



























self-categorization theory (SCT) in psychology. These theories argue that group membership shapes the process through which individuals perceive their own identity. Human beings derive their self-worth and self-esteem in large part from their membership in social groups (Tajfel, 1981; Turner et al., 1987). As members in these social groupings, individuals venture through the process of social categorization, through which they “parse the world into manageable sets of social categories,” and ultimately develop a sense of who *they* are and who *others* are (Kinder and Kam, 2010, p. 20). Once these boundaries are clearly delineated and the perception of belonging transforms into group identities, individuals tend to accentuate or reify the differences, real or imagined, between their own groups and outgroups (Tajfel, 1981, p. 276). And these distinctions become the basis upon which individuals come to treat “us” and “them” differently.

These insights are echoed in theories of conflict and cooperation in world politics and specifically in the constructivist tradition that explains inter-state conflict not as the inevitable consequence of structural conditions (anarchy) in the world system, but rather as the result of context-specific histories of conflictual or cooperative relations between states (Wendt, 1999; Hopf, 2002). Over time, and through repeated interactions with others, states (like people, if one is willing to reason by analogy) learn who their neighbors are and come to define their own interests and identities in relation to their neighbors. Thus, the fears and anxieties that are ever-present in an anarchic international system need not be so prevalent as to produce conflict as long as states can forge common expectations of cooperation over time. In world politics as in other realms, norms of cooperation are built based on shared experiences and common interests that come to define the limits of appropriate behavior (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Finnemore, 1996; Darden, 2009).

Building and expanding on theories about the power of identities to shape behavior, the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) has argued that an effective way to reduce inter-group conflict is to induce a cognitive shift away from attributes that divide groups and toward a *common* identity that unites them (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000). That paradigm is central to the argument put forward in this book, but we develop the CIIM further by showing the role of *ideational* similarity or difference in forging a common ingroup identity. Most prior empirical work on the CIIM in social psychology is focused on experimentally demonstrating that a cognitive shift that achieves the recategorization of an individual from a subordinate (e.g., ethnic) toward a superordinate (e.g., national) identity is effective in managing and reducing

intergroup conflict. We share this general orientation while focusing on natives' and immigrants' ability to *forge* a new, common ingroup identity as citizens who are defined by shared ideas, norms, and interests.

### *Overcoming Identity Threat*

From the perspective of the CIIM, discrimination and hostility toward an outgroup by an ingroup is symptomatic of ascriptive, cultural, or other differences that divide social groups. Bias against minorities held by majority groups would result from negative stereotypes and a sense of identity threat perceived by the majority, which considers itself superior (higher status) than minority groups and therefore lays claim to more resources and power. Conflict between immigrants and natives is an example of such majority-minority competition where the lack of a common ingroup identity induces conflict, as natives, who consider themselves as the prototypical and superior members of the nation perceive immigrants as threatening their influence over the nation's trajectory. The larger the ethnic and cultural differences between natives and immigrants, the more intense the conflict, as the perceived identity threat grows.

Could a simple cognitive shift that emphasizes an alternative, shared identity be sufficient to reduce bias and conflict as the CIIM would suggest? And how could the CIIM apply to native-immigrant conflict given that these groups do not possess a common national, superordinate identity that they can shift to? Setting aside how lasting the effect of such a cognitive shift is likely to be, for the CIIM to be applicable as a framework for conflict-resolution, a shared identity must already exist. The focus of any conflict-reducing intervention would consist of increasing the salience of the shared identity relative to other parochial attachments. The hard part is to create such a common identity if it does not already exist.

In political science, a vast literature on nationalism echoes this insight as it emphasizes the role of national identification in reducing the salience of subordinate ethnic, religious, regional, or other parochial attachments and inducing loyalty to the idea of the nation (Ricke et al., 2010; Charnysh, Lucas, and Singh, 2015; Levendusky, 2018; Wimmer, 2018; Mylonas, 2013). However, a common national identity does not unite natives and immigrants since their national origins are different. Indeed, perceived threat to national identity is precisely what causes conflict along the native-immigrant divide. Our book explores whether such conflict can be reduced by cultivating other shared

identities based on the realization that natives and immigrants can share norms and ideas about public behavior and civic life that are either shared by most people in a society (*civic norms*) or by large segments of society (*group-derived norms*). Could shared respect for a common set of norms and ideas about group rights and responsibilities serve as the basis for the reduction of bias? Or do ascriptive differences between native and immigrant groups dominate any conflict-mitigating effect arising from shared norms?

### *Expanding the Common Ingroup Identity Model*

We make two advances to the literature on identity politics, including previous applications of the CIIM to study majority-minority group conflicts. First, we understand common identities as implying common interests and shared ideas; it is the *shared content* of social identities that gives them power to shape behavior. Simply sharing attributes such as skin color, language, or religion is not enough to forge shared identities. We design experimental interventions during which publicly observable behavior reveals individuals' social *identification*: the extent to which individuals adhere to a set of norms that define specific social identities. Behavior that reveals that individuals have internalized those norms and ideas suggests that they identify with the group.<sup>7</sup> In turn, this behavior helps form the basis for natives and immigrants to realize that they share a common ingroup identity. This approach speaks to a large literature on integration, acculturation, and assimilation as we argue that strategies to reduce intergroup conflict between natives and immigrants should not be premised on erasing differences in group attributes in hopes of creating a more ethnically homogeneous population. Rather, alternative forms of similarity can be relied upon to forge a shared idea of *citizenship*.

Second, we explore the consequences of the intersectionality of social identities for the CIIM and argue that common superordinate identities can be identified on the basis of shared ideas and interests between immigrants and *specific subgroups* of the native population. Since social identities often crosscut, any number of group identities could be considered superordinate for a subset of the population and could be relied upon to reduce the salience of the native-immigrant divide. Gender, for example, could be considered as a

7. Identification with a group implies that individuals will take actions that are consistent with advancing the interests of the group, such as enforce group norms. Other types of behavior are also consistent with a revealed preferences approach to social identification, such as fighting for the group or pursuing strategies to increase group status and power.

superordinate identity for native and immigrant women. We focus on gender identity in chapter 6 and argue that the potential for a shared gender identity to reduce conflict between native and immigrant women will not depend on sharing superficial attributes (gender traits) that qualify one for membership in a gender group; rather it will depend on sharing the same ideas and norms that define that gender identity. Thus, if gender identity implies different types of behavior for natives and immigrants, this could actually increase conflict between them rather than decrease it; the overall effect of shared ideas about gender identity will be large or small depending on how salient gender identity is relative to other social identities. If native women and immigrant women have different concepts of what female identity means and if they espouse different ideas about gender roles, then the more salient gender identity becomes relative to other identities, and the more conflict we should expect to see. Conversely, if natives and immigrants share the same ideas about gender norms, then making gender identity salient could have a conflict-reducing effect by reducing the salience of the native-immigrant divide. This theoretical argument is developed further in chapter 2, where we elaborate on the conceptual foundations for the empirical analysis in the book. At the core of our theory is the notion that both widely held civic norms (general norms) and group-derived norms are central in defining shared interests based on common group identities that reduce the perceived distance between natives and immigrants and these commonalities can help reduce native-immigrant conflict.

The kinds of *norms* that we consider in this book include both group-derived norms that are defined with reference to specific groups, and general norms that apply to society as a whole and might well apply to different societies and countries.<sup>8</sup> Both are types of social norms—internalized habits or customs that suggest a set of expectations regarding civic behavior. These norms pertain to behavior that demonstrates whether one cares about society’s rules, whether one respects others and wants to contribute to the common good. Many types of behaviors could satisfy those conditions; and although we analyze only one example of each type of norm, our discussion

8. This typology does not imply a hierarchy of norms; rather, our intent is to describe how widely the norm is likely to be internalized/adhered to by the population and whether the norm is more directly relevant to the core identity of a particular social group. Whereas “general” norms are norms that are expected to be widely adhered to in the whole society, “group-derived” norms might be felt more strongly among members of a particular social group—people whose group identities are more directly impacted by this norm.



should apply more broadly to different norms and civic behaviors. We analyze one example of a general norm (anti-littering) and one example of a group-derived norm (gender equality). Both of these are important in our specific country context (Germany), but they resonate in other European country contexts as they speak directly to debates regarding the integration of immigrant populations from Muslim countries.

## The Evidence

In this book we present new evidence on the multiple influences on anti-immigrant bias and explore ways to reduce anti-immigrant discrimination. We rely on a series of randomized experiments that are conducted in the field in the context of day-to-day interactions that reveal immigrants' attitudes toward valued social norms in Germany. We complement these studies in the field with data from numerous survey experiments as well as observational survey data. The experiments manipulate different sources of perceived social distance between natives and immigrants and are complemented by survey experiments designed to uncover the mechanisms underlying natives' anti-immigrant bias. These studies allow us to assess the degree to which the native population's attitudes are driven by the perception that immigrants' internalized values and ideas are different from their own. This, in turn, allows us to observe whether eliminating the perception of normative or ideological differences reduces discrimination by natives toward immigrants.

We chose this particular approach for a number of reasons. First, the rhetoric of anti-immigration advocates in Western Europe often centers around concerns that immigrant populations are unwilling to integrate or assimilate, resisting the adoption of important socio-cultural norms that are widely accepted in host societies. Lack of respect for the native culture and divergent ideas about which public behaviors are appropriate are at the core of native populations' justifications for their animosity toward immigrants and their explanations for why immigrants pose an identity threat. This makes the study of native attitudes toward immigrants in settings where the acceptance or violation of valued social norms is at stake especially relevant. Second, an individual's adherence to or violation of social norms can elicit behavioral responses—often in the form of direct or indirect sanctions and rewards—from onlookers who often tend to be strangers.<sup>9</sup> Our experiments allow us

9. See, for example, Balafoutas, Nikiforakis, and Rockenbach, 2014 or Keuschnigg and Wolbring, 2015.

to observe these responses in settings designed to abstract from other behavioral influences. In the micro-environments that we create, individuals cannot expect a direct reward or other material benefit from enforcing civic norms. This provides a rare opportunity wherein to induce the latent immigration attitudes of native individuals to manifest into real behavior spontaneously without alerting individuals that they are being observed.

The first goal of these experiments is to identify the causes of discrimination against immigrants; the second goal is to explore whether adhering to general or group-derived norms has a bias-reducing effect. We draw evidence from experiments fielded in thirty cities with more than ten thousand subjects to show that Germans discriminate against Muslims in every-day interactions. However, we also show that when Muslims signal that they share social norms with the native majority society or with specific groups within it, discrimination against them decreases. Via targeted experimental interventions we are able to elucidate the reasons that a large segment of German society adopts a negative position vis-à-vis Muslim immigrants.

We find that natives' perceptions that Muslim immigrants do not conform to valued social norms is a key driver behind anti-Muslim discrimination. Other fears and concerns, as well as unconscious biases, are also likely to exert some influence. We identify many of those additional factors in a series of survey experiments that provide rich context to explain the behavior we observe in the field experiments. While we show evidence that discrimination declines when Muslims behave identically to natives in the context of experiments designed to reveal their preferences over social issues, or when they signal that they share common norms with natives, we also find that immigrants are held to a higher standard by the native population. Our analysis suggests that immigrants have to work harder than natives to be treated the same as everyone else.

Religion is the main axis along which discrimination is observed in the field in our experiments in Germany. We find no evidence that foreign language use or ethno-racial differences alone cause discrimination in the context of everyday interactions. This result stands in sharp contrast to prior literature in other countries, where the lack of linguistic assimilation has been identified as a primary cause of fears that immigration can threaten the national culture (Hopkins, 2014b; Citrin et al., 2007; Dowling, Ellison, and Leal, 2012; Schildkraut, 2010; Schildkraut, 2005; Newman, Hartman, and Taber, 2012). In the United States, even brief exposure to uses of Spanish by strangers in public settings has been shown to generate hostility among natives

(Hopkins, 2014b; Newman, Hartman, and Taber, 2012; Paxton, 2006; Enos, 2014). Moreover, multiple studies have presented evidence of significant bias against ethno-racial minorities across countries. Thus, the evidence we present from Germany offers a useful point of comparison from a country with a recent history of multiculturalist policies that suggests that it is possible to overcome barriers to cultural integration and that ethno-linguistic or racial differences need not result in discrimination in ordinary, everyday forms of human interaction. Although individuals may be prejudiced, their public behavior need not reflect that prejudice and discrimination is likely to manifest in settings that respond to the *politicization* of social cleavages. The Christian-Muslim cleavage in Germany, as in other European countries, remains politically salient due to the ongoing wars in the Middle East and large-scale immigration from predominately Muslim countries. Those immigration flows have been politicized by far-right political groups; in the absence of these political pressures, the salience of religious markers can decline and so could bias and discrimination. The future of multiculturalism in Western democracies might not be as bleak as is often thought.

Having identified religious differences as the key factor motivating anti-immigrant bias in Germany, we explore the mechanisms underlying that result. Our focus is on how native Germans perceive Muslim religious symbols and on whether bias is driven at least in part by inferences natives make about Muslims' social norms and values. Our approach allows us to consider why ascriptive differences generate social distance and sets the stage for an analysis of the power of general and group-derived norms to erase the salience of religious markers and reduce discrimination.

Our results suggest that adherence to general civic norms reduces bias, but it is not enough to completely offset other sources of discrimination toward Muslims. Consistent with previous studies that point to group-specific causes of anti-immigrant bias (such as sectoral economic interests), we find that adherence to group-derived norms that are very important to specific subgroups of the native population is more effective in reducing bias. While this is encouraging from the perspective of multiculturalist democracy, this also means that the scope of any intervention to align immigrants' and natives' norms is likely defined by the size of the group whose norms are being invoked, and its impact will therefore be limited to that group.

As we show later in this book, part of the reason that discrimination persists even when immigrants adhere to widely held civic norms is that natives view immigrants from the perspective of their own narrow self-interest or

from the prism of the social group with which they identify. Natives have priors about immigrants' beliefs and value systems and they consider how their own interests—defined by their social identities—are likely to be affected by immigration. Thus, even when Muslims signal that they adhere to generally valued civic norms in Germany, pockets of suspicion and resistance to immigration will remain as long as natives believe that immigrants pose a threat to specific social identities shared by a subgroup of the native population. In situations where those subgroup identities are salient, adherence to general norms may not be about to eliminate anti-immigrant bias; but adherence to group-derived norms might have such a stronger effect. In that regard, our analysis differs from much of the previous literature, which has considered group threat at the aggregate level (i.e., natives vs. immigrants). In the experimental micro-environments that we create, the native/immigrant cleavage is not always the most salient identity dimension. By activating different social identities that subgroups of natives might share, we can explore the effect of group-derived norms that are central to the identity of specific groups of natives. Focusing on such parochial attachments allows us to uncover and experimentally manipulate specific forms of symbolic threat posed by Muslim immigration to subgroups of German society.

One could explore any number of group-specific identities and analyze how they shape attitudes toward immigrants. Prior literature in political economy has focused on class identity or profession as influences on immigration attitudes, with the emphasis being on the effect of economic competition for blue-collar jobs (Scheve and Slaughter, 2001; Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2010). Partisanship has also been considered as another social identity that could shape perceptions of the risks associated with immigration (Levendusky, 2018; Hopkins, 2014b). Much less attention has been paid to other social identities, such as gender. A review of empirical studies on immigration does not reveal a major focus on the impact of gender and most studies implicitly assume that men are more likely to discriminate against foreigners than women, which is an expectation that may be inspired by socio-biological theories of ingroup bias. Yet systematic analyses of gender-based differences in discrimination are in short supply and our book opens the way for an analysis of how the politics of gender intersect with the politics of immigration.

An insight that emerges from the realization that social identities are multiple and partially overlapping is that there is no reason to expect any single intervention that highlights commonalities in norms and ideas between any two groups to be fully effective in reducing intergroup bias and conflict. At

best, such interventions can hope to resonate among a few subgroups of the native population. The intersectionality of social identities implies that any such intervention to establish common norms can gain allies among some groups while polarizing others and leaving the rest indifferent. This insight applies broadly to any consideration of how the crosscuttingness of social identities can be used to reduce intergroup conflict. We address this question explicitly when we consider how gender identity might intersect with the native-immigrant divide in an experiment that primes both gender and immigrant identities and manipulates the information provided to native German experimental subjects about immigrants' views concerning gender equality norms.

Our results highlight that a key mechanism underlying the anti-Muslim discrimination identified in our experiments is the perception—held more strongly among women—that Muslims are regressive with respect to ideas about gender equality. That perception is of course not the only cause of discrimination, but it is a powerful one, particularly among women. More importantly, when we experimentally manipulate natives' exposure to Muslims who appear to hold either regressive or progressive ideas about gender equality, we find that progressive ideas reduce discrimination overall and completely eliminate it among women.

These results are consistent with the expectation that the integration of large groups of immigrants in liberal, multicultural democracies threatens the interests and identities of different groups of citizens differently. Secular, progressive women are particularly impacted by the political accommodation of regressive attitudes toward gender equality and might therefore be expected to be opposed to Muslim immigration as long as immigrants are perceived to be regressive. By the same token, they should be very receptive to signals that many Muslims are actually as progressive as they are and, when confronted with such information, their behavior toward Muslims should be decidedly less discriminatory. This is precisely what we find: shared group-derived (particularist) norms can eliminate anti-immigrant discrimination.

### Why Study Germany?

An ideal context for our study is a country with a high level of anti-immigrant bias due to the perception of cultural differences separating natives from immigrants; and also one where rules and norms regarding civic behavior are clearly defined and broadly shared among the native population. This would

allow us to test whether sharing those norms with immigrants can reduce native-immigrant conflict. Germany is an ideal case for such an analysis. Since 2015, Germany has experienced one of the largest waves of immigration in modern European history; with more than 1.8 million individuals having applied for asylum, Germany is the largest recipient of refugees in the European Union (Bundesamt, 2018). Immigration has emerged as a salient issue in public debates and party politics, and Germans of immigrant background are affected by a backlash to the refugee crisis, which has sparked debates about the future of multiculturalism in Germany and other European countries.

As in any other country built on the foundation of ethnic nationalism, immigrants are seen as outsiders in Germany, and many natives assume that immigrants are unable or unwilling to adhere to prevalent social norms that define their national identity. We show evidence of these beliefs in our own surveys and in reviews of previous public opinion polls. Inevitably, such perceptions create significant challenges for social or political inclusion of minorities and nonnative populations. In ethnic nationalist countries such as Germany the problem is magnified since immigrant inclusion often requires challenging the notion that the concept of the nation is based on racial or ethnic homogeneity. Looking back at the history of Germany, affinities among German peoples is what enabled the unification of German states under Prussian leadership after the Franco-Prussian War, which is how the modern German nation-state emerged. Even though Germany began receiving a large number of immigrants in the aftermath of the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany in the name of ethnic purity and World War II, it was not until decades later that it would start developing coherent immigrant and integration policies. A long history of immigration from Mediterranean and near-Eastern countries was seen as necessary to fuel the growth of the (Western) German economy in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was followed by a period of both violent and nonviolent conflict with immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, Germany satisfies the first condition for case selection: a clear divide and a politically salient conflict between natives and immigrants.

At the same time, Germany also satisfies the second condition: there is broad-based respect for rules and for norm adherence and individuals have a well-developed sense of civic duty. In that sense, Germany is a case in which we are likely to observe positive effects of norm adherence by immigrants, while controlling for other determinants of social distance between natives and immigrants.

### *Putting Germany in a Broader Context*

Compared to immigrant nations such as the United States or Canada, as well as other European countries such as France, the Netherlands, or the United Kingdom that have had a long history of large-scale immigration from their colonies, Germany began to grapple with questions of immigrant integration relatively recently. Even though Germany was on the receiving end of large migrant inflows in the postwar period, it was not until decades later that it started developing coherent immigration and integration policies.

Severe labor shortages during the so-called *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle)—the economic boom in West Germany during the 1950s and 1960s—prompted the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) to implement policies to meet soaring demand by aggressively courting foreign workers. In this context, the FRG signed a series of bilateral recruitment agreements with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), South Korea (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) for the purpose of creating a *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) program. However, as the term *Gastarbeiter* already implies, this initiative was never intended to be permanent, with the expectation that workers hired through the program would ultimately return to their originating countries. Yet many of the guest workers never left Germany even after the program had exhausted its purpose. It is the long-lasting demographic changes that the program brought about that set the scene for the questions we address in this book.

Although Germany has received the lion's share of asylum applications in Europe, this has not turned the population "off" immigration.<sup>10</sup> Looking at polling data since 1980, we see clear evidence of increasingly positive views about immigrants as well as more contact with immigrants over time.<sup>11</sup> Over the last four decades, opposition to immigrant participation in the workforce and in political life has decreased continuously (see panels (a) and (b) in

10. Data from the nationally representative ALLBUS surveys show that in 2016, when asked if they would support stopping the inflows of workers from non-EU countries, about 90% of Germans state that they would support at least limited inflows; and a similar level of support is extended toward limited inflows of refugees; compared to about just 60–70% during the 1990s (GESIS, 2018).

11. According to Gallup data, about 68% of Germans report knowing an immigrant; this is lower than the rate in Sweden (89%), Spain (89%), or Greece (81%) and in light of the large size of the immigrant population this could suggest that the degree of intergroup contact is still not very high relative to other countries in Europe.

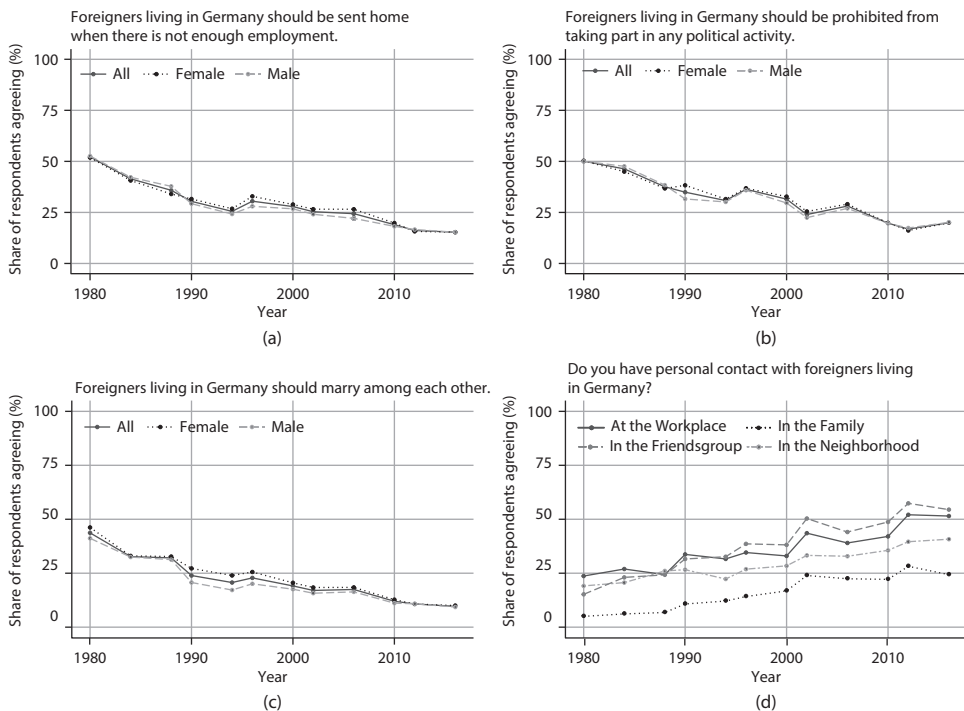


FIGURE 1.1. Trends in attitudes toward immigration in Germany  
*Notes:* Survey responses of German citizens in the ALLBUS surveys (GESIS, 2018).

figure 1.1). Similarly, opposition to intermarriage with immigrants has decreased to very low levels and personal contact with immigrants has increased across different areas of social interaction (see panels (c) and (d), respectively, in figure 1.1).

Although German attitudes toward immigrants have been improving over time, survey data also reveal a fairly stable degree of antipathy toward Muslims. Fewer than half of survey respondents would support a statement that Turks living in Germany should have the same rights as Germans and more than half admit that they would be uncomfortable if a member of their family married a Turk (see figure 1.2). By contrast, Italians and native Germans from Eastern Europe appear to be viewed as “less objectionable.”

The vast majority (75%) of native Germans believe that migration creates conflict between natives and immigrants and these conflicts appear to be cultural since more than 65% of respondents also believe that migration



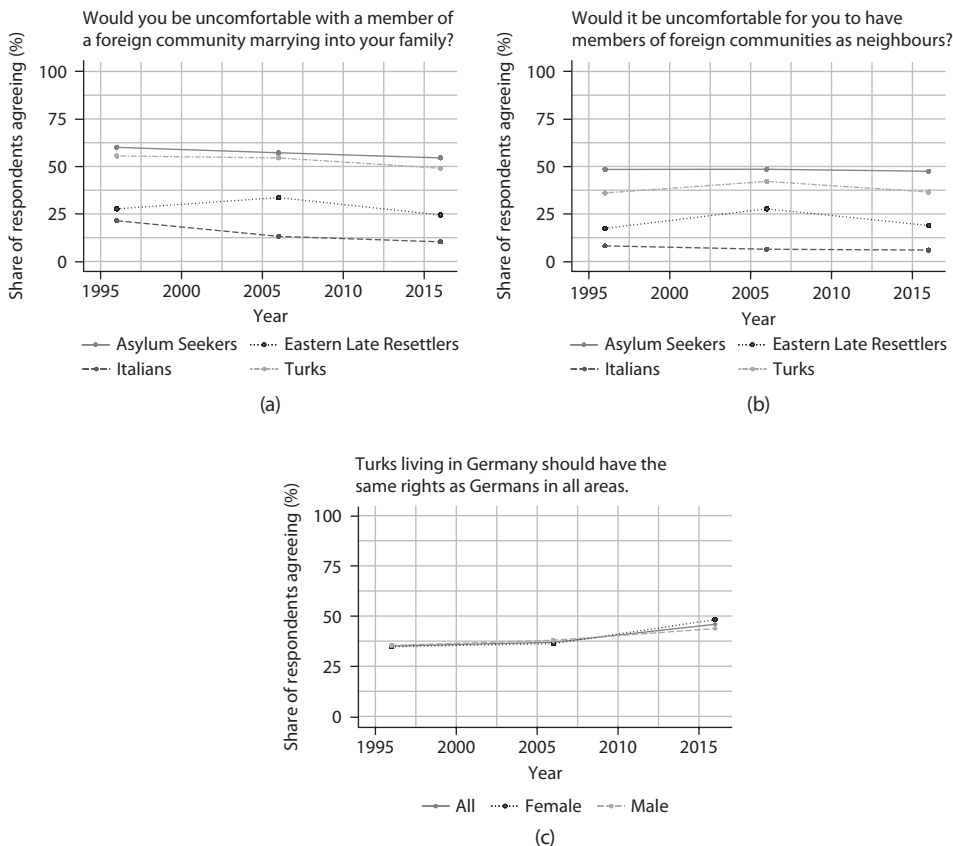


FIGURE 1.2. Trends in attitudes toward immigration in Germany  
 Notes: Survey responses of German citizens in the ALLBUS surveys (GESIS, 2018).

has an overall positive effect on the economy, according to a 2019 survey (Kober and Kösemen, 2019).<sup>12</sup> Only a small percentage (around 9%) are willing to state that it would be better if no Muslims lived in Germany (Heitmeyer et al., 2013b) and only 20% see Islam as culturally “backwards” with 11% arguing that “equality is not compatible with Islam” (Heitmeyer et al., 2013a). These views, though extreme, are held by a relatively small part of the population and more than half of respondents in the above-mentioned 2019

12. These survey data were part of a study by the Bertelsmann Stiftung about the *Willkommenskultur* (welcoming culture) in Germany after the so-called “refugee crisis.” Our analysis of the survey data focuses on German-speaking respondents without migration background.

survey indicated that they would support legislation to prevent discrimination in the housing market, the job market, and education (Kober and Kösemen, 2019).

One hypothesis is that negative attitudes toward Muslims are in fact due to a culture clash with Turkish immigrants dating back to the 1960s and 1970s. Turks represented the main group of immigrants from the Middle East at the time and there was a clear education gap vis-à-vis the German population as the average Turkish immigrant during the 1970s, for example, had no more than six years of education (Marplan, 1982.). As we show later, this gap is now closing as new arrivals from Syria and other predominantly Muslim countries are more educated and their views are much closer to those of the typical German. But those early encounters may have created prejudices and stereotypes that have lasted through generations.

At the same time, survey data suggest that government policies supporting multiculturalism have not backfired to the degree that is often reported in the media. As shown earlier (see figure 1.1), anti-immigration attitudes are declining overall and immigrants themselves are less likely to perceive xenophobia as a real concern.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, while Germany is not the most welcoming country, it does better than many other European countries with respect to the “migrant acceptance index” constructed using Gallup data (Fleming et al., 2018, p. 12) and Germany is not an outlier with respect to attitudes toward immigrants using other metrics of inclusivity.<sup>14</sup> The share of German natives who view

13. Whereas about 70% of Turkish immigrants pointed to xenophobia as their main concern in the late 1980s and early 1990s, this figure dropped to below 15% by 2004, according to the Migrants in Germany survey that was conducted by GESIS regularly until 2004 (Marplan, 1988; Marplan, 1989; Marplan, 1992; Marplan, 1994; Marplan, 1996a; Marplan, 1996b; Marplan, 1996c; Marplan, 2012a; Marplan, 2012b; Marplan, 2012c; Marplan, 2012d; Marplan, 2012e; Marplan, 2012f; Marplan, 2012g; Marplan, 2012h; Marplan, 2012i; Marplan, 2012j; Marplan, 2006a; Marplan, 2006b).

14. According to the “multiculturalism policy index” compiled by researchers at Queen’s University, the degree of openness of Germany’s policies has been improving since the 1960s and in recent years it has been similar to that in France, Spain, Austria, and the United States, though it lags behind some Scandinavian countries, Australia, and New Zealand. See <https://www.queensu.ca/mcp/home> (accessed 10/2/20). According to a different index of multiculturalism—the ICRI (Indicators of Citizenship Rights for Immigrants)—which places heavier emphasis in religious rights (Koopmans, 2013, p. 154), Germany seems to lag a bit further behind than several other migrant-receiving countries in the West, but it is by no means an outlier. It is possible, however, to identify aspects of immigration policy according to which Germany (as well as Switzerland and some other European countries) appears to be relatively restrictive. Koopmans et al., 2005 draw such a distinction in discussing mechanisms

immigration as improving life in their country has also been increasing and is now roughly similar to that in other Western European countries (ESS, 2002; ESS, 2004; ESS, 2006; ESS, 2008; ESS, 2010; ESS, 2012; ESS, 2014; ESS, 2016; ESS, 2018).<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Germany is not an outlier with respect to the prevalence of perceptions among the native population that immigration creates a cultural threat; the share of German natives who perceive such a threat has been fairly constant, hovering around 25% over the past twenty years (ESS, 2002; ESS, 2004; ESS, 2006; ESS, 2008; ESS, 2010; ESS, 2012; ESS, 2014; ESS, 2016; ESS, 2018), and preferences for cultural homogeneity are fairly consistent with other Western European countries (ESS, 2002; ESS, 2004; ESS, 2006; ESS, 2008; ESS, 2010; ESS, 2012; ESS, 2014; ESS, 2016; ESS, 2018).

Overall, evidence from public opinion polls going back decades shows a clear picture of bias against Muslims that has persisted over time, albeit within an environment of improving attitudes toward diversity and somewhat more positive views regarding immigration. In that regard, Germany is not different from other Western European countries and therefore there is every reason to expect that our analysis can help us think about the challenges of immigration in the broader Western European context.

## Broader Impacts

This book addresses core questions for ongoing debates on immigration in Europe, and it does so by placing the analysis of anti-immigrant bias within the scope of a broader study of identity politics. The book's conclusions and methods can inform a number of social science literatures and analytical approaches.

First, the theoretical framework developed in this book expands the common ingroup identity model (CIIM) (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000) by exploring how commonalities in norms and ideas form the foundation of common identities and by testing the implications of the intersectionality of social identities for CIIM-based approaches to conflict reduction. The CIIM was

---

of mobilizing immigrants politically and consider differences in that dimension of immigration policy as relevant for the depth of immigrants' political integration. Although Germany appears more restrictive than other countries with respect to this index, it has better socioeconomic outcomes—such as labor market participation and lower housing segregation—for immigrants, than most European countries (Koopmans, 2013, pp. 162–163).

15. Absent better indicators with good coverage to identify “natives,” our analysis of the ESS survey data focuses on respondents born in the country.

developed in psychology to explore how social experiences can lead individuals to recategorize outgroup members as ingroup members by highlighting a shared identity; or treat them as individuals by de-emphasizing attributes that define the outgroup. This model is increasingly used in political science as a framework to think about minority/majority group interactions across different contexts. However, empirical applications of the CIIM usually *presuppose* an established superordinate identity (e.g., national identity) that could be made salient so as to reduce the strength of subordinate, parochial attachments and unify individuals from majority and minority groups. In doing so, these studies overlook the fact that individuals have multiple social identities (e.g., gender, religion, professional occupation) and these identities often intersect. Thus it is not always obvious which identities can be selected to serve as the vehicle to unify ingroup and outgroup members without creating new ingroup/outgroup divisions. This book provides the first analysis we are aware of that considers whether the native/immigrant divide can be made less salient by activating crosscutting social identities via emphasizing shared norms and ideas that define those identities. Norms are the “constitutive grammar” that defines social identities (Bicchieri, 2006) and makes it possible for different individuals to have a shared concept of what these identities mean. This book shows that it is possible to appeal to shared norms and ideas to reduce conflict along the native-immigrant divide.

Second, we contribute to a large and growing literature on the “contact hypothesis” (Allport, 1979) by suggesting that only *meaningful interactions* that highlight shared norms and ideas can lead to changes in perceptions and behavior toward others and can overcome bias. It is a common misinterpretation of Allport’s original research to suggest that more contact between culturally different groups will inevitably reduce bias and increase cooperation. There are now hundreds of studies testing the contact hypothesis and a key lesson from a meta-analysis of those studies is that the *type* of contact determines whether it reduces conflict (Paluck, Green, and Green, 2019). Although our study does not directly test the contact hypothesis, our findings are consistent with this important lesson since we show that simply making salient a shared attribute (such as gender) that establishes that natives and immigrants share membership in the same social group will be insufficient to reduce discrimination.<sup>16</sup> Bias reduction is reduced only if natives and immigrants

16. One might argue that we do not study “contact” as that has been defined in the social psychology literature and that our experiments set up encounters that amount to brief “exposures”

who share a common attribute also share the same understanding of the norms and ideas that define their shared group identity.

Third, our empirical approach provides a new model for the design and implementation of coordinated experimental interventions across different contexts. Recently, scholars have taken steps to coordinate on the design and implementation of experimental projects on common research topics across different contexts with the aim of producing generalizable findings that contribute to the accumulation of knowledge (Dunning et al., 2019). The goal of accumulating knowledge via closely coordinated, systematic analyses of data drawn from different contexts is of course not a new preoccupation; earlier initiatives have used multi-method research designs to the same effect. Our book expands that approach by drawing on multiple, closely coordinated experiments conducted over a multi-year period that aim to partially replicate and expand on each other. Thereby, it shares in the spirit of such initiatives to uncover new insights regarding discrimination against immigrants. Our approach has distinct advantages over some of the existing initiatives for cumulative learning using experimental research. By virtue of being implemented by a single research team, our experimental design has the coherence that is difficult to achieve in cross-team coordinated impact evaluations of different programs that might have been designed differently across different contexts. Furthermore, each executed phase of the project has informed how we build on and modify the research design in subsequent phases. Having completed multiple experiments over three years of research both in the field and in surveys, we are able to explore key mechanisms underlying causal effects more richly than individual experimental studies might be able to.

Fourth, the ideas and approaches that we explore in this book with reference to Germany are readily applicable to other countries in Europe. While different societies have different sets of valued norms that can form the basis of shared identities, the effect of shared norms should be observable beyond Germany. Our study opens a path forward for a novel exploration of

---

to an outgroup. Albeit brief, these encounters impart valuable information to natives and might lead them to update their beliefs about immigrants or their behavior toward them much like sustained contact with an outgroup might over time. The types of encounters that we stage in our field experiments provide content that is comparable to a meaningful conversation and could expose aspects of an individual's identity even though contact is not lengthy and does not involve sustained interaction between natives and immigrants. This justifies drawing parallels with some of the conclusions of studies of the "contact hypothesis."

identity politics across countries as the experimental framework that we have developed is readily adaptable to different country contexts.

Finally, our findings have broad implications for policy design in the management of discrimination against immigrants. Policy interventions need to reflect an understanding of what causes anti-immigrant attitudes: is discriminatory behavior driven primarily by ascriptive differences or by beliefs that immigrants do not share the same values? Initiatives designed to educate host populations to reduce negative stereotypes should be effective in the latter case. Our research provides examples of messages that are likely to resonate with different subsets of host populations. It also suggests that policy interventions to reduce native-immigrant conflict should not simply target immigrants; they should also be developed with an eye toward messages that can shift natives' perceptions and prejudices.

## Plan of the Book

Chapter 2 presents our theoretical approach to understanding the origins of anti-immigrant animus, and discusses ways in which such hostility and discrimination can be overcome.

Chapter 3 builds on the argument made in the introduction about persistent anti-Muslim bias in Germany and begins to explore the nature of that bias. We draw on data from existing surveys of anti-immigrant attitudes as well as data from original surveys, experiments, and psychological tests that we implemented in the immediate aftermath of the European refugee crisis. These data show that German native populations hold strong negative attitudes and bias toward immigrant minority groups. This chapter suggests that cultural differences—religious differences in particular—play a pivotal role in structuring these attitudes. We build on these insights to further show that these attitudes translate into discriminatory behavior in the field. In so doing, we introduce a novel experimental intervention that we explicitly designed to unobtrusively observe discriminatory behavior against immigrants in everyday social interactions between natives and immigrants. Our findings from these interventions, conducted in twenty-eight cities across four states in Germany, show that native Germans are significantly less inclined to offer assistance to immigrant minorities (and religious Muslim immigrants in particular) in need of help vis-à-vis their fellow natives in need of help. These insights set the stage for our empirical investigation of the ways through which such bias and discrimination against immigrants can be overcome.

Chapter 4 tackles the question of whether the bias and discrimination documented in chapter 4 are driven by perceptions of linguistic differences between the host population and immigrant minorities. While popular discourse suggests that natives consider linguistic assimilation (i.e., the adoption of the host society's language) to be a critical condition for the acceptance of immigrants into German society, our findings in this chapter show otherwise; we find no evidence that immigrants who adopt the host society's language (in our case German) in everyday conversations are discriminated against less than immigrants who continue using the language of their originating country (i.e., a foreign language). Our precisely estimated null effects suggest that perceptions of difference generated by ascriptive identity markers such as religion are unlikely to be offset by the linguistic assimilation of immigrant minorities. At the same time, although our experiments in chapter 3 show that native attitudes are more negative toward immigrants who do not speak the native language, we find no evidence that immigrants who speak in a foreign language in everyday social interactions are discriminated against more than those who speak in German.

In chapter 5, we put the first of our main empirical predictions of our theoretical framework to the test. We show that shared civic norms between native and immigrant populations reduce native discrimination against immigrant minorities. We do so by leveraging data from the first of our field interventions (conducted in the summer of 2018), in which we experimentally manipulated whether our confederates enforced a generally held social norm against littering in public spaces. The act of norm enforcement was intended to correct German stereotypes regarding the extent to which immigrant communities adhere to standards of “cleanliness” that shows “respect for the host country.” We find that immigrant confederates who enforced the anti-littering norm were significantly less likely to face discrimination from native Germans than those who did not enforce the norm. However, we also find that this reduction is limited in its magnitude; even after norm enforcement, immigrant confederates are treated significantly worse than native German confederates who demonstrate the same civic-mindedness.

Chapter 6 turns our empirical investigation to whether group-derived norms can provide the necessary foundation to reduce discrimination against immigrants among subgroups of the native population who should care deeply about those norms by virtue of their social identities. To do so, we exploit the fact that there is a gap—or at least the perception of a gap—between native Germans, and the predominantly Muslim immigration populations

with respect to ideas about the “right” role for women in the job market or the household. We implemented an experimental intervention that exposed native Germans to information that countered stereotypes of regressivity with respect to gender equality-related attitudes among immigrant minorities. Our analysis finds that immigrant confederates who signal that they share progressive gender equality norms with natives are discriminated against significantly less than those that do not. Yet we also find that the reduction in discrimination is driven by members of the native population who share gender equality norms most deeply—women and non-religious individuals. No such reduction is observed among men or religious Germans.

With the centrality of shared norms as a determinant of behavior having been established in previous empirical chapters, chapter 7 brings evidence to bear on the psychological processes that lead to the reduction in anti-immigrant prejudice and discrimination. Using a series of lab experiments embedded in a nationally representative survey of German citizens, we identify the mechanism through which discrimination is reduced in the “civic norm” experiment. Specifically, we consider whether observing pro-social, norm-adhering behavior by immigrants changes natives’ attitudes toward immigrants as a group or whether it pushes them to consider the immigrant confederate as an individual, differentiating her from the rest of her group and considering her as another German citizen. This speaks directly to the mechanisms of *recategorization*, *decategorization*, and mutual differentiation that are so central in theories of bias reduction.

Chapter 8 takes stock of the empirical results presented throughout this book and closes our discussion by summarizing the book’s contributions and returning to the question that framed this study at the outset—the promise and limits of multiculturalism.



## INDEX

- accents, 50n18, 94n4, 108–9, 149
- acceptance: assimilation and, 194; average treatment effects (ATE) and, 180, 181, 187–88, 192–93; belief similarity and, 181–82, 186, 194–95; categorization and, 171, 181, 189; citizenship and, 178–80, 186–95; Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) and, 172; control conditions and, 175, 192; decategorization and, 171–72, 176–84; ethnicity and, 174, 186, 187n16; experiment logistics and, 250–53; gender and, 170, 175, 182, 194; helping behavior and, 172, 182; hijabs and, 170, 174–75, 179–82, 186–93; ideologies and, 170; ingroup identity and, 171–72, 181–84, 194–95; integration and, 170; multiculturalism and, 195; Muslims and, 170–84, 187, 188, 190, 194–95; mutual differentiation and, 171–72, 176–84, 195; norm adherence and, 171–72; outgroup identity and, 170–72, 181–89, 195; partisanship and, 177; prejudice and, 171; psychology and, 171; public opinion and, 170; recategorization and, 171–72, 176–95; religion and, 170, 174–75, 177, 178, 190–94; rules and, 185, 187; social identity theory (SIT) and, 181; social norms and, 171, 185, 195; stereotypes and, 170, 183, 184n12, 194–95; women and, 170, 175
- acculturation: civic norms and, 112, 114, 131; concept of, 38, 40–41; gender and, 138; intergroup conflict and, 9, 13; language and, 110–11; overcoming discrimination and, 206; social distance and, 38, 40–41, 47
- Afghanistan, xv, 35, 45n12
- ALLBUS surveys, 21n10, 22–23, 139, 151, 161
- Alliance 90/The Greens, 100
- Allport, G. W., 5, 26, 44, 200
- Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), 82, 88, 100, 120, 178, 244
- Ames, Barry, 199n1
- anxiety, 2, 5, 38, 60, 196
- appearance, 8–9, 94n4. *See also* hijabs
- assimilation: acceptance and, 194; civic norms and, 112, 114, 131–32; concept of, 40–41; experiment logistics and, 220–25, 227–28; forced, 1, 166; gender and, 138, 166; intergroup conflict and, 1–9, 13–16, 29; language and, 50, 91–111; measuring discrimination and, 57, 85n21, 90; overcoming discrimination and, 196, 202, 208, 210; religious, 51, 57; social distance and, 39n9, 40–41, 47–53
- asylum, 20–21, 23, 82, 87, 91, 101n13, 120
- atheists: acceptance and, 178; experiment logistics and, 238, 239–41, 244; gender equality and, 139–40, 151, 159, 160
- audit studies, 7, 76, 198
- average marginal component effects (AMCEs), 64, 69
- average treatment effects (ATE): acceptance and, 180, 181, 187–88, 192–93; experiment logistics and, 221, 222, 231–35, 244, 250–52; language and, 105–6;

- average treatment effects (ATE) (cont.)  
measuring discrimination and, 83, 105,  
180–81, 187–88, 192–93, 231–35, 252
- Baker, Andy, 199n1
- Balafoutas, Loukas, xvii
- balance tests, 215
- Bansak, Kirk, 101n13
- Basic Law, 98, 100
- belief similarity: acceptance and, 181–82,  
186, 194–95; overcoming discrimina-  
tion and, 202, 207; social norms and,  
46, 54–55, 181–82, 186, 194–95, 202, 207;  
social distance and, 46, 54–55
- Bertrand, Marianne, 73n11, 74n14
- Black people, 70–71, 74–75, 115
- blinding, 213
- Bogardus, Emory S., 40, 62
- burqas, 133
- Buschkowsky, Heinz, 115–16
- categorization: acceptance and, 171, 181,  
189; decategorization, 30, 53–54, 171–72,  
176–84, 251; intergroup conflict and, 5, 11;  
language and, 94n4, 109; littering and,  
171, 181, 189; measuring discrimination  
and, 70n9, 71; overcoming discrimina-  
tion and, 199; recategorization and, 10–11,  
26, 30, 46–47, 53, 132, 145, 168–69, 171–  
72, 176–95, 204, 251; self-categorization  
theory (SCT), 11, 44, 199–200; social  
distance and, 32n2, 44–46, 49
- CDU, 98n9, 178
- children: civic norms and, 49, 116; Danish  
values and, 1, 207; ghetto, 1; maternal care  
of, 139, 149n22, 150n23, 151, 161; overcom-  
ing discrimination and, 207; paternal  
care of, 140; school and, 6, 49, 63–68, 95,  
99, 116; setting example for, 186n14; social  
distance and, 49; working mothers and,  
149n22, 160, 161
- Christians: civic norms and, 124n17; experi-  
ment logistics and, 215, 238, 239, 244, 249;  
gender and, 134–35, 139–40, 151, 159, 160,  
164n38, 166, 168; intergroup conflict and,  
1–2, 6, 17; language and, 111; measuring  
discrimination and, 63–68, 70, 85n21, 88;  
Muslims and, 2, 6, 17, 51, 64, 70, 85n21, 88,  
111, 134–35, 140, 166, 168, 210; overcoming  
discrimination and, 210; social distance  
and, 51
- Chugh, Dolly, 73n11
- citizenship: acceptance and, 178–80, 186–95;  
civic norms and, 127–30; gender and, 136;  
identity of citizen and, 8, 47–48, 54, 168,  
201, 207; intergroup conflict and, 2, 4, 6,  
10, 13; language and, 99n10; littering ex-  
periment and, 176–80, 186–95; next steps  
for, 206–10; overcoming discrimination  
and, 197, 206–10; Sarkozy contract for,  
207; shared, 13, 47, 195; social distance  
and, 37n7, 39, 47, 54
- civic norms: acculturation and, 112, 114, 131;  
assimilation and, 112, 114, 131–32; children  
and, 49, 116; Christians and, 124n17;  
citizenship and, 127–30; Common In-  
group Identity Model (CIIM) and, 114,  
132; competition and, 130; conservatism  
and, 115, 125; control conditions and, 124,  
128; ethics and, 125n20; ethnicity and,  
114–15, 128–31; everyday interactions and,  
127–28; experiment logistics for, 224–27,  
229–35; fear and, 115; fixed effects and,  
125–26; gender and, 122–26; globaliza-  
tion and, 130; group-derived norms and,  
132; helping behavior and, 131; hijabs  
and, 124–28, 129, 131n24; host country  
and, 115–16, 121–22; identity threat and,  
130; ideologies and, 116; ingroup iden-  
tity and, 114, 123–24, 130–32; integration  
and, 128, 130; internalization of, 112–14,  
125–26; legal issues and, 116; littering and,  
15, 29, 48–49, 114–32, 170–76, 179–85,  
204, 208, 224–27, 235, 252; multicultural-  
ism and, 130, 133; Muslims and, 112,  
127–28, 130, 131n24; nationalism and,  
129–30; norm adherence and, 113–14, 122,  
131; norm enforcement and, 124, 125–31,

- 171, 175–94, 205, 228, 231–35, 250; norm-sharing and, 12, 112, 114, 129, 131, 141, 169; outgroup identity and, 123, 126, 143–45, 167; parochialism and, 127, 128, 130; partisanship and, 130n23; prejudice and, 130, 160, 167; psychology and, 130n23, 131–32; race issues and, 115, 124, 128; recategorization and, 132; refugees and, 118–20; religion and, 114, 124–32; respect, 118–22, 170, 208; rules and, 6, 9, 14, 19–20, 113, 116, 120–21; shared identity and, 113, 116n8, 121n15; similarity and, 114, 176–77, 181–84, 187, 194–95; social norms and, 112, 121n15, 125–26, 130, 132; stereotypes and, 115; Turks and, 119
- Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM): acceptance and, 172; civic norms and, 114, 132; expansion of, 13–15, 25; forging a new, 44–47; gender and, 13–14, 144–45, 167–69; intergroup conflict and, 11–15, 25–26; overcoming discrimination and, 200–201; overcoming identity threat and, 12–13; social distance and, 44–47, 52–55; superordinate identity and, 11–12
- competition: civic norms and, 130; gender and, 134, 136, 143–45, 163–66; intergroup conflict and, 12, 18; for jobs, 18, 60, 75, 87, 143, 161–64; language and, 111; measuring discrimination and, 66, 87; overcoming discrimination and, 198, 200; over resources, 35–36; self-interest and, 17, 35–36, 44, 144; social distance and, 32, 34–35
- conformity, 16, 48n16, 49, 130, 156
- Connemann, Gitta, 98n9
- conservatism: civic norms and, 115, 125; gender and, 133n3, 136–37, 145n14; language and, 98
- control conditions: acceptance and, 175, 192; civic norms and, 124, 128; experiment logistics and, 214, 231; gender and, 148–50, 156; helping behavior and, 79, 85; language and, 104, 109
- coordination problems, 32
- correspondence studies, 76
- covariate balance, 227, 229–30
- Cremer, Claus, 120
- crime, 5n4, 80, 115
- cultural threat: gender and, 136n5, 169; intergroup conflict and, 4, 25; language and, 97, 100, 111; measuring discrimination and, 73; perceived, 4, 25, 35, 39, 43, 100, 136n5, 169; religion and, 73; social distance and, 35, 39, 43; symbolic, 111; Turks and, 136n5
- Dancygier, Rafaela, 38
- decategorization: acceptance and, 171–72, 176–84; experiment logistics and, 251; intergroup conflict and, 30; littering and, 171–72, 176–84; social distance and, 53–54
- democracies, 199n1; growing inequality in, 197; liberal, 2, 19, 36–38, 51, 56, 133, 136, 145, 166; measuring discrimination and, 56; multiculturalism and, 17, 19; postwar pride and, 97; social cooperation and, 209; surge of anti-immigrant bias in, 56; women's suffrage and, 136, 138
- Denmark, 1, 7, 59, 207
- Deutsche Sprachwelt* (German language world), 98
- Deutschtümelei*, 96
- differential discrimination, 52
- Dilemmas of Inclusion* (Dancygier), 38
- discrete-choice experiment: analysis and, 64–69; attribute list and, 62–63; average marginal component effects (AMCEs) and, 64, 69; evaluation task and, 61–62, 64, 67; gender and, 63–68; implementation and, 63–64; language and, 66–68; market research background of, 61; measuring discrimination and, 61–69, 88; Muslims and, 63–67, 68–69; random profiles and, 61–66
- diversity: gender and, 156; intergroup conflict and, 3, 25; language and, 92, 99n11, 100; multiculturalism and, 3

- diversity (cont.)  
(*see also* multiculturalism); overcoming discrimination and, 203; social distance and, 37
- egalitarianism, 38, 133, 145n14
- Egypt, 137, 142, 214
- equality: atheists and, 30; gender, 15, 19, 30, 38, 48–49 (*see also* gender); group-derived norms and, 15; intergroup conflict and, 15, 19, 23, 30; measuring discrimination and, 61; overcoming discrimination and, 197, 201, 205; social distance and, 38, 48–49
- equivalence tests, 53, 108n22, 221–25
- ethics: civic norms and, 125n20; experiment logistics and, 213–14, 225, 247; gender and, 133, 150n25; Institutional Review Board (IRB) and, 105, 105n20, 125n20, 154n29, 174, 213; social distance and, 39
- Ethiopians, 63–68
- ethnicity: acceptance and, 174, 186, 187n16; civic norms and, 114–15, 128–31; confederate, 214–15; experiment logistics and, 214–15; gender and, 134, 143–44, 149, 152n28, 156, 169; intergroup conflict and, 2–6, 11–13, 20; language and, 93–96, 99n11, 101, 103–4, 109–10; littering and, 174–75, 186, 187n16; measuring discrimination and, 56–57, 61, 62n6, 66, 77–82, 89; overcoming discrimination and, 196–202, 210; social distance and, 33–40, 45–54
- ethnocentrism, 5, 42–43, 93
- European Social Survey (ESS), 25, 101n12
- European Union (EU), 20, 21n10, 97
- everyday interactions: civic norms and, 127–28; experimental intervention and, 78–82; gender and, 166; helping behavior and, 75–78, 89, 199; intergroup conflict and, 8, 10, 16; language and, 93, 100, 102; measuring discrimination and, 68, 77, 85, 88–89; micro-environment to observe, 78; overcoming discrimination and, 199; social distance and, 55; treatment dimensions and, 78–79
- experiment: acceptance and, 250–53; ALLBUS surveys, 21n10, 22–23, 139, 151, 161; assimilation and, 220–25, 227–28; average treatment effects (ATE) and, 221, 222, 231–35, 244, 250–52; balance tests and, 215; bystander composition and, 218–19; Christians and, 215, 238, 239, 244, 249; civic norms and, 224–27, 229–35; concepts for, 39–42; conditional effects and, 160, 237–43; covariate balance and, 227, 229–30; decategorization and, 251; disaggregated results and, 215–18, 220–21, 243–47; equivalence tests and, 53, 108n22, 221–25; ethics and, 213–14, 225, 247; ethnicity and, 214–15; evidence for, 15–19; fixed effects and, 218–19, 226, 231, 233, 237–41, 242; Gallup polls, 21n11, 24; gender and, 235–49; helping behavior and, 247, 249; hijabs and, 214–18, 219–22, 224–26, 231–34, 237–46, 249–50; hypotheses, 51–52; ideologies and, 237; labor and, 214; language and, 220–25; manipulation checks and, 103n17, 119, 156n31, 180n7, 214–15, 236–37; measuring discrimination and, 211–17; mechanisms for, 51–55; Muslims and, 221, 224, 237, 249, 251–52; norm enforcement and, 228, 231–35, 250; null effects, 29, 95, 107–9, 183n10, 184, 222–25; progressive vs. regressive message effects and, 237–42, 244, 246; psychology and, 223; race issues and, 213; recategorization and, 251; religion and, 217, 222–23, 237–40, 241; rules and, 252; scene characteristics and, 85n20, 218–19, 226; site selection and, 81–82, 235; spillovers and, 157n32, 237, 247–49; subgroups and, 238; training of confederates and enumerators, 211–14; train stations and, 8, 78, 81, 82n18, 102, 104, 125, 147, 152, 153, 163, 211–14, 224, 235; women and, 216, 218, 237, 238–44, 247–49
- FDP, 120
- fear: anxiety and, 2, 5, 38, 60, 196; civic norms and, 115; gender and, 133–34, 163,

- 164n37; intergroup conflict and, 1–2, 5n4, 7, 11, 16; language and, 92–93, 111; measuring discrimination and, 58–59, 73–74, 87–88; multiculturalism and, 197; overcoming discrimination and, 197; public opinion and, 35, 58; social distance and, 33–35
- fractionalization, 92–93
- France: hijabs and, 1, 6n5, 7, 166; intergroup conflict and, 1, 6n5, 7, 21, 24n14; language and, 101n12; measuring discrimination and, 59; overcoming discrimination and, 207; Sarkozy, 1, 207; secularism of, 166
- Franco-Prussian War, 20, 45n12, 95
- Freywald, Ulrike, 99n11
- Galinsky, Adam D., 184n12
- Gallup polls, 21n11, 24
- Gardt, Andreas, 96n5
- Gasterbeiter* (guest workers), 21, 87
- gender: acceptance and, 170, 175, 182, 194; acculturation and, 138; assimilation and, 138, 166; attitudinal differences in, 160–62; Christians and, 134–35, 139–40, 151, 159, 160, 164n38, 166, 168; citizenship and, 136; civic norms and, 116, 122–26, 125; Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) and, 13–14, 144–45, 167–69; competition and, 134, 136, 143–45, 163–66; conservatism and, 133n3, 136–37, 145n14; control conditions and, 148–50, 156; cultural threat and, 136n5, 169; democracies and, 133, 136, 138, 145, 166; discrete-choice experiment and, 63–68; diversity and, 156; ethics and, 133, 150n25; ethnicity and, 134, 143–44, 149, 152n28, 156, 169; everyday interactions and, 166; experimental field evidence on, 146–54; experiment logistics and, 235–49; fear and, 133–34, 163, 164n37; fixed effects and, 151n26, 157n32–33, 158, 159; globalization and, 134, 136; group-derived norms and, 142–46; group-specific norms and, 145–46, 169; helping behavior and, 75–80, 85, 146–47, 152, 160n34, 166–67; hijabs and, 69 (*see also* hijabs); identity threat and, 143–46; ideologies and, 135, 156, 159, 165–66; ingroup identity and, 144–46, 167–69; inheritance and, 137; integration and, 138, 141, 144, 149, 169; intergroup conflict and, 15, 18–19, 26, 30; iteration-level analysis on, 154–57; labor and, 138n8, 143, 150n25, 161, 163, 247; Labour Party and, 38; language and, 105; LGBT groups, 71; liberalism and, 133, 136, 140, 145, 166, 169; littering and, 122–26; maternal care and, 149n22, 150n23, 151, 161; measuring discrimination and, 57, 59n4, 63–68, 73; multiculturalism and, 166, 169; Muslims and, 133–47, 151, 152–59, 162–69; overcoming discrimination and, 201–2, 205; parochialism and, 144, 154; partisanship and, 143n11, 168n42; progressive vs. regressive message effects and, 157–58, 159; psychology and, 147n17, 167; public opinion and, 134, 136–38, 142; race issues and, 143–44, 169; recategorization and, 145, 168–69; refugees and, 134, 138; religion and, 133–40, 146, 149, 154, 159–60, 164–69; respect and, 135; rules and, 162; security and, 134, 142, 163–64; shared identity and, 167; social distance and, 38, 48–49, 51; social identity theory (SIT) and, 143; stereotypes and, 134, 140, 144, 155–56, 165–66; study results on, 154–60; subgroups and, 144, 166–67, 169; superordinate identity and, 145, 167n41, 168; treatment dimensions and, 78–79; Turks and, 133, 136–37, 140; working mothers, 149n22, 160, 161
- Germany: Basic Law and, 98, 100; Bundestag, 98, 100; cleanliness of, 29, 114–22, 170, 184; cross-country analysis and, 208–9; cultural issues and, 3, 10, 16–17, 20–25, 28, 73, 89, 95–101, 104, 111–16, 120, 128–31, 137–38, 142–43, 160n34, 165, 170, 194, 200, 208; East (GDR), 78, 81, 82, 86–87, 94, 98, 127, 152n28, 217, 220, 221, 233, 243, 245–46; Federal Republic of (FDR), 21, 82, 87; Franco-Prussian War

- Germany (cont.)  
and, 20, 45n12, 95; importance of language in, 95–97; Nazi, 20, 96–97; postwar pride and, 97; purity and, 20, 96–102; research context of, 15–25, 208–9; respect for rules in, 14, 20; reunification and, 82, 87, 97, 152n28; World War II and, 20, 96–97, 101
- globalization: civic norms and, 130; gender and, 134, 136; intergroup conflict and, 2; language and, 97; measuring discrimination and, 56, 58, 77; social distance and, 38
- Greeks, xv–xvi, 21, 58, 63, 65–68, 87, 115
- Green Party, 100, 119, 178
- group-derived norms: civic norms and, 132; gender equality and, 142–46; intergroup conflict and, 14–18, 29; overcoming discrimination and, 206; role of ideas in forging, 144–46; social distance and, 42, 48, 55
- group-specific norms: gender and, 145–46, 169; intergroup conflict and, 13–19; overcoming discrimination and, 205–7, 210; social distance and, 39, 46–47
- guest workers, 3, 21, 87, 99
- Hagendoorn, L., 58, 73n12
- Hainmueller, Jens, 101n13
- Hämmerling, Claudia, 119
- Hangartner, Dominik, 101n13
- helping behavior: acceptance and, 172, 182; audit studies and, 76; civic norms and, 131; common courtesy and, 76; control conditions and, 79, 85; correspondence studies and, 76; everyday interactions and, 75–78, 89, 199; examples of, 76; experimental intervention and, 78–82; experiment logistics and, 247, 249; gender and, 75–80, 85, 146–47, 152, 160n34, 166–67; language and, 95, 103n16; measuring discrimination and, 75–80, 85, 89; motivation for using, 75–76; overcoming discrimination and, 199; social distance and, 52; treatment dimensions and, 78–79
- hijabs: acceptance and, 170, 174–75, 179–82, 186–93; civic norms and, 124–28, 129, 131n24; experiment logistics and, 214–18, 219–22, 224–26, 231–34, 237–46, 249–50; France and, 166; gender equality and, 133–36, 140–46, 149, 154, 155–59, 162–69; individual-level analysis on, 157–60; iteration-level analysis on, 154–57; language and, 103–6, 107–8; measuring discrimination and, 69–73, 78–80, 83–90; overcoming discrimination and, 210; public perceptions of, 139–41, 162–65; significance of, 162–65; treatment dimensions and, 103–6, 107–8
- host country: civic norms and, 115–16, 121–22; learning language of, 6, 91–92, 101n12; respect for, 5–6, 29, 121–22
- hostility: intergroup conflict and, 6, 8, 12, 16, 28, 68, 77, 80, 85, 93; language and, 93; measuring discrimination and, 68, 77, 80, 85
- Hungary, 58, 101n12
- identity threat: civic norms and, 130; gender and, 143–46; intergroup conflict and, 2, 5, 12–13, 15; language and, 93, 109–10; measuring discrimination and, 58, 73n12, 88; overcoming, 12–13, 205; realistic, 5; social distance and, 36–37, 51; stereotypes and, 2–5, 12, 50, 58, 88, 205; symbolic, 5
- ideologies: acceptance and, 170; civic norms and, 116; experiment logistics and, 237; gender and, 135, 156, 159, 165–66; intergroup conflict and, 2–4, 15; language and, 96, 101, 110; overcoming discrimination and, 197, 202; social distance and, 31, 38, 51
- Immigration Law, 99n10, 100
- implicit association test (IAT), 69–73
- inclusion, 20, 36–39, 41, 89, 195

- ingroup identity: acceptance and, 171–72, 181–84, 194–95; CIIM and, 11 (*see also* Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM)); civic norms and, 114, 123–24, 130–32; ethnocentrism and, 5, 42–43, 93; gender and, 144–46, 167–69; identity of citizen and, 8, 47–48, 54, 168, 201, 207; inclusion and, 20, 36–39, 41, 89, 195; intergroup conflict and, 5, 8–13, 18, 25–26; language and, 93, 110; measuring discrimination and, 75–78, 86n23, 90; overcoming discrimination and, 200–204, 210; parochialism and, 26, 31–37, 130, 210; recategorization and, 10–11, 26, 45–47, 53, 132, 145, 169–72, 182–83, 194; role of ideas in forging, 144–46; security and, 33; social distance and, 31–34, 37, 39, 42–47, 51–55; solidarity and, 32–33, 77, 89, 146, 167
- Institutional Review Board (IRB), 105n20, 125n20, 154n29, 174, 213
- integration: acceptance and, 170; civic norms and, 128, 130; concept of, 39–42; conformity and, 16, 48n16, 49, 130, 156; gender and, 138, 141, 144, 149, 169; intergroup conflict and, 1–8, 13, 15, 17, 19–21, 24n14; language and, 91, 97, 100–101, 110; measuring discrimination and, 77; overcoming discrimination and, 196–97, 202–4, 207–10; social distance and, 36–51, 50
- intergroup conflict: acculturation and, 9, 13; appearance and, 8–9, 94n4; assimilation and, 1–9, 13–16, 29; atrocities and, 20, 32; broader impacts of, 25–28; categorization and, 5, 11; Christians and, 1–2, 6, 17; citizenship and, 2, 4, 6, 10, 13; Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) and, 11–15, 25–26; competition and, 12, 18; concepts for, 39–42; cultural threat and, 4, 25; decategorization and, 30; diversity and, 3, 25; equality and, 15, 19, 23, 30; ethnicity and, 2–6, 11–13, 20; everyday interactions and, 8, 10, 16; evidence on, 15–19; fear and, 1–2, 5n4, 7, 11, 16; France and, 1, 6n5, 7, 21, 24n14; gender and, 15, 18–19, 26, 30; German context and, 19–25; globalization and, 2; group-derived norms and, 14–18, 29; group-specific norms and, 13–19; hostility and, 6, 8, 12, 16, 28, 68, 77, 80, 85, 93; identity threat and, 2, 5, 12–13, 15; ideologies and, 2–4, 15; ingroup identity and, 5, 8–13, 18, 25–26; integration policies and, 1–8, 13, 15, 17, 19–21, 24n14; labor and, 21; legal issues and, 4, 7; liberalism and, 1–2, 19; literature on, 197–98; multiculturalism and, 1–10, 17–20, 24, 30; Muslims and, 1–7, 10, 15–19, 22–25, 28–29; mutual differentiation and, 30; national identity and, 2–3, 5, 11–12, 20, 26; next steps for, 206–10; norm adherence and, 20, 30, 49–51, 204, 208–10; norm-sharing and, 7, 10, 13, 26–27, 30; outgroup identity and, 12, 26; parochialism and, 12, 18, 26; partisanship and, 18; perceptions of differences and, 5; prejudice and, 5, 8, 17, 24, 28, 30; psychology and, 5, 11, 26–30; public opinion and, 7, 20, 25; race issues and, 4–5, 10, 16–17, 20; recategorization and, 10–11, 26, 30; refugees and, 20, 21n10, 23, 28; religion and, 2n3, 3–13, 16–17, 24n14, 28–30; research approach to, 8–15, 28–30; respect and, 2–9, 13–15, 20, 29; rules and, 6, 9, 14, 19–20; self-categorization theory (SCT) and, 11; shared identity and, 9, 12, 26; social cohesion theory and, 45–47, 207; social identity theory (SIT) and, 10–11; social norms and, 4–10, 14–17, 20, 29; stereotypes and, 2–5, 10, 12, 24, 28–30; subgroups and, 9, 13, 17–19, 29; superordinate identity and, 11–14, 26; veils and, 6–7; women and, 1, 14, 18–19, 30
- intermarriage, 22, 47
- intersectionality, 13, 19, 25, 145, 167–68, 205–6

- Iraq, 35, 45n12, 137, 142, 214
- Islamophobia, 88, 134–35
- Italians, 21–22, 23, 28, 45n12, 58, 59, 87
- kinship groups, 33
- labor, xv; blue-collar, 18; competition  
for jobs, 18, 60, 75, 87, 143, 161–64;  
discrimination and, 7, 21, 24n14; experi-  
ment logistics and, 214; *Gastarbeiter*, 21,  
87; gender and, 138n8, 143, 150n25, 161,  
163, 247; guest workers, 3, 21, 87, 99; in-  
tergroup conflict and, 21; language and,  
97–99, 111; measuring discrimination  
and, 63n7, 66, 74n14, 78, 87; mobility and,  
97; overcoming discrimination and, 198;  
security and, 60, 163–64; social distance  
and, 32, 35; wives and, 138n8
- language: accents and, 50n18, 94n4, 108–9,  
149; acculturation and, 110–11; assimila-  
tion and, 50, 91–111; average treatment  
effects (ATE) and, 105–6; Basic Law  
and, 98, 100; categorization and, 94n4,  
109; Christians and, 111; citizenship and,  
99n10; competition and, 111; conser-  
vatism and, 98; control conditions and,  
104, 109; cultural threat and, 97, 100, 111;  
Denglish, 97–102; discrete-choice ex-  
periment and, 66–68; diversity and, 92,  
99n11, 100; ethnicity and, 93–96, 99n11,  
101, 103–4, 109–10; everyday interactions  
and, 93, 100, 102; experimental interven-  
tion on, 101–5; experiment logistics and,  
220–25; fear and, 92–93, 111; fractional-  
ization and, 92–93; France and, 101n12;  
gender and, 105; globalization and, 97;  
helping behavior and, 95, 103n16; hijabs  
and, 103–6, 107–8; host country and, 6,  
91–92, 101n12; hostility and, 16–17, 93;  
identity threat and, 93, 109–10; ideologies  
and, 96, 101, 110; Immigration Law and,  
99n10, 100; importance of in German  
identity, 95–97; ingroup identity and,  
93, 110; integration and, 91, 97, 100–101,  
110; labor and, 97–99, 111; legal issues  
and, 98–100; main findings on, 105–9;  
multiculturalism and, 94–95, 98, 100–  
101, 111; Muslims and, 91, 95, 103, 105–6,  
110–11; names and, 6, 9; national identity  
and, 95–97, 101, 103n17, 110; nationalism  
and, 95–98, 110; native assimilation pref-  
erence and, 91–95; norm-sharing and,  
111; null effects and, 95, 107–9; outgroup  
identity and, 93, 94n4, 99, 109–10; par-  
tisanshship and, 93; prejudice and, 93;  
psychology and, 108; purity and, 96–102;  
race issues and, 94n4, 96; refugees and,  
91, 100, 101n13; religion and, 91, 94–95,  
100–108, 111; respect and, 111; rules and, 6;  
social hierarchy from, 96; social identity  
theory (SIT) and, 93; Turks and, 99–103,  
106–7; women and, 106, 109n23
- legal issues, 209; civic norms and, 116;  
gender and, 137; inheritance, 137; in-  
tergroup conflict and, 4, 7; language and,  
98–100; measuring discrimination and,  
58; Tajfel's law and, 182n8
- LGBT groups, 71
- liberalism: Cameron on, 1; democracies  
and, 2, 19, 36–38, 51, 56, 133, 136, 145, 166;  
gender and, 133, 136, 140, 145, 166, 169; in-  
tergroup conflict and, 1–2, 19; measuring  
discrimination and, 56; social distance  
and, 36–38, 51
- Libya, 35, 45n12
- littering: categorization and, 171, 181, 189;  
civic norms and, 15, 29, 48–49, 114–32,  
170–76, 179–85, 204, 208, 224–27, 235, 252;  
decategorization and, 171–72, 176–84; as  
disrespect, 19, 118, 120–22, 170, 184; ex-  
periment design for, 122–25, 172–75; as  
foreign practice, 15, 29, 48–49, 114, 115–22,  
125–28, 131, 170–84, 204, 208, 235; gender  
and, 122–26; generalized affect of, 176;  
intuitive interpretation of, 116; norms  
against, 29, 114–22, 170, 184; recategoriza-  
tion and, 171–72, 176–95; religion and,  
114, 170–84, 187, 188, 190, 194–95; results



- of experiment, 126–32, 179–95; strong views on, 117–18; survey on, 116–22; text analysis of, 189–93; video survey of, 172–77, 180, 183–86, 189, 192, 194, 204
- manipulation checks, 103n17, 119, 156n31, 180n7, 214–15, 236–37
- marriage, 22, 23, 47, 51, 62, 134, 136n5
- measuring discrimination: assimilation and, 57, 85n21, 90; attitudes and, 58–73; capturing anti-immigrant behavior in the field, 73–88; categorization and, 70n9, 71; Christians and, 63–68, 70, 85n21, 88; competition and, 66, 87; cultural threat and, 73; democracies and, 56; discrete-choice experiment and, 61–69, 88; equality and, 61; ethnicity and, 56–57, 61, 62n6, 66, 77–82, 89; everyday interactions and, 68, 77–82, 85, 88–89; experiment logistics and, 211–17; fear and, 58–59, 73–74, 87–88; France and, 59; gender and, 57, 59n4, 63–68, 73; globalization and, 56, 58, 77; helping behavior and, 75–82, 85, 89; hijabs and, 69–73, 78–80, 83–90; hostility and, 68, 77, 80, 85; identity threat and, 58, 73n12, 88; implicit association test and, 69–73; ingroup identity and, 75–78, 86n23, 90; integration and, 77; labor and, 63n7, 66, 74n14, 78, 87; legal issues and, 58; liberalism and, 56; multiculturalism and, 58, 77, 85, 89–90; Muslims and, 56–58, 63–67, 68–74, 78–80, 83–90; national identity and, 56–59; native/immigrant distinction and, 56–57; norm adherence and, 57; outgroup identity and, 76, 90; Polish and, 59, 63, 65–68; prejudice and, 57–58, 66, 89; psychology and, 70–71, 74, 76; public opinion and, 58, 60n5, 69; Qualtrics Panels and, 59n4, 71–72, 163; race issues and, 57, 59, 71–79, 82, 85; refugees and, 58, 60, 82, 87–88; religion and, 57–59, 61–75, 78, 80, 83–90; results of, 88–90; security and, 59–60, 65, 73, 88–89; site selection and, 81–82, 235; social norms and, 76, 80; statistical vs. taste-based, 75, 89; stereotypes and, 58, 88; subgroups and, 86n22; Turks, 63, 65–68, 87; women and, 65, 69, 71–75, 80, 89–90
- Minimal Group Paradigm, 32, 132
- Moskowitz, Gordon B., 184n12
- Mullainathan, Sendhil, 73n11, 74n14
- multiculturalism: acceptance and, 195; Cameron on, 1; civic norms and, 130, 133; democracies and, 17, 19; as failure, 1, 3, 89; fear of, 197; gender and, 166, 169; Immigration law and, 99n10, 100; intergroup conflict and, 1–10, 17–20, 24, 30; language and, 94–95, 98, 100–101, 111; limits of, 4; measuring discrimination and, 58, 77, 85, 89–90; optimistic view of, 196–97; overcoming discrimination and, 196–97, 203, 206–10; policy index for, 24n14; social distance and, 31, 35, 38, 53–55
- Muslims: acceptance and, 170–84, 187, 188, 190, 194–95; as backward, 23–24; burkas and, 133; Christians and, 2, 6, 17, 51, 64, 70, 85n21, 88, 111, 134–35, 140, 166, 168, 210; civic norms and, 112, 127–28, 130, 131n24; discrete-choice experiment and, 63–67, 68–69; experiment logistics and, 221, 224, 237, 249, 251–52; gender and, 133–47, 151, 152–59, 162–69; hijabs and, 69 (*see also* hijabs); implicit association test and, 68–73; intergroup conflict and, 1–7, 10, 15–19, 22–25, 28–29; invasion of, 1–2, 58; Islamophobia, 88, 134–35; language and, 91, 95, 103, 105–6, 110–11; littering experiment and, 170–84, 187, 188, 190, 194–95; measuring discrimination and, 56–58, 63–67, 68–74, 78–80, 83–90; niqab and, 133; overcoming discrimination and, 201, 205, 210; PEW Forum on Religion & Public Life, 137; social distance and, 35, 38, 51, 55; terrorism and, 88, 197; Turks and, 22, 24, 103, 106, 133, 136–37, 140; value conflicts in, 135–42; women and, 19, 38, 69, 71–74, 80, 106, 133–47, 155–57, 162–70, 201, 205, 249

- mutual differentiation: acceptance and, 171–72, 176–84, 195; intergroup conflict and, 30; social distance and, 53–54
- Mutual Ingroup Differentiation Model (MIDM), 54
- names, 6, 9
- national identity: civic norms and, 130; intergroup conflict and, 2–3, 5, 11–12, 20, 26; language and, 95–97, 101, 103n17, 110; measuring discrimination and, 56–59; overcoming discrimination and, 201; social distance and, 35–39, 50
- nationalism: civic norms and, 129–30; intergroup conflict and, 2, 12, 20; language and, 95–98, 110; patriotism and, 38, 97; social distance and, 45n12; superordinate identity and, 11–14, 26, 44–45, 53–54, 145, 167n41, 168, 201, 207
- Nazis, 20, 96–97
- Netherlands, 21, 58, 59, 101n12, 133
- Niebel, Matthias, 120
- Nigeria, 63–68
- Nikiforakis, Nikos, xvii
- niqab, 133
- norm adherence: acceptance and, 171–72; civic norms and, 113–14, 122, 131; intergroup conflict and, 20, 30, 49–51, 204, 208–10; measuring discrimination and, 57; as moderator of intergroup difference, 49–51; overcoming discrimination and, 204, 208–10; social distance and, 49–52, 54
- norm enforcement: civic norms and, 124, 125–31, 171, 175–94, 205, 228, 231–35, 250; experiment logistics and, 228, 231–35, 250; heterogeneous effects and, 184–89; intergroup conflict and, 29; internalization and, 125; overcoming discrimination and, 205; social distance and, 48–49
- norm-sharing: civic norms and, 12, 112, 114, 129, 131, 141, 169; intergroup conflict and, 7, 10, 13, 26–27, 30; language and, 111; moderating effects of, 52; overcoming discrimination and, 201, 202–3, 207–8; social distance and, 39, 41, 51–52, 54
- Orthodox religion, 166
- outgroup discrimination, 44, 52
- outgroup identity: acceptance and, 170–72, 181–89, 195; civic norms and, 123, 126, 143–45, 167; intergroup conflict and, 12, 26; language and, 93, 94n4, 99, 109–10; measuring discrimination and, 76, 90; overcoming discrimination and, 201, 204; social distance and, 31–34, 39–41, 44–54
- overcoming discrimination: acculturation and, 206; assimilation and, 196, 202, 208, 210; belief similarity and, 202, 207; Christians and, 210; citizenship and, 197, 206–10; Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) and, 200–201; competition and, 198, 200; diversity and, 203; equality and, 197, 201, 205; ethnicity and, 196–202, 210; everyday interactions and, 199; fear and, 197; France and, 207; gender and, 201–2, 205; group-derived norms and, 206; group-specific norms and, 205–7, 210; helping behavior and, 199; hijabs and, 210; identity threat and, 205; ideologies and, 197, 202; ingroup identity and, 200–204, 210; integration and, 196–97, 202–4, 207–10; labor and, 198; multiculturalism and, 196–97, 203, 206–10; Muslims and, 201, 205, 210, 221, 224, 237–38, 249, 251–52; national identity and, 201; norm adherence and, 204, 208–10; norm enforcement and, 205; norm-sharing and, 201–3, 207–8; outgroup identity and, 201, 204; parochialism and, 210; partisanship and, 201; prejudice and, 196–99, 204; psychology and, 198–99; public opinion and, 198, 203; race issues and, 196, 200, 202; recategorization and, 204; refugees and, 197; religion and, 196–201, 210; rules and, 209; self-categorization theory (SCT) and, 199–200; shared identity and, 201;

- similarity and, 200, 202, 207; social distance and, 200; social identity theory (SIT) and, 198–200, 210; social norms and, 196–98, 201, 205, 208–9; stereotypes and, 202–7, 210; superordinate identity and, 201, 207; women and, 201–2, 205
- parochialism: civic norms and, 127, 128, 130; confronting, 31–36; gender and, 144, 154; ingroup identity and, 26, 31–37, 130, 210; intergroup conflict and, 12, 18, 26; Minimal Group Paradigm and, 32; native-immigrant interactions and, 34–36; overcoming discrimination and, 210; social distance and, 31–37, 40, 48–49
- partisanship: acceptance and, 177; civic norms and, 130n23; gender and, 143n11, 168n42; intergroup conflict and, 18; language and, 93; overcoming discrimination and, 201; social distance and, 43
- patriotism, 38–39, 97
- peer pressure, 76
- Penn Identity & Conflict (PIC) Lab, xvii–xviii
- perspective taking, 184, 204–5
- PEW Forum on Religion & Public Life, 137
- pluralism, 3, 37
- police, 118
- Polish, xv, 59, 63, 65–68
- prejudice: acceptance and, 171; civic norms and, 130, 160, 167; intergroup conflict and, 5, 8, 17, 24, 28, 30; language and, 93; measuring discrimination and, 57–58, 66, 89; overcoming discrimination and, 196–99, 204; social distance and, 31–32, 36, 42–43, 50, 52
- progressive vs. regressive message effects: experiment logistics and, 237–42, 244, 246; gender and, 157–58, 159
- Prussia, 20, 45n12, 95
- psychology: acceptance and, 171; civic norms and, 130n23, 131–32; experiment logistics and, 223; gender and, 147n17, 167; helping behavior and, 52 (*see also* helping behavior); intergroup conflict and, 5, 11, 26–30; language and, 108; measuring discrimination and, 70–71, 74, 76; overcoming discrimination and, 198–99; social distance and, 34, 39–40, 41n10, 45, 49, 53
- public goods, 33, 93, 209
- public opinion: acceptance and, 170; ALL-BUS surveys, 21n10, 22–23, 139, 151, 161; anxiety and, 60nns; fear and, 35, 58; Gallup polls, 21n11, 24; gender and, 134, 136–38, 142; intergroup conflict and, 7, 20, 25; measuring discrimination and, 58, 60n5, 69; overcoming discrimination and, 198, 203; social distance and, 35
- Qualtrics Panels, 59n4, 71–72, 163
- race issues: civic norms and, 115, 124, 128; gender and, 143–44, 169; homogeneity, 20, 96; ingroup identity and, 10, 32, 34, 144, 200; intergroup conflict and, 4–5, 10, 16–17, 20; language and, 94n4, 96; measuring discrimination and, 57, 59, 71–79, 82, 85; Muslims and, 4 (*see also* Muslims); overcoming discrimination and, 196, 200, 202; social distance and, 32, 34, 39–40, 43, 49, 51, 52; social identity and, 200, 202
- recategorization: acceptance and, 171–72, 176–95; civic norms and, 132; experiment logistics and, 251; gender and, 145, 168–69; ingroup identity and, 10–11, 26, 45–47, 53, 132, 145, 169–72, 182–83, 194; intergroup conflict and, 10–11, 26, 30; littering and, 171–72, 176–95; overcoming discrimination and, 204; social distance and, 45–47, 53
- refugees: asylum and, 20–21, 23, 82, 87, 91, 101n13, 120; civic norms and, 118–20; gender and, 134, 138; intergroup conflict and, 20, 21n10, 23, 28; language and, 91, 100, 101n13; measuring discrimination

- refugees (cont.)  
and, 58, 60, 82, 87–88; overcoming discrimination and, 197; social distance and, 35
- religion: acceptance and, 170, 174–75, 177, 178, 190–94; atheists and, 139–40, 151, 159, 160, 178, 238, 239–41, 244; civic norms and, 114, 124–32; experiment logistics and, 217, 222–23, 237–40, 241; gender and, 133–40, 146, 149, 154, 159–60, 164–69; intergroup conflict and, 2n3, 3–13, 16–17, 24n14, 28–30; language and, 91, 94–95, 100–108, 111; littering and, 170–84, 187, 188, 190, 194–95; measuring discrimination and, 57–59, 61–75, 78, 80, 83–90; overcoming discrimination and, 196–201, 210; PEW Forum on Religion & Public Life, 137; secularism and, 134, 136, 166; social distance and, 33, 35, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51–54; veils and, xvii, 6–7, 72, 136 (see also hijabs). See also specific faith
- Rennó, Lúcio, 199n1
- respect: civic norms and, 118–22, 170, 208; gender and, 135; intergroup conflict and, 2–9, 13–15, 20, 29; language and, 111; littering and, 19, 118, 120–22, 170, 184; social distance and, 53
- reunification, 82, 87, 97, 152n28
- Rockenbach, Bettina, xvii
- rules: acceptance and, 185, 187; civic norms and, 6, 9, 14, 19–20, 113, 116, 120–21; experiment logistics and, 252; gender and, 162; German respect for, 14, 20; intergroup conflict and, 6, 9, 14, 19–20; language and, 6; overcoming discrimination and, 209; repressive, 9; social distance and, 42
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, 1, 207
- Sarrazin, Thilo, 119
- scene characteristics, 85n20, 218–19, 226
- Schily, Otto, 100
- school, 6, 49, 63–68, 95, 99, 116
- secularism, 134, 136, 166
- security: economic, 59–60, 134, 163–64; gender and, 134, 142, 163–64; ingroup identity and, 33; measuring discrimination and, 59–60, 65, 73, 88–89
- self-categorization theory (SCT), 11, 44, 199–200
- self-interest, 17, 35–36, 44, 144
- shared identity: civic norms and, 113, 116n8, 121n15; Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) and, 12; gender and, 167; intergroup conflict and, 9, 12, 26; overcoming discrimination and, 201; social distance and, 45, 49
- similarity: belief, 46, 54–55, 181–82, 186, 194–95, 202, 207; categorization and, 45 (see also categorization); citizenship and, 13 (see also citizenship); civic norms and, 114, 176–77, 181–84, 187, 194–95; ideational, 11; kinship groups, 33; overcoming discrimination and, 200, 202, 207; parochialism and, 33; social distance and, 45–46, 48, 54–55
- site selection, 81–82, 235
- Sniderman, Paul, 58, 73n12
- social cohesion theory, 45–47, 207
- social distance: acculturation and, 38, 40–41, 47; assimilation and, 39n9, 40–41, 47–53; belief similarity and, 45–46, 48, 54–55; Bogardus on, 40; categorization and, 32n2, 44–46, 49; children and, 49; Christians and, 51; citizenship and, 37n7, 39, 47, 54; Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) and, 44–47, 52–55; competition and, 32, 34–35; concepts for, 39–42; cultural threat and, 35, 39, 43; decategorization and, 53–54; diversity and, 37; equality and, 38, 48–49; ethics and, 39; ethnicity and, 33–40, 45–54; everyday interactions and, 55; fear and, 33–35; gender and, 38, 48–49, 51; globalization and, 38; group-derived norms and, 42, 48, 55; group-specific norms and, 39,

- 46–47; helping behavior and, 52; identity of citizen and, 8, 47–48, 54, 168, 201, 207; identity threat and, 36–37, 51; ideologies and, 31, 38, 51; inclusion and, 20, 36–39, 41, 89, 195; ingroup identity and, 31–34, 37, 39, 42–47, 51–55; integration and, 36–51, 50; labor and, 32, 35; Minimal Group Paradigm and, 32; multiculturalism and, 31, 35, 38, 53–55; Muslims and, 35, 38, 51, 55; mutual differentiation and, 53–54; national identity and, 35–39, 50; nationalism and, 45n12; norm adherence and, 49–52, 54; norm enforcement and, 48–49; norm-sharing and, 39, 41, 51–52, 54; outgroup identity and, 31–34, 39–41, 44–54; overcoming discrimination and, 200; overcoming native-immigrant divide and, 42–47; parochialism and, 31–37, 40, 48–49; partisanship and, 43; prejudice and, 31–32, 36, 42–43, 50, 52; psychology and, 34, 39–40, 41n10, 45, 49, 53; public opinion and, 35; race issues and, 32, 34, 39–40, 43, 49, 51–52; recategorization and, 45–47, 53; refugees and, 35; religion and, 33, 35, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51–54; respect and, 53; rules and, 42; self-categorization theory (SCT) and, 44; shared identity and, 45, 49; similarity and, 45–46, 48, 54–55; social identity theory (SIT) and, 44–46; social norms and, 35, 42n11, 48–55; stereotypes and, 36, 46n14, 49–51; subgroups and, 39, 48; superordinate identity and, 44–45, 53–54; women and, 38, 48–49
- social identity theory (SIT): acceptance and, 181; fundamental insights of, 10–11; gender and, 143; intergroup conflict and, 10–11; language and, 93; overcoming discrimination and, 198–99, 200, 210; social distance and, 44–46
- social norms: acceptance and, 171, 185, 195; belief similarity and, 46, 54–55, 181–82, 186, 194–95, 202, 207; civic norms and, 112, 121n15, 125–26, 130, 132; conformity and, 16, 48n16, 49, 130, 156; descriptive, 48; gender, 134–35 (*see also* gender); intergroup conflict and, 4–10, 14–17, 20, 29; measuring discrimination and, 76, 80; norm enforcement and, 10, 13 (*see also* norm enforcement); overcoming discrimination and, 196–98, 201, 205, 208–9; peer pressure and, 76; social distance and, 35, 42n11, 48–55
- solidarity, 32–33, 77, 89, 146, 167
- SPD, 100, 178
- spillovers, 157n32, 237, 247–49
- statistical discrimination, 75
- stereotypes: acceptance and, 170, 183, 184n12, 194–95; appearance and, 8–9, 94n4; civic norms and, 115; gender and, 134, 140, 144, 155–56, 165–66; identity threats and, 2–5, 12, 50, 58, 88, 205; intergroup conflict and, 2–5, 10, 12, 24, 28–30; measuring discrimination and, 58, 88; negative, 2, 5, 12, 28, 51, 58, 140, 144, 155, 194; overcoming discrimination and, 202–7, 210; role of ideas in forging, 144–46; social distance and, 36, 46n14, 49–51; stereotype-conforming (SC) behavior and, 49–50; stereotype-defying (SD) behavior and, 49–50
- subgroups: experiment logistics and, 238; gender and, 144, 166–67, 169; intergroup conflict and, 9, 13, 17–19, 29; measuring discrimination and, 86n22; social distance and, 39, 48
- superordinate identity: gender and, 145, 167n41, 168; intergroup conflict and, 11–14, 26; nationalism and, 11–14, 26, 44–45, 53–54, 145, 167n41, 168, 201, 207; overcoming discrimination and, 201, 207; social distance and, 44–45, 53–54
- suspicion, xvi, 18, 33, 197
- Syria, 24, 35, 63–68, 135n5, 138, 214
- taste-based discrimination, 75, 89
- terrorism, 88, 197

- text analysis, 189–93
- Tunisia, 21, 137, 140
- Turks, 222; civic norms and, 119; gender and, 133, 136–37, 140; intergroup conflict and, 22–24; intermarriage and, 22; labor and, 21; language and, 99–103, 106–7, 220–21; manipulation checks and, 214; measuring discrimination and, 63, 65–68, 87; rights of, 22
- Turner, John, 46n14
- unemployment, 5n4, 87
- United Kingdom, 1, 21, 38, 59, 101n12
- valence, 70–72, 150, 189–92
- veils: France and, 1, 6n5, 7, 166; gender and, xvii, 6–7, 72, 116, 125, 136, 140, 141, 156n31, 157, 160n34, 163, 164n38, 166; intergroup conflict and, 6–7; measuring discrimination and, 72. *See also* hijabs
- Verein DeutscherSprachee.V., 98
- violence, xv, 20, 34n6, 93, 127, 134, 200
- Volksgenossen*, 101
- welfare system, 36, 73, 163–64, 198, 208
- women: acceptance and, 170, 175; burqas and, 133; experiment logistics and, 216, 218, 237, 238–44, 247–49; gender equality and, 133–69 (*see also* gender); hijabs and, 124–28 (*see also* hijabs); intergroup conflict and, 1, 14, 18–19, 30; Islamic value conflicts and, 135–42; language and, 106, 109n23; marriage and, 22, 23, 47, 51, 62, 134, 136n5; maternal care and, 149n22, 150n23, 151, 161; measuring discrimination and, 65, 69, 71–75, 80, 89–90; Muslim, 1, 19, 38, 69, 71–74, 80, 106, 133–47, 155–57, 162–70, 201, 205, 249; niqab and, 133; overcoming discrimination and, 201–2, 205; rights of, 38, 134–37, 142–47, 150, 156, 160, 162, 168nn42–43, 169, 202; social distance and, 38, 48–49; symbolism of bodies of, 133; working mothers, 149n22, 160, 161
- World War II, 20, 35, 96–97, 101
- Yugoslavia, 21