural distance between natives and Moroccans (rejecting hypothesis 2). Moreover, the expectation that perceived discrimination would reduce the personal functional contact with natives and increase the cultural distance, which would in turn reduce the emotional attachment to the Netherlands, is not supported by the data (rejecting mediation hypotheses 4 and 5).

The results also reveal how the three types of national identification are related. For Moroccans, emotional identification is significantly related to normative identification, but not to functional identification. In turn, functional identification has a significant relationship with normative identification.

Figure 2: *Path model with the significant main relationships for Moroccans (n = 833), controlling for age, income, generations, gender, length of residency, religious and education.*
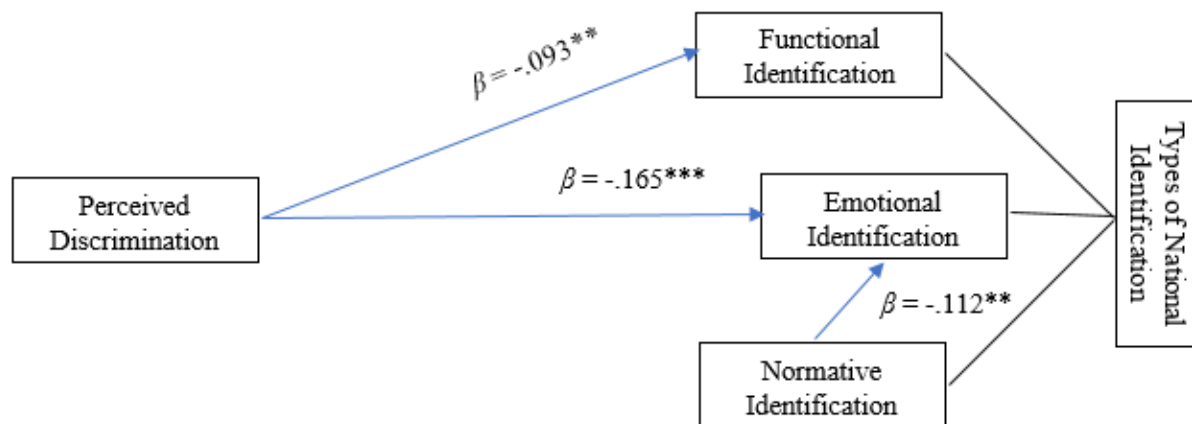
Turks

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Turkish respondent (N = 814).

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Perceived Discrimination	1.00	3.00	1.33	.40
Emotional identification	1.00	5.00	3.65	.72
Cultural distance	-.63	2.37	.85	.81
Functional contact with natives	1	7	5.70	2.28
Higher Educated	0	1	.21	.41
Middle Educated	0	1	.32	.47
Lower Educated	0	1	.47	.50
Length of residency within the Netherlands	0	45	22.42	9.52
Gender (1 = female)	0	1	.50	.50
Generation (1= 2nd generation)	0	1	.36	.48
Religious (1 = yes)	0	1	.86	.35
Age	14	47	31.80	8.98
Income	1	16	5.70	2.77

Table 4 provides descriptive statistics for the Turkish sample. The total number of respondents is $n = 814$, of which 50.4 per cent is female ($n = 410$), 86 percent is religious and 36 per cent is second generation. The average age is around 32 and the average length of residency within the

Netherlands is around 22 years. Additionally, 47 per cent of the Turkish respondents is lower educated and the average net income is around 1350 euro's a month. Perceived discrimination among the Turkish sample (M = 1.33, SD = .40) is not significantly lower than that of Moroccans ($t(1645)$ = 1.38, $p \geq$ .05). Turks' personal functional contact with natives is also not significantly more frequent (M = 5.70, SD = 2.28, $t(1644)$ = 1.12, $p \geq$ .05) compared to Moroccans. However, the cultural distance with respect to the native population is significantly lower than that of Moroccans (M = .85, SD = .81, $t(1636)$ = 3.67, $p \leq$ .001), as well as the emotional identification with the Netherlands (M = 3.65, SD = .72, $t(1645)$ = 3.99, $p \leq$ .001).

Bivariate correlation analysis is conducted prior to the multiple regression to assess the relationship between the three types – functional, normative and emotional - of national identification (*Table 1.2, Appendix B*). Results suggest that there is a weak, negative correlation between functional and normative identification, r = -.122, $p \leq$ .001. Thus, increase in personal functional contact is correlated with reduced cultural distance. Moreover, functional identification is weakly, positively correlated with emotional identification, r = .122, $p \leq$ .001. Hence, increase in personal functional contact is correlated with increased emotional attachment to the Netherlands.

Table 5

Coefficients[a] Functional and Normative identification Turks

| | Functional identification | | | | Normative identification | | | |
| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
(Constant)	5.643[a]	.275	7.491[a]	.518	.767[b]	.097	.686[b]	.180
Perceived discrimination	.045	.197	-.067	.190	.059	.070	.027	.066
Age			-.096***	.014			.003	.005
Income			.192***	.033			-.015	.012
Generations (1=2nd gen)			-.166	.235			-.132	.081
Gender (1=female)			-.625***	.152			-.100	.053
Length of residency within the Netherlands			.019	.011			-.011**	.004
Religious (1 = yes)			-.088	.221			.664***	.076
Higher Educated [c]			.685***	.207			-.374***	.072
Middle Educated [c]			.477**	.177			-.120	.062
Nagelkerke R^2	.000		.142		.001		.182	

a. Dependent Variable: Functional contact with natives. b. Dependent Variable: Cultural distance   c. Note: Education was represented as three dummy variables with lower education serving as the reference group.

d.. Functional identification is measured with functional contact at work / school with natives. . e. Normative identification is measured with cultural distance. *p≤.05. **p≤.01. ***p≤0.001.

Hypothesis 1 is tested using multiple regression, this time for Turks (Table 5). Results indicate that perceived discrimination does not have a significant effect on functional identification (B = -.067, $p \geq$ .05). Thus, experiencing discrimination does not lead Turks to reduce their personal functional contact with natives. Therefore, hypothesis 1 is rejected for Turks.

However, some control variables are significantly related to functional identification. Model 2 shows that functional identification with the Netherlands is significantly and negatively affected gender ($B = -.625$, $p \leq .001$); Turkish women have less personal functional contact with natives compared to men. Additionally, personal functional contact is significantly reduced by age ($B = -.096$, $p \leq .001$). Education and income, on the other hand, have a significant positive effect on functional identification. Higher ($B = .685$, $p \leq .001$) and middle ($B = .477$, $p \leq .01$) educated Turks have significantly more personal functional contact with natives compared with lower educated Turks. Moreover, an increase in income ($B = .192$, $p \leq .001$) results in more functional identification.

Hypothesis 2 posits that perceived discrimination has a negative effect on normative identification, which would manifest in increased cultural distance (Table 5). However, perceived discrimination has no significant relationship with normative identification ($B = .027$, $p \geq .05$). Thus, experiencing discrimination does not increase the cultural distance between Turks and natives. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is rejected for Turks.

The control variables, added in model 2, show that religious Turks demonstrate significantly more cultural distance compared to non-religious Turks ($B = .664$, $p \leq .001$). Again, as for Moroccans, Islam is an important source for Turks' norms (SCP, 2015b). These norms often conflict with secular Dutch norms and result in significant cultural distance. Meanwhile, higher educated Turks are more 'liberal' than lower educated Turks ($B = -.374$, $p \leq .001$). Furthermore, the longer Turks have resided in the Netherlands, the significantly less cultural distance between them and natives ($B = -.011$, $p \leq .01$).

Finally, the emotional identification of Turks with the Netherlands was expected to be negatively affected by perceived discrimination (Table 6). The analysis shows that perceived discrimination indeed has a significant negative effect on emotional identification, even after the control variables are entered in model 3 ($B = -.281$, $p \leq .001$). Thus, experiencing discrimination leads Turks to reduce their emotional attachment with the Netherlands. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is supported.

Model 2 tests if the negative effect of perceived discrimination on the emotional identification of Turks with the Netherlands is mediated by functional and normative identification. The mediation analysis reveals that there is no sign of either full or partial mediation. While perceived discrimination does have a significant effect on the emotional identification of Turks with the Netherlands ($B = -.281$, $p \leq .001$), it does not significantly affect Turks' functional ($B = -.067$, $p \geq .05$, Table 5) and normative identification ($B = .027$, $p \geq .05$, Table 5). Thus, step 2 of the mediation analysis failed for both functional and normative

identification. Hence, Sobel test for mediation is omitted and mediation hypotheses 4 and 5 are rejected for Turks. Notwithstanding, model 3 indicates that functional identification significantly increases the emotional identification of Turks with the Netherlands ($B = .031$, $p \leq .01$). This implies that more frequent personal functional contact with natives increase the emotional attachment of Turks with the Netherlands. Moreover, the longer Turks reside in the Netherlands, the more the emotionally identify with the nation ($B = .018$, $p \leq .001$). However, emotional identification is significantly reduced with age ($B = -.010$, $p \leq .05$).

Table 6

Coefficients[a] Emotional identification Turks

|	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
(Constant) [a]	3.961[a]	.086	3.764 [a]	.110	3.862 [a]	.194
Perceived discrimination	-.230***	.062	-.230***	.061	-.281***	.063
Functional identification [d]			.038***	.011	.031**	.012
Normative identification [e]			-.022	.031	.020	.034
Age					-.010*	.005
Income					.001	.011
Generations (1=2nd gen)					-.086	.078
Gender (1=female)					-.040	.051
Length of residency within the Netherlands					.018***	.004
Religious (1 = yes)					-.104	.076
Higher Educated [c]					.005	.070
Middle Educated [c]					.089	.059
Nagelkerke R^2	.017		.032		.072	

a. Dependent Variable: Emotional identification. b. *p≤.05. **p≤.01. ***p≤0.001. c. Note: Education was represented as three dummy variables with lower education serving as the reference group.

d. Functional identification is measured with functional contact at work / school with natives. e. Normative identification is measured with cultural distance.

In conclusion, the main relationship between perceived discrimination and the three types of identification – functional, normative and emotional – shows mixed results for Turks (Figure 3). While perceived discrimination has no significant effect on functional and normative identification (rejecting hypothesis 1 and 2), it does have the expected negative and significant effect on emotional identification (supporting hypothesis 3). Notwithstanding, the relationship between perceived discrimination and emotional identification is not fully or partially mediated by functional and normative identification, as was expected (rejecting mediation hypothesis 4 and 5).

The results also show how the three types of national identification are related for Turks. Emotional identification is significantly related to functional identification, but not to normative identification. Normative identification, on the other hand, is only significantly related the functional identification.

Figure 3: *Path model with the significant main relationships for Turks (n = 814), controlling for age, income, generations, gender, length of residency, religious and education.*
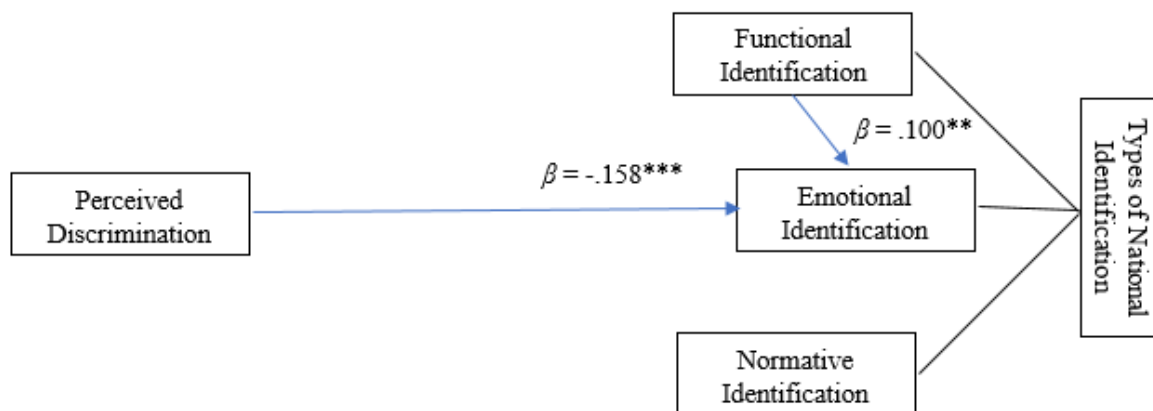
Comparison between Moroccans and Turks

The above results highlight some differences between Turks and Moroccans. For instance, Moroccans are more emotionally attached to the Netherlands. Turks on the other hand, have less cultural distance with respect to the native population. According to Buijs et al. (2006), especially Moroccans show a strong inclination towards integration in the Dutch society. As far as the findings of this paper go, the willingness of Moroccans to integrate has not translated into higher - cultural - integration compared to Turks. The results indicate that Turks are better culturally integrated, because of the fact that they experience significantly less cultural distance with respect to natives.

Additionally, the findings also indicate that the specific relationship between functional, normative and emotional identification differs between the two minority groups, particularly with respect to emotional identification. For Turks, emotional identification is significantly related to functional identification and not to normative identification. In contrast, for Moroccans, emotional identification is significantly related to normative identification and not to functional identification. This shows that the specific relation between the three types of identification not only depends on the time and context, as the 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007) suggest, but also on the specific ethnic group in question.

Finally, perceived discrimination only significantly reduces Turks' emotional identification with the Netherlands, whereas it reduces both the functional and emotional identification of Moroccans. This discrepancy between the two groups partly fit the theories

described earlier; the strong ethnic orientation of Turk provides a buffer against the negative consequences of perceived discrimination (Branscombe et al., 1999; Shelton et al., 2005). It could be that the strong ethnic orientation of Turks partially 'protects' their national identification against the negative effects of perceived discrimination, while the strong Dutch orientation of Moroccans makes their national identification more sensitive to the effects of perceived discrimination. However, this cannot be confirmed conclusively by this study.

The results also highlight some similarities. Perceived discrimination has no significant effect on the normative identification of both Turks and Moroccans. In both cases, religion was a significant predictor of increased cultural distance. According to Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007), Islam provides Muslims with an absolute source of norms (either adhere to them or you don't). This suggest that the cultural distance between Muslims and natives is rather fixed and is not significantly affected by perceived discrimination. Finally, perceived discrimination significantly reduces the emotional identification with the Netherlands of both Turks and Moroccans. This corroborates previous findings that showed that experiencing discrimination in the Netherlands reduces the emotional attachment of minorities towards the nation (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

5. Conclusion and discussion

This study primarily sought to explain the influence of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional - national - identification of Turks and Moroccans with the Netherlands. It was hypothesised that perceived discrimination would negatively affect all three types of the national identification for both minority groups. Moreover, it was expected that the negative effect of perceived discrimination on emotional identification would be mediated by functional and normative identification. Results indicate that this articles' primary aim cannot be unequivocally answered without considering the second aim, namely differential effects on Turks and Moroccans.

For Moroccans, perceived discrimination reduces their functional and emotional identification with the Netherlands. Experiencing discrimination leads Moroccans to reduce their personal functional contact with natives. For emotional identification, the perception of being discriminated against results in less emotional attachment to the Netherland. However, against the expectations, the negative effect of perceived discrimination on emotional identification, is not mediated by functional, or normative identification. Moreover,

experiencing discrimination does not significantly reduce the normative identification of Moroccans with the Netherlands.

In contrast, perceived discrimination has no significant effect on the functional identification of Turks. Hence, experiencing discrimination does not lead Turks to reduce their personal functional contact with natives. Additionally, perceived discrimination does not significantly affect the normative identification of Turks. This suggests that perceiving discrimination does not significantly influences the cultural distance between Turks and natives. However, when Turks experience discrimination in the Netherlands, it does reduce their emotional attachment - identification - to the nation. Notwithstanding, this negative effect is not mediated by functional, or normative identification.

Additionally, a distinct relational pattern between functional, normative and emotional identification was evidenced by the results. For Moroccans, emotional identification is significantly related to normative identification, but not to functional identification. In contrast, for Turks, emotional identification is significantly related to functional identification, but not to normative identification. Notwithstanding, functional and normative identification are significantly interrelated for both Moroccans and Turks.

These findings have some implications for the existing literature. Prior research into the effect of perceived discrimination on national identification only considered the emotional attachment of minorities to the nation. This paper asserts that people develop national identification through shared interest, norms and emotions, which develop in concrete places and through shared experiences (Castells, 2003; Johnson, 1993; WRR, 2007). Therefore, national identification consists of functional, normative and emotional identification. The results add to the existing literature by showing that perceived discrimination can also negatively affect other types of national identification. Specifically, it shows that perceived discrimination also reduces the functional identification of Moroccans. Additionally, based on the existing literature, it was considered that functional identification and normative identification were preconditions for the development of emotional attachment (Castells, 2003; Johnson, 1993). However, this paper shows that this relation is more complicated. Emotional identification is indeed related to the other types of identification, but the specific relationship depends on the particularities of the ethnic group; for Turks, emotional identification is related to functional identification, for Moroccans it is related to normative identification. The 'Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR, 2007) already argued that the specific relationship between functional, normative and emotional identification depends on the

context and time. This paper then adds that it also depends on the specific ethnic group in question.

Additionally, for policy makers, this research demonstrates that reducing - the perception of - discrimination can increase the national identification of Turks and Moroccans. Moreover, investing in the functional and normative types of national identification can foster a heightened sense of emotional attachment to the Netherlands. Practically, this implies reducing (structural) barriers for the institutional participation of ethnic minorities and allowing minorities to cooperate in meaningful norm adjustment, while facilitating their cultural integration.

Notwithstanding, this research has some methodological limitations. The NELLS dataset does not contain measures that directly measure functional and normative identification. Personal functional contact with natives and cultural distance are theoretically informed and relevant proxy's, but do not directly relate to connectedness with others and the nation – national identification. In other words, it is unclear whether the two measures actually are some form of national identification, or are rather preconditions for national identification. Items directly measuring functional and normative connectedness with others and the nation are recommended. Furthermore, perceived discrimination was measured on a 3-point scale. Generally, perceived discrimination is measured on a 5-point Likert scale (for instance, Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), which allows for more nuanced answers. Finally, while the cultural distance scale does measure element of adjustment to the norm and adjustment of the norm, it mainly captures adjustment to the norm. Measures that also captured the ability for minorities to adjust the norm are recommended.

Future research should then focus on using more precise measurements for functional and normative identification. The distinct findings between Turks and Moroccans also warrant an investigation into the effects of perceived discrimination on the functional, normative and emotional identification with the Netherlands of other - often overlooked - minority groups. Too often does research focus on Turks and – to a certain extent - Moroccans. Finally, research shows that local identities are often an important source of identification (Entzinger & Dourleijn 2008). Future research could examine how perceived discrimination affects these more local identities.

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Appendix A

Summary factor analysis

	Perceived discrimination	Emotional identification	Normative identification
Discrimination in the following settings:			
apply for job/internship	.745		
at work	.732		
at school	.683		
in public places	.719		
at association	.724		
at recreations	.730		
Opinion about following statement:			
I feel in my place in Dutch society		.743	
I strongly identify with the Netherlands		.896	
I feel strongly connected to the Netherlands		.887	
My Dutch identity is an important part of myself		.836	
Opinion about:			
Homosexuality			.832
Abortion			.830
Divorce			.710
Voluntary childlessness			.748
Euthanasia			.818
Sex before marriage			.797
Cronbach alpha	.81	.86	.88
Eigenvalue	3.13	2.84	3.75
Variance explained	52.19	70.99	62.50

a.

Appendix B

Table 1.1

Correlation between the three types of national identification for Moroccans n = 833

	1	2
1. Functional identification		
2. Normative identification	-.196***	
3. Emotional identification	.051	-.147***

*p ≤.05. **p ≤.01. ***p ≤ 0.001.

Table 1.2

Correlation between the three types of national identification for Turks n = 814

	1	2
1. Functional identification		
2. Normative identification	-.122***	
3. Emotional identification	.122***	-.043

*p ≤.05. **p ≤.01. ***p ≤ 0.001.