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Acculturation Preferences and Their Correlates of Second Generation Immigrants in Main Cities of Western Europe

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Abstract

Berry's (1997) two-dimensional model of acculturation is applied to recent survey data collected in 11 main cities of six European countries to examine differentials in and correlates of acculturation preferences of children of Turkish, Moroccan and Former Yugoslavian immigrants 18 to 35 years old. A 'Culture Preservation Index' and 'Culture Adaptation Index' are derived to classify respondents into groups favouring integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization. Results show that on the whole children of immigrants as well as comparison group members maintain integration preferences, though results vary across cities. A large share of the second generation believes that customs and norms prevailing in parent's country of origin should be cultivated and applied. This viewpoint is not always shared by members of the comparison group. Preferences for ethnic group and host culture customs and norms vary by study group, city, level of religiosity, discrimination, and self-efficacy, and by neighbourhood.

1. Introduction

In 2005, almost 9 per cent of the 472 million inhabitants of the countries of the European Union (EU25), the European Economic Area (EEA3) and Switzerland, were born outside their country of (legal) residence. Differences between countries are considerable, from as low as 3 and 4 per cent in Finland and Italy, to above average levels in countries such as The Netherlands (10 percent), France (11 per cent), Germany (12 per cent), Sweden (12 per cent), Austria (15 per cent) and Switzerland (23 percent). The majority of the foreign born, i.e. between 50 and 85 per cent, come from non-EU countries and immigrants from Turkey and North Africa, such as Morocco, comprise a major share of the Non-EU foreign born (Barbone *et al.,* 2009; Muenz, 2006). With more than five million people, the Turkish community is by far the largest non-European immigrant group in the EU and three out of four reside in mainly urban areas of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Germany alone harbors about two thirds of the Turkish community, including the second generation. Other concentration areas of Turkish immigrants are urban areas in France, The Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden. Immigrants from Former Yugoslavia are also a major immigrant group in the German-speaking countries. Immigrants and offspring with roots in Morocco constitute yet another major non-EU born population, but they mainly concentrate in the urban areas of France, Spain, Belgium and The Netherlands (Manço, 2000; MPI, 2009).

Being primarily a metropolitan phenomenon, immigration and integration is one of the foremost challenges to increasingly ethnic diverse European cities. The integration of the 'second generation', i.e. those born in an EU country with one or both parents born in a non-EU country, is of particular importance, because immigrant children constitute a growing share in metropolitan populations with foreign roots. Furthermore, they have become important to the city economy and to social cohesion in city neighbourhoods. Research on second-generation integration is pertinent because it contributes to finding answers to many integration problems, such as those related to (1) structural differences in chances and opportunities in the education system and labour market, and to (2) socio-cultural differences arising from (a) an incompatibility of customs and norms maintained by the mainstream population in the country of residence and those maintained in parent's country of origin, (b) religious affiliation and religiosity, and (c) experiences with discrimination (e.g. Crul and Thompson, 2007; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) .

In recurrent public and scientific debates on the socio-cultural integration of (Muslim) minorities in Europe, national migration policy context, religion and religiosity, discrimination, and neighborhood living conditions hold vanguard positions. Why these factors are perceived as important correlates of acculturation[1] preference and how might they affect acculturation preferences, and, last but not least, are they really that important? These are the driving questions of this paper, in which we examine acculturation preferences and correlates of children of immigrants, using recent survey data collected in 11 main cities in six European countries: The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and Sweden.

More specifically, the main objectives of this paper are: (1) to determine and compare across cities and nations, what the acculturation preferences are of second generation Turks, Moroccans and Former Yugoslavians, and how these compare to those of native born residents, and, (2) to determine whether and to what extent national policy context, religiosity, discrimination experience, self-efficacy and neighbourhood quality affect acculturation preferences in general, and in study groups across countries.

2. Context and Conceptualization

In the first part of this section we start out with a brief description of the concepts of national identity, immigrant and citizenship policy and religious tolerance in the six countries. This allows us to develop general hypotheses about acculturation preferences of the second generation vis-à-vis native born comparison group members. In the subsection that follows, we discuss about the acculturation concept and models, and hypothesize about the effects that religiosity, discrimination, self-efficacy and neighbourhood context have on acculturation preferences.

Context of immigration and integration

Since 1983 and until about 2000, subsequent governments of *The Netherlands* have profiled the country as a multicultural society. In spite of the rapid increase in secularization in the society in the last 50 years, (The Netherlands is one of the most secular societies) religious tolerance has been a fundamental pillar of the society. Traditionally, the society was organized along the lines of institutions each based on a particular religion (mainly catholic and different forms of Protestantism). Initially, this so-called 'pillarization system' was conducive to the integration of new groups in the society as the system provided a justification for the emergence of immigrant organizations and platforms based on religious affiliation, such as Islam. However, roughly since the rise and assassination in 2002 (by a native born Dutchman) of politician Pim Fortuyn, the concept of 'multiculturalism' became subject of debate, notably in light of the growing numbers of Muslims in the country and Qur'an-inspired customs, norms and behaviors. The assassination of publicist and film-maker Theo van Gogh (by a native-born Muslim fanatic) in November 2004 and threats to colleague film-maker and politician Ayaan Hirshi Ali, who criticized the position of women in Islam in the movie 'Submission', lead to a further deterioration of the relationship with the Muslim communities in the country. In recent years, a new political party (PVV) took the lead in keeping alive critical comments on Islam-inspired customs and norms in political debates and the media. Over time, native born Dutchmen have become less tolerant towards immigrants. After five years of legal residence, display of Dutch language skills and knowledge about the Dutch political system, society and culture, immigrants can obtain a permanent residence permit and, eventually, become Dutch nationals. In the past five years, rules and regulations regarding proof of legal residence have become much stricter. Children of immigrants born in the country automatically obtain Dutch citizenship (Vermeulen and Pennix, 2000, Vasileva and Sartori, 2008).

In *Germany*, Christianity is seen as the backbone of German culture. This is reflected in State funding of churches. Islamic groups though have great difficulties in obtaining the same entitlements as Christian groups (Laurence, 2006). Contrary to the situation in neighboring France, state and (Christian) religion are interwoven entities. Religious tolerance varies considerably by federal state. For instance, various southern federal states forbid Islamic women to wear headscarves that symbolize religious affiliation. Prior to 2000, in spite of past large immigration flows, Germany did not consider itself a country of immigration and it was difficult for immigrants to obtain a permanent residence permit. In 2000, the citizenship law was changed and it became easier to obtain a permanent residence permit and becoming a German citizen. Currently, it takes eight years of legal residence in the country, display of German language skills and economic independence, before a permanent residence permit is granted. Federal states apply these requirements in different ways so that access to residence permits and citizenship varies. Second generation immigrants who have legally resided in the country for eight years automatically gain German citizenship (Mannitz, 2004; Vasileva and Sartori, 2008).

Compared to other European countries, access to a permanent residence permit and citizenship in Austria and Switzerland is most difficult. In *Austria,* citizenship and naturalization are perceived as a reward for completing the integration process. The process of becoming a citizen in Austria is handled restrictively as Austrian citizenship is based on the principle of *ius sanguinis* (right of the blood), which means that access to citizenship can only be obtained if parents are national citizens of Austria. Most of the second generation immigrants count automatically as foreigners "by extraction" and face similar hurdles to Austrian citizenship as their parents. This is because only after 30 years of legal residence in Austria does a person has the right to obtain a permanent residence permit and eventually naturalize. The complicated system of different categories of interdependent residence and work permits oftentimes lead to situations whereby immigrants and their children loose legal residence status, for instance after become unemployed for a while. Furthermore, it is at the discretion of civil servants to judge if an applicant for citizenship fulfills the requisite conditions. With time, Austria came to recognize 12 religious groups and Catholics constitute the majority. Generally speaking, there is an amicable relationship among religious groups in society contributing to religious freedom and tolerance (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003; Feik, 2003).

Switzerland has one of the highest proportions of foreign born populations in Europe but also one of the toughest and widely debated citizenship and naturalization laws. Immigrants applying for permanent residence permits and citizenship must have lived in the country for at least 12 years; they must prove that they can speak the local language, and that they understand Swiss laws and culture. Furthermore, being born in Switzerland does not imply automatic citizenship. Contrary to most other countries in Europe, after 12 years of legal temporary residence people applying for permanent residency and naturalization must do so through their local community where they depend on the approval of local residents at a town hall meeting, or, in the past, by secret ballot. Similar to the situation in Austria, the procedures applicable to immigrants also apply to their children. Catholicism and Protestantism are the official religions. Relations between religious communities, including Islam, are based on the fundamental right of freedom of religion and philosophy, and their equality before the law. As a federation of states, all matters of religion fall under the competence of administrative regions (cantons) but within the limits of the federal law. The only two cantons that have clearly separated the state and religion are Geneva and Neuchatel (Lathion, 2008; Vasileva and Sartori, 2008).

France traditionally has been a country with an open mind to immigrants, if only because of the movement of people between former colonies (e.g. Morocco, Algeria) and France. The French policy approach is geared towards assimilation of immigrants, meaning that immigrants are urged and motivated to become 'Frenchman' by sharing French customs and norms and be fluent in French language. Contrary to the German-speaking countries, French citizenship law is based on '*ius soli*' principle (automatic citizenship if born in the country). An immigrant can apply after five years of legal residence for a permanent residence permit and citizenship after demonstrating proper French language skills and cultural assimilation, and proof of sufficient income earning capacity. As a result of this citizenship philosophy, explicit policies directed towards ethnic minorities hardly exist and statistics on the socioeconomic conditions and integration of minorities are rarely published. Not surprisingly, the establishment in 2003 of a Muslim council, an intermediary between the government and Muslim groups, is of much recent date than in other European countries. Religious freedom is guaranteed by law but separation of state and religion, also known as laïcité, is a fundamental ideology of France, dating back to 1905 (Doomernik, 1998; European Commission, 2005; Koopmans *et al.*, 2005).

For decades, *Sweden* has been a country receiving large numbers of immigrants and it considers itself a multi-cultural society. Citizenship is based on the *ius sanguinis* principle, so that children

of immigrants born in Sweden to non-Swedish parents do not automatically receive Swedish citizenship. There are signs that the *jus soli* principle will be introduced to ensure that immigrant children born in the country can obtain Swedish citizenship automatically. In general, after five years of legal residence immigrants can apply for citizenships and naturalisation without the need to fulfil particular requirements such as the passing of a Swedish language test. A policy of cultural diversity management was introduced in the mid 1970's and revamped in the mid 1990 to counteract emerging ethnic discrimination and social exclusion of immigrants practices. The current government perception is that immigration involves cultural adaptation of both native born Swedes as well as immigrants. Sweden is, generally speaking, a highly secularised society of Protestant origin with low levels of religiosity. However, only in 2000 did the formal separation the state and (state) church become a fact. Contrary to the situation in France, the representation of Islamic institutions in Sweden dates back as far as 1973-1974. To date, various institutions and NGO's emerged as contact points between the Muslim community and the government, such as the SMR (Swedish Muslim Council).

Conceptualization

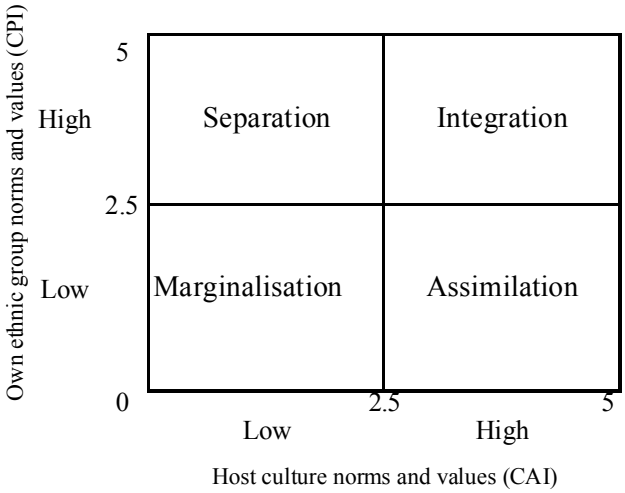
Each immigration flow sets off an *acculturation* process, by which is meant that contact between native populations in receiving countries and immigrant groups leads to adaptations in cultural orientations of all groups concerned, whereby the largest adaptations are usually made by the immigrant group (Berry, 1997; Phalet and Verkuijten, 2000; Rummens, 2001). Contrary to earlier views (e.g. Gordon, 1964), acculturation is not to be viewed as an uni-directional process, that is to say that cultural adaptation made to one's own culture does not necessarily imply adaptation to or even assimilation with the host culture. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) argue that cultural pluralism is a plausible alternative to assimilation rather than presuming that assimilation is the inevitable outcome of immigrant adaptation. This viewpoint was further developed by Berry (1997), Bourhis et al. (1997) and Navas et al. (2007), by noting that immigration, from a socio-cultural and psychological perspective, triggers an 'acculturation process' whereby contact between the native born population and immigrant groups leads to adaptations in the cultural orientations of all groups concerned.

Berry's two-dimensional model of acculturation (1997) is probably the best known theoretical framework to examine acculturation strategies and preferences. The model is based on the notion that immigrants and their descendants, during the life course, try to strike a balance between applying their own ethnic group customs and norms and those maintained by the majority population in the host country. Some have argued that persons may apply quite different acculturation strategies and preferences. However, this is not confirmed by recent cross-cultural research suggesting that individuals are guided by quite similar types of customs and norms in behavioural decisions (Berry *et al.*, 2006).

According to Berry, the main acculturation preference categories are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. According to the model the 'Integration' quadrant expresses a situation in which individuals successfully combine own ethnic group customs and norms with those maintained by the majority population of the host culture. 'Assimilation' means that individuals tend to apply mostly the customs and norms maintained by the majority population and less so own ethnic group customs and norms. 'Separation' describes a situation in which attitude and behaviour is primarily guided by own ethnic group customs and norms and less so by those of the majority population. The 'Marginalization' category applies to persons that are no

longer inspired by own ethnic group customs and norms or by those of the majority population. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Main categories of acculturation preferences resulting from applying different customs and norms sets (i.e. those of own ethnic group vis-à-vis those of the majority population), (Berry, 1997; 2006).



Thus, the position of a person (i.e. groups of persons) in the quadrant is determined by applying a particular mix of the two attitudinal preferences types to behaviours in different life domains (e.g. at home, at work, in dealings with public institutions, at school). If category membership is mediated by positioning on the Y and X axis then it follows that correlates of category membership are also mediated by the Y and X axis. Furthermore, there is no reason to *a priori* expect that the relevance, direction and strength of effect of a particular correlate on the Y axis variable is similar to its effect on the X axis.

Berry's model and the country-specific policy context described in the previous sub-section permit the development of a general hypothesis about the positioning of second generation in Figure 1.

Hypothesis 1.
We expect that, in general, respondents will position in Berry's "Integration" quadrant, but we also expect differences by study and city groups. We expect native born respondents, compared to the second generation, more frequently express that people of immigrant origin should mainly live according customs and norms of the host culture. We expect that the second generation perceives the opposite.

Religion is generally perceived as a core social category around which persons construct their social identity and personal identity (self-concept). This is maintained by Social Identity Theory (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel and Turner, 1997). Persons generally strive for a positive social identity by favoring attitudes and behavior of members of its own social category (in-group) over those of members of the out-group. In the terms of Berry's model in Figure 1, persons deriving a positive social identity from their religious group will score high on the Y-axis (i.e. cultivation and preservation of own ethnic group customs and norms). However, social identity is not static but influenced, among others, by the context in which the in-group operates (i.e. being Muslim in a largely Christian society). This may lead to what is called social mobility by which the development of an unsatisfactory social group identity may lead a person to disassociate from the

in-group and attempt to obtain a positive new social identity from another social group. In terms of Berry's model and at the level of groups of people this would mean a lowering of the positioning on the Y-axis and it may, *not necessarily will,* result in a higher position on the X-axis with a higher preference for customs and norms of another social group, such as the majority population in a host country. The shift on the position on the X-as may depend on the type of society of the (dominant) social group in which one lives. That is, in a society in which religion and religiosity is also valued high, it may be easier for a person to adapt to the customs and norms of the dominant social group in such a society than in a highly secular society where religion-inspired customs and norms are less valued. This is what some studies conclude after examining and comparing the problematic integration of Muslims in secular Europe vis-à-vis their more successful integration in, generally, a religious United States, and in Canada (e.g. Foner and Alba, 2008; Pew Research Center, 2003).

Hypothesis 2.
We expect that higher levels of religiosity, notably among the Muslim second generation, are associated with a higher preference for immigrant behavior based on own ethnic group customs and norms (CPI). We also expect that a high level of religiosity among the second generation is associated with low preferences for attitudes inspired by host cultural customs and norms (CAI), and with even lower levels in highly secular societies such as The Netherlands and Sweden.

Discrimination is a recipe for social exclusion, the antithesis of social inclusion and integration. Often invisible, social groups and individuals may experience systematic negative discrimination in various life domains, at school, in the labour market and at the workplace, in dealings with various types of public institutions and in different types of social contacts with members of the majority population (ILO, 2005). According the Euro-barometer survey of 2006 (European Commission, 2007) about two thirds of the inhabitants of EU25 countries perceive that discrimination on the basis of ethnicity group membership is wide spread with above average levels in Sweden (85 per cent), The Netherlands (83 per cent), and France (80 per cent). About 44 per cent of the EU25 population also perceives that discrimination on the basis of religion or beliefs is widespread, with above average levels in France (63 per cent), the Netherlands (59 per cent) and Sweden (56 per cent). Beyond the general reference to socio-economic, historic, cultural and religious traditions, differences are hard to explain. This is partly due to the difficulty of defining, delineating and measure the concept of discrimination. It is less difficult to speculate about the effect that consistent exposure to discrimination has. Both blatant and subtle (perceived) exposure to discrimination from the majority population will inevitably lead persons to reject customs and norms of the majority population and, eventually, to social exclusion.

Hypothesis 3.
We hypothesize that higher perceived levels of exposure to discrimination of the second generation are associated with lower levels of adaptation to the customs and norms of the majority culture (CAI), even more so in countries where discrimination of ethnic and religious groups is perceived to be widespread

Self-efficacy is an important person-level characteristic as it helps to understand why intentions may not lead to behaviour, such as the adoption of customs and norms of the majority culture. While Social Identity Theory explains why group characteristics, such as religious affiliation and religiosity, are so important in shaping of person's social identity and self-concept, it does not tell us much about whether and when acculturation intentions lead to acculturation behaviour. This is of particular importance to the second generation, who, in making behavioural decisions, frequently have to strike a balance between acting according to ethnic group customs (e.g. marriage partner choice) and those of the host culture. Thus, we may expect that more often than in children of the majority population, second generation behavioural intentions may not lead to

the intended behaviour. Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura 1986; 2001) provides clues for understanding why and when behavioral intentions lead to intended behavior. The theory argues that the most pervasive mechanism of personal agency is a person's self-efficacy beliefs, that is, beliefs about one's capability to implement courses of action required to accomplish specified behaviors. Persons with strong confidence in such capabilities tend to have higher aspirations, invest more effort in choosing goals, and persevere longer in the face of difficulties and setbacks. Bandura considers the self-efficacy concept as the "foundation of human agency" (Bandura 2001, p. 10). Therefore, self-efficacy assessment of the second generation is not only important for the understanding of their acculturation behavior *per se,* but also for the understanding of their structural integration in terms of their educational achievement and occupational careers (e.g. Hagendoorn *et al.*, 2003; Holden et al. 1990; Schwarzer and Born, 1997; Schwarzer and Renner, 2000; Luszczynska et al. 2005).

Hypothesis 4.
Second generation immigrants show on average lower levels of self-efficacy as compared to members of the majority population, and higher levels of self-efficacy are expected to be associated with higher levels of adoption of customs and norms of the majority culture (CAI).

Neighbourhood quality of life can be expressed in terms of social cohesion, mutual trust en social control. The second generation frequently concentrate and grow up in low socioeconomic status neighbourhoods because their parents frequently have low levels of education and carry out low-skilled low-income jobs. Such 'concentrated disadvantage' can limit residents' access to social and economic resources (e.g. employment, quality education) and intensify residents' social isolation. Such conditions may also lead to weakening of social ties, social capital, and trust among neighbourhood residents and foster a shared sense of powerlessness and feeling of not being in control of the quality of life in the neighbourhood (Mykyta *et al.* 2005; Sampson *et al.* 1997). Neighbourhood quality of life defined in terms of social cohesion, trust and social control helps to understand why in some neighbourhoods with high concentrations of ethnic minorities the quality of life is better and adoption of host culture customs and norms is more likely than in other neighbourhoods with high concentrations of ethnic minorities.

Hypothesis 5.
In neighbourhoods with a high perceived quality of life in terms of social cohesion, trust and control, residents are more likely to express preferences for immigrants applying customs and norms of the host culture (CAI) than in neighbourhoods with a low quality of life.

3. Data, Methods and Indicators

Data

The TIES[2] survey project was developed because hardly any socioeconomic and socio-psychological data on the second generation of major immigrants groups exist in EU countries. Most existing studies focus on first generation immigrants and do not collect data on their children born in the host country, the second generation. The latter is of particular importance to understand the socio-cultural integration of the second generation because it is affected by the (intergenerational) transfer of own ethnic group customs and norms as well as by the transfer of host culture custom and norms through the educational system, media, etc. In the TIES study the second generation comprises children of immigrants between 18 and 36 years old, born in the survey country, with one or both parents born in Turkey, Morocco or Former Yugoslavia. These ethnic groups constitute sizeable immigrant communities in main cities in Western Europe.

Members of a native born comparison group were also included in the study and they comprise persons born in the survey country, between 18 and 36 years old, with both parents born in the survey country.

Countries were selected on the basis of contrasting immigration, naturalization and integration policies so that respondents would reflect a wide spectrum in policy contexts. Within countries, usually two main but distinct cities were selected in terms of immigrant access to the labour market, local integration policies and political climate, or extent of ethno-racial segregation (Crul *et al.,* 2004). The project covered 15 cities in 8 countries: Amsterdam, Rotterdam (Netherlands); Antwerp, Brussels (Belgium); Paris, Strasbourg (France); Barcelona, Madrid (Spain); Basle, Zurich (Switzerland); Linz, Vienna (Austria); Berlin, Frankfurt (Germany); Stockholm (Sweden). Our study is limited to 11 of the 15 cities because access to the data of Belgium is restricted and data of Spain were not yet available to us.

By means of cross-sectional surveys, second generation Turks, Moroccans, Former Yugoslavians and a native born comparison group were sampled and interviewed between June 2006 and December 2008 to obtain information on indicators of structural integration (e.g. educational achievement and position in the labour market) and socio-cultural integration (e.g. identity, discrimination, religiosity and family formation).

The general sampling objective was to aim for 1000 or 1500 successfully interviewed respondents: 500 respondents from each second generation study group and 500 respondents from the comparison group. Gross samples were larger to anticipate the expected high non-response (i.e. between 60 and 70 per cent). In the case of The Netherlands and Sweden, population registers in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Stockholm served as sampling frame. The designs in these cities were stratified multi-stage samples of individuals, whereby the gross sample was allocated in equal shares to the cities and, within cities, to two or three study groups. Comparison group members were sampled in the same neighbourhoods as the second generation (Groenewold, 2008).

In the German-speaking countries and France, access to the population register was not granted. Instead, the subcontracting survey institutes (GFK, ZUMA) used as sampling frame a database of first, middle and surnames, based on the records of subscribers in Electricity Boards and Telephone Companies. After screening of this database, a subset sampling frame was developed covering the names of second generation Turkish and Former Yugoslavians and these sampled from the subset database. The native born comparison group members were selected using a random walk strategy with the address of a sampled second generation respondent as starting point. This frequently used method to sample immigrants including its limitations is well described by Häder (1996) and Salentin (2002).

In some countries documentation of sampling design and implementation was insufficient preventing derivation of sample design weights. We decided therefore not use weights altogether, accepting limitations regarding generalizability of our results (e.g. Alexander, 1992).

Methods

We use three main analytical methods: Reliability Analysis (Carmines and Zeller, 1979; McIver, 1981), Categorical Principle Component Analysis (CATPCA) (e.g. Linting *et al.*, 2007) and Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) (Andrews *et al.*, 1973; Lolle, 2007).

Reliability analysis and Categorical Principal Component Analysis were used to derive an index of religiosity, index of personal experience with discrimination, an index of self-efficacy and index of neighbourhood quality-of-life. Reliability analysis was used to examine whether the selected response on each Likert-item question sufficiently contributed to the reliability indicator for an envisioned scale, as measured by the reliability indicator of Cronbach α. Categorical Principle Component Analysis (CATPCA) was then used to model the response on the Likert-item questions in order to estimate scores on the envisioned composite index for individual respondent. CATPCA is a special type of optimal scaling technique designed to handle and optimize the use of nominal and ordinal-scale response data, such as those resulting from Likert-item questions. In most situations, application of the technique lead to uni-dimensional solutions and to reliability indicator scores that are sufficiently high to claim that the derived indexes measure what they are set out to measure (i.e. Cronbach $\alpha > .70$, see Table 3). For the independent variables, the interval-scale index scores were transformed into nominal-scale variables (low, medium, high) to facilitate presentation and comparison of findings across study and countries. For the two dependent variables (see below), the index scores were re-scaled to fit a 0 to 5 range, also for ease of interpretation and comparison.

Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) is applied to examine effects of four nominal-scale independent variables (religiosity, discrimination experience, self-efficacy, and neighborhood quality on two interval-scale dependent variables, which are: (1) the extent to which respondents prefer immigrants to be guided by own ethnic group customs and norms (CPI), and, (2) the extent to which respondents prefer immigrants to be guided by customs and norms of the mainstream host culture (CAI). The former represents the Y-axis of Berry's acculturation model (Figure 1, section 2) and is measured at the interval scale level by a variable named 'Culture Preservation Index (CPI)' with values between 0 and 5. The X-axis of Berry's model is represented in the same way and is named 'Culture Adaptation Index (CAI)'. MCA is a special type of analysis of variance (ANOVA) and is particularly suited to examine effects of nominal scale variables on an interval scale dependent variable if it is reasonable to assume additivity in effects of the independent variables on the dependent. An advantage of the method is that it does not assume linearity in relationships between variables and it adequately handles correlated independents in that main and interaction effects are assessed, evaluated and accounted for separately. What MCA essentially does is fitting an additive model to a multi-dimensional table whereby the cells of variable categories hold values that are deviations of the overall grand mean of the dependent variable. The additivity feature in MCA modeling is useful because it permits to conveniently indentify and profile subgroups according to a mix of categories of the independent variables, such as subgroups with very high and very low values of CPI and CAI.

Indicators

Dependent variables

Two interval-scale dependent variables feature in this paper, the Culture Preservation Index (CPI) and the Culture Adaptation Index (CAI). These indices are derived from the response on four questions following an introduction statement. "The integration of people of immigrant origin in (name survey country) is an important topic in political debates and in the media. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1) *At home*, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the cultural customs and norms of their parents' country of or region of origin; (2) *At home*, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the national cultural customs and norms in (name survey country); (3) *Outside the home*, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the cultural customs and norms of their parents' country of or region of origin; (4) *Outside the home*, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as

much as possible in accordance with the national cultural customs and norms in (name survey country). The response categories are ordinal-scale (Likert-scale) response categories (1=totally disagree,…., 5=totally agree). The way the questions are phrased solicits for 'projection' and 'substitution' in the sense that we expect that second generation and native born respondents express their own mix of attitudinal preferences.

As a first step in the analysis, we examined whether the response to pairs of questions pertaining to different life domains correlated in order to see whether a simple sum-scale could be derived. In other words, whether similarity exist in response the same question pertaining to two different life domains are similar (e.g. Berry, 2006). We thus examined the correlation between the response on questions (1) and (3) on the one hand, and between the response on questions (2) and (4) on the other hand. Analyses, separately for each study group, indeed revealed (one-tailed) statistically significant and positive rank-order correlations. We therefore combined the response on questions (1) and (3) to derive a sum-scale, running from 2 to 10, named "Culture Preservation Index (CPI)". Similarly, we combined the response on questions (2) and (4) to derive a sum-scale named "Culture Adaptation Index (CAI)".

The raw sum-scores on CPI and CAI of each respondent were then normalized, i.e. transformed into Z-scores (McIver, 1981), and, for ease of presentation, re-scaled to fit a yard-stick running from 0 to 5. The value of 2.50 constitutes the cut-off value between relatively high and relatively low scores on CPI and CAI (see Figure 1, section 2). The re-scaled Z-scores were then used to classify respondents into groups favouring integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization (Figure 1, section 2; Table 1), and, using MCA, to estimate Grand Means for CPI and CAI, and 'deviations-of-the-Grand-Mean' (Tables 2 and 3).

Independent variables

The variable *city* was included because it was a major stratification variable in the design of the project. *Age, sex* and *educational attainment* were included because acculturation preferences may related to respondents' age, gender, and educational attainment level (e.g. a higher level of education implies a longer exposure to host culture customs and norms mediated by the educational system, e.g. Becker, 2009; Odé and Veenman, 2003; Uunk, 2003). Respondents were asked about their highest level of educational attainment in terms of national educational system qualifications. National qualifications were transformed into UNESCO's ISCED categories to make educational attainment comparable across countries (e.g. see: Schneider, 2008). For descriptive analysis four ISCED groups were distinguished: Primary, Lower Secondary, Higher Secondary and Tertiary. For multivariate analysis Primary and Lower Secondary were merged and we renamed the educational attainment groups into Low, Medium, and High.

The survey questionnaire included various questions with Likert-type response categories permitting the derivation of composite indices as our primary variables of interest: (1) index of religiosity, (2) index of discrimination, (3) index of self-efficacy (4) index of neighbourhood quality.

The *religiosity index* was derived from opinions on (1) the importance given to being member of a particular religious group, (2) whether the respondent often thought about being a religious person, (3) the strength of feelings of belonging to one's religious group, (4) the degree of similarity with members of one's own religious group, (5) whether religion is perceived as a private relation between God and a person, (6) whether religion should be the ultimate political authority, (7) whether certain religious symbols should be worn in public to express religious affiliation, and (8) whether Muslim women should preferably wear a headscarf.

The *discrimination index* was derived from seven questions on personal experience with discrimination in the domains of the school, neighbourhood, restaurants and other leisure time destinations, encounters with police and with government institutions.

The *self-efficacy index* was based on the response of four item questions taken from the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE) (Swarzer and Jerusalem, 1995; Schwarzer and Renner, 2000), a cross-culturally tested scale measuring the extent that a respondent perceives that he or she is capable of sticking to his/her aims and accomplish goals, can resolve most problems if effort is invested, find solutions when in trouble, and can handle whatever comes on his or her way.

The *neighbourhood quality of life index* was derived from seven questions measuring attachment to the neighbourhood, contact with neighbours, contact with other people in the neighbourhood, liveability in neighbourhood, perceived control of vandalism, crime and garbage in the neighbourhood.

4. Results

This section consists of two parts. In the 'descriptive analysis' part, we start out by examining how our respondents position in the quadrants of Berry's acculturation model in light of the expectations formulated in hypothesis 1. We then examine distribution characteristics of variables that feature as stratification and control variables (city, study group, age, sex and education), and as main variables of interest in our multivariate analysis (i.e. level of religiosity, perceived discrimination, self-efficacy and neighborhood quality of life). In the 'multivariate analysis' part, we present results of MCA modeling and discuss them in the context of hypotheses 2 to 5.

Descriptive analysis

On the basis of contextual information we developed hypothesis 1 on the positioning of our respondents and study groups in Berry's acculturation model (Figure 1, section 2, Table 1). More specifically,

> *Hypothesis 1*.
> We expect that, in general, respondents will position in Berry's "Integration" quadrant, but we also expect differences by study and city groups. We expect native born respondents, compared to the second generation, more frequently express that people of immigrant origin should mainly live according customs and norms of the host culture. We expect that the second generation perceives the opposite.

Table 1 shows that in all study groups and in all study groups, the majority of respondents indeed position in the "Integration" quadrant. In fact, with the exception of the two Dutch cities, more than 80 per cent of respondents in all study groups and cities position in the 'Integration' or 'Assimilation' quadrants. Thus, on the whole, respondents perceive that people of immigrant origin should at least try to strike a balance between living in accordance with customs and norms of their own ethnic group and those of the host culture. The table conveys major differences between study and city groups. Results show that in all cities groups, members of the native born comparison group more often perceive that immigrants should exhibit attitudes that tilt the balance towards applying mostly host culture customs and norms.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics[1] of model variables (column percentages, median) by city and study groups (T=Second Generation Turks, M=Second Generation Moroccans, FY= Second Generation Former Yugoslavians CG=Comparison Group.

		Amsterdam/Rotterdam (Netherlands)			Berlin/Frankfurt (Germany)			Vienna/Linz (Austria)			Zurich/Basle (Switzerland)			Paris/Strassbourg (France)		Stockholm (Sweden)	
		T	M	CG	T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG	T	CG	T	CG
Acculturation	Integration	57.1	57.6	55.4	75.9	73.6	59.8	56.8	57.3	52.8	61.5	62.7	58.3	70.9	61.2	67.2	70.4
preference type	Assimilation	4.4	4.5	20.5	6.0	9.1	15.9	10.2	23.5	35.5	18.1	22.3	24.4	14.2	28.7	27.0	27.2
	Separation	36.4	36.0	22.4	11.1	8.9	8.5	5.2	3.9	4.2	7.3	4.0	4.7	11.0	3.7	1.7	0.8
	Marginalisation	2.1	1.9	1.7	7.0	8.4	15.7	27.8	15.3	7.5	13.2	11.0	12.6	3.9	6.3	4.1	1.6
City	City 1	47.4	49.1	50.6	50.3	49.8	49.7	55.0	51.1	51.7	45.4	55.2	43.2	49.6	49.6	100.0	100.0
	City 2	52.6	50.9	49.4	49.7	50.2	50.3	45.0	48.9	48.3	54.6	44.8	56.8	50.4	50.4	n.a.	n.a.
Age	Median Age	24	23	28	26	27	29	23	26	25	23	22	27	22	27	26	29
Gender	Male	48.4	49.9	48.8	48.1	48.3	47.7	46.1	46.3	46.9	51.3	49.1	50.2	43.6	46.4	49.4	49.2
	Female	51.6	50.1	51.2	51.9	51.7	52.3	53.9	53.7	53.1	48.7	50.9	49.8	56.4	53.6	50.6	50.8
Education	Primary	10.0	9.6	2.4	3.0	3.0	2.6	3.9	3.9	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2	1.4	6.3	1.8
(ISCED levels)	Lower Secondary	25.4	26.8	10.2	38.8	29.3	24.7	29.1	15.8	14.1	39.8	31.3	20.4	13.6	3.7	0.0	0.0
	Upper Secondary	47.6	45.7	34.3	55.5	60.1	56.7	57.5	69.0	68.0	52.2	62.5	53.7	54.2	37.0	52.2	29.6
	Tertiary	17.1	17.8	53.1	2.8	7.6	16.1	9.4	11.4	15.6	8.0	6.2	26.0	25.0	57.8	41.5	68.6
Religiosity	Low	10.3	9.4	75.4	18.7	34.2	47.3	16.3	26.9	52.7	27.1	25.6	41.0	13.3	61.8	16.4	57.8
(index)	Medium	46.0	37.8	18.0	22.1	39.9	39.2	20.0	46.0	36.4	31.1	33.3	41.0	35.7	29.9	25.6	33.7
	High	43.7	52.8	6.6	59.2	25.9	13.5	63.7	27.1	11.0	41.9	41.1	17.9	51.0	8.3	58.0	8.4
	Cronbach α		*.899*			*.931*			*.916*			*.907*			*.921*		.896
Discrimination	Low	29.6	25.4	38.7	16.3	38.2	56.9	3.1	2.2	9.1	31.7	29.6	45.7	23.8	43.0	27.5	72.4
(index)	Medium	29.6	32.6	42.6	34.4	31.3	29.2	44.3	59.0	81.4	29.5	31.2	31.6	33.8	38.2	18.7	14.8
	High	40.8	42.0	18.7	49.3	30.5	13.9	52.6	38.8	9.5	38.8	39.2	22.6	42.4	18.8	53.8	12.8
	Cronbach α		*.742*			*.919*			*0.915*			*.785*			*.803*		*0.711*
Self-efficacy	Low	39.6	39.7	21.6	44.5	42.1	48.7	31.7	26.1	15.7	42.7	30.6	36.0	46.2	52.1	27.8	27.2
(index)	Medium	32.1	34.5	41.8	18.9	17.5	17.3	37.3	41.8	43.2	30.2	32.0	28.1	18.6	17.9	43.6	58.2
	High	28.2	25.8	36.6	36.6	40.4	34.0	31.0	32.1	41.1	27.1	37.3	35.8	35.2	29.9	28.6	14.7
	Cronbach α		*0.801*			*0.841*			*0.868*			*0.747*			*0.801*		*0.762*
Neighborhood	Low	33.5	28.4	37.6	33.2	25.6	39.8	34.5	31.1	34.5	33.3	30.0	36.3	40.2	23.6	40.6	26.0
quality of life	Medium	32.6	33.3	33.7	36.0	35.7	29.6	28.2	37.0	34.5	33.5	36.4	30.6	30.6	37.3	29.9	37.6
(index)	High	33.9	38.3	28.7	30.8	38.7	30.6	37.3	31.9	31.0	33.3	33.6	33.1	29.2	39.0	29.5	36.4
	Cronbach α		*0.707*			*0.788*			*0.853*			*0.758*			*0.701*		*0.765*
	n=	439	426	481	503	406	503	444	493	484	454	426	430	497	351	251	247

[1] Column total percentages (100,0) are suppressed

This is behavior that would position them in the 'Assimilation' quadrant. Indeed, segments of the second generation respondents think differently because they are generally overrepresented in the 'Separation' quadrant as compared to respondents of the native born comparison group. These findings are in accordance with hypothesis 1 expectations.

The above discrepancy between the second generation and the comparison group regarding expected acculturation preferences may be a projection of underlying feelings of ethnic-based resentment, friction and distrust in city and neighborhood contexts. This is what may explain the "outlier" position of second generation and native born respondents in Rotterdam and Amsterdam as there is, compared to the situation elsewhere, a major gap between the 'Assimilation' preferences of the native born respondents vis-à-vis the 'Separation' preferences of the second generation.

Remarkably, the situation in the capital of the other self-declared 'multicultural' society, Sweden, is quite different. Results show that there is little difference between the views of the second generation and native born Swedes as more than 95 per cent of the respondents in each study group express the preference that people of immigrant origin should adopt an 'Integration' or 'Assimilation' attitude.

The situation in the main cities of German-speaking countries is quite different from the situation in Dutch and Swedish cities. In the cities of Berlin and Frankfurt three out of four second generation Turks and Former Yugoslavians perceive that an 'Integration' attitude is the most appropriate one for immigrants to exhibit. This is much less so in Vienna and Linz (Austria), and in Basle and Zurich (Switzerland). There, a larger share of respondents, notably among the Former Yugoslavians and native born respondents, perceive that an 'Assimilation' attitude is the second-best attitude to have for people of immigrant origin. Contrary to the situation in the Dutch cities, a 'Separation' preference is hardly considered an option in cities of German-speaking countries. Instead, a 'Marginalization' attitude is preferred, that is, an general attitude by which behavior is neither strongly motivated by own ethnic group customs and norms nor by those of the host culture. This is most notable in the cities of Switzerland and Austria.

In the case of the two French cities, the results confirm to what we would expect in a society that stresses one identity and one culture. Most respondents position in the 'Integration' and 'Assimilation' quadrants, and, not surprisingly, almost one in three native born French perceive that an immigrant preferably should have an 'Assimilation' attitude.

As the variable *city* is a stratification variable in all sample designs, the distribution of the respondents over the two cities in each country is affected by the sample allocation strategy.

Regarding the control variables *age, sex and education* table 1 shows that in most city populations the native born comparison group members are a few years older (2 to 5 years) than the second generation, notably in comparison with the Turkish second generation. This may partly be a reflection of a slightly 'younger' age distribution of the second generation compared to the native born comparison group. In most cities, female respondents are slightly overrepresented, which may be due to male overrepresentation among non-respondents. Table 1 also shows that native born respondents have somewhat higher *educational attainment* levels than the second generation. The Turkish second generation respondents seem to have the lowest attainment levels.

We now turn to our main variables of interest: religiosity, discrimination experience, self-efficacy and neighbourhood quality of life. With respect to *religiosity*, Table 1 shows that in all cities a major share of the second generation Turks and Moroccans position in the category 'high level of

religiosity'. As compared to the situation in other cities, the gap in religiosity between native born respondents and the second generation is largest in the two Dutch cities compared to the situation in other cities, notably with respect to the cities in German-speaking countries. Results are consistent with the general finding that secularization in German-speaking countries is much lower than in France, Sweden and The Netherlands (e.g. EC, 2005; Pew Research Center, 2003). Levels of religiosity of second generation Former Yugoslavians in the German-speaking countries generally take on an intermediate position between levels maintained by the native born and second generation Turks. This may partly be explained by the fact that a fair share of Former Yugoslavian second generation respondents are Muslim (17 per cent in the German cities, 15 per cent in the Austrian cities and 20 per cent in the Swiss cities) while the major share is Orthodox Christian or Catholic.

Regarding the variable *Personal experience with discrimination* Table 1 shows that experience with discrimination is not confined to the second generation only, though the second generation perceive more often that they are or have been exposed to discrimination. In all cities, high perceived levels of discrimination are reported by all immigrant groups, especially by the Turkish second generation. The proportion of the Turkish second generation in Stockholm expressing high perceived levels of discrimination is though difficult to reconcile with the high proportion (i.e. 27 per cent) perceiving that 'Assimilation' is the second-most preferred acculturation attitude for immigrants to have.

Only in three (Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland) of the six countries hypothesis 4 expectations are confirmed regarding higher levels of *self-efficacy* of native born respondents vis-à-vis second generation respondents.

The distribution of respondents over the categories of the variable *neighborhood quality of life* is somewhat affected by sampling strategies in countries because the second generation and comparison group members are often sampled in the same neighborhoods (see section 3, Data). Therefore, we may expect some correlation between the response of members of different study groups in their opinion about the quality of life in their neighborhood of residence.

Multivariate analysis

This sub-section is organized as follows. We start out by examining whether acculturation preferences are indeed affected in the hypothesized direction by level of religiosity, discrimination experience, self-efficacy and neighborhood quality of life, by the control variables (age, sex and education), and by sample stratification variables (ethnic and city group). For this, we pooled the person records of all survey countries so that hypothesized effects can be examined in a general super-population (Table 2, panel A). Subsequently, we examine whether and to what extent effects these variables are altered by controlling for, first, ethnic group membership (Table 2, panel B) and, second, ethnic group and place of residence (i.e. city groups) (Table 3).

In the first row of Table 2, overall averages (Grand mean) of the dependent variables CPI and CAI are presented for all respondents across countries (Panel A) and for all respondents across countries, by study groups (Panel B). In the rows below, estimates of 'deviations-of-the-grand-mean' are presented for each category of the stratification, control and independent variables. The values in cells are *net* deviations, and can be interpreted as net effects of particular variable categories on CPI or CAI, after account is taken of the effect of all other variables in the model.

Table 2. MCA estimates of deviations of the grand mean of dependent variables (adjusted for independents and covariates) for categories of the independent variables, using pooled data (CPI= Culture Preservation Index, CAI= Culture Adaptation Index, T=Second Generation Turks, FY= Second Generation Former Yugoslavians, CG=Comparison Group).

		Panel A (All cities)		Panel B (All cities)					
				CPI			CAI		
		CPI	CAI	T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG
	Grand mean	***3.31***	***3.61***	***3.55***	***3.37***	***3.06***	***3.48***	***3.83***	***3.61***
Group	Turk	***0.17***	***-0.06***						
	Former Yugoslavian	***0.06***	***0.11***						
	Comparison group	***-0.20***	***0.00***						
	beta	***0.16***	***0.06***						
City	Amsterdam	***-0.14***	***-1.10***	***-0.04***		***-0.26***	***-1.06***		***-1.08***
	Rotterdam	***-0.30***	***-1.00***	***-0.20***		***-0.40***	***-1.19***		***-0.76***
	Berlin	***0.23***	***0.10***	***0.27***	***0.27***	***0.20***	***0.30***	***0.02***	***-0.09***
	Frankfurt	***0.22***	***0.01***	***0.17***	***0.22***	***0.28***	***0.13***	***-0.17***	***-0.01***
	Vienna	***-0.10***	***0.09***	***-0.60***	***0.11***	***0.10***	***-0.30***	***0.16***	***0.32***
	Linz	***-0.05***	***0.29***	***0.31***	***-0.19***	***-0.25***	***0.58***	***0.10***	***0.21***
	Zurich	***-0.18***	***0.10***	***-0.31***	***-0.23***	***0.04***	***0.13***	***0.00***	***0.09***
	Basle	***-0.05***	***0.02***	***-0.01***	***-0.26***	***0.10***	***0.18***	***-0.24***	***0.03***
	Paris	***0.06***	***0.24***	***0.13***		***0.01***	***0.28***		***0.27***
	Strasbourg	***0.15***	***0.36***	***0.20***		***0.02***	***0.41***		***0.39***
	Stockholm	***0.09***	***1.06***	***-0.08***		***0.17***	***0.97***		***1.19***
	beta	***0.16***	***0.45***	***0.26***	***0.22***	***0.20***	***0.51***	***0.15***	***0.52***
Age group	*18-24*	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.04	0.10	0.00	-0.01	0.04
	25-35	-0.01	0.00	0.01	-0.04	-0.05	0.01	0.01	-0.02
	beta								
Gender	Male	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.03	-0.03
	Female	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.03	0.03
	beta								
Education	Low	***0.03***	0.02	***0.08***	0.05	***-0.12***	***0.01***	***0.06***	0.00
(ISCED levels)	Medium	***-0.04***	-0.02	***-0.03***	-0.02	***-0.06***	***-0.01***	***-0.04***	0.00
	High	***0.06***	0.02	***-0.06***	0.02	***0.13***	***0.02***	***0.08***	0.00
	beta	***0.04***		***0.05***		***0.09***	***0.01***	***0.05***	
Religiosity	Low	***-0.08***	***0.13***	***-0.23***	***-0.05***	0.00	0.11	***0.13***	***0.06***
(index)	Medium	***-0.05***	***-0.05***	***-0.11***	***-0.09***	-0.02	0.01	***-0.07***	***-0.07***
	High	***0.14***	***-0.09***	***0.13***	***0.17***	0.05	-0.04	***-0.04***	***-0.11***
	beta	***0.09***	***0.09***	***0.14***	***0.11***			***0.09***	***0.07***
Discrimination	Low	***0.03***	***-0.01***	***-0.04***	***0.07***	***0.04***	0.04	0.05	-0.02
(index)	Medium	***-0.08***	***-0.03***	***-0.12***	***-0.12***	***0.02***	-0.03	-0.06	0.02
	High	***0.08***	***0.04***	***0.10***	***0.09***	***-0.15***	0.01	0.04	0.01
	beta	***0.07***	***0.03***	***0.10***	***0.10***	***0.06***			
Self-efficacy	Low	0.02	***-0.04***	0.01	***0.05***	0.00	-0.02	***-0.04***	***-0.05***
(index)	Medium	-0.04	***-0.02***	-0.04	***-0.11***	0.01	-0.01	***-0.06***	***-0.01***
	High	0.01	***0.05***	0.03	***0.05***	0.00	0.03	***0.09***	***0.06***
	beta		***0.03***		***0.07***			***0.07***	***0.04***
Neighborhood	Low	***-0.04***	***-0.04***	0.01	***0.04***	***-0.14***	***-0.04***	***-0.10***	***-0.02***
quality of life	Medium	***-0.03***	***-0.03***	-0.05	***-0.12***	***0.05***	***-0.03***	***-0.05***	***-0.02***
(index)	High	***0.07***	***0.08***	0.04	***0.10***	***0.09***	***0.08***	***0.14***	***0.04***
	beta	***0.05***	***0.05***		***0.10***	***0.10***	***0.06***	***0.11***	***0.03***
	R^2	*9%*	*22%*	*11%*	*10%*	*6%*	27%	8%	27%
	n=	5921	5921	2298	1237	2386	2298	1237	2386

Note: sig. or bold+Italics=significant at .05 level; n.s. or un-italicized =not significant at 0.5 level; n.a.=not applicable

For variables that have statistically significant net effects on CPI and CAI we also present values of 'beta' which indicate the relative importance of a variable in explaining the variation in CPI and CAI. In the bottom of the table, R-square shows how much variation in CPI and CAI is explained by the stratification, control and independents variables.

Table 2, Panel A, shows that levels of CPI and CAI are well above the cut-off point of 2.50 in Berry's quadrant of acculturation preferences (Figure 1, section 1), so that, on average, respondents across countries and study groups position in Berry's 'Integration quadrant'.

Panel A shows that in the pooled population all but one main independent (Self-efficacy) have statistically significant effects in the predicted direction on the Culture Preservation Index (CPI) , while all main independents have significant effects on the Culture Adaptation Index (CAI). This provides general support to the hypothesized effects of our main variables as described in hypotheses 2 to 5. Furthermore, the values of 'beta' for the independents religiosity, discrimination experiences and neighbourhood quality (09., .07, .05, respectively) show that these independents contribute less to the explanation of CPI than ethnic group-membership (.16) and place of residence (.16). Similarly, the latter are also most important to the explanation of CAI. The values of R-square indicate that our model variables contribute far less (9%) to the explanation of CPI than to CAI (22%). This confirms our earlier assertion that the impact of the same independent on the Y-axis variable (CPI) in Berry's model (Figure 1, section 2) may be quite different from its effect on the X-axis variable (CAI).

In panel B of table 2, the same analysis has been carried out, but we control for ethic group membership. The relevance of religiosity, discrimination experience, self-efficacy and neighbourhood quality to the explanation of CPI and CAI clearly differs by study group, while for all study groups place of residence continues to be an important factor to the explanation of acculturation preferences (CPI and CAI).

Panel B shows that the Turkish second generation has highest scores on the CPI and lowest on CAI. Furthermore, the Turkish second generation in Stockholm most frequently express that immigrants should exhibit behaviour inspired by Swedish customs and norms (3.48+.97=4.45), while the second generation Turks in Rotterdam (3.48-1.19=2.29) are the least likely to express this with respect to Dutch customs and norms. Thus, in terms of position on the X-axis of Berry's model (Figure 1,section 2), the same ethnic group may take on quite a different position, mainly resulting from where persons live, indicating the importance of geographical context to the explanation of acculturation preferences. Table 2, panel B, also shows that the relevance of sets of correlates differs by study group and that they are far more important to the explanation of CAI (e.g. R-square is 27%) than to CPI.

Furthermore, the data reveal that there is often more similarity in average levels of acculturation preferences (CAI and CPI) between cities of different countries, than between cities of the same country. For instance, the average level of CAI in Panel A for Vienna differs from those in Linz, but not from levels in Berlin, even after these average levels are adjusted for the effects of all other model variables. Similarly, the average level of CAI of second generation Turks in Paris differs from levels in Strasbourg but not much from such persons in Berlin. In other words, variation within countries can be quite larger than variation between countries with respect to acculturation preferences of members of the same ethnic group.

We mentioned in section 3 that the additivity feature of the MCA method is convenient for the profiling of respondents according to categories of the independent variables, provided certain relevant interaction effects are absent. Only in the case of Sweden, with respect to the correlates

of CAI, significant interaction effects were found between religion and discrimination, between sex and efficacy, sex and discrimination, and efficacy and neighborhood quality, so that profiling on the basis of MCA results is not recommended. MCA results in all other cases can be used for the profiling of sub-groups. For example, the profile of a typical second generation Turk with a high preference for an attitude whereby immigrants be guided by own ethnic group customs and norms (CPI) is a person living in Berlin, who's educational attainment is at the most lower secondary level, who is highly religious, and who has a high perceived level of discrimination (3.55+ .27 +.08 + .10=4.00). A typical second generation Turk with a high preference for behavior guided by host culture norms (CAI) is a person living in Stockholm, who has a high level of education, and lives in a neighborhood in which a high level of social cohesion and trust prevails (3.48+ .97 + .06= 4.51). For various sub-groups with particular characteristics total CPI and CAI profiling scores can be derived and plotted as X,Y coordinates in Berry's acculturation model (Figure 1, section 1) so that sub-groups can be classified in one of the four acculturation preference categories.

Now are the hypothesized effects of our main variables of interest still present at the level countries, i.e. city groups? We'll discuss this in light of the hypotheses that we formulated and findings presented in table 3.

Hypothesis 2.
We expect that higher levels of religiosity, notably among the Muslim second generation, are associated with a higher preference for immigrant behavior based on own ethnic group customs and norms (CPI). We also expect that a high level of religiosity among the second generation is associated with low preferences for attitudes inspired by host cultural customs and norms (CAI), and with even lower levels in highly secular societies such as The Netherlands and Sweden.

The first part of the hypothesis was confirmed by findings based on the pooled data in table 2, and, by and large, it is also confirmed at the level of the country data as shown in table 3.

In those countries where religiosity is a statistically important factor for predicting preferences for own ethnic group customs (CPI), a high level of religiosity is indeed associated with a high preference for applying own ethnic group customs and norms by immigrants (CPI), notably for Turkish second generation respondents. Religiosity does not appear to influence preferences for own ethnic group customs and norms among the Moroccan second generation in The Netherlands, Former Yugoslavians in Germany and Switzerland. The data in Table 3 do not provide support for the second part of the hypothesis as there does not seem to be a consistent pattern in the effect that level of religiosity has on preferences for host culture customs and norms (CAI).

Hypothesis 3.
We hypothesize that higher perceived levels of exposure to discrimination of the second generation are associated with lower levels of adaptation to the customs and norms of the majority culture (CAI), even more so in countries where discrimination of ethnic and religious groups is perceived to be widespread

Although the hypothesis is supported by findings at the level of the pooled data, this hypothesis is only supported in the case of the Turkish second generation in The Netherlands where a higher personal experience with discrimination is associated with a below average preference for applying host culture customs and norms (CAI). In the case of the Austrian cities the data suggest even a reverse situation and this cannot be explained by interaction effects with other model variables.

Table 3. MCA estimates of deviations of the grand mean of dependent variables (adjusted for independents and covariates) for categories of the independent variables (CPI= Culture Preservation Index, CAI= Culture Adaptation Index, T=Second Generation Turks, FY= Second Generation Former Yugoslavians, CG=Comparison Group).

		Amsterdam/Rotterdam (Netherlands)						Berlin/Frankfurt (Germany)						Vienna/Linz (Austria)					
		CPI			CAI			CPI			CAI			CPI			CAI		
		T	M	CG	T	M	CG	T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG
	Grand mean	3.41	3.45	***2.75***	2.36	2.41	***2.72***	***3.81***	***3.65***	***3.24***	3.70	3.79	***3.53***	3.40	3.27	***2.97***	***3.57***	3.92	3.91
Age (covariate)		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	***sig.***	n.s.	***sig.***	n.s.
City	City 1	0.09	0.03	***0.08***	0.08	-0.01	***-0.12***	0.03	0.05	-0.03	***0.06***	***0.09***	-0.03	***-0.36***	***0.11***	***0.18***	***-0.33***	-0.01	0.05
	City 2	-0.08	-0.03	***-0.09***	-0.08	0.01	***0.13***	-0.03	-0.05	0.03	***-0.06***	***-0.09***	0.03	***0.42***	***-0.11***	***-0.20***	***0.40***	0.01	-0.05
	beta			***0.09***							***0.07***	***0.10***		***0.32***	***0.11***	***0.15***	***0.32***		
Gender	Male	0.01	-0.07	0.08	0.02	0.08	-0.01	0.00	-0.01	-0.05	0.01	-0.04	-0.07	***0.08***	0.02	-0.05	***0.09***	***0.11***	0.02
	Female	-0.01	0.07	-0.07	-0.02	-0.08	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.03	0.06	***-0.06***	-0.01	0.04	***-0.08***	***-0.09***	-0.02
	beta													***0.06***			***0.07***	***0.10***	
Education	Low	0.03	-0.07	-0.13	0.06	-0.06	0.30	***0.06***	***-0.19***	-0.05	***0.03***	-0.08	0.11	***0.09***	***0.19***	***-0.17***	0.04	***0.22***	-0.21
(ISCED levels)	Medium	-0.01	0.06	-0.11	-0.01	0.04	0.08	***-0.03***	***0.08***	0.05	***0.00***	0.03	-0.01	***-0.04***	***-0.06***	***-0.05***	-0.01	***-0.07***	0.03
	High	-0.02	-0.01	0.10	-0.07	-0.02	-0.11	***-0.33***	***0.18***	-0.10	***-0.46***	0.08	-0.16	***-0.11***	***0.05***	***0.39***	-0.08	***0.07***	0.09
	beta							***0.08***	***0.15***		***0.20***			***0.14***	***0.10***	***0.14***	0.13	***0.12***	
Religiosity	Low	***-0.34***	***-0.51***	0.02	-0.14	0.18	-0.03	***-0.28***	-0.07	-0.01	***0.32***	***0.24***	***0.19***	***-0.23***	***0.00***	-0.02	0.18	0.01	***0.10***
(index)	Medium	***-0.08***	***0.01***	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.01	***-0.27***	-0.01	-0.05	***-0.21***	***-0.17***	***-0.20***	***0.00***	***-0.10***	0.01	-0.01	0.02	***-0.05***
	High	***0.16***	***0.08***	-0.20	0.02	-0.07	0.28	***0.19***	0.12	0.17	***-0.02***	***-0.06***	***-0.10***	***0.06***	***0.17***	0.09	-0.05	-0.05	***-0.31***
	beta	***0.17***	***0.19***					***0.26***			***0.21***	***0.20***	***0.20***	***0.09***	***0.12***				***0.15***
Discrimination	Low	***-0.08***	-0.11	0.09	***0.15***	-0.01	-0.09	***0.07***	-0.01	0.01	0.12	0.01	***-0.01***	***-0.28***	***-0.03***	***-0.04***	***-0.21***	0.18	-0.05
(index)	Medium	***-0.12***	-0.01	0.00	***0.07***	0.02	0.01	***-0.17***	-0.11	0.02	-0.05	-0.08	***0.15***	***-0.27***	***-0.15***	***0.04***	***-0.21***	-0.06	0.01
	High	***0.15***	0.07	-0.18	***-0.16***	-0.01	0.15	***0.10***	0.12	-0.09	0.00	0.07	***-0.28***	***0.23***	***0.23***	***-0.28***	***0.18***	0.08	0.00
	beta	***0.13***		0.10	***0.13***			***0.14***					***0.14***	***0.21***	***0.19***	***0.08***	***0.17***		
Self-efficacy	Low	-0.01	***-0.16***	0.13	-0.07	-0.05	-0.20	-0.01	***-0.07***	-0.01	-0.04	***-0.14***	-0.06	0.09	***0.14***	-0.06	***0.22***	***0.03***	0.10
(index)	Medium	-0.03	***0.02***	-0.06	0.06	0.12	0.10	0.01	***-0.09***	0.01	0.09	***0.22***	0.06	-0.09	***-0.14***	0.05	***-0.14***	***-0.15***	-0.04
	High	0.05	***0.22***	0.00	0.04	-0.08	0.00	0.01	***0.12***	0.02	0.00	***0.05***	0.06	0.01	***0.07***	-0.03	***-0.07***	***0.18***	0.00
	beta		***0.17***						***0.10***			***0.15***			***0.13***		***0.13***	***0.14***	
Neighborhood	Low	0.14	-0.08	-0.09	-0.13	0.05	0.11	***-0.10***	***-0.07***	***-0.13***	***-0.13***	***-0.11***	-0.06	***0.15***	0.16	***-0.24***	0.02	***-0.10***	-0.02
quality of life	Medium	-0.11	0.03	0.03	0.16	-0.10	-0.02	***-0.05***	***-0.12***	***0.01***	***-0.04***	***0.06***	0.02	***-0.17***	-0.06	***0.24***	-0.13	***-0.13***	0.01
(index)	High	-0.02	0.03	0.09	-0.02	0.04	-0.12	***0.16***	***0.16***	***0.17***	***0.19***	***0.02***	0.06	***-0.01***	-0.08	***0.00***	0.08	***0.25***	0.02
	beta							***0.13***	***0.14***	***0.14***	***0.15***	***0.08***		***0.10***		***0.16***		***0.17***	
	R^2	7%	*9%*	6%	4%	2%	7%	12%	6%	5%	10%	10%	9%	22%	18%	12%	25%	10%	3%
	n=	439	426	481	439	426	481	503	406	503	503	406	503	454	493	484	454	493	484

Note: sig. or bold+Italics=significant at .05 level; n.s. or un-italicized =not significant at 0.5 level; n.a.=not applicable

Table 3 (continued). MCA estimates of deviations of the grand mean of dependent variables (adjusted for independents and covariates) for categories of the independent variables (CPI= Culture Preservation Index, CAI= Culture Adaptation Index, T=Second Generation Turks, FY= Second Generation Former Yugoslavians, CG=Comparison Group).

		Zurich/Basle (Switzerland)						Paris/Strasbourg (France)				Stockholm (Sweden)			
		CPI			CAI			CPI		CAI		CPI		CAI	
		T	FY	CG	T	FY	CG	T	CG	T	CG	T	CG	T	CG
Grand mean		***3.36***	3.19	3.10	3.66	3.74	3.65	***3.70***	***3.14***	3.82	3.95	3.48	3.31	***4.46***	***4.77***
Age (covariate)		n.s.	***sig.***	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	**sig.**	n.s.
City	City 1	***-0.15***	0.02	-0.05	-0.03	***0.11***	0.02	***-0.09***	-0.03	-0.10	-0.07	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	City 2	***0.14***	-0.02	0.04	0.03	***-0.15***	-0.02	***0.09***	0.03	0.10	0.07	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	beta	***0.14***						***0.09***							
Gender	Male	-0.04	0.06	-0.08	-0.04	0.00	***-0.09***	-0.02	0.00	0.01	-0.02	***0.27***	0.01	0.02	0.02
	Female	0.04	-0.06	0.08	0.05	0.00	***0.09***	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.02	***-0.25***	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	beta						***0.10***					***0.20***			
Education	Low	***0.12***	-0.02	***-0.15***	0.14	0.02	***-0.07***	0.04	-0.13	***-0.22***	-0.36	n.a.	n.a.	*n.a*	n.a.
(ISCED levels)	Medium	***-0.03***	0.00	***-0.05***	-0.04	-0.02	***-0.10***	-0.04	-0.09	***-0.02***	-0.04	-0.08	-0.29	-0.06	0.03
	High	***-0.39***	0.12	***0.23***	-0.38	0.08	***0.26***	0.06	0.07	***0.24***	0.05	0.09	0.09	0.07	-0.01
	beta	***0.13***		***0.14***			***0.17***			***0.14***					
Religiosity	Low	***-0.10***	-0.05	0.09	0.10	***0.20***	0.11	-0.23	0.00	***-0.02***	0.05	***-0.32***	-0.10	***-0.08***	-0.08
(index)	Medium	***-0.10***	-0.15	-0.07	0.01	***-0.14***	-0.05	0.00	-0.07	***0.15***	-0.03	***-0.36***	0.21	***0.20***	0.15
	High	***0.14***	0.16	-0.06	-0.07	***-0.04***	-0.16	0.06	0.26	***-0.10***	-0.31	***0.21***	-0.07	***-0.06***	-0.06
	beta	***0.12***								***0.10***		***0.20***			
Discrimination	Low	-0.06	0.07	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.07	-0.02	-0.03	-0.05	***-0.07***	-0.15	0.04	***-0.22***	0.00
(index)	Medium	0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.16	***-0.06***	-0.16	0.08	***-0.23***	0.04
	High	0.02	-0.04	-0.17	-0.03	-0.03	-0.15	-0.02	0.07	-0.10	***0.29***	0.12	-0.45	***0.17***	-0.07
	beta										***0.14***			***0.04***	
Self-efficacy	Low	-0.03	0.05	-0.02	***-0.16***	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03	0.06	-0.08	***0.00***	0.01	-0.10	-0.12	-0.04
(index)	Medium	0.00	-0.04	0.04	***0.03***	0.00	-0.04	0.00	-0.13	0.12	***-0.31***	-0.06	-0.01	-0.04	-0.01
	High	0.05	0.00	0.00	***0.23***	0.02	0.07	0.03	-0.03	0.04	***0.19***	0.08	0.22	0.17	0.11
	beta				***0.17***						***0.17***				
Neighborhood	Low	-0.16	***-0.10***	-0.06	0.01	-0.11	-0.13	-0.05	***-0.21***	***-0.02***	***0.10***	0.17	0.02	***0.14***	-0.07
quality of life	Medium	0.09	***-0.13***	0.07	-0.02	-0.03	0.10	-0.01	***-0.08***	***-0.13***	***-0.16***	0.15	-0.12	***0.10***	0.00
(index)	High	0.07	***0.25***	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.05	0.07	***0.20***	***0.18***	***0.09***	-0.41	0.12	***-0.32***	0.06
	beta		***0.16***						***0.17***	***0.11***	***0.13***			***0.08***	
	R^2	6%	7%	5%	5%	6%	7%	*3%*	*5%*	*7%*	*8%*	*15%*	*7%*	*17%*	*5%*
	n=	454	426	430	454	426	430	497	351	497	351	251	247	251	247

Note: sig. or bold+Italics=significant at .05 level; n.s. or un-italicized =not significant at 0.5 level; n.a.=not applicable

Hypothesis 4.
We expect higher levels of self-efficacy to be associated with higher levels of adoption of customs and norms of the majority culture (CAI) and we expect lower levels of self-efficacy as compared to members of the majority population.

At the level of pooled data in Table 2, panel A, the data provided support to the first part of the hypothesis, but results in panel B only partially support the second part of the hypothesis because its seems that level of efficacy is not relevant to the explanation of CAI in the case of the Turkish second generation. A closer look at the level of the country, in Table 3, shows that self-efficacy is only important to predict CAI in the case of Former Yugoslavians in Germany and Austria, and for the Turkish second generation in Switzerland.

Hypothesis 5.
In neighbourhoods with a high perceived quality of life in terms of social cohesion, trust and control, residents are more likely to express preferences for immigrants applying customs and norms of the host culture (CAI) than in neighbourhoods with a low quality of life.

The hypothesized importance of neighbourhood quality of life was found to be important at the aggregate level of the pooled country data (Table 2, panels A and B), while results in Table 3 show that the expected association between neighbourhood quality of life and preference levels of CAI present in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, notably among the second generation Former Yugoslavians, and among the Turkish second generation in France. The beta values for this independent indicate that the importance of the neighbourhood quality of life-factor as predictor for CAI is considerable, notably in Austria.

Although not of prime interest to us we just note that with respect to the control variables the results show that net effects of age and sex on CPI and CAI have disappeared after all other variables have entered the equation. Remaining net effects of age and sex are slight. The net effects of education on CPI and CAI are not systematic so it seems and difficult to interpret.

5. Discussion

This paper was inspired by and intents to contribute to the public and scientific debate about the acculturation of immigrants and their children in European countries. Religion and religiosity, exposure to discrimination, spatial concentration in neighborhoods with poor living conditions and immigrant and integration policy context are frequently put forward when attempting to explain why in particular settings behavioral preferences of some people are far from striking a balance between living according own ethnic group customs and norms and those maintained by the mainstream population.

In this paper we examined what the role of these correlates are in explaining acculturation preferences of children of immigrants from Turkey and Former Yugoslavia (i.e. second generation) in the age group 18-35 years, born in an EU country. We used recent survey data collected in 11 main cities in 6 EU countries (The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and Sweden). We choose Berry's two dimensional model of acculturation as our theoretical framework. The model posits that immigrants can be classified on the basis of their preference to live according to own ethnic group customs and norms vis-à-vis those of the host culture, into four acculturation categories: integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization.

Our first objective was to determine and compare across cities and nations, what the acculturation preferences are of second generation Turks, Moroccans and Former Yugoslavians, and how these compare to those of native born residents. Our second objective was to determine whether and to what extent national policy context, religiosity, discrimination experience, self-efficacy and neighborhood quality affect acculturation preferences.

Regarding the first objective we found that the great majority of the respondents, irrespective of ethnic background and country, classify in Berry's 'Integration' category. The interpretation of this finding is that a majority of respondents perceive that behavior of people of immigrant origin should preferably be guided by a combination of own ethnic group norms and those of the host culture. However, results also show that there is a gap between the acculturation perceptions of native born and perceptions maintained by the second generation, which is most striking in the case of The Netherlands and Austria. Native born more frequently perceive that people of immigrant origin should live mostly according to customs and norms of the native born majority population while the second generation more often perceives that such persons should live mostly according to their own ethnic group customs and norms. This gap between the native born and the second generation may be a projection of underlying feelings of ethnic-based resentment, friction and distrust. We elaborate on this by reflecting on the situation in The Netherlands, and Austria and Switzerland.

As compared to the situation in other countries, a major share of second generation Turks and Moroccans in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam maintain attitudinal preferences that position them in the 'Separation' category. This means that this sub-group of Dutch second generation respondents perceives that people of immigrant behavior should primarily be inspired by own ethnic group customs and norms and less so by Dutch ones. We think that this may reflect an underlying atmosphere of mutual distrust between the Dutch native born and Muslim minorities in both cities (and elsewhere) at the time of the survey. This situation is likely to be influenced by events such as (1) the rise of political parties taking an open stance against Islam customs and norms in the Dutch society, and (2) the subsequent assassination of Islam criticasters Pim Fortuyn (by a non-Muslim) and film-maker/publicist Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam (about 4 and 1.5 years before the survey, respectively), (3) the ongoing national and international death-threat of the Muslim community towards politician Ayaan Hirshi Ali because of her critic on the position of women in Islam, (4) the ongoing coverage and vibrant discussion in the media and political arena about the position of Islam in the Dutch society.

Although positioning in the 'Separation' quadrant is observed in Germany, it hardly seems to be an acceptable second-best option in cities of Austria and Switzerland. In the latter two countries, a fair share of second generation Turkish and Former Yugoslavian respondents position in Berry's 'Marginalization' quadrant. We think this may be interpreted as follows. In Austria and Switzerland, immigrants as well as their children born in these countries must overcome many institutional hurdles and many years of waiting before access to a permanent residence permit and citizenship comes within reach. After many years of efforts to convince state, provincial and local officials about one's economic independence, native language skills and willingness to live according to the customs and norms of Austrians and Swiss, there is no guarantee whatsoever that this behavior leads to the granting of a permanent residence permit, let alone citizenship. Decision-making is at the community level whereby neighbors and other community members have the right to vote against the immigrant becoming a fully accepted community member and national citizen. Not surprisingly, after such a long period of denial of cultural heritage and identity, it may not come as a surprise that a fair share of the respondents perceive that a 'low-profile' acculturation attitude is probably a good option in that context. That is, low-profile in the

sense that immigrants should not be too open about showing that their behavior is inspired by either ethnic group related customs and norms or by those of the host culture. Respondents with this kind of opinion generally classify in Berry's 'Marginalization' quadrant.

Regarding the second objective we found that religiosity, personal experience with discrimination, self-efficacy, and neighborhood quality (in terms of perceived social cohesion, trust and control) are important factors in explaining acculturation preferences. However, these factors are most relevant for explaining people's opinion about the degree that immigrant behavior should be guided by host culture customs and norms. They are much less important for explaining people's preferences for that immigrants should mainly be guided by own ethnic group customs and norms. Thus, factors important to the adaptation of immigrants to host culture customs and norms may be quite different from factors that explain why immigrants prefer to live mainly according to their own ethnic customs and norms.

An important related finding was also that country differences regarding acculturation preferences are clearly overshadowed by differences between cities, even after data are adjusted for differences between cities in terms of age, sex, levels of education, religiosity, discrimination, self-efficacy and neighborhood quality. For instance, average levels on our Culture Adaptation Index of second generation Turks in Paris are more alike those in Berlin than those in the French city of Strasbourg.

Some concluding words on statistical representativeness of the results are warranted. Although in all countries a random sampling approach guided the design and implementation of fieldwork, the documentation of sample design and implementation was insufficient to derive and apply sample design weights in some countries, posing limits to cross-country research. Furthermore, in spite of the efforts of professional survey bureaus, the second generation also proved to be a difficult target group to survey, partly as a result of lack of readily available sampling frames, partly as a result of high non-response rates (between 50 and 70 per cent). Such high non-response rates are not uncommon in surveys that focus on immigrants. A methodological conclusion may thus be that the survey instrument may not yet be the suitable way to obtain information on the second generation. To date, a qualitative approach, such as the focus group approach, may be more suitable to obtain insight into the correlates of socio-cultural and structural integration of the second generation.

End notes

1. Rather than using the narrow concept of 'integration' we use the general concept of 'acculturation' which leaves room for other non-integrative forms of behavior, such as separation and marginalization. Acculturation acknowledges that when persons of different ethnic and cultural groups get in contact with each other, a bi-directional process of adaptation takes place whereby the greatest adaptation efforts are made by the minority group.
2. The survey data used for this paper were collected within the context of the TIES project (The Integration of the European Second Generation), a research and training project initiated within the context of the IMISCOE program (International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion), a network of migration and integration researchers in Europe. Funding of the project comes from the Swiss Stiftung Bevölkerung, Migration und Umwelt (BMU), the German Volkswagen Stiftung, European Science Foundation (ESF) and Marie Curie Fellowship Programme of the European Commission , the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), the participating research institutes, various national and local institutions, including NGO's. The survey component of the project was initiated and coordinated by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES),

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