

Religiosity, discrimination, and acculturation among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands

Azim Eldja

ANR: 406396

Tilburg University

Supervisor: Dr. Yvette van Osch

2<sup>nd</sup> supervisor: Dr. Marieke van den Tooren

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

[Social Psychology]

### **Abstract**

This study explores how Afghan refugees acculturate into the Netherlands. Acculturation explains the process of cultural and psychological changes when two groups with different cultures come into contact. The relations between religiosity (i.e., Islamic beliefs and practices), perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations (i.e., cultural adoption and maintenance), and psychological outcomes measures (i.e., well-being and life satisfaction) were investigated in a sample of 205 Afghan refugees in the Netherlands. A good fit was found for a path model with religiosity, and perceived discrimination as antecedent variables, acculturation orientations as intermediary variables, and measures of psychological outcomes as outcome variables. Perceived discrimination was, in the model, negatively related to psychological outcome measures. Islamic beliefs in the model were positively related with cultural maintenance (Afghan orientation), and Islamic practices were negatively associated with cultural adoption (Dutch orientation). Islamic practices were indirectly (mediation) negatively related to psychological outcomes measures through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination, suggesting that Islamic practices lead to increased perceived discrimination, which in turn leads to reduction of psychological outcomes. The author concludes that perceived discrimination is an obstacle for practicing Afghan Muslims, especially with respect to their psychological outcomes.

**Keywords:** acculturation, religiosity, perceived discrimination, Afghan refugees

### **Religiosity, Discrimination and Acculturation among Afghan Refugees in the Netherlands**

For thousands of years, peoples have migrated in search of a better life. This can mean a safer place to live, a better wage, greater opportunities, or reunification with friends and family who already lived abroad. Unfortunately, a considerable number of immigrants have no choice in these matter. These refugees have been forced to flee their homes to avoid persecution, conflict, natural disasters, and human trafficking (International Organization for Migration, 2013).

One major change that immigrants face in their host countries is acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2006). Acculturation is the result of intercultural contact and explains the process of cultural and psychological changes. Cultural changes include adaptation to in-group customs and their economic standing. Psychological changes incorporate adjustment in cultural identities (Phinney, 2003), people's attitudes, and their social practices in connection to the people they are in contact with. The ultimate adjustments have essential psychological outcomes, including an individual's social abilities and well-being that are required to function in their socially unpredictable everyday world (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

A number of studies (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2003, 2009; Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998) have been conducted to ascertain the complete idea of immigration, acculturation, and adaptation of traditional immigrants in the Netherlands (especially Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers, and Antilleans), but much less attention has been paid to these phenomena among the new immigrants, such as refugees, in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, the largest groups of refugees are Afghans, Iraqis, Iranians, and Somalis, so these groups can be referred to as the 'new type of immigrants' in the country (Dourleijn, Dagevos, & Ross, 2011). This lack of research has stimulated a number of recent studies (e.g., Ghorashi, 2005; Te Lindert, Korzilius, Van de Vijver, Kroon, & Arends-Tóth, 2008), as well as the present study.

In general, traditional immigrants differ from new immigrants, such as refugees, in that this kind of new immigrant had to leave their country involuntarily due to sociopolitical conditions that threatened their lives. On the other hand, traditional immigrants (e.g., Turks, and Moroccans) left their country voluntarily in pursuit of better work or professional opportunities to improve their standard of living. Moreover, the new immigrants have to cope with psycho-emotional issues resulting from traumatic experiences they faced in their country. As a result, these two groups of immigrants distinguish themselves in several acculturation-related aspects and it is worthwhile to investigate how this group acculturates.

Generally, this study will investigate how Afghan refugees acculturate in the Netherlands. To the best of my knowledge, there is no research on the acculturation of Afghan refugees in the Netherlands. However, a similar study on how other groups of refugees acculturate in the Netherlands does exist. For instance, Te Lindert et al. (2008) investigated how Iranian refugees acculturate in the Netherlands. In a study of 232 Iranian refugees, Te Lindert et al. (2008) revealed that perceived discrimination, as well as perceived acceptance of immigrants, and acculturation orientations hold strong ties with acculturation outcomes. This study will employ the current model of acculturation (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010), as used by Te Lindert et al. (2008) to investigate how Dutch Afghan refugees experience acculturation. Although Afghan refugees and Iranian refugees share similar characteristics, neither can return to their country of origin and both have to deal with a traumatic national history. In general, Afghan refugees are more religious than Iranian refugees in the Netherlands are. Of the Afghan population in the Netherlands, 90% are religious, in comparison with 51% of religious Iranian refugees (Dourleijn et al., 2011). Within the religious Afghan group, 95% are Muslim, and among religious Iranians, 66% are Muslim, and 21% Christian. As a result of the religious characteristics of Afghan

refugees, it is worthwhile investigating how they acculturate in the Netherlands. Our interest was also motivated by a lack of research on the role of religiosity through the framework of acculturation. This lack of research has stimulated a number of recent studies (e.g., Friedman & Saroglou, 2010), as well as the present study.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The current model of acculturation distinguishes three components in the acculturation process: acculturation orientations, acculturation outcomes, and acculturation condition variables (Arends-Tóth & Van De Vijver, 2003). Acculturation orientation refers to how immigrants, who have lived in one culture, deal with suddenly living in a new culture. Do they keep their old culture, or do they try to adjust to their new cultural context? Acculturation outcome refers to the changes that occur within individuals of a group in response to the demands of a new cultural context. This consists of two variables: psychological outcomes and sociocultural outcomes (Ward et al., 2001). Psychological outcomes involve general happiness and absence of psychological distress. Sociocultural outcomes involve successful participation in the mainstream group, as well as learning a group's cultural traditions. Acculturation condition refers to the contextual variables of a society (e.g., perceived discrimination) or dispositional variables of a group (e.g., religiosity) that can influence the framework of the acculturation process. The majority of this study highlights how perceived discrimination has affected the acculturation orientation and the psychological outcomes (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Te Lindert et al., 2008). However, as previously mentioned, how religiosity influences the framework of acculturation is less covered in research. In exploring this subject, this study adds an interesting dimension to the literature of intergroup relations. The acculturation orientation, acculturation outcomes, and acculturation conditions that will be explored in this study will be described in the next section below.

### **Acculturation Orientation**

Early studies indicate that immigrants are inclined toward their assimilation in the host society (Gordon, 1964). At the start of 1970s, Berry (1974) proposed that process of acculturation consists of two independent dimensions: *cultural maintenance* (an individual's links to their culture of origin); and *cultural adoption* (an individual's or group links and involvement to their new society). This mean that immigrants can maintain their cultural heritage and also be involved with their new society. This two-dimensional concept has been presented frequently in the literature (e.g., Berry, 1997). When the two dimension are combined four acculturation strategies are created, where individuals may express how they are seeking to acculturate. These different strategies have been defined as follows: integration, marginalization, assimilation and separation. Integration occurs when there is preference both for preserving their culture of origin and involvement with the society of host. Marginalization occurs when there is neither preference toward preserving their culture of origin and nor involvement with the society of host. Assimilation occurs when there is minimal interest toward preserving their culture of origin, joined with a preference for involvement with the society of host. Separation occurs when preserving of culture of origin is sought, joined with avoiding involvement with the society of host.

### **Acculturation Outcomes**

Acculturation outcomes can be divided under two main headings as follows: sociocultural outcomes and psychological outcomes (Ward et al., 2001). Sociocultural outcomes involve successful participation in the mainstream group, and learning the group's cultural traditions. Psychological outcomes involve general satisfaction and mental health of the immigrants. The present study focuses only on psychological outcomes.

*Link between acculturation orientation and psychological outcomes.* An important finding of previous research (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Te Lindert et al., 2008) was that acculturation orientations and psychological outcomes were related. Mostly, the individuals who involved themselves in both their heritage culture and that of the society of the host, as in the case of integration, have the best psychological outcomes. In fact, the lowest positive psychological outcomes are among those who are marginalized, and prefer to not get involved with the aspects of both the culture of origin and mainstream society. Those who are focused on only one of the cultures, as in the case of assimilation or separation, generally fall in-between these two extremes. The reason why integration results in better adaptation is unknown; the availability of additional resources, as well as competencies, are apparently some of the factors (Sam & Berry, 2010). These competencies come from one's own ethnic group and from the host society. Comparatively, marginalization involves lack of support and little competency from both cultural groups.

It is important to note the measurement of acculturation is not seen with agreement amongst the researchers on intergroup relations (see discussion in Kang, 2006; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). We chose to employ the two-dimensional model of acculturation. As previously mentioned, the two-dimensional model of acculturation consists of two independent dimensions (cultural maintenance and cultural adoption). Previous studies found that both cultural maintenance (e.g., Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2008; Smith & Silva, 2011) and cultural adoption (e.g., Te Lindert et al., 2008) are positively related to psychological outcomes. In line with various other studies, we expected that by conducting this study we would find that both acculturation orientations (cultural maintenance and cultural adoption) are positively related with psychological outcomes. Specifically, we hypothesized as detailed below:

*H1a.* Cultural maintenance (Afghan orientation) is associated with positive psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

*H1b.* Cultural adoption (Dutch orientation) is associated with positive psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

### **Acculturation Conditions: Perceived Discrimination and Religiosity**

**Perceived discrimination.** In much of research, the experience of discrimination or even the perception of discrimination has negative effect on psychological outcomes of immigrants and on the ways in which they acculturate (e.g., Berry, 1997). Despite the fact that obvious expression of discrimination has been significantly decreased, more subtle types of discrimination are still experienced by certain groups (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Most notable is data collected from the Eurobarometer survey, which found that in the Netherlands, of those who were surveyed 36% admitted that they were ‘quite’ to ‘very’ racist (Eurobarometer 113, 1997, December). This present study explore the relationship of perceived discrimination as acculturation condition with acculturation orientation and psychological outcomes among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

***Link between perceived discrimination and acculturation orientations.*** With respect to the relationship between discrimination with acculturation orientation variables, *reciprocity* is a phenomenon in social psychology in which likes or dislikes are reciprocated (Kalin & Berry, 1996). Berry et al. (2006) found that individuals, who are victims of discrimination, tend to less involved the mainstream society, preferring their own heritage and ethnic group. The causal links is not so clear (Sam & Berry, 2010). However, Berry et al. (2006) found in their structural model that perceived discrimination is the initial indicator, suggesting that high level of perceived discrimination lead to less involvement in society of host. Therefore we hypothesized detailed below:



*H2a.* Perceived discrimination is positively related to cultural maintenance (Afghan orientation) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

*H2b.* Perceived discrimination is negatively related to cultural adoption (Dutch orientation) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

***Link between perceived discrimination and psychological outcomes.*** Moreover, with respect to the relationship between discrimination and psychological outcomes, there are many studies that have shown that the experience of prejudice and discrimination has a negative effect on psychological outcomes (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Fernando, 1993; Verkuyten, 1998; Ward et al., 2001; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). For example Fernando (1993) states that discrimination is a serious problem among immigrants and it has a negative effect on mental health. Additionally, existing literature substantiates that discrimination results in such psychological maladies such as depression, psychological distress, anxiety, and well-being (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). The conclusion is that there does exist a relationship between racism and mental health. Moreover, work by Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) proposed a mechanism in which discrimination leads to an overall reduction of positive psychological outcomes. They indicated that discrimination can be categorized as a stressor. They further explained that while not all stressors make one susceptible to ill health, those which are uncontrollable and unpredictable can be unhealthy, and discrimination is comparable. Feeling discriminated against can cause one to lose the power to manage emotions and actions, and potentially increases participation in unhealthy behaviors and or decreases participation in healthy ones. Therefore, we hypothesized that:

*H2c.* Perceived discrimination is negatively related to psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

**Religiosity.** This study explores the role religiosity plays in guiding the choices of how a group acculturates (i.e., cultural orientations) and the relationship it has with psychological outcomes (i.e., well-being and life satisfaction). Significant research has gone into investigating how religiosity contributes to physical and mental health (e.g., Gartner, Larson, & Allen, 1991; Hackney & Sanders, 2003; Leondari & Gialamas, 2009; Wong, Rew, & Slaikeu, 2006). However, as previously mentioned, how religiosity influences the framework of acculturation is less covered in research. The relationship between religiosity and psychological outcomes on the one hand, and the relationship between religiosity and acculturation outcomes on the other will be explained in the next section below.

*Link between religiosity and psychological outcomes.* With respect to the relation of religiosity and psychological outcomes, a large body of empirical research has demonstrated links between religious involvement and well-being. Of 100 studies identified in the systematic review, 79 (nearly 80%) found religious beliefs and practices consistently related to increased happiness and life satisfaction (Koenig, 2001). Diener and Clifton (2002) found that religious people are, on average, more satisfied with their own lives. Moreover, religious tradition motivates followers to reframe from stressful life events in a more positive light (Frank & Kendall, 2001). One of the reasons why religiosity is positively related to well-being and mental health is because religiosity can be used as a coping mechanism. The literature is replete with data on the role of religiosity as a coping mechanism (for review, see Harrison, 2001). Religious coping has been associated with positive mental health-related outcomes of a wide variety of critical life situations (Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998). Furthermore, Pargament (1997) suggests in his literature review of coping that in the face of a stressful life event, general religious beliefs and practices are translated into specific forms of coping and these specific coping methods appear to have the most

direct implications for the individual's health in stressful times. In summary, the research suggests that there is a link between religious beliefs and practices and well-being.

However, the psychological study of religion has focused almost entirely on the Christian population, and has largely neglected observers of other religions, including Islam (Abu Raiya, Pargament, Mahoney, & Stein, 2008). As such, relatively few empirical studies have been carried out among Muslims, and very few have examined the role of Islam with respect to physical and psychological well-being (Abu Raiya et al., 2008). Al-Sabwah and Abdel-Khalek (2006) examined the relationship between religiousness and death distress (death anxiety, death depression, and death obsession) among a sample of 570 Egyptian female nursing undergraduates, mainly Muslims. They found that greater levels of religiousness were tied to lower levels of death anxiety and death depression. In general the research suggests that there may be a link between Islamic beliefs and practices and Muslims' well-being. Therefore, we hypothesized that:

*H3a.* Islamic religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) is positively associated with psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

***Indirect link between religiosity and psychological outcomes.*** Previous research suggests that religiosity is related to positive psychological outcomes. However, recent studies have brought to light that the link between religiosity and psychological outcomes has been oversimplified, and that it has assumed that the relationship is dependent on cultural context (Friedman & Saroglou, 2010). Friedman and Saroglou (2010), found in their study that religiosity is indirectly negatively related to psychological outcomes through intermediary variables of perceived religious tolerance. We hypothesize in the present study a similar indirect negative link between religiosity and psychological outcomes; however, not through the intermediary variable of perceived religious

tolerance, but through the intermediary variable of perceived discrimination. It is important to note that on one hand we have proposed a direct positive link between religiosity and psychological outcomes, while on the other hand we have proposed an indirect negative link between religiosity and psychological outcomes through the intermediary variable of perceived discrimination. This present study shall bring to light which of the proposed links are true as evidenced in the case of religious Afghan refugees in the Netherlands. The proposed indirect negative link between religiosity and psychological outcomes through intermediary variables of perceived discrimination will be explained in the next section.

The majority of Afghan refugees in the Netherlands are Muslim (Dourleijn et al., 2011), and Islam is a misunderstood religion (Mohamad, 1997). Moreover, existing research does underscore that Muslim immigrants are a stigmatized group (Poynting & Mason, 2007; Sheridan, 2006). Therefore, it is highly likely that Afghan refugees that are more religious will be discriminated against. Furthermore, many studies that have shown that the experience of prejudice and discrimination has a negative effect on psychological acculturation outcomes (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Fernando, 1993; Te Lindert et al., 2008; Verkuyten, 1998; Ward et al., 2001). Therefore, we hypothesized that:

*H3b.* Islamic religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) is indirectly (mediation) negatively related to psychological outcomes through the intermediary variable of perceived discrimination among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

***The link between religiosity and acculturation orientations.*** With respect to the relation between Islamic beliefs and practices and acculturation orientation variables, most political debates surround Muslim immigrants, who are regarded as hard to integrate (Field, 2007); while those of the right-wing group, tend to cite an overwhelming chasm in cultural differences (Betz

& Meret, 2009). In summary, Islam appears to be a boundary for Muslim immigrants to integrate successfully. However, Phalet and Fleischmann (2012) showed in their study that successful integration with preservation of religion is possible for Muslims in Europe. This is especially true in countries where group boundaries are smoother and Muslims have more rights. We propose in the present study an indirect negative link between religiosity and cultural adoption (i.e., Dutch orientation) through the intermediary variable of perceived discrimination. The rationalization of these hypotheses will be explained in the next section.

Previous research shows that the experience of discrimination may significantly affect acculturation orientation or identity formation (Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind, 2011). The rejection-disidentification model of Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, and Solheim (2009) has sought to provide an explanation of the effects of perceived discrimination on acculturation orientation. This rejection-disidentification model suggests that individuals decrease their identification with the host country in response to discrimination. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the majority of Afghan refugees in the Netherlands are Muslim, and research shows that Muslim immigrants are a stigmatized group (e.g., Poynting & Mason, 2007). Therefore, it is very likely that religious Afghan refugees are discriminated against, which in turn will cause them to decrease their identification with the host country. Therefore, we hypothesized that:

*H4.* Religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) is indirectly negatively related to cultural adoption (Dutch orientation) through the intermediary variable of perceived discrimination.

## **Hypotheses**

In this study, we examine four main questions. First, are there important relationships between acculturation orientations (cultural adoption and cultural maintenance) and psychological

outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction)? Second, what is the relations between perceived discrimination and acculturation orientation on the one hand, and the relation between perceived discrimination and psychological outcomes on the other? Third, what is the relation between religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) and psychological outcomes? And, fourth, we examine the indirect relation between religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) and cultural adoption (Dutch orientation). For a better understanding of the hypotheses, review Figure 1 below. The indirect links are illustrated in Figure 2 and Figure 3.

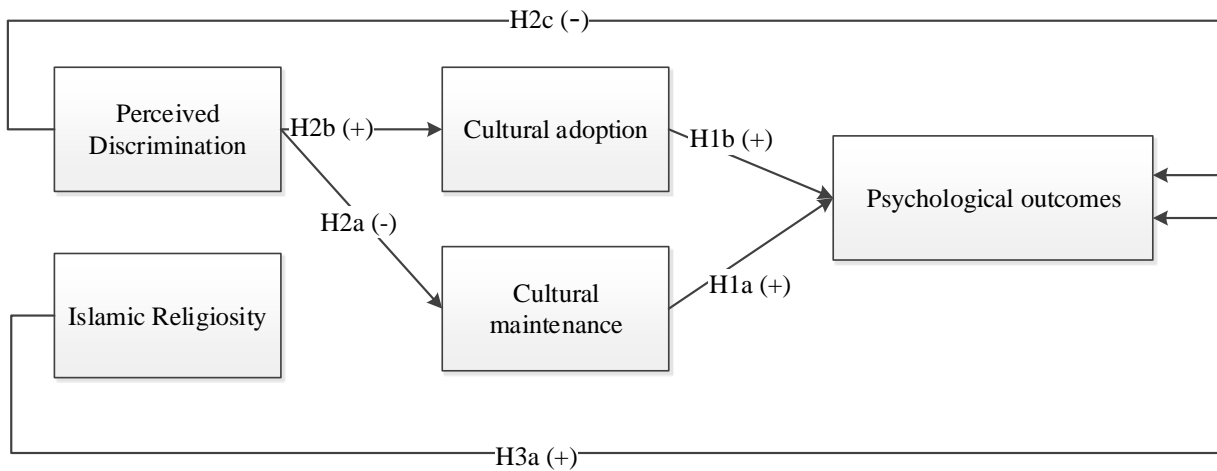


Figure 1. Model of hypotheses.

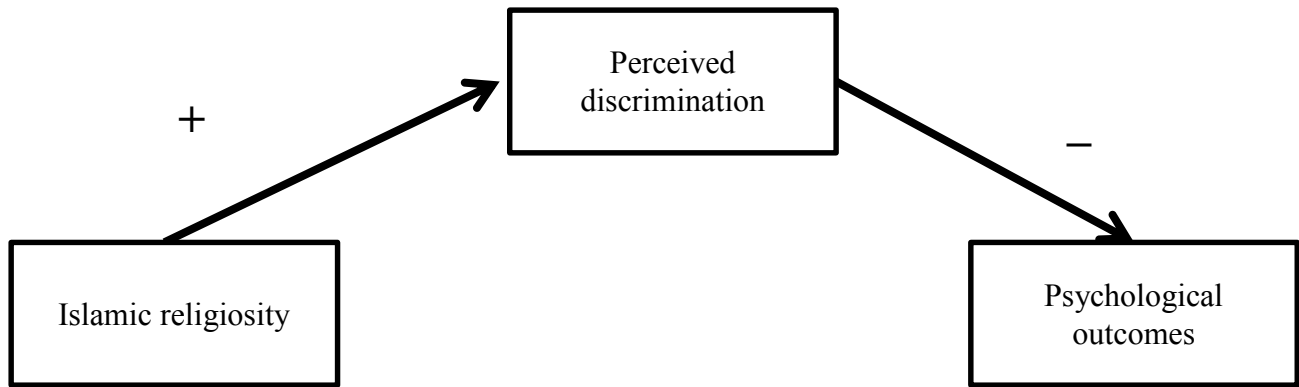


Figure 2. Hypothesis 3b, indirect effect of Islamic religiosity on psychological outcomes through perceived discrimination.

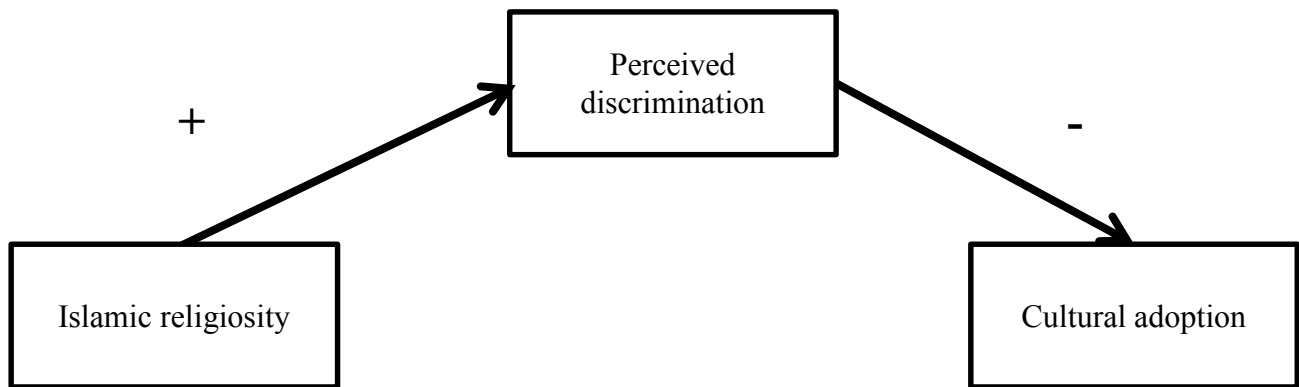


Figure 3. Hypothesis 4, indirect effect of Islamic religiosity on cultural adoption through Perceived discrimination.

## Method

### Participants

The survey was completed by a sample of 205 Afghan immigrants. Initially, 225 persons submitted completed surveys; however, 20 of those surveys could not be used because the surveys were either incomplete or not taken seriously. This conclusion was based on the judgment of the main investigator. For instance if he came to know that the participant didn't master the Dutch language well. Consequently, the final evaluations were based on information from 205 persons. Table 1 delivers the data on the background demographics for the subjects in the survey.

A total of 205 Afghan immigrants (134 men and 70 women, one unidentified) participated in the present study. Their average length of stay in the Netherlands was 16 years (S.D. = 4.96; range: 1-42 years). One hundred and ninety (92.7%) participants were Muslim, 8 (3.9%) participants were Atheists, and 7 (3.4%) were unidentified. For seventy-three (35.6%) of the participants, the highest level of education was University, 46 (22.4%) participants mentioned higher vocational education as their highest educational level, 39 (19%) participants mentioned vocational education as their highest educational level, 39 (19%) participants mentioned secondary education as their highest educational level, and 2 (1.0%) was unidentified. The participants were aged between 17 and 78 years, with a mean age of 31 years (S.D. = 12.68; range: 17-78 years). One hundred and twenty-six participants (61.5%) were employed, 77 (37.6%) participants were unemployed, and 2 (1.0%) was unidentified. One hundred and fourteen participants (55.6%) reported being single, 78 (38.0%) indicated being married, 8 (3.9%) reported living together, 1 (0.5%) was reportedly divorced, and 2 (1.0%) was unidentified. Demographic characteristics can be found in Table 1.



**Table 1.** Demographic Information of the Sample

Variable	Frequency
<u>Age</u>	
> 17 < 30	140 (68.3%)
> 30 < 45	32 (15.6%)
> 45 < 60	26 (12.7%)
> 60	7 (3.4%)
<u>Gender</u>	
Male	134 (65.4%)
Female	70 (34.1%)
Unidentified	1 (1.0%)
<u>Religion</u>	
Islam	190 (92.7%)
Atheist	8 (3.9%)
Unidentified	7 (3.4%)
<u>Education Level</u>	
None	3 (1.5%)
Primary school	3 (1.5%)
High school	39 (19.0%)
Vocational Education	39 (19.0%)
Higher vocational Education	46 (22.4%)
University	73 (35.6%)
Unidentified	2 (1.0%)
<u>Marital Status</u>	
Married	78 (38.0%)
Divorced	1 (0.5%)
Single	114 (55.6%)
Living together	8 (3.9%)
Widow(er)	2 (1.0%)
Unidentified	2 (1.0%)
<u>Paid Job?</u>	
Yes	126 (61.5%)
No	77 (37.6%)
Unidentified	2 (1.0%)
<u>Length of stay in the Netherlands</u>	
< 10	26 (12.7%)
> 10 < 15	80 (39.0%)
> 15 < 20	77 (37.6%)
> 20	22 (10.7%)

The majority of the participants who were approached in the seminars were organized by Afghan institutions in the Netherlands (Stichting Farda, Stichting Keihan, Aria Students, and Favon), and during Friday prayer in several Afghan mosques in the Netherlands (Den Bosch, Eindhoven, Utrecht, and Amsterdam). Some of the participants were recruited using a snowball sampling method. I requested some of the chairpersons of the Afghan Institutions and Afghan Mosques to distribute the questionnaires amongst their members, friends, and relatives. The questionnaire was distributed during the periods between May 2014 and July 2014.

## Measures

**Background characteristics.** Participants indicated age, gender, country of birth, country of birth of both parents, religion, marital status, employment status, duration of time spent in the Netherlands, and their highest level of completed education.

**Acculturation conditions.** *Perceived discrimination* and *religiosity* were used to measure *acculturation conditions*. *Perceived discrimination* was assessed by 10 items derived from Stephan and Stephan (1996). *Perceived discrimination* is measured on 4-point scale ranging from ‘never’ to ‘very often.’ An example of an item is “Dutch people treat me with little respect.” The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.85; the eigenvalue of the first factor was 4.28. The first factor explained 43% of the variances. It was decided to extract one factor.

*Religiosity* is assessed by the ‘Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness’ (PMIR) from Abu Raiya et al. (2008). The PMIR is a multi-item measure assessing different dimensions of Islam. The PMIR has seven subscales; Islamic Beliefs; Islamic Ethical Principles & Universality; Islamic Religious Struggle Coping & Identification; Punishing Allah Reappraisal; and Islamic Religious Conversion. In this study we were only interested in how far our participants had adherence to basic Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices. Therefore we used two subscales to

measure Islamic religiosity, namely Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices. The Islamic beliefs subscale consisted of five items and was measured on a 3-point scale ranging from 0 (*no*), 1 (*uncertain*), to 2 (*yes*). A higher score indicate stronger belief. Two examples of such items are: “I believe in the existence of Allah” and “I believe in the Day of Judgment.” The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.94; the eigenvalue of the first factor was 4.07. The first factor explained 81% of the variance. It was decided to extract one factor.

The subscale of Islamic practices consisted of five items and was measured on a 6-point scale ranging from zero to five. A higher score was more likely to indicate that the person was a practicing Muslim. The following are examples of two such items: “How often do you pray?” and “How often do you fast?”

Due to the varying natures of each practice, the answer categories for each element differed. For instance, the element, “How often do you pray?” resulted in the following answer categories: “Never,” “a few times each year,” “numerous times every month,” “numerous times every week,” “the majority of the time I practice the five daily prayers,” and “5 times every day or more.” Alternatively, the element “Excepting during prayers, how frequently do you participate in d’iker and tasbih?” had the subsequent answer categories: “Never,” “scarce times during my life,” “only a few times in a year,” “only a little bit every month,” “around once or twice every week,” and “one time every day or more.” The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.90; the eigenvalue of the first factor was 3.59. The first factor explained 72% of the variance. It was decided to extract one factor.

**Acculturation orientation.** Two subscales were used to measure acculturation orientation, namely cultural maintenance and cultural adoption from Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2007). It is measured on a 5-point scale ranging from ‘not at all important’ to ‘very important.’ Cultural

maintenance is assessed by eight items. An example of an item is, “I think it’s important for Afghans to have Afghan colleagues.” The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.79; the eigenvalue of the first factor was 3.29. The first factor explained 41% of the variance. It was decided to extract one factor. Cultural adoption is also assessed by eight items. One such example is “I think it’s important for Afghans to have Dutch colleagues”. The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.73 and the eigenvalue of the first factor was 2.89. The first factor explained 36% of the variance. It was decided to extract one factor.

**Acculturation outcomes.** Two scales were used to measure acculturation outcomes; namely, well-being and life satisfaction. Well-being was measured by five items derived by Bradley and Lewis (1990). The participants had to indicate how they felt during the last two weeks. It was measured on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time). Examples of such items are, “I have felt cheerful and in good spirits” and “I have felt active and vigorous.” The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.87 and the eigenvalue of the first factor was 3.28. The first factor explained 66% of the variance. It was decided to extract one factor.

Life satisfaction was measured by five items derived by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985). It was measured with a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Examples of items are, “In most ways my life is close to my ideal” and “I am satisfied with my life.” The Internal consistency (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$ ) was 0.83 and the eigenvalue of the first factor was 3.09. The first factor explained 62% of the variance. It was decided to extract one factor.

## **Procedure**

All subjects in the study were briefed about the purpose of the study. Participants were asked to sign an informed consent form that confirmed their free will to participate in the study.

This was followed by questions regarding participants' background characteristics (age, gender, etc.), acculturation conditions (religiosity and perceived discrimination), acculturation strategies (cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation) and psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction). Participation was voluntary and anonymous. After completing the questionnaire, most participants were debriefed about the study. Participants who indicated that they wanted to know about the results of the study will receive a summary of the results via e-mail.

### **Statistical Analysis**

Three kinds of analyses were done. Firstly, descriptives of all instruments were determined in order to establish the participants' standing on acculturation variables, which provided a global perspective of their acculturation orientation and acculturation outcomes. For instance, I was interested in the question "what were the acculturation orientation of Afghan refugees in the Netherland?" Furthermore, I was interested in the question whether score on well-being would be higher or lower than the scale's midpoint.

Secondly, relations between acculturation orientations (cultural maintenance and cultural adoption), psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) and acculturation condition (Islamic beliefs, Islamic practices, and perceived discrimination) were tested by using structural equation modeling.

Finally, indirect relation (hypotheses 3a and hypotheses 4) were examined using the bootstrapping method described by Preacher and Hayes (2004), with 5,000 bootstrap samples per analysis. The three kinds of analyses are described in separate sections below.

## Results

### Descriptives

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the above mentioned concepts were measured as per the following conditions: acculturation conditions, acculturation orientations, and psychological outcomes. Table 2 shows that the mean score of perceived discrimination was slightly less than the midpoint of the scale ( $M = 1.72$ ,  $S.D. = 1.35$ ). This score indicates that discrimination was almost absent and not fairly commonly experienced. The mean scores of the Islamic beliefs scale was relatively high ( $M = 1.71$ ,  $S.D. = 0.55$ ) and the average of Islamic Practices were slightly above the midpoint of the scale ( $M = 3.36$ ,  $S.D. = 1.45$ ). Both scores on cultural maintenance ( $M = 3.48$ ,  $S.D. = 0.63$ , range: 1-5) and cultural adoption ( $M = 3.19$ ,  $S.D. = 0.57$ , range: 1-5) were close to the scale's midpoint. The mean score of well-being ( $M = 3.92$ ,  $S.D. = 1.09$ , range: 1-6) and life satisfaction ( $M = 4.93$ ,  $S.D. = 4.93$ , range: 1-7) were high.

In summary, the participants experienced a low level of discrimination. The Islamic Beliefs scores of Afghan refugees were high and the average scores on Islamic Practices were slightly above the midpoint of the scale. Furthermore, Afghan refugees were neutral in regard to cultural adoption and cultural maintenance. The well-being and life satisfaction scores of Afghan refugees were each above the midpoint of the scales.

**Table 2**

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of scales (N = 205)

	Range	M	S.D.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Acculturation conditions									
(1) Perceived discrimination	1-4	1.72	0.47						
(2) Islamic Beliefs	0-2	1.71	0.55	0.03					
(3) Islamic Practices	1-6	3.36	1.45	0.14*	0.65**				
Acculturation orientation									
(4) Cultural adoption	1-5	3.19	0.57	-0.02	0.16	-0.18*			
(5) Cultural maintenance	1-5	3.48	0.63	0.05	0.34**	0.08	-0.02		
Acculturation outcomes									
(6) Well-being	1-6	3.92	1.09	-0.37**	0.00	0.15	0.09	-0.11	
(7) Life satisfaction	1-7	4.93	1.11	-0.26**	0.11	0.02	-0.08	0.01	0.56**

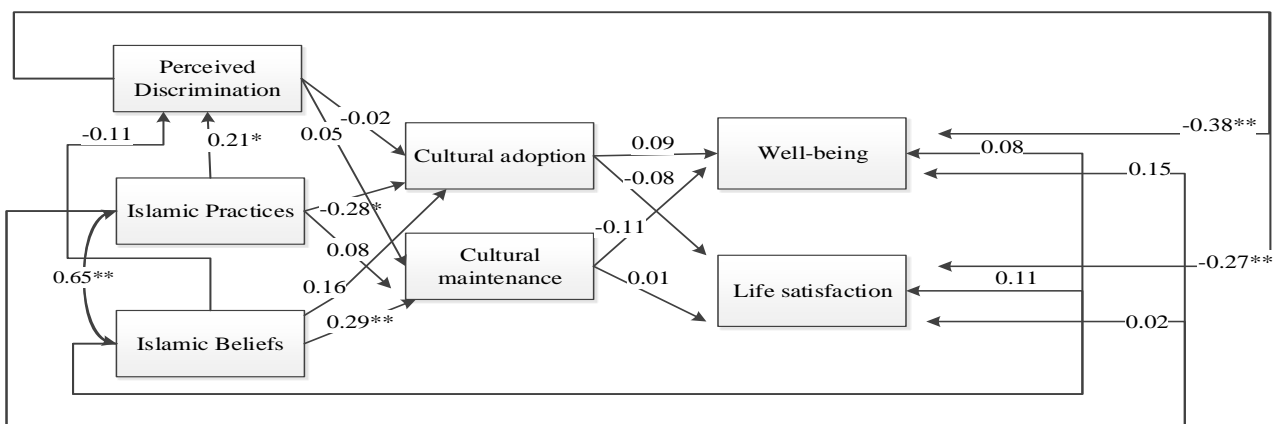
Note.

\* p < 0.05

\*\* p < 0.01

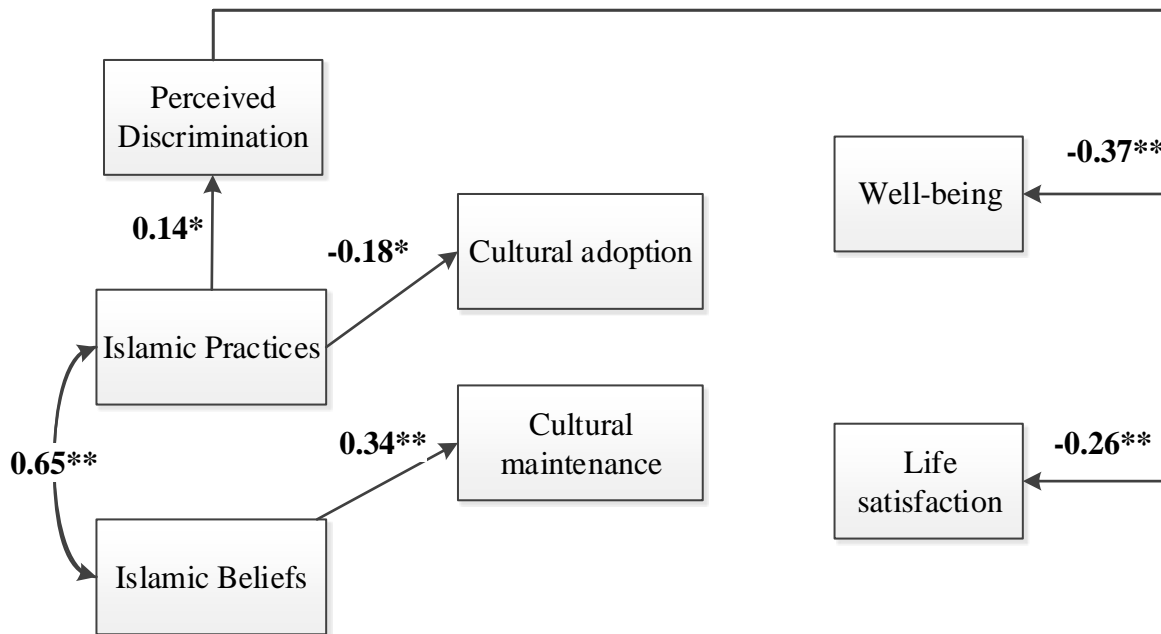
**Model estimation**

The hypotheses were tested in a structural equation analysis using AMOS 21 (Byrne, 2013). Prior to the analysis, the few missing values were replaced by estimated values using the expectation maximization technique. The hypothesized model consists entirely of observed variables. We conducted some initial analyses in which all possible arrows were drawn. The data showed a bad fit to the first model:  $\chi^2$  (d.f. = 2, N = 205) = 79.64, p < 0.01; CFI = 0.71, GFI = 0.91; AGFI = 0.93; TLI = -2.05, RSMEA = 0.44 (see Fig. 4).



**Fig. 4.** Empirical model I with standardized solutions.

Several paths were not significant. In order to simplify the model, we removed non-significant coefficients. While the fit was improved than the first model, the data showed a bad fit to the second model:  $\chi^2$  (d.f. = 15,  $N = 205$ ) = 97.16,  $p < 0.01$ ; CFI = 0.69, GFI = 0.90; AGFI = 0.81; TLI = 0.57, RSMEA = 0.16 (see Fig. 5).

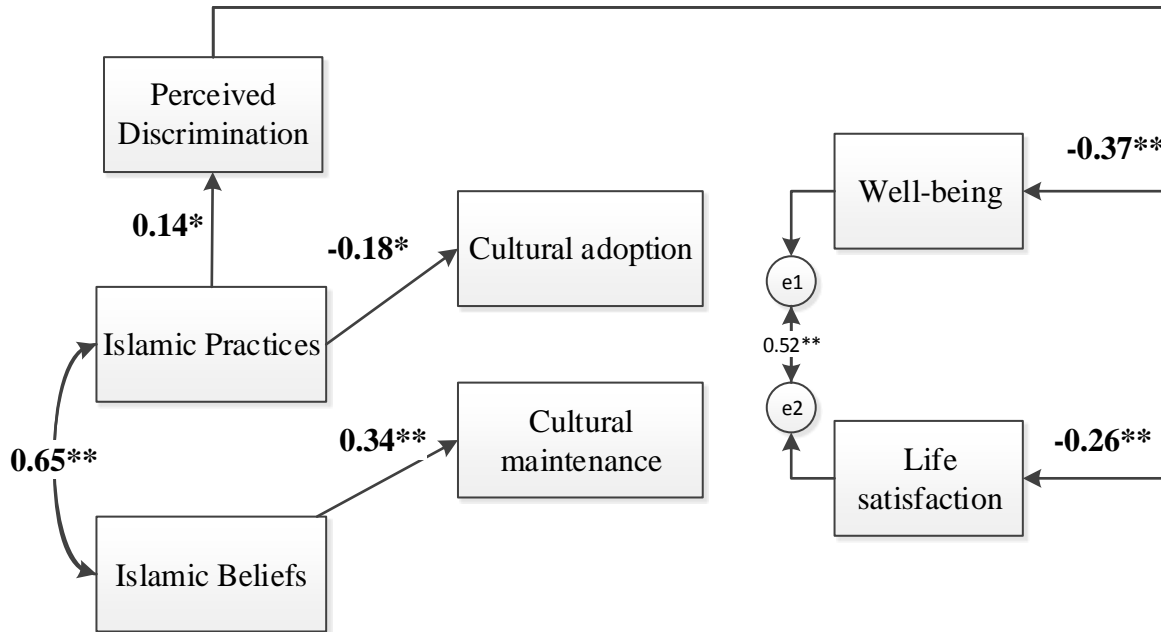


**Fig. 5.** Empirical model II with standardized solutions.

In order to obtain a good fit, we needed to allow the error terms of well-being and life satisfaction variables to be correlated ( $r = 0.52$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). The modification indices in AMOS showed that error terms of well-being and life satisfaction were correlated (M.I. =55.0). The correlation may be due to similarity in the items’ content of the scales that all measured ‘happiness.’ The data showed a good fit to the final model (see fig. 6):  $\chi^2$  (d.f. = 14,  $N = 205$ ) = 31.08,  $p < 0.01$ ; CFI = 0.93, GFI = 0.96; AGFI = 0.93; TLI = 0.89, RSMEA = 0.08. Furthermore, the two scales of



Religiosity (Islamic Beliefs and Islamic Practices) showed a strong positive relationship ( $r(205) = 0.65, p < 0.01$ ).



**Fig. 6.** Empirical model III with standardized solutions.

First, hypotheses 1 was not supported with regards to the relationship between acculturation orientations and psychological outcomes. Both cultural adoption (Dutch orientation) and cultural maintenance (Afghan orientation) were not positively associated with well-being and life satisfaction. It can, therefore, be concluded that hypotheses 1a and 1b can be rejected; cultural adoption and cultural maintenance were not associated with well-being and life satisfaction.

Second, hypotheses 2a and 2b can also be rejected. Perceived discrimination is not positively related to cultural maintenance and negatively related to cultural adoption. Further, hypothesis 2c was supported; perceived discrimination was negatively associated with psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction).

Finally, hypotheses 3a can be rejected. Islamic beliefs and practices were not directly associated with positive psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction). The analysis of indirect effect of hypothesis 3b and hypothesis 4 will be described in the following section.

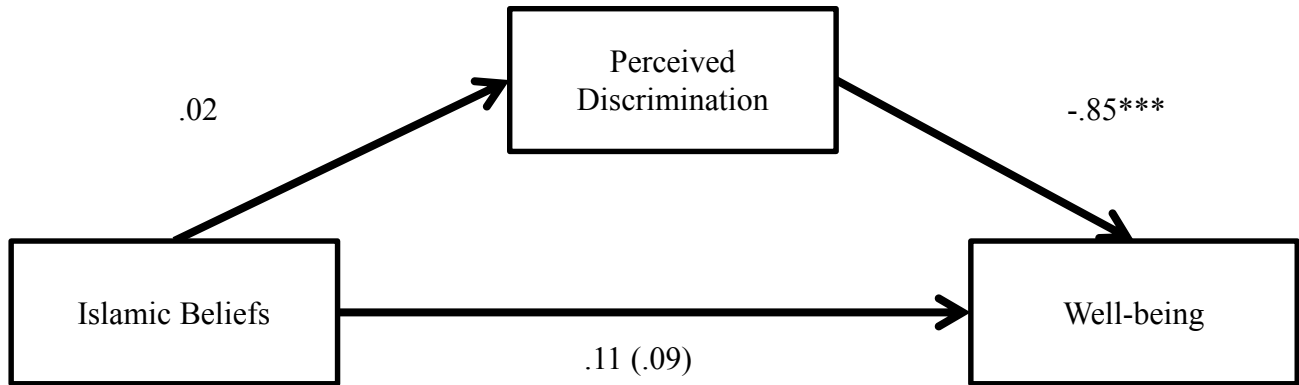
### **The Indirect Effects**

The bootstrapping method, described by Preacher and Hayes (2004) with 5,000 bootstrap samples per analysis, was utilized as a means of identifying the indirect effects. This is considered the best approach, given that using Sobel's test assumes normal distribution of the data, which, quite regularly, is not so (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

Although the independent variable was not independently related to the dependent variables of interest, methods of indirect effects were applied. This approach has become common practice among contemporary researchers. The advantage of this method is that there would be no direct effect expected if suppression exists, although the indirect effect is real and present (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

In the bootstrapping method an indirect (mediation) is significant if value zero is not included in confidence interval (CI). Hypothesis 3b (an indirect effect of religiosity on psychological outcomes through intervening variable of perceived discrimination) was first tested. We found partial support for these hypotheses. Islamic beliefs were not indirectly related to psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) through intermediary variable of perceived discrimination. See figure 7 for psychological outcome variable well-being,  $B = -.02$ ,  $SE = .02$ , 95% CI  $[-.12; .07]$ , and see figure 8 for psychological outcome variable life satisfaction,  $B = -.01$   $SE = .04$ , 95% CI  $[-.09; .05]$ . However, Islamic practices were significant indirectly negatively related to psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) through intermediary variable of perceived discrimination. See figure 9 for psychological outcome variable

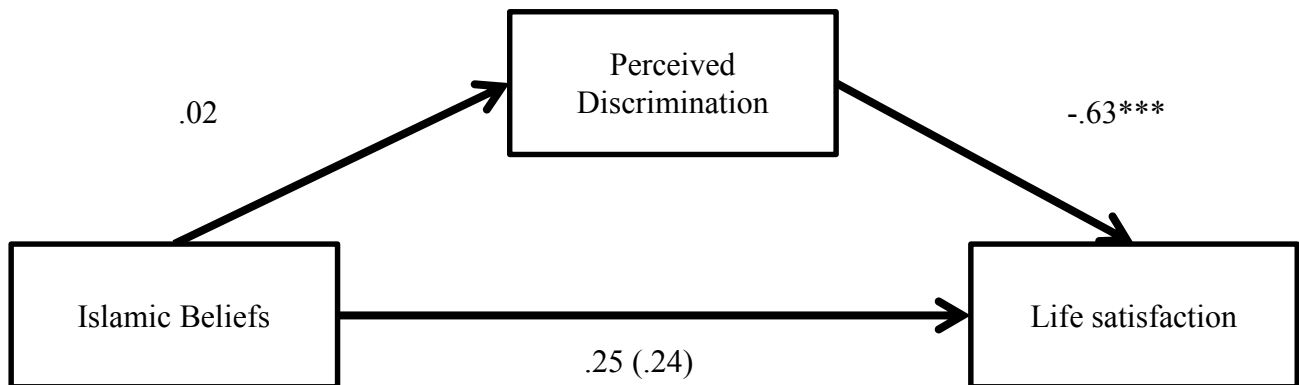
well-being,  $B = -.04$  SE = .02, 95% CI [-.09; -.01], and see figure 10 for psychological outcome variable life satisfaction,  $B = -.03$  SE = .02, 95% CI [-.07; -.01].



**Total indirect effect:  $M = -.02$  s.e. = .05, 95% CI [-.12; .07]**

Figure 7. Indirect effect of Islamic beliefs on well-being through Perceived discrimination.

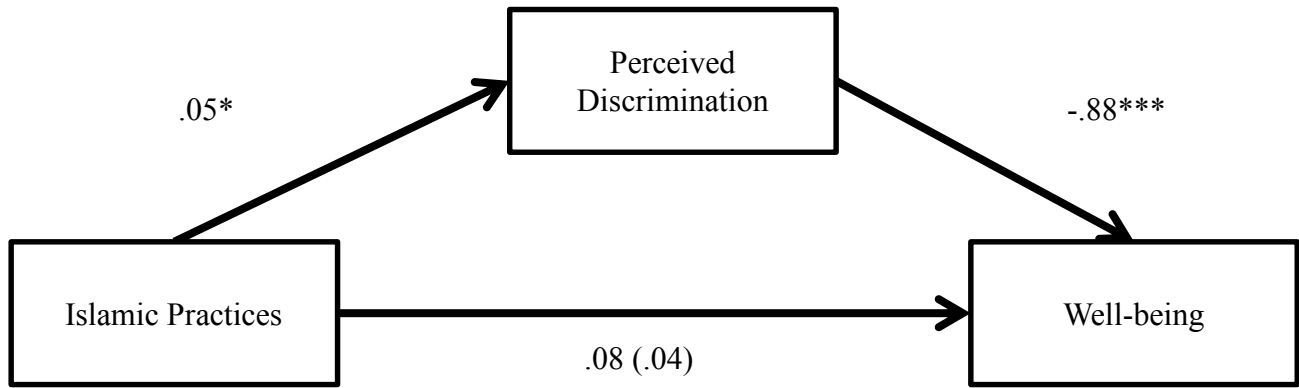
Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$



**Total indirect effect:  $M = -.01$  s.e. = .04, 95% CI [-.09; .05]**

Figure 8. Indirect effect of Islamic beliefs on life satisfaction through Perceived discrimination.

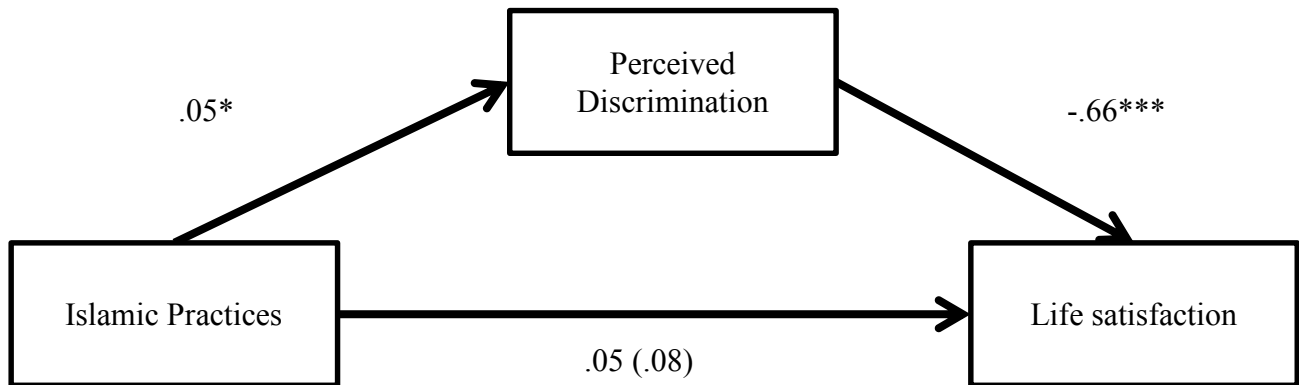
Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$



**Total indirect effect: M = -.04 s.e. = .02, 95% CI [-.09; -.01]**

Figure 9. Indirect effect of Islamic practices on well-being through Perceived discrimination.

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



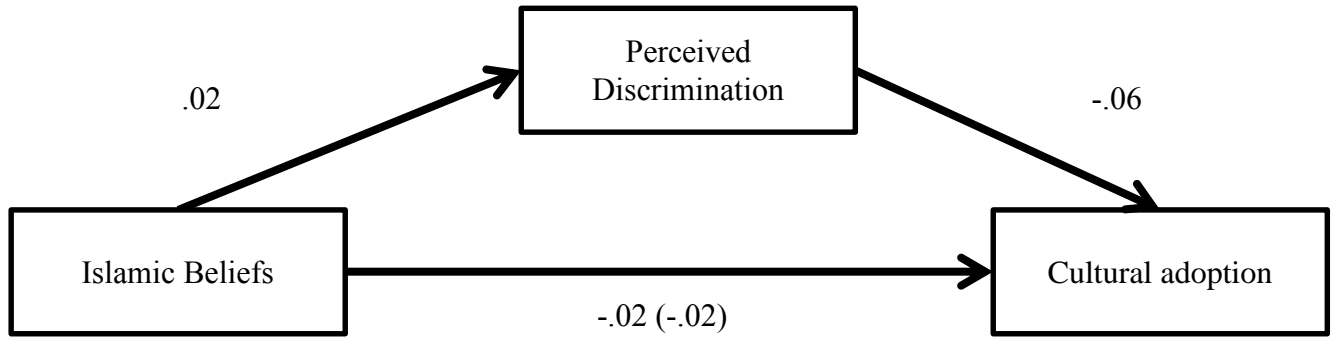
**Total indirect effect: M = -.03 s.e. = .02, 95% CI [-.07; -.01]**

Figure 10. Indirect effect of Islamic practices on life satisfaction through Perceived discrimination.

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

Hypothesis 4 (an indirect effect of religiosity on cultural adoption through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination) was tested second. Hypotheses 4 can be rejected, given that religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) was not, indirectly, negatively related to cultural

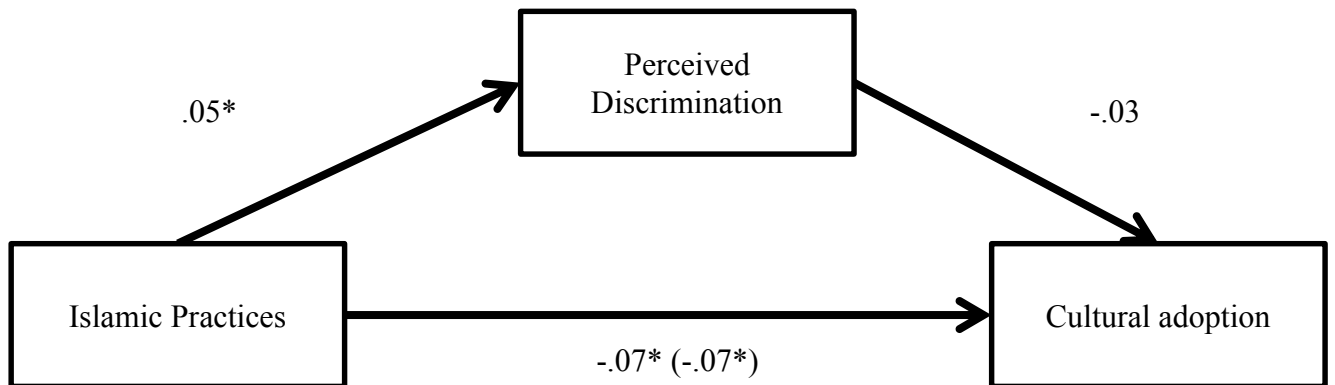
adoption through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination. See figure 11 for Islamic beliefs variable,  $B = -.01$   $SD = .01$ , 95% CI  $[-.03; .01]$ , and see figure 12 for Islamic practices variable,  $B = -.01$   $SD = .01$ , 95% CI  $[-.02; .01]$ .



**Total indirect effect:  $M = -.01$  s.e. = .01, 95% CI  $[-.03; .01]$**

Figure 11. Indirect effect of Islamic beliefs on cultural adoption through Perceived discrimination.

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



**Total indirect effect:  $M = -.01$  s.e. = .01, 95% CI  $[-.02; .01]$**

Figure 12. Indirect effect of Islamic practices on cultural adoption through Perceived discrimination.

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

## Discussion

The main aim of this study was to investigate the relationship between perceived discrimination, religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices), acculturation orientation (cultural maintenance and cultural adoption), and psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) among Afghan refugees in the Netherlands.

Despite previous studies showing a link between acculturation orientations and psychological outcomes (e.g., Berry, 1997), we did not confirm our expectation, as formulated in Hypotheses 1, that acculturation orientations are associated with psychological outcomes. Religiousness of our sample could explain part of the variance (i.e., inconsistency) in the present finding. The majority of the participant of our study were Muslim. As previous research on acculturation did not investigate how religiosity influences the framework of acculturation, religiosity could mitigate (i.e., diminish) the relation between acculturation orientations and psychological outcomes. Moreover, it should be noted that the present findings are not so exceptional. Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, and van de Vijver (2014) found in their study that acculturation orientations and well-being were unrelated. Furthermore, Beirens and Fontaine (2010) did not find any significant relations between acculturation orientations and well-being in a sample of Turkish Belgium immigrants.

With respect to our Hypotheses 2a and 2b regarding the relationship between perceived discrimination and acculturation orientations (cultural maintenance and cultural adoption), the structural equation model does not highlight any significant relation; neither was perceived discrimination positively associated with cultural maintenance, nor was perceived discrimination negatively associated with cultural adoption. Although, previous research shows that the experience of discrimination may significantly affect acculturation orientation or identity

formation (Mähönen et al., 2011). Two approaches have sought to provide an explanation of the effects of perceived discrimination on acculturation orientation. According to the rejection-identification model (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), immigrants increase their group identity in response to discrimination. On the other hand, the rejection-disidentification model (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009) suggests that immigrants decrease their identification with the host country. We found no support for either of these theories. In the case of the Afghan refugees in the Netherlands in our study, the feeling of being discriminated against was very low. This perhaps suggests a reason why perceived discrimination is not related to acculturation orientation or identity formation.

With respect to Hypothesis 2c regarding the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological outcomes, we found that perceived discrimination was negatively related to psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction). Perceived discrimination was negatively associated with both well-being and life satisfaction. Our findings are congruent with other studies (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Te Lindert et al., 2008), which have confirmed that perceived discrimination is negatively related to psychological outcomes.

With respect to Hypothesis 3a regarding the relationship between religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) and psychological outcomes, we found that Islamic beliefs and practices were not significantly associated with psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction). Although substantial studies—mostly of Christian populations (Koenig, 2001), and in recent times, a few of Muslim populations (e.g., Abu Raiya et al., 2008; Al-Sabwah & Abdel-Khalek, 2006)—have demonstrated that religious involvement is positively associated with well-being and life satisfaction, we did not find any relation between religiosity and psychological

outcomes. However, our findings are in line with the study of Friedman and Saroglou (2010), which suggested that the relation between religiosity and psychological outcomes are more complex than previous thought. They found that religiosity is negatively related to psychological outcomes through the intermediary variable of perceived religious tolerance.

In Hypothesis 3b, we tested if religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) is indirectly and negatively related to psychological outcomes (well-being and life satisfaction) through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination. We found partial support for Hypothesis 3b. Islamic beliefs were not indirectly related to psychological outcomes through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination (see Figures 7 and 8). However, we found that Islamic practices were indirectly negatively related to psychological outcomes through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination (see Figures 9 and 10). It is interesting that while Islamic beliefs were not related, Islamic practices were indirectly negatively related to psychological outcomes through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination. One possible explanation could be that Muslims, who show adherence to basic Islamic practices, are more exposed to religious stigmatization, which in turn leads to negative psychological outcomes. Islamic practices involve, for instance, praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and going to the Mosque on Fridays. Specifically, praying five times a day is a challenge for most Muslims living in Western society because there are usually no facilities in public areas (e.g., schools, universities, and offices) that make it possible to pray. These deeds that are required of a practicing Muslim could make their identity as a Muslim apparent, which in turn exposes them to religious stigmatization. This is especially true in Western societies, where there is a rise of Islamophobia (Poynting & Mason, 2006; Saeed, 2007) and where religiosity is seen as backward and dangerous (Phalet & Fleischmann, 2012). Contrarily, Muslims who only show adherence to basic Islamic



beliefs are less exposed to religious stigmatization. Islamic beliefs involve, for instance, belief in the existence of God, the Day of Judgment, and the existence of paradise and hell. Most of the basic Islamic beliefs are quite similar to the basic beliefs of Christianity and Judaism. Therefore, showing adherence to basic Islamic beliefs would not make the identity of immigrants as Muslim apparent, which would make them less likely to be exposed to religious stigmatization.

With respect to Hypothesis 4, regarding an indirect negative relationship between religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) and cultural adoption through the intervening variable of perceived discrimination, the study found no support. However, instead of an indirect relation, we found a direct relation between religiosity (Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices) and acculturation orientations (cultural adoption and cultural maintenance). Islamic beliefs were positively related to cultural maintenance, and Islamic practices were negatively related to cultural adoption. It is not surprising that we found a positive relation between Islamic beliefs and cultural maintenance (Afghan orientation). Basic Islamic beliefs are highly incorporated into Afghan culture. Therefore, these suggest a reason why Islamic beliefs were positively associated with cultural maintenance. Moreover, it is interesting that Islamic practices were negatively related to cultural adoption (Dutch orientation). In our study, we had expected that there would be an indirect negative relation between Islamic practices and cultural adoption, but instead we found a direct negative relation. Could it be that Islamic practices create some kind of boundary preventing Afghan refugees from participating fully in their host society, or is the relation more complex than it seems? Previous research supports the latter. Friedman and Saroglou (2010) found an indirect negative relation between Islamic religiosity and cultural adoption through the intervening variable of perceived cultural distance. Moreover, previous research showed that the perceived cultural distance between the culture of origin and the culture of the host society is an important factor for

acculturation orientations (Berry, 1992; Galchenko & van de Vijver, 2007). Redmond and Bunyi (1993) examined the relation of perceived cultural distance and acculturation orientations (cultural adoption and cultural maintenance) in a sample of international university students in America. They found that European and British students were more integrated than Taiwanese and North Korean students, apparently because there is greater cultural distance between the latter group and American culture. As we did not measure for perceived cultural distance, it is possible that perceived cultural distance could mediate the relation between Islamic practices and cultural adoption. Furthermore, Phalet and Fleischmann (2012) showed in their study that successful integration is possible for Muslims in Europe. Moreover, empirical research suggests that religious stigma constitutes a major obstacle to participating fully in the society of the host country (Kunst, Tajamal, Sam, & Ulleberg, 2012). From the previous research, we can conclude that although successful integration is possible, religious stigma forms a major obstacle for Muslims to fully participate in the society of their host country. More studies must be done to clear the inconsistencies between our findings and previous research. These studies should especially take into account the possible role of intervening variables (e.g., perceived religious tolerance, perceived discrimination, perceived cultural distance) between religiosity and cultural adoption.

Finally, we must discuss the limitations of our study and our recommendations for continuing further research on acculturation. Participants were not selected randomly. This sampling method limits generalization. Therefore the result must be interpreted carefully. Further studies should include broader sample and approach participants randomly. Another limitation of our study is that we didn't include sociocultural outcomes. As previously mentioned, acculturation outcomes consist of sociocultural outcomes and psychological outcomes. The reason behind this is that we were merely interested on the relation between religiosity and psychological

outcomes and previously research showed religiosity is primarily related to psychological outcomes. Further studies can fruitfully investigate the relation between religiosity and sociocultural outcomes in the framework of acculturation. Finally, to fully understand the negative relation between Islamic practices and cultural adoption (Dutch orientation) on one hand, the indirect negative effect of Islamic practices on psychological outcomes on the other, further studies includes mediating factors, such as perceived cultural distance, perceived religious tolerance.

In summary, we can conclude that perceived discrimination is an obstacle among practicing Afghan Muslims in the Netherlands. Our study found that practicing Afghan Muslim in the Netherlands tend to be discriminated against. In turn, this (religious) stigmatization leads to negative psychological outcomes. Therefore, developing programs to minimize discrimination and religious intolerance should be useful. Kunst et al. (2012) suggest promoting contact between different religious orientation an effective tool to minimize religious tolerance. Therefore political campaigns should focus on nurturing intercultural relations, instead of reinforcing prejudice. Since it has been found that fear results in avoidance, and avoidance prevents people from facing their personal prejudices and stereotypes.

### **Acknowledgements**

Completing a masterthesis was for me a challenge and also rewarding in many ways. There were many obstacles that I had to overcome. Therefore the support, help, and encouragement of so many people were important to its completion. First, I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Yvette van Osch for her true support, and professional guidance. Further, this study could not have been conducted without the support and help, especially during recruitment of the participants, of my best friends (Safari Kasiyanto, Haik Khanamiryan, Ajmal Akbari, Torus Tolken, and Yama Saraj), and my beloved family (my mother, my father, my brother Ehsan, my sisters-in-law Nargis, my nephews, Omar and Osman, and my sister Maryam). Lastly, I want to express my thanks to the participants of this study.

**REFERENCES**

- Abu Raiya, H., Pargament, K. I., Mahoney, A., & Stein, C. (2008). A psychological measure of Islamic religiousness: Development and evidence for reliability and validity. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 18*(4), 291-315.
- Al-Sabwah, M. N., & Abdel-Khalek, A. M. (2006). Religiosity and death distress in Arabic college students. *Death Studies, 30*(4), 365-375.
- Arends-Tóth, J., & Van De Vijver, F. J. (2003). Multiculturalism and acculturation: views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(2), 249-266.
- Arends-Tóth, J., & Van de Vijver, F. J. (2007). Acculturation Attitudes: A Comparison of Measurement Methods1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 37*(7), 1462-1488.
- Arends-Tóth, J., & Van de Vijver, F. J. (2009). Cultural differences in family, marital, and gender-role values among immigrants and majority members in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Psychology, 44*(3), 161-169.
- Beirens, K., & Fontaine, R. (2010). Somatic and emotional well-being among Turkish immigrants in Belgium: Acculturation or culture? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology.*
- Berry, J. W. (1974). Psychological Aspects of Cultural Pluralism: Unity and Identity Reconsidered. *Topics in Culture Learning, 2*, 17-22.
- Berry, J. W. (1992). Acculturation and adaptation in a new society. *International Migration, 30*(1), 69-85.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*(1), 5-34.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 55*(3), 303-332.

- Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. (2010). Acculturation, discrimination, and adaptation among second generation immigrant youth in Montreal and Paris. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 34*(3), 191-207.
- Betz, H.-G., & Meret, S. (2009). Revisiting Lepanto: the political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe. *Patterns of Prejudice, 43*(3-4), 313-334.
- Bradley, C., & Lewis, K. (1990). Measures of psychological well-being and treatment satisfaction developed from the responses of people with tablet-treated diabetes. *Diabetic Medicine, 7*(5), 445-451.
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*(1), 135.
- Byrne, B. M. (2013). *Structural equation modeling with AMOS: Basic concepts, applications, and programming*: Routledge.
- Diener, E., & Clifton, D. (2002). Life satisfaction and religiosity in broad probability samples. *Psychological Inquiry, 13*, 206-209.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*(1), 71-75.
- Dimitrova, R., Chasiotis, A., Bender, M., & van de Vijver, F. J. (2014). Turks in Bulgaria and the Netherlands: A comparative study of their acculturation orientations and outcomes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 40*, 76-86.
- Dourleijn, E., Dagevos, J., & Ross, J. (2011). Vluchtelingengroepen in Nederland: Over de integratie van Afghaanse, Iraanse, Iraakse en Somalische migranten. *Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau*.

- Eurobarometer 113. (1997, December). Racism and xenophobia in Europe. from [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_113\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_113_en.pdf)
- Fernando, S. (1993). Racism and xenophobia. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 6(1), 9-19.
- Field, C. D. (2007). Islamophobia in contemporary Britain: The evidence of the opinion polls, 1988–2006. *Islam and Christian Muslim Relations*, 18(4), 447-477.
- Frank, N. C., & Kendall, S. J. (2001). Religion, risk prevention and health promotion in adolescents: A community-based approach. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 4(2), 133-148.
- Friedman, M., & Saroglou, V. (2010). Religiosity, psychological acculturation to the host culture, self-esteem and depressive symptoms among stigmatized and nonstigmatized religious immigrant groups in Western Europe. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32(2), 185-195.
- Galchenko, I., & van de Vijver, F. J. (2007). The role of perceived cultural distance in the acculturation of exchange students in Russia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31(2), 181-197.
- Gartner, J., Larson, D. B., & Allen, G. D. (1991). Religious commitment and mental health: A review of the empirical literature. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 19, 6-25.
- Ghorashi, H. (2005). Agents of change or passive victims: the impact of welfare states (the case of the Netherlands) on refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 18(2), 181-198.
- Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press

- Hackney, C. H., & Sanders, G. S. (2003). Religiosity and mental health: A meta-analysis of recent studies. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 42*(1), 43-55.
- Harrison, H. G. K., Judith C. Hays, Anedi G. Eme-Akwari, Kenneth I. Pargament, Myleme. (2001). The epidemiology of religious coping: A review of recent literature. *International Review of Psychiatry, 13*(2), 86-93.
- International Organization for Migration. (2013). World migration report, 2013. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Solheim, E. (2009). To identify or not to identify? National disidentification as an alternative reaction to perceived ethnic discrimination. *Applied Psychology, 58*(1), 105-128.
- Kalin, R., & Berry, J. W. (1996). Interethnic attitudes in Canada: Ethnocentrism, consensual hierarchy and reciprocity. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 28*(4), 253.
- Kang, S.-M. (2006). Measurement of acculturation, scale formats, and language competence their implications for adjustment. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*(6), 669-693.
- Koenig, D. B. L., Harold. (2001). Religion and mental health: Evidence for an association. *International Review of Psychiatry, 13*(2), 67-78.
- Kunst, J. R., Tajamal, H., Sam, D. L., & Ulleberg, P. (2012). Coping with Islamophobia: The effects of religious stigma on Muslim minorities' identity formation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 36*(4), 518-532.
- Leondari, A., & Gialamas, V. (2009). Religiosity and psychological well-being. *International Journal of Psychology, 44*(4), 241-248.
- Mähönen, T. A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2011). Cultural discordance and the polarization of identities. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(4), 505-515.



- Mohamad, M. (1997). Islam: The misunderstood religion. *Islamic Studies*, 691-700.
- Oudenhoven, J. P. V., & Eisses, A.-M. (1998). Integration and assimilation of Moroccan immigrants in Israel and the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22(3), 293-307.
- Pargament, K. I. (1997). *The psychology of religion and coping: Theory, practice and research*. New York: Guilford.
- Pargament, K. I., Smith, B. W., Koenig, H. G., & Perez, L. (1998). Patterns of positive and negative religious coping with major life stressors. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 710-724.
- Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: a meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(4), 531.
- Phalet, K., & Fleischmann, F. (2012). Integration and religiosity among the Turkish second generation in Europe: A comparative analysis across four capital cities *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Vol. 35, pp. 320-341).
- Phinney, J. S. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. Chun, P. Organista & G. E. Marín (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 63-81). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Poynting, S., & Mason, V. (2006). "Tolerance, freedom, justice and peace"?: Britain, Australia and anti-Muslim racism since 11 September 2001. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 27(4), 365-391.
- Poynting, S., & Mason, V. (2007). The resistible rise of Islamophobia Anti-Muslim racism in the UK and Australia before 11 September 2001. *Journal of Sociology*, 43(1), 61-86.

- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004). SPSS and SAS procedures for estimating indirect effects in simple mediation models. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, 36(4), 717-731.
- Redmond, M. V., & Bunyi, J. M. (1993). The relationship of intercultural communication competence with stress and the handling of stress as reported by international students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 17(2), 235-254.
- Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or bidimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-identity, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(1), 49.
- Saeed, A. (2007). Media, racism and Islamophobia: the representation of Islam and Muslims in the media. *Sociology Compass*, 1(2), 443-462.
- Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2006). *Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2010). Acculturation when individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(4), 472-481.
- Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Weisskirch, R. S., & Rodriguez, L. (2008). The relationships of personal and ethnic identity exploration to indices of adaptive and maladaptive psychosocial functioning. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*.
- Sheridan, L. P. (2006). Islamophobia pre–and post–September 11th, 2001. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21(3), 317-336.
- Shrout, P. E., & Bolger, N. (2002). Mediation in experimental and nonexperimental studies: new procedures and recommendations. *Psychological Methods*, 7(4), 422.

- Smith, T. B., & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*(1), 42.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 20*(3), 409-426.
- Te Lindert, A., Korzilius, H., Van de Vijver, F. J., Kroon, S., & Arends-Tóth, J. (2008). Perceived discrimination and acculturation among Iranian refugees in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32*(6), 578-588.
- Verkuyten, M. (1998). Perceived discrimination and self-esteem among ethnic minority adolescents. *The Journal of Social psychology, 138*(4), 479-493.
- Ward, C. A., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock*. Londen: Psychology Press.
- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 200-208.
- Wong, Y. J., Rew, L., & Slaikeu, K. D. (2006). A systematic review of recent research on adolescent religiosity/spirituality and mental health. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 27*(2), 161-183.

**APPENDIX A. LIST OF ADRES OF AFGHAN INSTITUTION AND MOSQUES THAT  
WERE CONTACTED FOR THE PUPRPOSE OF THE STUDY**

1. Stichting KEIHAN ([www.keihan.org](http://www.keihan.org))
2. FAVON ([www.favon.org](http://www.favon.org))
3. Stichting Farda ([www.farda.nl](http://www.farda.nl))
4. ARIA Students ([www.ariastudents.nl](http://www.ariastudents.nl))
5. Afghan Mosque in Den Bosch ([www.aiccdb.nl](http://www.aiccdb.nl))
6. Afghan Mosque in Utrecht (Bernadottelaan 3, Utrecht, The Netherlands)
7. Afghan Mosque in Eindhoven (Van gentstraat 17, Eindhoven, The Netherlands)
8. Afghan Mosque in Amsterdam (Klaprozenweg 25A, Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

**APPENDIX B. QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Wat is uw leeftijd?  
.....Jaar
2. Wat is uw geslacht?  
---Man  
---Vrouw
3. Wat is uw geboorteland?  
---Afghanistan  
---Nederland  
---Anders, nl .....
4. Wat is uw geboorteland van uw Vader?  
---Afghanistan  
---Nederland  
---Anders, nl .....
5. Wat is uw geboorteland van uw moeder?  
---Afghanistan  
---Nederland  
---Anders, nl .....
6. Wat is uw hoogst afgerond opleiding?  
---geen  
---Basisschool  
---Middelbare school  
---MBO

---Universiteit

---Anders, nl .....

7. Heeft u op dit moment bepaald werk?

---Ja

---Nee

8. Hoe lang woont u al in Nederland/

---al mijn hele leven

---niet mijn hele leven, maar ..... jaar

9. Wat is uw geloof

---Islam

---Christendom

---Atheïst

---Anders, nl .....

10. Wat is uw burgerlijke staat?

---Gebrouwd

---Gescheiden

---Alleenstaand

---Samenwonend

---Weduwe(naar)

*Hoe belangrijk vindt u de volgende dingen:*

**helemaal niet belangrijk = 1 niet belangrijk = 2 neutraal = 3 belangrijk = 4 heel erg**

**belangrijk = 5**

11. Ik vind het belangrijk om Nederlandse producten te kopen.

12. Ik vind het belangrijk om Afghaanse producten te kopen.
13. Ik vind het belangrijk om Nederlandse collega's te hebben.
14. Ik vind het belangrijk om Afghaanse collega's te hebben.
15. Ik vind het belangrijk om Nederlandse vrienden te hebben.
16. Ik vind het belangrijk om Afghaanse vrienden te hebben.
17. Ik vind het belangrijk dat Afghaanse kinderen naar school gaan met Nederlandse kinderen.
18. Ik vind het belangrijk dat Afghaanse kinderen naar school gaan met andere Afghaanse kinderen.
19. Ik vind het belangrijk om Nederlandse televisie te kijken.
20. Ik vind het belangrijk om Afghaanse televisie te kijken.
21. Ik vind het belangrijk dat Afghaanse ouders hun kinderen op een Nederlandse manier opvoeden.
22. Ik vind het belangrijk dat Afghaanse ouders hun kinderen op een Afghaanse manier opvoeden.
23. Ik vind het belangrijk om thuis Nederlands te spreken.
24. Ik vind het belangrijk om thuis Afghaans (Dari of Pashto) te spreken.
25. Ik vind het belangrijk om thuis met mijn familie Nederlandse feesten te vieren.
26. Ik vind het belangrijk om thuis met mijn familie Afghaanse feesten te vieren.

*Geef aan hoe vaak autochtone Nederlanders zich naar u toe gedragen op de manieren die hieronder beschreven staan:*

**nooit = 1**            **zelden = 2**            **regelmatig = 3**            **vaak = 4**

27. Nederlanders vallen mij lastig of bedreigen mij.
28. Nederlanders zijn vriendelijk tegen mij.

29. Nederlanders nemen mij serieus.
30. Nederlanders helpen mij als ik dat nodig heb.
31. Nederlanders behandelen mij als hun gelijke.
32. Nederlanders accepteren mij zoals ik ben.
33. Nederlanders gedragen zich alsof ze bang van me zijn.
34. Nederlanders behandelen mij met weinig respect.
35. Nederlanders discrimineren mij.
36. Nederlanders schelden mij uit.

*U wordt verzocht voor ieder van de vijf uitdrukkingen aan te geven welke het best weergeeft hoe u zich heeft gevoeld in de afgelopen twee weken:*

**helemaal niet = 1   soms = 2   minder dan de helft van de tijd = 3   minder dan de helft van de tijd = 4   meestal = 5   constant = 6**

37. Ik voelde me vrolijk en in een opperbeste stemming.
38. Ik voelde me rustig en ontspannen.
39. Ik voelde me actief en doelbewust.
40. Ik voelde me fris en uitgerust wanneer ik wakker werd.
41. Mijn dagelijkse leven was gevuld met dingen die me interesseren.

*In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen?*

**Helemaal mee oneens = 1   mee oneens = 2   een beetje mee oneens = 3  
neutraal = 4   beetje eens = 5   mee eens = 6   helemaal mee eens = 7**

42. Indien ik mijn leven opnieuw zou kunnen leven, zou ik bijna niets veranderen.
43. Op de meeste vlakken is mijn leven bijna ideaal.
44. De omstandigheden van mijn leven zijn uitstekend.



45. Ik ben tevreden met mijn leven.

46. Tot dusver beschik ik over de belangrijke zaken die ik in het leven wil.

*In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen?*

**Nee = 1**            **Ik twijfel = 2**            **Ja = 3**

47. Ik geloof dat Allah bestaat.

48. Ik geloof in de Dag des Oordeels.

49. Ik geloof in het bestaan van het paradijs en de hel.

50. Ik geloof in het bestaan van de engelen, de Jinn en Satan.

51. Ik geloof in alle boodschappers die door Allah zijn gestuurd en alle heilige teksten.

*Geef antwoord op de volgende vragen.*

52. Hoe vaak bidt u?

---nooit (1)

---enkele keren per jaar (2)

---meerdere keren in een Maand (3)

---meerdere keren in een week (4)

---meestal vijf keer per dag (5)

---vijf keer per dag of meer (6)

53. Hoe vaak vast u?

---nooit (1)

---enkele keren in mijn leven (2)

---elke jaar enkele dagen in de maand van Ramadan (3)

---elke jaar meer dan de helft van de maand van Ramadan (4)

---de hele maand van Ramadan (5)

---de hele maand van Ramadan en op andere dagen waar het aanbevolen is om te vasten (6)

54. Hoe vaak gaat u naar de Moskee?

---nooit (1)

---enkele keren in mijn leven (2)

---enkele keren in het jaar (3)

---enkele keren in een maand (4)

---één of twee keer per week (5)

---één keer per dag of meer (6)

55. Hoe vaak reciteert u of beluistert u Quran Sharif?

---nooit (1)

---enkele keren in mijn leven (2)

---enkele keren in het jaar (3)

---enkele keren in een maand (4)

---één of twee keer per week (5)

---één keer per dag of meer (6)

56. Hoe vaak doet u aan tasbih of dhikir?

---nooit (1)

---enkele keren in mijn leven (2)

---enkele keren in het jaar (3)

---enkele keren in een maand (4)

---één of twee keer per week (5)

---één keer per dag of meer (6)