Kent Academic Repository

Downloaded from

The version of record is available from

This document version

Author's Accepted Manuscript

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

UNSPECIFIED

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

Author Accepted Manuscripts

Enquiries

Europe's Culture(s):

Negotiating Cultural Meanings, Values, and Identities in the European Context

Introduction to the Special Issue in the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology

Matthias S Gobel[1], Veronica Benet-Martinez[2], Batja Gomes de Mesquita[3], Ayse K Uskul[4] *

[1] SAGE Center for the Study of the Mind & Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, USA

[2] Department of Political and Social Sciences, ICREA & Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain

[3] Center for Social and Cultural Psychology, University of Leuven, Leuven, Belgium

[4] School of Psychology, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK

*all authors contributed equally to this introduction

Corresponding author: Matthias S Gobel, Center for the Study of the Mind & Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, University of California at Santa Barbara, CA 93106-9660 Santa Barbara, CA, USA, email: gobel@sagecenter.ucsb.edu

Word count: 4443

Europe's Culture(s):

Negotiating Cultural Meanings, Values, and Identities in the European Context

Europe has recently faced several unprecedented and deeply significant challenges to its identity: From terror attacks in London, Paris, Berlin or Brussels to nationalist movements or governments and anti-immigrant rhetoric in many European countries, from Brexit and pro-independence movements in Scotland and Catalonia to attempts to reunify in Cyprus, and, perhaps most importantly, from new waves of immigration to the current refugee crisis. In all these cases, the meaning(s) of European culture and European membership are being negotiated, sometimes forcefully and other times in a peaceful manner. Yet, what is it that is being negotiated? Can we speak of a European culture? If so, what does it look like?

Social scientists have long been interested in the question of what constitutes European culture and European identity. They have approached this question from diverse perspectives and disciplines including history, sociology and political science (e.g., Arts & Halman, 2014; Carey, 2002; Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009; Fligstein, Polyakova, & Sandholtz, 2012; Orchard, 2002). For example, surveys of Europeans' political and social attitudes abound (European Commission, 2018). Similarly, books that chronicle the development of Europe and of the European countries have provided important insights into this question (e.g., Bruter, 2005; Davies, 1996). Indeed, against the backdrop of European culture and European identity, research in social sciences has informed contemporary debates from defending democracy and celebrating human rights (e.g., de Beus, 2001) to multiculturalism and immigration (e.g., Delanty, 2008, Kastoryano, 2009; Koopmans, 2005; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). In this Special Issue, we ask what are the contributions of culture-oriented researchers to the psychological (and perhaps wider social science) literature

on European culture and European identity, and on the negotiation of their meanings and memberships?

Surprisingly, psychological research taking European culture or European identity as its focus has been rare. In fact, research on culture is conspicuously absent from European social psychology (Uskul & Mesquita, 2014). In other words, a cultural psychology of Europe does not exist. At the same time, numerous descriptions about North American or East Asian cultures abound, even if they are not uncontested (e.g., De Almeida & Uchida, 2018). The question then arises: If a European cultural psychology were to be developed and showcased, what would it look like and how would it differ from the cultural psychology developed in North America or elsewhere?

Most of the accumulated evidence showing cultural variation in human psychology comes from comparative work conducted with North American and East Asian cultures. A general hypothesis guiding this work is that the social orientation of individualism versus collectivism is a key dimension underlying cultural variation in psychological phenomena (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). This hypothesis has led to the tacit assumption that the results from cultural research conducted in North America would generalise to other so called individualistic cultures, such as those in Europe. Yet, it is unclear how much the seemingly unitary notion of (individualistic) mainstream/majority culture that is so often used in cultural psychological research conducted in the North American context can be applied to the much broader European context, where existing cultures and their influence are defined by different historical, political, and economic circumstances, and where multiple and distinct majority cultures often co-exist within the same country (e.g., Belgium, Spain). Moreover, minority groups in Europe originate from cultural backgrounds (e.g., Middle-Eastern, North-African, Eastern-European) different from those that characterise minority groups typically examined in the mainstream (i.e., US-

focused) social psychological literature (e.g., African-Americans, Hispanics, Asians).

Relatedly, the traditionally immigrant-receiving social context of North America differs in

very meaningful ways from the European context, where immigration is historically more

recent and where the notions of cultural diversity and multiculturalism are still quite

contested and thus not obvious components of past and present collective identities (Benet-

Martinez, 2012).

The intent of this Special Issue is to be a starting point for a broadly-defined European

cultural psychology, in which we characterise European culture and identity in the context of

the unique historical and demographic aspects mentioned above. As a starting point, this

Special Issue can then only aspire to provide a snapshot of what European culture is about or

what European identity entails. The resulting snapshot neither implies that European culture

is stable, nor that European cultures or European identity are internally homogenous. To the

contrary, the recent developments in Europe illustrate how the (European) context is dynamic

and ever-changing. Negotiations about European values are *ongoing*. Characterising

European culture and its dynamics is not to claim an unchangeable essence. Yet, Europe does

have a common history, shared institutions and practices, and to some extent a shared

political discourse. Based on the cultural psychology axiom that mind and culture are

mutually constitutive (Markus & Kitayama, 2010), we would expect that this common

ground has shaped a European mind and identity. Accordingly, one aim of this Special Issue

is to explore whether and how European cultures, despite all the variations between them,

have constituted a "European mind" that can be distinguished from minds in other parts of

the world.

Keeping the above theoretical considerations in mind, this Special Issue has three

general goals: (1) To showcase and interconnect the emerging, and yet already diverse,

cultural and cross-cultural psychological research conducted within the European context, (2)

To stimulate discussions on how European-based findings might compare with previously observed findings based on research with non-European cultures, and (3) To shed light from a (cross-)cultural perspective onto the current challenges that European identity faces. In so doing, we hope to make a step forward through innovative articles that propose evidence-based and theoretically meaningful discussions of Europe's culture(s).

What is European culture? Towards a description of the European values and identities

The first contribution to this Special Issue, by Vignoles, Smith, Becker, and Easterbrook (2018), examines whether European selves can be distinguished from selves in other parts of the world. Their study is a meaningful supplement to a cultural psychology that, for many years, has made distinctions between individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1989) and between independent and interdependent cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In that reasoning, (Western) Europe would have fallen on the individualistic culture side of the dimension.

Vignoles and his colleagues (2018) start from the very open question of whether it is at all meaningful to speak of a European culture, and they answer this question with a resounding 'yes.' Drawing on data from the World Values Survey (WVS), the results from their two studies show that despite the existence of large differences among European cultures, they all share a distinct model of selfhood characterised by commitment to others and egalitarian values, but *also* by an emphasis on seeing the self as unique (i.e., different from others) and decontextualized (i.e., with an essence that doesn't require contextual information). They find a distinctive European value profile that is consistent with this selfhood: European cultures uniformly value relationships that are agreeable and horizontal. They strongly endorse harmony-egalitarianism, rather than mastery-hierarchy. It is the

commitment to others and the egalitarianism, rather than individualism-collectivism that distinguish the European continent from other cultures in the world.

The main take-home message from this contribution is that European cultures share certain distinctive features, but there is also substantial diversity across European cultures with regard to facets typically associated with the individualism-collectivism framework. The autonomy – embeddedness dimensions (a value dimension that may reflect important aspects of individualism-collectivism) neither unites the European continent nor distinguishes it from other global cultures. European cultures might then, due to their diversity, configure a unique form of individualism, one that differs from that found in North American cultures, for instance. In sum, Vignoles and colleagues (2018) provide a rare empirical test focused on the question of what European cultural values and meanings are, and advance cultural psychological theory by showing the limitations of reducing "culture" empirically to monolithic comparison between nations a priori assumed to be individualistic/independent vs. collectivistic/interdependent.

It is against the background of these characteristic European selfhoods and values that disidentification can sometimes be understood, too. The second contribution to the Special Issue, by Petkanopoulou, Sanchez-Rodriguez, Willis, Chryssochoou, and Rodriguez-Bailon (2018), describes the psychological consequences of perceived wealth disparities, which is perhaps one important ramification of the austerity policies imposed by the European Union, on individuals from two of its member states, Spain and Greece. In both countries, the perception of economic disparities within Europe was associated with disidentification from Europe. Of interest from a cultural psychology perspective, perceived disparities led to this disidentification, to the extent that individuals interpreted disparities as signs of Europe losing fundamental values and of losing (Spanish or Greek) national sovereignty. It is not far-fetched to think that disidentification from Europe might have occurred when individuals

perceived Europe to abandon its characteristic values of egalitarianism and commitment to others, and when it was perceived to threaten a unique sense of national self in favour of culturally decontextualized European economic interests (see Vignoles et al., 2018).

European culture is also defined by what is perceived as *not* European. This is the theme of another contribution that focuses on the exclusionary/inclusionary nature of European national identities. Who we are is always contrasted with who we are not: the outgroups (Brewer, 1999). In their contribution, Fleischmann and Phalet (2018) suggest that European identity is largely seen as white and of Christian heritage, and that all those who do not meet these criteria do not recognise themselves as part of it. In a cross-national European study of youth, Fleischman and Phalet (2018) find that British, German, Swedish, Dutch, and Belgian national identities are generally less strongly endorsed by minority as opposed to majority youth, but that Muslim youth show the lowest levels of identification of all. Religious ancestry thus appears to be an important constituent of European identity, with the consequence that European citizens who do not share a Christian heritage are less identified with their national culture than their counterparts with Christian ancestry. Fleischman and Phalet (2018) find some cross-national variations in minority identification, which suggest that some national identities (e.g., British, Dutch) are more inclusive of Muslims than others (e.g., Belgian, German). The study also shows that differences in religious commitment and majority culture friendships play a major role in explaining these cross-national variations in national identification. Overall, this article supports the notion that European national identities are defined in terms of ethnic and religious ancestry, and that cultural aspects such as having a Christian heritage also matter for national belonging.

In all, the first three contributions to this Special Issue suggest that European culture exists, despite many cross-national variations. At its core, European culture values a unique and decontextualized individual, who is egalitarian and committed to the welfare of others.

These European values appear to play a role at the individual as well as the national level, so that threats to the value of egalitarianism reduce identification with Europe. Finally, European culture tends to be characterised by a white and Christian ancestry and heritage. It is against the background of these common characteristics that minorities and immigrants negotiate their entry and adherence to European culture. The second section of this Special Issue describes this match/miss-match of minority groups, as well as the different trajectories of minority groups' acculturation in light of the diverse historical and political contexts within Europe.

How does European culture fit newcomers? Lessons from European acculturation research

Global migration has increased 49% since the year 2000, and 22 million of these immigrants came to Europe (United Nations, 2017). As a result, the political salience of immigration and its consequences have become an important topic of public and political discourse in Europe. This is reflected in the rise of extreme right-wing, anti-immigrant and anti-Islam parties (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2013).

It is increasingly clear that societal cohesiveness and inclusion depend as much on the immigrant minorities themselves as on the majority societies. For Europe, this means that acculturation and inclusion of large groups of immigrant minorities, many of which from Muslim countries, can be understood from the perspective of how similar/distant these immigrant groups' cultures are from majority European cultures. Several contributions to this Special Issue shed light on the conditions and processes of progressive belonging of immigrant minorities.

Going beyond existing research on the link between national identification and immigration attitudes, Visitin, Green, and Sarrasin (2018) examine the role of European

identification of majority members of European nation states when predicting anti-immigrant prejudice using data from the International Social Survey Programme. They find across 22 European countries that majority individuals report some degree of identification with Europe. This is another way in which European culture can be said to exist: a European identity is recognised by the majority of cultural members as a relevant social identity.

In past research, European identification has been found to buffer feelings of threat (e.g., Datler, 2016). Visitin and colleagues (2018) replicate this link: Identification with Europe is, across nations, related to lower prejudice toward immigrants, possibly because of the liberal and egalitarian values generally associated with Europe (see Vignoles et al., 2018). Yet, they also find that the national moral context affects what European identification means. Individuals from countries with more tolerant and inclusive integration policies (assessed using the 2014 Migrant Integration Policy Index) expressed lower prejudice towards immigrants. Moreover, national integration policies significantly moderated the relationship between identification with Europe and anti-immigrant prejudice, such that the negative association between European identification and anti-immigrant prejudice was stronger in countries with more inclusive integration policies than in countries with less inclusive integration policies. An important conclusion from this research is that the role of European identification and its relationship to national identification are a fruitful topic for further research on majority context of acculturation.

Repke and Benet-Martinez's (2018) article also provides a window into the majority context of acculturation, but in this case through the perspective of immigrants residing in a unique bicultural and bilingual European setting: Catalonia. This paper showcases the importance of examining immigrants' personal social networks to understand their psychological and sociocultural adjustment. Focusing on four large immigrant groups in

Barcelona (Moroccan, Ecuadorian, Pakistani, and Romanian)[1], Repke and Benet-Martinez

(2018) examine the acculturating immigrant, the people with whom the immigrant has

habitual contacts, and also whether these contacts have relations with each other. The goal in

this study is to understand how these interactions play a role in the immigrants' psychological

and sociocultural adjustment and their ability to integrate the dominant and ethnic cultures

into their self-concept (i.e., Bicultural Identity Integration, BII). They employ an

understudied method in acculturation research - social network analysis - to emphasise the

importance of meso-level processes represented by social communities and habitual

relationships in immigrants' acculturation. The authors find that the content and structure of

immigrants' personal social networks have unique associations with both psychological and

sociocultural adjustment and with Catalan-Ethnic bicultural identity integration, such that the

overall degree of cultural diversity in the network, and in particular, the number of Catalan

acquaintances, colleagues and neighbours positively predict these outcomes. Importantly, the

existence of relational ties between Catalan and ethnic contacts in the immigrant's network

also predicts her/his socio-cultural adjustment and level of BII. Finally, against a "culture and

language similarity" hypothesis that predicts that immigrants belonging to cultural groups

with lower cultural and linguistic distance towards the host society will have better integrated

networks, Moroccan and Pakistani participants have social networks that are more culturally

well-integrated, relative to Ecuadorians and Romanians. Overall, this article suggests that

immigrant acculturation processes, including those related to negotiating multiple cultural

selves and identities, are negotiated at the level of everyday relationships between minority

individuals and their social environment.

---

[1] Legally speaking, Romanians are not immigrants; however, they share many elements of

the immigrant experience and minority status (e.g., experience of prejudice and

discrimination).

Above all, it seems that having positive relationships with majority culture members plays a significant role in positive outcomes of minority individuals (see also results by Fleischman and Phalet (2018) mentioned in the previous section). In short, against the background of different national cultures, individuals from both minority and majority groups in all nations negotiate minority identification throughout their recurrent interactions.

Is a multicultural Europe possible? The role of cultural distance and religion

As noted earlier, much of the research on attitudes towards diversity comes from North American contexts, and it is clear that Europe differs in many ways from these contexts. Mahfud, Badea, Verkuyten, and Reynolds (2018) try to replicate previous research from the U.S. on multiculturalism attitudes in two European countries, the Netherlands and France. Their focus is on majority group members' attitudes towards Moroccan immigrants. Mafhud and colleagues (2018) replicate for France the previous finding that thinking abstractly about multiculturalism (*why* it would be good), reduces perceived outgroup threat. In the Netherlands, this finding is not replicated, which the authors explain from the fact that multiculturalism there has been largely abandoned in the last 15 years. Thinking concretely about multiculturalism (*how* it should be accomplished) evokes feelings of threat and leads to prejudice across both countries, thus replicating the North American findings. The study makes clear that North American findings related to attitudes towards diversity and multiculturalism do not always generalise to the contexts in Europe, and that much might depend on historical circumstances.

The last article, by van der Noll, Rohmann, and Saroglou (2018), sheds light on one of the fiercest debates about acculturation in Europe: wearing headscarves in public spaces (Helbling, 2014). Relying on survey data from the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey, they test the assumption that the societal level of religiosity contributes to the

acceptance of religious identity expression. Their findings support the following assumption: a stronger societal religiosity – measured as the percentage of people in society who profess to believe in God – is associated with greater acceptance of visible religious symbols. Importantly, this relationship holds when controlling for a host of societal variables such as religious denominational tradition and religious diversity, including the size of the Muslim minority.

In addition to providing evidence on the link between societal level of religiosity and religious identity expression in the European context, this article also contributes to our understanding of variations in acceptance of religious expression across European societies. Individuals in secularised parts of Europe, including France, Germany, Belgium, and Denmark, were more likely to oppose the wearing of visible religious symbols than individuals in countries where religion occupies a more important place in society, including Italy, Spain, and Portugal. This finding suggests that, when it comes to religious issues, Europe is unlikely to constitute a homogenous group of societies. As van der Noll and colleagues (2018) suggest, the variability of attitudes toward the public expression of religious symbols and acts may exemplify the broader variability across European societies in terms of what it means to have a European identity and how religious identities fit within the national and the European identities.

What are the key contributions of the current Special Issue?

One of the take-home messages from this Special Issue is that some form of European Cultural Psychology can be identified, although perhaps not recognised as such yet. This Special Issue describes a European culture that is neither stable nor the product of a homogenous group or pattern of inter-group relations. Instead, European culture is dynamic, changing and in constant demand to adapt to novel challenges. Currently, we are witnessing

how European culture and the future of the continent in the 21st century are being negotiated. European culture is embedded in a unique socio-historical context where diverse cultures have shared a very limited geographical space resulting in prolonged episodes of coalition-building as well as wide-spread antagonism. It is in light of this history that one of the major outcomes of this Special Issue is the finding of a unique European culture (and European identity) that balances individualism and concern for others, beliefs in economic prosperity and solidarity.

In sum, this Special Issue makes a series of important contributions. First, it demonstrates the critical role that European culture plays in providing its citizens with a socially shared and distinctly European sense of selfhood (Vignoles et al., 2018; Visitin et al., 2018). Second, it provides examples of what aspects of European culture are challenged and perhaps worth preserving. For example, economic equality and solidarity seem to be cornerstones of the European culture, and when these are lost people disidentify with it (Petkanopoulou et al., 2018). Third, it discusses the cultural environment in reference to different levels of analysis including individual (e.g., endorsement of certain values), interpersonal (e.g., habitual contacts with members of different groups), societal (e.g., societal level of religiosity), and structural (e.g., integration policies). Finally, most of the contributions to this Special Issue highlight how Europe is not a homogenous ensemble of member states but rather a heterogeneous federation. Threatening this diversity (with policies that challenge national sovereignty) might undermine the very essence of European identity (e.g., Petkanopoulou et al., 2018). They also shed light onto different aspects of identities (e.g., religious, European, national identities) as major drivers of important social outcomes (e.g., use of headscarves in public spaces; see van der Noll et al., 2018).

Different contributions to this Special Issue illustrate the difficulties that newcomers face while trying to penetrate an old and historically derived cultural system, such as the

"European culture" (Fleischman & Phalet, 2018; Mahfud et al., 2018; Repke & Benet-Martinez, 2018). In light of the demographic changes the European continent faces, this remains one of its key challenges. Contributions to this Special Issue also illustrate what factors might facilitate the acculturation to European culture. For example, regularly interacting with majority group members, while also weaving these relationships with those with ethnic peers (Repke & Benet-Martinez, 2018; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2018), seems one important stepping stone for successful acculturation. In turn, policies that undermine multiculturalism seem counter-productive (Mahfud et al., 2018; Visitin et al., 2018). Therein, this Special Issue informs policy makers and the general public alike as to how they can facilitate the integration of newcomers into Europe.

In addition, this Special Issue shows that understanding European culture is achieved by applying a multi-method approach that comprises multi-level analysis of big data, surveys, social psychological experimentation and social network analysis. It is the scope and depth of its topics, methods and findings that stand out and make a significant contribution to the (cross-)cultural psychology literature and beyond.

What is missing from the current discussion on Europe's culture?

The findings reported in this Special Issue suggest a number of areas for future research further decorticating Europe's culture and its implication for human psychology and behaviour. For example, while the articles herein make significant steps towards a better understanding of what constitutes one form of shared European culture and identity, linking individuals and nations across borders, little is known about the cultural differences between different European regions. According to previous research, it seems reasonable to assert that Northern, Eastern, Southern and Western European cultures differ in their values and belief

systems (e.g., House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).
Yet, systematic investigations of European national and regional cultures are still
outstanding.

Further, a timely issue to investigate involves the values and beliefs governing
Eastern-European cultures, which have recently joined the EU. Relatedly, it is timely to ask
why there is a re-emergence of national isolation and protectionism in these post-communist
cultures. Are these increasing expressions of nationalism the same or different from those in
other parts of Europe, such as in Italy, France or Germany? Similarly, little is known about
the cultures of the Balkans, which have experienced strong influences of both the Ottoman
and the Habsburg empires and still face the ramifications of a recent war. Finally, little is
known about the psychosocial factors that drive the resurgence of widespread regional
independence movements throughout Europe, from Catalonia and Corsica in the South to
Scotland in the North.

Another understudied topic is the perception of Europe by individuals who are
multicultural by virtue of migration (e.g., Moroccan Germans) or through living in multi-
lingual and multi-nation states (e.g., Scottish in the UK, or Flemish in Belgium). These
individuals' unique experiences of cultural juxtaposition might lead themselves to develop
schemas about what it means to be European that are more complex (Benet-Martinez, Lee, &
Leu, 2006), and in some instances, also reflect national disidentification (Agirdag, Phalet, &
Van Houtte, 2016). We think that (cross-)cultural psychologists can provide critical insights
into these questions examining how European culture is multi-faceted, diverse and inherently
linked to its demographic diversity, regional roots and economic structure.

Moreover, egalitarian values and commitment to others are central European values
(Vignoles et al., 2018), and yet economic inequality is increasing across Europe, with
significant implications for subjective well-being and mental health (Delhey & Dragolov,

2014; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2015; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2017). While economic inequality is an emerging topic in European social psychology (e.g., Croizet, Goudeau, Marot, & Millet, 2017; Rodriguez-Bailon et al., 2017), very little research is conducted on this topic from a cultural perspective in the European context. This is surprising given the clear differences in attitudes towards inequality across Europe (Pew Research Center, 2014). For example, is economic inequality perceived the same way in cultures that adhere to more meritocratic principles, such as the UK, and cultures in which familial social class background is more important, such as France (e.g., Gobel, Maddux, & Kim, 2018)? Moreover, while first efforts have been made to explore the psychological processes that explain the link between economic inequality and life satisfaction (Cheung, 2016; Sands, 2017), how national culture intersects with social and economic inequality remains a topic for future research.

Finally, the study of intergroup relations in Europe (as elsewhere) has rarely used a cultural psychological perspective. While the intergroup relations literature proposes important theory as to what happens when members of different groups – or cultures – interact, cultural psychological research can provide important content and meaning that describe these intergroup processes for specific cultures. For example, how do Mainland-Europeans with their emphasis on egalitarianism and solidarity perceive Anglo-Europeans who hold perhaps stronger beliefs in meritocratic principles? Can these cultural differences, at least in part explain differences in perceptions of what fair outcomes of economic support for less advantaged Europeans regions are?

Concluding Remarks

European national states and their cultures have a long history. Although the idea of a European culture, with its distinct languages, philosophical, social and legal ideas, can be traced back to Antiquity, the idea of a unified European economic and political space is a

post Second World War construct. The findings of this Special Issue can only be the starting

point for future psychological research that accompanies Europe along its journey into the

21st century.

References

Agirdag, O., Phalet, K., & Van Houtte, M. (2016). European identity as a unifying category: National vs. European identification among native and immigrant pupils. *European Union Politics*, *17*, 285-302.

Arts, W., & Halman, L. (2014). National Identity in Europe Today : What the People Feel and Think National Identity in Europe Today What the People Feel and Think. *International Journal of Sociology*, *35*(4), 69–93.

Benet-Martínez, V., Lee, F., & Leu, J. (2006). Biculturalism and cognitive complexity: Expertise in cultural representations. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 386-407.

Benet-Martínez, V. (2012). Multiculturalism: Cultural, social, and personality processes. In K. Deaux & M. Snyder (Eds.), *Oxford Library of Psychology. The Oxford handbook of personality and social psychology* (pp. 623-648). New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press.

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, *55*, 429–444.

Bruter, M. (2005). *Citizens of Europe?: The emergence of mass European identity*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carey, S. (2002). Undivided loyalties: Is National identity an obstacle to European integration? *European Union Politics*, *3*(4), 387–413.

Castles, S., De Haas, H., & Miller, M. J. (2013). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Checkel, J. T., & Katzenstein, P. J. (Eds.). (2009). *European Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Cheung, F. (2016). Can income inequality be associated with positive outcomes? Hope mediates the positive inequality-happiness link in rural China. *Social Psychological and*

Personality Science, *7*, 320–330.

Croizet, J. C., Goudeau, S., Marot, M., & Millet, M. (2017). How do educational contexts contribute to the social class achievement gap: documenting symbolic violence from a social psychological point of view. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *18*, 105–110.

Datler, G. (2016). European identity as a safeguard against xenophobia? A differentiated view based on identity content. In J. Grimm, L. Huddy, P. Schmidt, and J. Seethaler (Eds.), *Dynamics of national identity: Media and societal Factors of what we are* (pp. 229-255). New York, NY: Routledge.

Davies, N. (1996). *Europe: A History*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

De Almeida, I., & Uchida, Y. (2018). *Is international social psychology diverse enough*? Manuscript in preparation for publication.

De Beus, J. (2001). Quasi-national European identity and European democracy. *Law and Philosophy*, *20*, 283–311.

Delanty, G. (2008). Models of European Identity : Reconciling Universalism and Particularism. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, *3*(3), 345–359.

Delhey, J., & Dragolov, G. (2014). Why inequality makes Europeans less happy: The Role of distrust, status anxiety, and perceived conflict. *European Sociological Review*, *30*, 151–165.

European Commission. (2018). Public Opinion. Retrieved May 1, 2018, from http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm

Fleischmann, F., & Phalet, K. (2018). Religion and National Identification in Europe: Comparing Muslim Youth in Belgium, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s)*.

Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A., & Sandholtz, W. (2012). European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *50*(1), 106–122.

Gobel, M. S., Maddux, W. W., & Kim, H. S. (2018). *Cultural differences in the basis of social status: Power distance beliefs shape status conferral based on ascribed characteristics*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Helbling, M. (2014). Opposing Muslims and the Muslim headscarf in western Europe. *European Sociological Review*, *30*, 242-257.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations.* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M., Dorfman, P. W., & Gupta, V. (2004). *Culture, leadership, and organizations: The GLOBE study of 62 societies.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Kastoryano, R. (Ed.). (2009). *An identity for Europe: The relevance of multiculturalism in EU construction*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Koopmans, R., Statham, P., Giugni, M., & Passy, F. (2005). *Contested citizenship immigration and cultural diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Mahfud, Y., Badea, C., Verkuyten, M., & Reynolds, K. (2018). Multiculturalism and attitudes towards immigrants: The impact of perceived cultural distance. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s).*

Markus, H. R., & Conner, A. (2013). *Clash! 8 Cultural Conflicts that Make Us Who We Are.* New York, NY: Penguin (Hudson Street Press).

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*, 224–253.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and selves: A cycle of mutual constitution. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *5*, 420–430.

Orchard, V. (2002). Culture as opposed to what? Cultural belonging in the context of national

and European identity. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *5*(4), 419–433.

Pew Research Center. (2014). Emerging and developing economies much more optimistic than rich countries about the future. Retrieved March 15, 2018, from http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/10/Pew-Research-Center-Inequality-Report-FINAL-October-17-2014.pdf

Petkanopoulou, K., Sanchez-Rodriguez, A., Willis, G., Chryssochoou, X., & Rodriguez-Bailon, R. (2018). Two countries in crisis: Economic inequality in the EU and disidentification with Europe in Spain and Greece. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s)*.

Pickett, K. E., & Wilkinson, R. G. (2015). Income inequality and health: A causal review. *Social Science and Medicine*, *128*, 316–326.

Repke, L., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2018). Content and structure of immigrants' social networks as a window into intercultural relations in Catalonia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s)*.

Rodriguez-Bailon, R., Bratanova, B., Willis, G. B., Lopez-Rodriguez, L., Sturrock, A., & Loughnan, S. (2017). Social class and ideologies of inequality: How they uphold unequal societies. *Journal of Social Issues*, *73*, 99–116.

Sands, M. L. (2017). Exposure to inequality affects support for redistribution. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *114*, 663–668.

Schwartz, S. H., & Sagiv, L. (1995). Identifying culture-specifics in the content and structure of values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *26*, 92–116.

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

Smith, P. B., Bond, M. H., & Kagitcibasi, C. (2006). *Understanding social psychology across cultures: Living and working in a changing world*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, *96*, 506–520.

United Nations. (2017). The International Migration Report 2017 (Highlights). Retrieved March 15, 2018, from https://www.un.org/development/desa/publications/international-migration-report-2017.html

Uskul, A. K., & Mesquita, B. (2014). Turning to the blind spot of European Social Psychology. *European Bulletin of Social Psychology, 26,* 5-11.

van der Noll, J., Rohmann, A., & Saroglou, V. (2018). Societal level of religiosity and religious identity expression in Europe. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s)*.

Vertovec, S., & Wessendorf, S. (Eds.). (2010). *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses and Practices*. London, UK: Routledge.

Vignoles, V., Smith, P., Becker, M., & Easterbrook, M. (2018). In search of a pan-European culture: European values, beliefs and models of selfhood in global perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s)*.

Visitin, E. P., Green, E. G. T., & Sarrasin, O. (2018). Inclusive normative climates strengthen the relationship between identification with Europe and tolerant immigration attitudes: Evidence from 22 countries. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Special Issue: Europe's Culture(s)*.

Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. E. (2017). The enemy between us: The psychological and social costs of inequality. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *47*, 11–24.