Check for updates

Article

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology
2018, Vol. 49(4) 602–617
© The Author(s) 2018
Reprints and permissions:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/0022022118763113
journals.sagepub.com/home/jcc
SAGE

Perceived Discrimination and Intergroup Behaviors: The Role of Muslim and American Identity Integration

Muniba Saleem[1], Eric Dubow[2], Fiona Lee[3], and Rowell Huesmann[1]

Abstract

In this article, we test the proposition that identity integration—or perceptions of compatibility versus conflict between one's social identities—predicts behaviors in intergroup contexts. Using a sample of 171 Muslim Arab American adolescents aged 13 to 19, we examine the relations between identity integration of Muslim and American identities, experiences of discrimination, and intentions to avoid and approach members of the majority group. For adolescents who perceived their American and Muslim identities as being in conflict, we found that perceived discrimination was positively related to intentions to avoid the majority group. However, this trend was not significant for those who perceived their American and Muslim identities as highly integrated. These effects held after controlling for participants' strength of identification with both American and Muslim identities, and number of years lived in the United States. These results provide support for the idea that identity integration among stigmatized minorities may buffer the negative effects of discrimination on intergroup behaviors.

Keywords

discrimination, identity integration, intergroup dynamics, Muslim Americans

> And today, there are voices in this world, particularly over the Internet, who are constantly claiming that you have to choose between your identities—as a Muslim, for example, or an American. Do not believe them. If you're ever wondering whether you fit in here, let me say it as clearly as I can, as President of the United States: You fit in here—right here. You're right where you belong. You're part of America, too. You're not Muslim or American. You're Muslim and American.
>
> —President Barack Obama, February 3, 2016 (The White House, 2016)

[1]Department of Communication Studies and Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA
[2]Department of Psychology, Bowling Green State University, OH, USA
[3]Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA

Corresponding Author:
Muniba Saleem, University of Michigan, 5370 North Quad, 105 South State Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, USA.
Email: saleemm@umich.edu

In the quote above, former U.S. President Obama suggested that Muslim Americans do not have to choose between their religious identities as Muslims and their national identities as Americans. Rather, he urged Muslim Americans to integrate their religious and national identities, such that they can be both at the same time. Yet, Obama's message runs counter to other, opposite political and public sentiments about Muslim Americans in the United States. For instance, Newt Gingrich recently proposed a religious test for determining which Muslim immigrants hold values that are inconsistent with America to determine whether they should be deported (Etehad, 2016). Molly White, former member of the Texas House of Representatives, refused to meet with Muslim American constituents until they "declare their allegiance to the United States" (Hamilton & Ura, 2015, p. 1). In early 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump implemented an immigration ban where non-Americans traveling from certain Muslim countries are denied entry into the United States, especially those who professed to be Muslim rather than Christian. Beyond politicians, public opinion data reveal that 51% of non-Muslim Americans think that Muslims in the United States want to remain distinct from American culture (Pew Research Center, 2011) and 49% consider "some" U.S. Muslims to be anti-American (Pew Research Center, 2015). Implicit in these views is the perception that the religious identity of Muslim Americans is a barrier to their successful integration into American culture and society (Kalkan, Layman, & Uslaner, 2009; Public Religion Research Institute [PRRI], 2015).

Muslims constitute only 1% of Americans, and their status as a religious minority is an important influence on these negative sentiments, above and beyond racial or ethnic differences (Ahmed & Ezzeddine, 2009; Boorstein & Mohamed, 2013; Sirin et al., 2008; Sirin & Fine, 2008). Studies found that Arab Americans who identify as Muslims report higher incidents of discrimination and lower levels of assimilation into mainstream society than Arab Americans who identify as Christians (Amer & Hovey, 2007; Awad, 2010). Even among Arab Americans who racially identify as White, a Muslim identity precludes their acceptance as an American (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007). Indeed, despite their racial/ethnic diversity (Pew Research Center, 2015), Muslim Americans attribute their experiences of discrimination to their religious rather than racial/ethnic identities (Ozyurt, 2013; Peek, 2005). Moreover, Muslim Americans are often questioned about their loyalty and allegiance to America due to perceived conflict between their Muslim and American identities (Boorstein & Mohamed, 2013).

Such pervasive, negative attitudes toward Muslims in the United States likely influences the way Muslim Americans juggle their dual identities as both Muslim and American. The present study examines the extent to which Muslim Americans perceive their Muslim and American identities as integrated, the relation between identity integration and discrimination, and how these psychological processes relate to Muslim Americans' attitudes and behaviors toward mainstream Americans. We specifically examine how individual differences in identity integration and discrimination uniquely and interactively relate to participants' intentions to avoid and approach majority members. In the present study, we examine these questions in a sample of Muslim Arab American adolescents. We draw from research on bicultural identities and intergroup theory to suggest that individual differences in the management of multiple identities can buffer the negative effects associated with experiences of discrimination.

Identity Integration: Managing Multiple Identities

Research on social identities—the groups to which we belong and through which we define who we are—has traditionally focused on people's membership in a *single* social group such as race or gender. Over the last decade, there has been a growing literature examining the psychological processes through which individuals manage their *multiple* identities, or memberships in multiple social groups (Cheng, Lee, Benet-Martínez, & Huynh, 2014; Cole, 2009; Gaither, 2015). This literature stems largely from the acculturation literature, which examines the dual cultural

identities of immigrants—one associated with their "ethnic" or home culture (or the country from which they have moved), and one associated with their "mainstream" or host culture (or the country in which they currently reside). This work finds that there are individual differences in the strategies that immigrants use to manage these two cultural identities (Berry, 2003). For example, some immigrants "integrate" by identifying with both their home and host cultures, some "assimilate" by identifying with the host culture but not their home culture, some "separate" by identifying with their home culture but not their host culture, and some are "marginalized" as they do not identify with either culture.

While Berry (2003) examined individual differences in immigrants' identification with their home and host cultures, an emerging literature focuses on "identity integration" which taps into people's perceptions of compatibility versus conflict between their multiple social identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Early research on identity integration focused on biculturals such as first- and second-generation immigrants who strongly identify with both their home and host cultures (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Mok & Morris, 2010). Biculturals who are high on identity integration do not see their multiple cultural identities as mutually exclusive, oppositional, or conflicting, and find it easy to adopt the values and practices associated with their home and host cultures at the same time (Padilla, 1994; Rotheram-Borus, 1993). Conversely, biculturals who are low on identity integration perceive the values and practices associated with their home and host cultures as incompatible with and separated from one another. Although they identify with both cultures, these individuals see their dual cultural identities as a source of internal conflict (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Beyond biculturals and immigrants, identity integration research has expanded to include individuals who are members of different, potentially conflicting identity groups. This includes studies of how individuals manage different racial identities (e.g., biracial individuals), different disciplinary or professional identities (e.g., someone trained in one field but working in another), gender and professional identities (e.g., women in male-dominated professions such as engineering and business), or work and family identities (e.g., work professionals who have a family) (Cheng & Lee, 2013; Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008a; Hanek, Lee, & Brannen, 2014). In sum, identity integration is a meaningful and valid concept to describe the management of a variety of social identities beyond cultural or ethnic identities. Importantly, identity integration assesses an individual's *perception* of integration or conflict between any of his or her identities, regardless of whether there is an objective basis for this conflict. For example, Huff and Lee (2015) found that, while there is no inherent conflict between the identities of being a student and a friend, those identities may be perceived as conflicting by certain individuals or in certain contexts (e.g., driving an injured friend to the hospital during the time an exam is scheduled).

In the present study, we extend this research stream to examine how Muslim Americans manage the tension between their Muslim and American identities. Like biculturals, biracials, or women in male-dominated professions, Muslim Americans belong to identity groups with perceived conflicting values. As mentioned, it is not uncommon for Muslim Americans to be perceived as "un-American" and to have their loyalty and allegiance to America questioned (Pew Research Center, 2015; PRRI, 2015). Recent American political discourse and policies have specifically targeted Muslims (e.g., Trump's Muslim ban), and negativity toward Muslims in American media is well documented (Saleem, Prot, Anderson, & Lemieux, 2017; Saleem, Yang, & Ramasubramanian, 2016). In these conditions, it is not surprising for Muslim Americans to perceive conflict between their Muslim and American identities (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Cheng, in press). Supporting this idea, using qualitative identity maps, Sirin et al. (2008) discovered that there are individual differences in Muslim Americans' perceptions of integration versus conflict between their Muslim and American identities, and that these perceptions predict the extent to which they report being comfortable with and having friends from both groups (i.e., Muslim and

American). Not only do some Muslim Americans perceive conflict between their Muslim and American identities, such perceptions relate to dissatisfaction with their parents', teachers', and communities' ability to understand their dual identities (Ahmed & Ezzeddine, 2009). In the present study, we suggest that individual differences in Muslim Americans' identity integration will predict how they relate to members of the majority group, specifically non-Muslim Americans.[1] This prediction is based on research suggesting that individual differences in identity integration influence intergroup relations. We turn to this literature next.

Identity Integration, Discrimination, and Intergroup Relations

There is evidence that individuals with integrated identities, by virtue of perceiving higher levels of overlap between their dual identities, are more likely to have positive, inclusive, diverse, and equitable attitudes toward individuals from both these identity groups, and thus reduced ingroup/outgroup biases and stereotypes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns, & Hughes, 2009; Urban & Miller, 1998; Wiley & Deaux, 2011). One reason for this is that individuals with multiple identities consider each of their identity groups as an ingroup. Identifying with multiple groups reduces the importance of any *one* social identity for satisfying one's need for belonging, thereby reducing the motivational basis for displaying biases that favor the ingroup over the outgroup (Cheng et al., 2014; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Supporting this argument, there is evidence that Chinese American biculturals with higher identity integration between their Chinese and American identities had more friends from other ethnic groups and higher levels of interconnectedness among these friends (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygün, 2007). Moreover, identity integration relates to both cross-ethnic friendships and positive intergroup attitudes (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2013, 2014). Conversely, low levels of identity integration are linked to more negative attitudes toward outgroups. One study showed that Turkish immigrants in Germany with low identity integration between their Turkish and German identities were more likely to endorse radical and hostile actions directed to the dominant cultural group (i.e., Germans; Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013). Importantly, results from this study revealed that low identity integration predicted negative intergroup consequences over and above the additive effects of these identities.

Individuals with high identity integration consider positive intercultural experiences the "norm," such that negative experiences are seen as exceptional and atypical. Meanwhile, the reverse is true for individuals with low identity integration (Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006). Bicultural individuals with higher levels of identity integration tend to describe their experiences with members of the dominant cultural group more positively. In contrast, individuals with lower levels of identity integration are more likely to focus on negative experiences, such as discrimination, with the dominant cultural group (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002).

Furthermore, research suggests that individuals with high identity integration are able to find positive meanings within their negative experiences. In a study where biculturals were asked to describe their relationships with members of the dominant cultural group, Lilgendahl and Benet-Martínez (2016) found that even if biculturals with high and low identity integrations begin their descriptions in similarly negative ways, biculturals with high identity integration are more likely to end their descriptions in a positive way. It may be the case that individuals with high identity integration discount discriminatory experiences as exceptional and/or atypical, or attribute these experiences to the isolated actions of a single person rather than systematic, pervasive, structural inequities (Belgrade & Lee, 2016). In this way, identity integration may serve as a *protective* factor such that individuals with high identity integration are buffered from the negative repercussions of discriminatory experiences directed to them from members of the dominant outgroup.

Drawing on this literature showing a relation between identity integration and intergroup dynamics, we suggest that identity integration moderates[2] the relation between discrimination experiences and attitudes/behaviors toward outgroup members. Specifically, we expect that for individuals with low levels of identity integration, discriminatory experiences will be positively related to avoidance of outgroup members. However, for individuals with high levels of identity integration, we expect that they will perceive negative intergroup experiences as atypical and have an optimistic view of intergroup relations (Belgrade & Lee, 2016; Lilgendahl & Benet-Martínez, 2016), so, for them, we do not expect discrimination to be related to avoidance of outgroup members.

Objectives of the Present Study

In this study, we examine the relations among discrimination experiences, identity integration, and behavioral intentions toward the dominant majority group in a sample of Muslim American adolescents. This sample provides an excellent context for examining our propositions. First, there is a perception that the religious identity of Muslim Americans conflicts with their ability to successfully integrate into American culture (e.g., Kalkan et al., 2009). Discrimination from mainstream Americans has been a salient and pervasive experience for Muslim Americans since 9/11 (e.g., Sirin et al., 2008). Given the marginalized and minority status of Muslims in America, it is not surprising that Muslim Americans would vary in their perceptions of conflict between their religious and national identities. As such, we are likely to find identity integration a relevant mechanism for managing multiple identities among Muslim Americans.

Second, we examine Muslim American adolescents because adolescence represents a time when individuals begin to engage in identity exploration and formation vis-à-vis the social groups to which they belong. During this developmental period, the psychological processes through which they negotiate their multiple identities may be particularly relevant (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Huang & Stormshak, 2011; Schwartz, Donnellan, Ravert, Luyckx, & Zamboanga, 2012). Third, identity integration research has expanded beyond cultural identities to include integration between other social identities (such as identities associated with multiple racial groups or multiple professional groups). As such, exploring how individuals manage their identities across religious and national domains provides an important extension to the current literature.

Our study also extends current theoretical approaches in the identity management literature. Much of past research on identity integration focuses on either cognitive (e.g., cultural frame switching) or affective (e.g., identification motives) consequences of identity integration. In the present research, we go beyond these variables to examine how identity integration relates to behavioral intentions to approach and avoid majority members. Behavioral intentions are known to mediate the relation between attitudes and behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), and they reliably predict actual behaviors (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). In contrast, cognitive and affective processes are less predictive of behavioral consequences in intergroup contexts (Dunn, Forrin, & Ashton-James, 2009; Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009). This may be partially due to social desirability biases when people report their attitudes toward another social group (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001).

Furthermore, we separately assess behavioral intentions to approach and avoid majority members as these behaviors are composed of different motivational states and frames of mind (Elliot, 2006). Specifically, behavioral intentions to approach energize behaviors toward promoting and sustaining positive situations, whereas behavioral intentions to avoid lead to behaviors that prevent and escape from negative situations. The absence of behavioral intentions to approach does not necessarily imply a presence of behavioral intentions to avoid (Elliot, 2006). For example, Muslim Americans' behavioral intentions to approach members of majority cultural groups

might entail proactively reaching out to an individual from the majority group to form a friendship. Yet, not doing so would not necessarily reflect behavioral intentions to avoid, which might entail going out of one's way to ignore or reject an overture of friendship offered by a member of the majority group. In the present study, we similarly suggest that behavioral intentions to approach majority members may be distinct from behavioral intentions to avoid majority members.

The present study examines three hypotheses. Replicating previous research, we expect that members of minority groups who experience more discrimination from the dominant, majority group are more likely to have negative relations with the majority group. Specifically, we predict that Muslim Americans' discriminatory experiences will be negatively associated with their intentions to approach non-Muslim Americans, and positively associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslim Americans (Hypothesis 1). Also replicating previous research, we expect minority group members with higher levels of identity integration to have more positive relations with the majority groups. Specifically, we predict that Muslim American adolescents with high identity integration between their religious and national identities will express stronger intentions to approach and weaker intentions to avoid non-Muslim Americans than Muslim American adolescents with low identity integration (Hypothesis 2). Importantly, we test the novel hypothesis that identity integration will moderate the relation between experiences of discrimination and behavioral intentions toward majority group members. Specifically, among Muslim Americans with low identity integration, discriminatory experiences will be negatively associated with their intentions to approach non-Muslim Americans and positively associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslim Americans. However, the same relations will not be apparent among Muslim Americans with high identity integration (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited through an adolescent health center serving a large Arab community in the Midwest. Recruitment through a community organization, rather than a mosque, allowed us to recruit a sample that presumably varies in religious identification (see Amer & Bagasra, 2013, for a detailed critique on recruiting from religious organizations). Participants were solicited to participate in a survey study "exploring Muslim Americans' social experiences." To be included in the study, participants had to self-identify as a Muslim and be enrolled in high school. Interested participants completed the survey study on a computer located at the adolescent health center in exchange for US$10.00 VISA gift cards.

The original sample included 171 participants out of which eight participants did not self-identify as Arab.[3] After removing these participants, 163 participants remained (107 females; 100% self-identified as Muslim). The mean age was $M = 16.26$ years; range was 13 to 19 years ($SD = 1.37$). The majority of participants were born in the United States (57%). For the 70 participants who indicated they were not born in the United States, the mean number of years lived in the United States was 10.5 (range = 1-14 years, $SD = 2.64$).

Measures

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics for key measures.

Experiences of discrimination. Given prior research showing that Muslim Americans were more likely to be marginalized based on their religion rather than their race, we assessed discrimination experienced that are based on religion. Experiences of religious discrimination were assessed

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations (in Parentheses), Alphas (on Diagonal), and Correlations of Key Scales (N = 160).

Scale	M (SD)	Scale range	1	2	3	4
1. Identity Integration	2.83 (0.91)	1–5	.85			
2. Experiences of Religious Discrimination	2.59 (1.04)	1–5	−.40***	.95		
3. Intention to Approach Non-Muslims	5.08 (1.38)	1–7	.23**	−.25**	.91	
4. Intention to Avoid Non-Muslims	2.48 (1.61)	1–7	−.42***	.32***	−.47***	.91

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

through seven items adapted from Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, and Owen (2002). Participants rated their agreement with statements (e.g., "I have personally been discriminated because of my religion"; "Others have avoided social contact with me because of my religion") on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) (α = .95).

Identity integration. Identity integration was assessed through 10 items, eight items adapted from Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) and two new items created for this study. The original scale was designed to assess identity integration for Chinese Americans. To modify the scale for the current study, the word "Chinese" was replaced by "Muslim." This method of modifying the Identity Integration scale for different types of social identities has been established in previous research (Cheng et al., 2008a; Guan, Lee, & Cole, 2012; Sacharin, Lee, & Gonzalez, 2009). Participants indicated their agreement with statements on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. Two items from the original scale ("I feel Muslim American"; "I don't feel trapped between the Muslim and American cultures") had very low item-total correlations (r = .02 and r = .14, respectively) and were negatively correlated with some of the other items; thus, these items were removed.[4] The remaining eight items were averaged together,[5] with higher scores indicating higher levels of identity integration (α = .85).

Behavioral intentions toward non-Muslims. We assessed behavioral intentions to approach and avoid non-Muslim Americans separately given that they are theoretically and empirically distinct variables (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). Six items were adapted from Mackie et al. (2000). Participants indicated the extent to which they want to engage in approach behaviors (e.g., "talk to them"; "be friends with them"; "hang out with them"; α = .91) and avoidant behaviors (e.g., "avoid them"; "keep them at a distance"; "have nothing to do with them"; α = .91) toward non-Muslims using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) rating scale.

Control variables. Contrary to past research which used identification with ethnic and national identities as markers of conflict or integration (e.g., Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), the goal of the present research was to examine how perceptions of integration between two identities are associated with intergroup behavioral intentions. To understand the *unique* effects of identity integration, we controlled for both Muslim and American identification strength.

Muslim and American identification strength. Muslim and American identification strength were measured separately using a four-item scale developed to assess ingroup identification strength (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995). Participants responded to statements, for example, "I feel strong ties with fellow Muslims (or Americans)" on a 1 (*do not agree at all*) to 7 (*agree completely*) rating scale. Cronbach's alphas for the Muslim and American identification scales were .92 and .93, respectively.

Demographics. Participants indicated their gender, age, race, grade level, and the number of years they had lived in the United States. Given that the number of years lived in the United States might influence the extent to which minority members report experiencing discrimination (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry et al., 2006), we controlled for number of years lived in the final analyses. For U.S.-born participants, we used their age as a proxy for the number of years lived in the United States. Finally, we also controlled for participant sex and age given the wide range observed for these variables.

Procedure

Eligible participants completed the anonymous survey electronically on a computer located at the adolescent health center. Participants first read and electronically signed an informed assent document.[6] Participants were told that the study examined social experiences of Muslim American high school students. At the end of the study, participants received a US$10.00 VISA gift card and were debriefed about the purpose of the study. These procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board at the lead author's university.

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the key variables are reported in Table 1. As expected, experiences of discrimination were negatively associated with identity integration (r = –.40, $p < .001$). Consistent with Hypothesis 1, experiences of discrimination were positively associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslims ($r = .32$, $p < .001$). Conversely, experiences of discrimination were negatively associated with intentions to approach non-Muslims ($r = –.25$, $p < .01$). As predicted by Hypothesis 2, identity integration was negatively associated with intentions to avoid but positively associated with intentions to approach non-Muslims (rs = –.42 and .23, respectively, ps < .01).

Next, we computed simultaneous regressions to examine the independent and *unique* associations of discrimination and identity integration with behavioral intentions toward the outgroup, controlling for American identification, Muslim identification, participant sex, age, and number of years lived in the United States.[7] We then added the interaction of identity integration with experiences of religious discrimination to test Hypothesis 3, or the prediction that the effects of discrimination on intentions to approach or avoid will be moderated by identity integration. The results are illustrated in Table 2.

Predicting Intentions to Approach

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, experiences of religious discrimination significantly predicted lower intentions to approach non-Muslims, $\beta = –.24$, $t(151) = −2.07$, $p < .05$ (see Table 2). Contrary to Hypotheses 2 and 3, neither identity integration nor the interaction between identity integration and discrimination had a significant effect on intentions to approach non-Muslims, ts(151) < 1.00, ps > .10.

Predicting Intentions to Avoid

As predicted by Hypotheses 1 and 2, both experiences of discrimination and identity integration were significantly and independently associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslims. Specifically, experiences of discrimination positively predicted intentions to avoid non-Muslims, $\beta = .31$, $t(151) = 2.49$, $p < .05$, whereas identity integration negatively predicted intentions to avoid non-Muslims, $\beta = –.56$, $t(151) = −4.23$, $p < .001$. Consistent with Hypothesis 3, identity

Table 2. Simultaneous Regressions Predicting Behavioral Intentions Toward Non-Muslims as a Function of Experiences of Religious Discrimination and Identity Integration.

	Approach intentions $R^2 = .16^{**}$		Avoidance intentions $R^2 = .29^{***}$	
Predictor	β	*t* value	β	*t* value
Participant sex	.08	0.73	.06	0.54
Participant age	−.07	−0.65	.04	0.35
Number of years in the United States	.02	0.16	.29	2.16*
American identification	.38	2.92**	−.15	−1.11
Muslim identification	.09	0.83	−.27	−2.27*
Experiences of religious discrimination	−.24	−2.07*	.31	2.49*
Identity integration	.04	0.34	−.56	−4.23***
II × Experiences of religious discrimination	−.03	−0.31	−.23	−1.99†

Note. II = identity integration.
†$p = .05$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

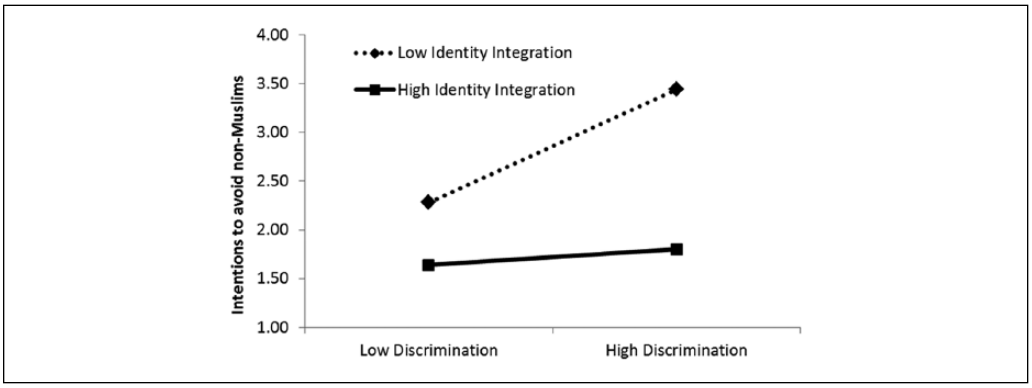


Figure 1. Intentions to avoid non-Muslims as a function of religious discrimination and identity integration.

integration moderated the relation between experiences of discrimination and intentions to avoid non-Muslims, $t(151) = -1.99$, $p = .05$ (Figure 1). We further probed this interaction using the simple effects test approach to understand the effect of identity integration at +1 and −1 standard deviation of discrimination. Discrimination was significant at −1, $t(151) = -4.33$, $p < .01$, and marginally significant at +1, $t(151) = -1.93$, $p = .06$, standard deviation of identity integration. Figure 1 suggests that experiences of discrimination may be more strongly associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslims for those with lower levels of integration between Muslim and American identities.

Discussion

Identity integration is theorized in the literature as playing an important role in understanding intergroup relations (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2011; Wiley & Deaux, 2011). Applying this perspective, the present study tested the potential moderating role of identity integration in understanding the relation between discrimination and behavioral intentions toward the majority group (i.e., non-Muslim Americans) in a sample of Muslim American adolescents. As

in previous work, we found that experiences of discrimination positively predicted behavioral intentions to avoid the majority group and negatively predicted behavioral intentions to approach the majority group. In addition, higher levels of identity integration were related to lower levels of behavioral intentions to avoid the majority group but were unrelated to intentions to approach the majority group. Finally, as predicted, identity integration moderated the relation between discrimination and intentions to avoid the majority group. Specifically, discrimination was positively associated with intentions to avoid the majority group for individuals low on identity integration, but the relationship was attenuated for those with high identity integration.

It is interesting that identity integration did not predict behavioral intentions to approach the majority group members. Similarly, identity integration did not significantly moderate the relation between discrimination and intentions to approach majority group members. This suggests that identity integration is more strongly associated with an avoidance motivation, which encompasses preventing or escaping negative situations rather than promoting or sustaining positive situations (Elliot, 2006). This is consistent with other research on identity integration. For example, previous studies have found that individuals with higher identity integration were more creative than those with lower identity integration; but rather than enhancing creativity, identity integration removes barriers that otherwise impede creativity (Cheng et al., 2008). In the same vein, there is evidence that individuals with higher levels of identity integration did not necessarily have more positive relationships with outgroup members, but they were better able to make positive construals from negative experiences with outgroup members (Lilgendahl & Benet-Martínez, 2016). The findings from these studies as well as the present study are consistent with the notion that identity integration is associated with an avoidance motivation, and, importantly, identity integration buffers, mitigates, or attenuates the effects of negative events. That said, it is also possible that we did not find the hypothesized effect for approach intentions due to high levels of approach intentions reported by our sample. Future research can better answer these questions.

The idea that identity integration may buffer some of the detrimental effects of discrimination suggests that one important strategy in mitigating negative intergroup behaviors is to promote identity integration among those with multiple identities. This can be achieved in multiple ways. As mentioned earlier, simply asking biculturals to recall positive intercultural experiences led to increased levels of identity integration, suggesting that identity integration can be malleable (Cheng & Lee, 2013). Beyond the individual, contextual cues in the media or society at large may encourage individuals to think of their multiple identities as more integrated (Saleem & Ramasubramanian, 2017). As we described earlier, former U.S. President Obama stated that Muslim Americans need not choose between their dual identities, they can be both Muslim *and* American. When Muslim Americans are exposed to these messages, their identity integration might increase. These strategies of increasing identity integration might also be useful in reducing the dominant cultural group's perceptions of incompatibility among Muslim and American identities (e.g., PRRI, 2015). Indeed, Americans' acceptance of Muslims can positively influence Muslim Americans' national identification and subsequently improve positive intergroup relations between Muslim Americans and the majority group (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). More research is needed to empirically test these ideas and assumptions.

Beyond these hypothesized effects, our results also revealed that the number of years lived in the United States was positively associated with behavioral intentions of avoiding the majority group. At first glance, this finding may seem counterintuitive. However, research suggests that immigrants who are the most acculturated often report higher levels of discrimination (Awad, 2010) and dissatisfaction with the host society (De Vroome, Martinovic, & Verkuyten, 2014). This "integration paradox" occurs because immigrants who spend more time within a host society become more aware and concerned of their vulnerable and disadvantageous position relative to the majority group (Verkuyten, 2016).

Overall, the findings of this study theoretically extend the identity integration framework by showing an association between identity integration and behavioral intentions within intergroup contexts. As mentioned, identity integration is known to influence positive intergroup attitudes and diverse friendships (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2013, 2014; Mok et al., 2007). However, no studies, to our knowledge, have examined whether identity integration relates to behavioral consequences within intergroup contexts. Results from this study reveal that low identity integration is associated with intentions to avoid the dominant cultural group. These behavioral intentions theoretically and empirically predict actual behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Van Zomeren et al., 2008).

This study makes an important methodological contribution by using the Identity Integration scale with a group that has not been studied in the past, Muslim Americans. In particular, this is the first study we know of that examined the integration between a religious and national identity. Our results reveal that the validity of specific items may vary by the sample and/or identities being examined. For example, two items from the original Identity Integration scale did not correlate well with other items, suggesting that perhaps the original scale (which was developed for biculturals) may not assess identity integration for all identity groups. In addition, the current study used the Identity Integration scale as a unidimensional construct rather than focusing on the differences among its Distance and Conflict subscales (Cheng et al., 2014). This was partly due to the low reliability of these scales and the fact that these subscales have not been successfully used in past research for the current sample. Future research should test these relations using the new Identity Integration scale which shows strong reliability and validity (Huynh, 2009).

These methodological variations between groups highlight the differences in cultural, religious, historical, economic, and political contexts that make each minority group unique, and as such, the integration between multiple identities different in meaningful ways (see Huynh et al., 2011, for detailed discussion). Unlike other minority groups who are excluded from the American identity due to their ethnic differences (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), the *religiosity* of Muslim immigrants is considered the most significant barrier to their acceptance as Americans (Kalkan et al., 2009). Furthermore, the emphasis of Muslims in political and media rhetoric in post-9/11 America increased the salience of religious identity over other important social identities (e.g., race, ethnicity) for many Muslim Americans (Ozyurt, 2013; Peek, 2005; Sirin & Fine, 2008). These social threats are especially concerning for early adolescents who are in a critical developmental trajectory in which they are trying to explore and manage their multiple identities (French et al., 2006; Huang & Stormshak, 2011). Indeed, Muslim American adolescents consider experiences of religious discrimination a significant source of stress in negotiating their multiple social identities (Ahmed & Ezzeddine, 2009; Sirin et al., 2008; Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Limitations

It is important to note a few limitations of the present study. The correlational design of this study limits any inferences of causal directionality. We argued that identity integration buffers the negative effects of discrimination on intergroup behaviors, but it is also plausible that those adolescents with low levels of identity integration are more likely to perceive discrimination. However, this is inconsistent with current theoretical and empirical work which suggests that experiences of discrimination are more likely to shape minorities' identities rather than vice versa (e.g., Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, & Ketokivi, 2012).

Similarly, identity integration was examined as a moderator in the present study as previous work suggests that it is somewhat consistent across time (Schwartz et al., 2015). However, it is also conceivable to think of identity integration as a mediator, especially because it is affected by contextual recollection of positive and negative experiences with the majority group (Cheng & Lee, 2013). Future studies can explore the temporal and potentially causal relations among

identity integration, discrimination, and intergroup behaviors using experimental and longitudinal designs. For example, using experimental designs, Huff and Lee (2015) found that increases in identity integration (manipulated by randomly assigning participants to write about positive vs. negative experiences of having multiple identities) led to higher tolerance of individuals with opinions and attitudes that differ from one's own. Such experimental designs allow one to make direct causal inferences on the effect of identity integration on intergroup outcomes. Longitudinal approaches, on the contrary, may be best in capturing the changing nature of minorities' experiences with majority members from adolescence into adulthood.

Another limitation is that the present study's Muslim American sample is predominantly Arabs; thus, it is unclear to what extent the findings of the present study can be generalized to Muslim Americans from other ethnic groups. It is possible that the extent to which Muslim and American identities are perceived as integrated differs across ethnic groups. This is especially true when comparing the experiences of Muslim Americans who identify as White and thus are more readily accepted as Americans versus those who identify as non-White (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007). Future studies should include a more diverse ethnic representation of Muslim Americans. Furthermore, our sample has an unequal representation of males and females. Given that there are important gender differences in experiences of discrimination and adoption of American identity, it is unclear to what extent results from the current study will generalize to other samples that include more males.

Despite these limitations, the present study offers important insights into Muslim Americans—a minority group that has received undue negative attention in post-9/11 America, but relatively less attention in the psychological literature. Research studies that elucidate how experiences of religious discrimination among Muslim Americans relate to their behavioral intentions vis-à-vis the majority group are critical. Similarly important is furthering our understanding of how individual differences, such as identity integration, may buffer or protect against the negative repercussions of discrimination. To provide effective interventions, we need to identify the different ways these relationships unfold and change over the life span, as adolescents with emerging identities grow into young adults. The present study represents an initial step in this direction.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Given that this study is focused on the identity integration of a religious and national identity, we conceptualized majority and minority groups based on religious affiliation. Muslims in America are a minority and non-Muslims are a majority (Pew Research Center, 2015). We measured behavioral intentions toward non-Muslim Americans as this is a clear religious outgroup for Muslim Arab Americans. Some may propose that White Americans is a more appropriate outgroup; however, many Arab Americans racially identify as White (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007). Indeed, the U.S Census racial category of Whites includes Arab Americans.
2. Given that discrimination is associated with identity integration, it may also seem feasible to examine identity integration as a mediator of the link between discrimination and intergroup relations. However, identity integration is found to be somewhat consistent across time (Schwartz et al., 2015). Thus, it is more likely to be examined as a moderator rather than a mediator in the literature (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). Prospective studies with multiple time points are needed to examine whether discrimination experiences influence subsequent identity integration, which in turn influences subsequent intergroup attitudes and behaviors.

3. The majority of our participants self-identified as Arab; thus, we removed the other participants. This allowed us to understand how identity integration of Muslim and American identities is associated with Muslim Arab Americans' behavioral intentions toward non-Muslims. As mentioned, Arab Americans who are Muslims, compared with Christians, are more likely to report discrimination (Awad, 2010) and conflicts with their American identity (Ahmed & Ezzeddine, 2009).
4. The original Identity Integration scale was developed to assess identity integration of Chinese Americans (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Variations in reliability of the Identity Integration scale are common when used for different social groups (e.g., Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011; Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2008). Given that this was the first study to use this scale for a Muslim American sample, we expected some items to be weak and added two additional items to the original eight-item scale ("It is difficult for me to combine being American and being Muslim"; "In the end, I always have to choose between being a Muslim or being an American"). Both of these items yielded significant correlations with other items on the scale (rs > .60).
5. An exploratory factor analysis on the eight identity integration items and its associated scree test indicated a one-factor solution (Eigenvalue = 9.29) and 92% of the variance explained by this one factor.
6. The Institutional Review Board of the first author's university approved a waiver of parental consent for this study. The community center provides confidential health testing for adolescents and requiring parental consent would have undermined this confidentiality.
7. This simultaneous regression yields the same results as a hierarchical regression in which the interaction term is added in the last block, after having first entered the individual variables making up the interaction term. By entering the variables simultaneously, we can examine the unique effects of each predictor while controlling for the others.

References

Ahmed, S., & Ezzeddine, M. (2009). Challenges and opportunities facing American Muslim youth. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, *4*, 159-174.

Ajrouch, K. J., & Jamal, A. (2007). Assimilating to a White identity: The case of Arab Americans. *International Migration Review*, *41*, 860-879.

Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1977). Attitude-behavior relations: A theoretical analysis and review of empirical research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *84*, 888-918.

Amer, M. M., & Bagasra, A. (2013). Psychological research with Muslim Americans in the age of Islamophobia: Trends, challenges, and recommendations. *American Psychologist*, *68*, 134-144.

Amer, M. M., & Hovey, J. D. (2007). Socio-demographic differences in acculturation and mental health for a sample of 2nd generation/early immigrant Arab Americans. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *9*, 335-347.

Awad, G. H. (2010). The impact of acculturation and religious identification on perceived discrimination for Arab/Middle Eastern Americans. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *16*, 59-67.

Belgrade, A., & Lee, F. (2016, May). *Managing membership in multiple cultural groups: Immigrants' identity integration and intergroup behaviors*. Presented at the Annual Convention of the Association for Psychological Science, *Chicago, IL*.

Benet-Martínez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents. *Journal of Personality*, *73*, 1015-1050.

Benet-Martínez, V., Lee, F., & Cheng, C. (in press). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components, psychosocial antecedents, and outcomes. In M. Gelfand, C. Y. Chiu, & Y. Y. Hong (Eds.), *Advances in culture and psychology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Benet-Martínez, V., Leu, J., Lee, F., & Morris, M. W. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional versus compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *33*, 492-516.

Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marín (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 17-37). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (Eds.). (2006). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Boorstein, M., & Mohamed, F. (2013, May 3). Many young Muslims in America struggle to understand themselves and their faith. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/many-young-muslims-in-america-struggle-to-understand-themselves-and-their-faith/2013/05/03/1583162a-b0d8-11e2-9a98-4be1688d7d84_story.html

Brewer, M. B., & Pierce, K. P. (2005). Social identity complexity and outgroup tolerance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*, 428-437.

Brown, R., & Zagefka, H. (2011). The dynamics of acculturation: An intergroup perspective. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *44*, 129-184.

Cheng, C. Y., & Lee, F. (2013). The malleability of bicultural identity integration (BII). *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *44*, 1235-1240.

Cheng, C. Y., Lee, F., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006). Assimilation and contrast effects in cultural frame switching: Bicultural identity integration and valence of cultural cues. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 742-760.

Cheng, C. Y., Lee, F., Benet-Martínez, V., & Huynh, Q. L. (2014). Variations in multicultural experience: Influence of bicultural identity integration on socio-cognitive processes and outcomes. In V. Benet-Martinez & Y. Y. Hong (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of multicultural identity* (pp. 276-299). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cheng, C. Y., Sanchez-Burks, J., & Lee, F. (2008a). Connecting the dots within: Creative performance and identity integration. *Psychological Science*, *19*, 1178-1184.

Cheng, C. Y., Sanchez-Burks, J., & Lee, F. (2008b). Taking advantage of differences: Increasing team innovation through identity integration. In K. W. Phillips (Ed.), *Research on managing groups and teams* (pp. 55-73). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.

Cheryan, S., & Monin, B. (2005). Where are you really from? Asian Americans and identity denial. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *89*, 717-730.

Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, *64*, 170-180.

De Vroome, T., Martinovic, B., & Verkuyten, M. (2014). The integration paradox: Level of education and immigrants' attitudes towards natives and the host society. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *20*, 166-175.

Doosje, B., Ellemers, N., & Spears, R. (1995). Perceived intragroup variability as a function of group status and identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *31*, 410-436.

Dunn, E. W., Forrin, N. D., & Ashton-James, C. E. (2009). On the excessive rationality of the emotional imagination: A two-systems account of affective forecasts and experiences. In K. D. Markman, W. M. P. Klein, & J. A. Suhr (Eds.), *Handbook of imagination and mental simulation* (pp. 331-346). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Elliot, A. J. (2006). The hierarchical model of approach-avoidance motivation. *Motivation and Emotion*, *30*, 111-116.

Etehad, M. (2016, June 15). After Nice, New Gingrich wants to "test" every Muslim in the U.S. and deport sharia believers. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2016/07/15/after-nice-newt-gingrich-wants-to-test-every-american-muslim-and-deport-those-who-believe-in-sharia/

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

French, S. E., Seidman, E., Allen, L., & Aber, J. L. (2006). The development of ethnic identity during adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(1), 1-10.

Gaither, S. E. (2015). "Mixed" results: Multiracial research and identity explorations. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *24*, 114-119.

Gil, A. G., Vega, W. A., & Dimas, J. M. (1994). Acculturative stress and personal adjustment among Hispanic adolescent boys. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *22*, 43-54.

Guan, M., Lee, F., & Cole, E. (2012). Complexity of culture: The role of identity and context in bicultural individuals' body ideals. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *18*, 247-257.

Hamilton, R., & Ura, A. (2015, January 29). Rep. White to staff: Ask Muslim visitors to pledge allegiance to U.S. *The Texas Tribune*. Retrieved from http://www.texastribune.org/2015/01/29/rep-staff-ask-muslim-visitors-pledge-allegiance/

Hanek, K. J., Lee, F., & Brannen, M. Y. (2014). Individual differences among global/multicultural individuals: Cultural experiences, identity, and adaptation. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, *44*, 75-89.

Huang, C. Y., & Stormshak, E. A. (2011). A longitudinal examination of early adolescence ethnic identity trajectories. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*, 261-270.

Huff, S., & Lee, F. (2015). People and country: A psychological and contextual perspective in perceived norms and cultural transmission: Commentary on Tam, K.-P., "Understanding intergenerational cultural transmission through the role of perceived norms." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *16*, 1350-1352.

Huynh, Q. L. (2009). *Variations in biculturalism: Measurement, validity, mental and physical health/psycho-social correlates, and group differences of identity integration* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Riverside.

Huynh, Q. L., Nguyen, A. M. D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2011). Bicultural identity integration. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 827-842). New York, NY: Springer.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Mähönen, T. A., & Ketokivi, M. (2012). The dynamics of ethnic discrimination, identities and outgroup attitudes: A pre–post longitudinal study of ethnic migrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *42*, 904-914.

Kalkan, K. O., Layman, G. C., & Uslaner, E. M. (2009). Bands of others? Attitudes toward Muslims in contemporary American society. *Journal of Politics*, *71*, 847-862.

Kawakami, K., Dunn, E., Karmali, F., & Dovidio, J. F. (2009). Mispredicting affective and behavioral responses to racism. *Science*, *323*, 276-278.

Knifsend, C. A., & Juvonen, J. (2013). The role of social identity complexity in inter-group attitudes among young adolescents. *Social Development*, *22*, 623-640.

Knifsend, C. A., & Juvonen, J. (2014). Social identity complexity, cross-ethnic friendships, and intergroup attitudes in urban middle schools. *Child Development*, *85*, 709-721.

Lilgendahl, J., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2016). *"So now, I wonder, what am I?": A narrative approach to bicultural identity integration*. Unpublished manuscript.

Lowery, B. S., Hardin, C. D., & Sinclair, S. (2001). Social influence effects on automatic racial prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *81*, 842-855.

Mackie, D. M., Devos, T., & Smith, E. R. (2000). Intergroup emotions: Explaining offensive action tendencies in an intergroup context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*, 602-616.

Miramontez, D. R., Benet-Martínez, V., & Nguyen, A. M. D. (2008). Bicultural identity and self/group personality perceptions. *Self and Identity*, *7*, 430-445.

Mok, A., & Morris, M. W. (2010). Asian-Americans' creative styles in Asian and American situations: Assimilative and contrastive responses as a function of bicultural identity integration. *Management and Organization Review*, *6*, 371-390.

Mok, A., Morris, M. W., Benet-Martínez, V., & Karakitapoglu-Aygün, Z. (2007). Embracing American culture: Structures of social identity and social networks among first-generation biculturals. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *38*, 629-635.

Ozyurt, S. (2013). Negotiating multiple identities, constructing Western-Muslim selves in the Netherlands and the United States. *Political Psychology*, *34*, 239-263.

Padilla, A. M. (1994). Bicultural development: A theoretical and empirical examination. In R. G. Malgady & O. Rodriguez (Eds.), *Theoretical and conceptual issues in Hispanic mental health* (pp. 20-51). Melbourne, FL: Krieger Publishing.

Peek, L. (2005). Becoming Muslim: The development of a religious identity. *Sociology of Religion*, *66*, 215-242.

Pew Research Center. (2011). *Muslim Americans: No signs of growth in alienation or support for extremism*. Retrieved from http://www.people-press.org/2011/08/30/muslim-americans-no-signs-of-growth-in-alienation-or-support-for-extremism/

Pew Research Center. (2015). *America's changing religious landscape*. Retrieved from http://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape/

Phinney, J. S., & Devich-Navarro, M. (1997). Variations in bicultural identification among African American and Mexican American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *7*(1), 3-32.

Public Religion Research Institute. (2015). *Anxiety, nostalgia, and mistrust: Findings from the 2015 American Values Survey*. Retrieved from http://www.prri.org/research/survey-anxiety-nostalgia-and-mistrust-findings-from-the-2015-american-values-survey/

Roccas, S., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *6*, 88-106.

Rotheram-Borus, M. (1993). Biculturalism among adolescents. In M. E. Bernal & G. P. Knight (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities* (pp. 81-102). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Sacharin, V., Lee, F., & Gonzalez, R. (2009.). Identities in harmony: Gender-work identity integration moderates frame switching in cognitive processing. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *33*, 275-284.

Saleem, M., Prot, S., Anderson, C. A., & Lemieux, A. (2017). Exposure to Muslims in media and support for aggressive public policies: The mediating role of aggressive perceptions. *Communication Research*, *44*(6), 841-869.

Saleem, M., & Ramasubramanian, S. (2017). Muslim Americans' responses to social identity threats: Effects of media representations and experiences of discrimination. *Media Psychology*, *11*, 1-21, 1879-1899.

Saleem, M., Yang, G. L., & Ramasubramanian, S. (2016). Reliance on direct and mediated contact: Longitudinal effects of sources of information on public policies representative of outgroup harm. *Journal of Communication*, *66*, 604-624.

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Cairns, E., & Hughes, J. (2009). Antecedents and consequences of social identity complexity: Intergroup contact, distinctiveness threat, and outgroup attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *35*, 1085-1098.

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Kobrynowicz, D., & Owen, S. (2002). Perceiving discrimination against one's gender group has different implications for well-being in women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 197-210.

Schwartz, S. J., Donnellan, M. B., Ravert, R. D., Luyckx, K., & Zamboanga, B. L. (2012). Identity development, personality, and well-being in adolescence and emerging adulthood: Theory, research, and recent advances. In I. B. Weiner (Series Ed.) and R. M. Lerner, A. Easterbrooks, & J. Mistry (Vol. Eds.), *Developmental Psychology: Vol. 6. Handbook of psychology* (pp. 339-364). New York, NY: John Wiley.

Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Baezconde-Garbanati, L., Benet-Martínez, V., Meca, A., Zamboanga, B. L., . . . Soto, D. W. (2015). Longitudinal trajectories of bicultural identity integration in recently immigrated Hispanic adolescents: Links with mental health and family functioning. *International Journal of Psychology*, *50*, 440-450.

Simon, B., Reichert, F., & Grabow, O. (2013). When dual identity becomes a liability: Identity and political radicalism among migrants. *Psychological Science*, *24*, 251-257.

Sirin, S. R., Bikmen, N., Mir, M., Fine, M., Zaal, M., & Katsiaficas, D. (2008). Exploring dual identification among Muslim-American emerging adults: A mixed methods study. *Journal of Adolescence*, *31*, 259-279.

Sirin, S. R., & Fine, M. (2008). *Muslim American youth: Understanding hyphenated identities through multiple methods*. New York: New York University Press.

Urban, L. M., & Miller, N. (1998). A theoretical analysis of crossed categorization effects: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*, 894-908.

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*, 504-535.

Verkuyten, M. (2016). The integration paradox: Empiric evidence from the Netherlands. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *60*, 583-596.

Verkuyten, M., & Thijs, J. (2002). Multiculturalism among minority and majority adolescents in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *26*, 91-108.

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

Vivero, V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1999). Existential hazards of the multicultural individual: Defining and understanding "cultural homelessness." *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *5*(1), 6-26.

The White House. (2016). *Remarks by the president at the Islamic Center of Baltimore*. Retrieved from https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/02/03/remarks-president-islamic-society-baltimore

Wiley, S., & Deaux, K. (2011). The bicultural identity performance of immigrants. In A. Azzi, X. Chryssochoou, B. Klandermans, & B. Simon (Eds.), *Identity and participation in culturally diverse societies: A multidisciplinary perspective* (pp. 49-68). New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.