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The role of bicultural identity integration and contact meta perceptions on intergroup contact experiences of Turkish-German minority group members

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Master in, Psychology of Intercultural Relations

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Contribution to the understanding of Turkish- Germans bicultural realities and intergroup contact experiences in Germany.

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Resumo

O presente estudo correlacional examinou a relação entre meta percepções sobre o desejo de contacto intergrupar, a integração da identidade bicultural e as experiências de contacto intergrupar positivo e negativo em indivíduos biculturais (Turcos-Alemães). Especificamente, examinou-se se meta percepções de desejo de contacto do exogrupo estão relacionadas com experiências de contacto positivas e negativas; se a integração da identidade bicultural modera a relação entre meta percepções do desejo de contacto do endogrupo e experiências de contacto intergrupais positivas e negativas; e, finalmente, se a integração bicultural está relacionada com experiências de contacto intergrupais positivas e negativas. No total, 130 participantes Turco-Alemães, imigrantes de primeira e segunda geração, residentes na Alemanha, participaram no estudo realizado online. Os resultados indicaram que apenas as meta percepções do desejo de contacto intergrupar do exogrupo estavam associada ao contacto intergrupar positivo e negativo, enquanto que as meta percepções do desejo de contacto do endogrupo não estavam significativamente associadas ao contacto intergrupar. A integração da identidade bicultural não moderou a relação entre meta percepções do desejo de contacto do endogrupo e as experiências positivas e negativas de contacto intergrupar. Finalmente, a integração da identidade bicultural, especialmente a dimensão da harmonia, esteve fortemente associada com as experiências de contacto intergrupar positivo e negativo. Globalmente, estes resultados alargaram o conhecimento existente sobre como as minorias, especialmente indivíduos biculturais, experienciam o contacto intergrupar e salientam a importância de considerar aspectos relacionais, tais como as meta percepções, bem como a integração das diferentes identidades.

Palavras-chave:

Biculturalismo, integração da identidade bicultural, contacto positivo, contacto negativo, meta percepções de contacto, Alemanha

Abstract

The present correlational study examined if Turkish-German's meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact and their bicultural identity integration (BII) were associated with their experiences of positive and negative intergroup contact. Specifically, it examined whether Turkish-Germans meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact were related to positive and negative contact experiences; whether bicultural identity integration would moderate the relationship of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact and positive and negative intergroup contact experiences; and finally, if bicultural identity integration regarding harmony and blendedness is related to positive and negative intergroup contact experiences. In total, 130 Turkish-German biculturals, mainly first- and second-generation immigrants living in Germany, participated in the online survey. Results indicated that only the meta perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact was associated to positive and negative intergroup contact, whereas the ingroup's meta perception was not. Additionally, bicultural identity integration did not moderate the relationship of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact and positive and negative intergroup contact experiences. Finally, bicultural identity integration, especially the harmony dimension, was strongly related to positive and negative intergroup contact experiences. Overall, these results extended existing knowledge of how minorities, especially biculturals, experience intergroup contact and highlighted the importance of considering relational aspects, such as meta perceptions, as well as identity integration as important aspects within contact research.

Keywords:

Biculturalism, bicultural identity integration, positive contact, negative contact, contact meta perceptions, Germany

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Turkish immigrants have a long history of migration to Germany. Nowadays, the German Census, one of the most extensive demographic population surveys, counted more than 2,9 Mio people living in Germany with an immigrant background in Turkey (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2015). Although initially welcomed, attitudes towards the Turkish community and their descendants (Turkish-Germans) in Germany have become more hostile (Plener, Groschwitz, Brähler, Sukale, & Fegert, 2017; Sadeghi, 2019; Wagner, Kotzur & Friehs, 2021). These negative attitudes have been promoted and instrumentalized by far-right, anti-immigration parties (Heinrich, 2020), who received a significant increase of votes (12.6%) in Germany's last federal election in 2017 (Der Bundeswahlleiter, 2017). These anti-immigration narratives are also connected with the occurrence of recent hate crimes against (Islamic) immigrant communities (Statista, 2019; Zeit Online, 2019), such as the recent attack in Hanau (Tagesschau, 2020). Turkish immigrants and descendants face discrimination in the housing and labour market, as well as in educational opportunities (Thijssen, Lancee, Veit & Yemane, 2021; Hunkler, 2021; Moffitt, Juang, Syed 2019; Weichselbaumer 2016). Overall, this suggests the existence of prejudice and discrimination against Turkish communities in German society (Luft, 2011). Research shows that feeling discriminated has strong detrimental effects on minorities well-being (e.g., lower self-esteem and life satisfaction, increased depression, anxiety) (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes & Garcia, 2014). Importantly, prior research showed that positive intergroup contact reduces prejudice and ameliorates intergroup relations (Allport, c1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). However, the positive impact of contact on prejudice reduction has been mostly shown for majorities groups (Vezzali, Giovannini & Capozza, 2010; Pettigrew et al., 2011). Therefore, it is important to further understand how minorities experience intergroup contact, and more importantly, what factors are related to their willingness to engage in contact in order to maximize its potential positive effects.

Recent research conducted with Muslims in the UK showed that meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact (i.e., the extent to which one's thinks that the outgroup wants to interact and have contact with the ingroup) were positively related to positive intergroup contact experiences (Stathi, Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Pendleton & Tropp, 2019).

However, meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact (i.e., the extent to which the one thinks that the ingroup wants to interact and have contact with the outgroup) were not related to positive contact (Stathi et al., 2019).

The current study aims to extend this research examining how minorities' (specifically, Turkish-German individuals in Germany) meta perceptions of the outgroup's and the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact relates to their experiences of positive and negative intergroup contact while considering the way they experience and organize their bicultural identity. Specifically, we explore whether individuals integrate their bicultural identities moderates the association of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact and positive or negative intergroup contact (Stathi et al., 2019). We focus specifically on bicultural identity integration (BII), which has been related to cultural competence, linguistic fluency and culturally congruent behaviours, which can ultimately impact how intercultural contact is experienced (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Indeed, prior research showed associations between positive intercultural experiences and perceptions of bicultural identity compatibility (high BII) and negative intercultural experiences leading to perceptions of intergroup tension and lower levels of BII (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng & Lee 2013), suggesting that BII may have an important role on how intergroup contact is experienced by minority groups. Building on these findings, we examine how BII is related to Turkish Germans experiences of positive and negative contact and also if it moderates the impact of the ingroup's meta-perceptions of contact on positive and negative contact experiences.

Literatur Review

2.1. Intergroup Contact

Early research on intergroup contact has already lined out that contact is a key variable in examining intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew et al., 2006). Positive contact between members of different groups (e.g., ethnic groups, LGBT communities, people with disabilities, or mental illness) has the potential to reduce intergroup conflict and tension and ameliorate intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew et al., 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011). However, the positive impact of contact on prejudice reduction has been mostly shown in research involving mainly members of majority groups (Vezzali et al., 2010; Pettigrew et al., 2011). Fewer studies have been conducted with minorities, and generally, these showed mixed evidence for the positive impact of contact (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Vezzali et al., 2010; Greenland, 2021). Indeed, there is meta-analytical evidence that intergroup contact is more effective for majorities than for minorities and explanations for this phenomenon are scarce (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Lemmer & Wagner, 2015). Additionally, Allport's optimal contact conditions (i.e., equal status, cooperation, common goals, and institutional support) (Allport, 1954) predicted stronger contact-prejudice relationships among majority groups but not among minority groups (Tropp et al., 2005). The positive impact of contact and its effectiveness on prejudice reduction for minority groups seems to therefore depend on further variables, such as societal status of the minority group or minorities' perceptions of discrimination and prejudices held from the majority group in general (Tropp et al., 2005; Vezzali et al., 2010; Pettigrew et al., 2011). It is important to further understand how minorities experience intergroup contact, as well as the factors that are related to seeking contact. However, little is still known about what factors are related to minorities' willingness to engage in contact and under what conditions contact leads to a significant decrease in prejudice from minorities' perspective. It is therefore important to further examine minorities' perspectives on intergroup contact to prevent potential negative effects and maximize potential positive effects in order to strengthen intergroup relations. Thus, in the current study, we will focus on the perspective of ethnic minority group members, specifically Turkish-German biculturals, and examine their positive and negative intergroup contact experiences, a domain that is traditionally less researched (Tropp et al., 2005; Vezzali et al., 2010; Lemmer et al., 2015; Greenland, 2021).

Indeed, most research has been assessing intergroup contact mainly in terms of its quantity and quality (i.e., positive contact), and less research has specifically focused on negative contact experiences. Quantity has been assessed in terms of the frequency with which individuals interact with outgroup members, the numbers of outgroup friends and the number of ingroup friends that have outgroup friends (extended contact) (Gomez, Tropp, & Fernandez, 2011; Hayward, Tropp, Hornsey & Barlow, 2017). It has been related to the quality of intergroup contact (Gomez et al., 2011; Hayward et al., 2017) and, therefore, is important to be considered when examining intergroup contact. Quality has been assessed mainly focusing on positive experiences of contact (e.g., cooperative, friendly, warm), which means that positive contact predicts reduced prejudice, but negative contact increases prejudice at a stronger rate (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017). Thus, positive and negative contact are asymmetric (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017), and future studies should examine them separately.

Building on these findings in the present study, we focused on positive and negative contact separately. Additionally, we shift the focus of attention from analyzing intergroup contact as the predictor of positive intergroup outcomes to examining potential predictors for positive or negative intergroup contact experiences. This is particularly relevant considering that different status groups might experience intergroup contact differently (Tropp et al., 2005; Vezzali et al., 2010), and research shows there are asymmetric effects of contact for majorities and minorities (Tropp et al., 2005)

When aiming to explore factors that can relate to how intergroup contact is experienced among minorities, we focus on two main issues: 1) building on recent research showing the impact of meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact (Stathi et al., 2019), we examine how these are associated with Turkish Germans experiences of positive and negative contact; 2) building on research suggesting that bicultural identity integration is related to experiences of intercultural contact (Benet-Martínez et al., 2005; Cheng et al., 2013) we examine how this is related to positive and negative contact experiences, and to what extent it moderates the impact of contact meta perceptions on contact experiences.

2.2. Meta Perceptions

Meta-perceptions refer to the individual's perception of how others perceive oneself (Frey & Tropp 2006). They occur in interpersonal or intergroup contexts, and formation strategies vary

depending on these contexts (Frey et al., 2006). Most formation strategies have been examined at the interpersonal level and highlight the role of projecting one's view of oneself by expecting similarities between oneself and others (Krueger, 1996; Robbins & Krueger, 2005; Frey et al., 2006). However, formation strategies vary when intergroup meta perceptions are formed. For instance, formation strategies often include the use of information about stereotypes surrounding the individual's group membership (Frey et al., 2006). Therefore, people generally expect outgroup members to evaluate them more negatively (Krueger, 1996) and perceive them in terms of the negative stereotypes surrounding their groups (Vorauer & Kumhry, 2001; Frey et al., 2006). Determinants that lead to the formation of intergroup meta perceptions are primarily increased awareness of group membership and sensitivity to group-based rejection, which are often caused through existing intergroup conflict, stigmatization, and numerical representations in intergroup encounters (e.g., the mere presence of outgroup-member or being in a numerical minority) (Frey et al., 2006). The consequences of the formation and use of intergroup meta perceptions are numerous. For instance, when people feel that they are evaluated negatively and by stereotypes that surround their group, they also tend to evaluate outgroup members negatively and develop feelings of dislike (Hollbach & Otten, 2003; Frey et al., 2006). Thus, intergroup meta-perceptions may strain relations between groups by contributing to feelings of discomfort, threat, anxiety, and avoidance that negatively influence the occurrence and quality of intergroup contact (Devine et al., 1996; Frey et al., 2006; Moore-Berg et al., 2020). Overall, this suggests that meta perceptions may play an important role in predicting intergroup contact (Frey et al., 2006; Stathi et al., 2019; Moore-Berg et al., 2020).

2.2.1. Contact Meta Perceptions

Contact meta perceptions refer specifically to meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact. Concrete knowledge about how they are formed and what factors influence the perception of the ingroup's or outgroup's desire for intergroup contact are overall still scarce (Stathi et al., 2019). However, it is assumed that personal contact experiences, as well as perceived contact norms, play a role in forming meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact (Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley, 2011; De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt & Brown, 2010; Vezzali, Stathi, Giovannini, Capozza & Visintin, 2015). For instance, knowing that ingroup members have contact with the outgroup leads people to perceive more support for contact among ingroup members, which can predict more positive intergroup attitudes, that are further related to positive intergroup contact (De Tezanos-Pinto et

al., 2010; Gomez et al., 2011; Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini & Wolfer, 2014; Zhou, Page-Gould, Aron, Moyer & Hewstone, 2019). Moreover, studies with ethnic majority and minority groups showed that the more ethnic minority and ethnic majority group members perceived the other group as desiring intergroup contact, the more they reported themselves to be interested in contact with the other group (Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). Relatedly, recent work (Stathi et al., 2019) in the United Kingdom with Muslims and non-Muslims reporting their experienced quality of intergroup contact showed significant relations between Muslim's contact meta perceptions of the outgroup's (non-Muslim's) desire for intergroup contact and the experience of positive intergroup contact (Stathi et al., 2019). However, it was only the meta perception of the outgroup's (non-Muslim) desire for intergroup contact that predicted positive intergroup contact. Whereas meta perceptions of the ingroup's (Muslims) desire for contact with the outgroup (non-Muslims) were not associated with experienced positive intergroup contact, and possible explanations remain unknown (Stathi et al., 2019). The current study extended this research by further examining the relations of meta perceptions of the ingroup's and of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact and positive and negative intergroup contact. Specifically, we explored a potential factor that might hinder or strengthen the relation of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact and the quality of intergroup contact: bicultural identity integration.

2.3. Bicultural Identity Integration

Bicultural identity integration (BII) draws from previous acculturation work by looking at variations in acculturation styles and variations in group identification processes (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). It considers individuals' subjective perceptions and feelings about the relationship between their different cultural identities (Cheng, Lee, Benet-Martínez, Huynh, 2014). Specifically, it refers to the degree to which a bicultural individual perceives his/her two cultural identities as "compatible" versus "oppositional" (Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). A bicultural individual thereby refers to an individual that has been "exposed to and has internalized more than one culture - such as ethnic culture(s) and the dominant culture in the case of immigrants and their children" (Huynh, Martínez, Nguyen, 2018, p. 1). The development of BII among bicultural individuals is influenced by factors such as personality, social environment, the historical and political context of the identified cultural group (Huynh et al., 2011).

The experience of bicultural individuals and their ways of organizing and operating with the two cultural identities is diverse (Huynh et al., 2011; Huynh et al., 2018). For example, some individuals tend to alternate between their two cultures depending on the situation (i.e., cultural frame switching) (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000), whereas other individuals tend to fuse their cultural identities by mixing and recombining their two cultures, which often creates a third, mixed cultural identity (Phinney et al., 1997). However, initial research has shown that the components “alternation” and “fusion” relate to different aspects of the bicultural experience that “may not necessarily map onto each other” (Huynh et al., 2011, p. 830). Therefore, it is important to consider them not as distinguished aspects but rather as two aspects that cover different components of experiences (Huynh et al., 2011). For instance, an individual can indicate alternation characteristics that are typically more related to behavioural components (e. g., switching cultural appropriate behaviours depending on the context) as well as fusion characteristics that are typically more related to identity aspects (e. g., seeing oneself as a merged Turkish-German identity). Groupings as separate types of biculturals (e.g., Phinney et al., 1997) that either fusion or alternate are therefore considered unclear and invalid (Huynh et al., 2011).

To cover the full diversity of the bicultural experience and address this shortcoming of the biculturalism literature, recent research has developed the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale II (Huynh et al., 2018). The scale assesses BII not as a unitary construct but instead as a construct with different behavioural and identity components that are psychometrically independent (Benet-Martínez et al., 2005). Specifically, it involves two sub-dimensions: cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalization and harmony vs. conflict.

2.3.1. Blendedness vs. Compartmentalization

Cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalization refers to “the degree of dissociation versus overlap perceived between the two cultural orientations” (e.g., “I see myself as a Chinese in the United States” vs. “I am a Chinese-American”) (Huynh et al., 2011, p. 830).

Blendedness has been positively linked to personality and performance-related challenges, such as openness to new experiences, linguistic fluency, bicultural competence, particularly with regard to the mainstream culture and living in less culturally isolated surroundings (Benet-Martínez et al., 2005; Huynh et al., 2011; Cheng et al., 2014; Benet-Martínez et al., 2021). Cultural blendedness also predicts the perception of similarity between members of the ethnic-ingroup and mainstream ingroup and to the self (Miramontez et al.,

2008). Additionally, previous work has shown that blendedness increases tolerance and positive trait inferences regarding dissimilar others (Huff, Lee, & Hong 2017). Especially increased intergroup tolerance has important implications for reducing intergroup conflict and ameliorating intergroup relations (Huff et al., 2017). Moreover, blendedness is associated with immigrants' generation status, since the dimension blendedness captures more perceptual, cognitive and behavioural aspects of the bicultural experience that are often learned through the amount of time spent in the new culture (Benet-Martínez et al., 2005; Huynh et al., 2011; Huynh et al., 2018; Cheng et al., 2014).

2.3.2. Harmony vs. Conflict

The harmony vs. conflict dimension captures the degree of tension and clash versus compatibility perceived between the two cultures (e.g., “I feel trapped between the two cultures” vs. “I do not see conflict between the Chinese and American ways of doing things) (Huynh et al., 2011; Cheng et al., 2014). The harmony dimension is positively linked to the personality trait of emotional stability and negatively to experiencing discrimination, neuroticism and strained intercultural relations (Benet-Martínez et al., 2005; Miller, Kim & Benet-Martínez, 2011; Huynh, et al., 2018; Benet-Martínez et al., 2021). Moreover, harmony is linked to less anxiety and depressive symptoms (Chen, Benet-Martínez & Bond, 2008; Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree, 2004; Miller et al., 2011) and fewer concerns about losing cultural identity (Mok & Morris, 2013). Overall, the harmony dimension captures more affective components of managing two cultures that are intra- and interpersonal in nature (e.g., emotional stability, positive intercultural relations, lack of identity protection concerns) (Huynh & Benet 2011; Cheng et al., 2014; Huynh et al., 2018).

2.3.3. Differences in BII Differences in bicultural identity integration (BII)

Bicultural individuals can have any combination of high or low blendedness and high or low harmony (Huynh et al., 2018). Since the operationalization of BII has varied in this line of work, and evidence has been collected before the dimensions were assessed separately, a lot of work refers to results of high or low BII scores in general (Cheng et al., 2014). Individuals who are high in both dimensions count thereby as high in BII, and individuals that are low in both dimensions are considered as low in BII (Cheng et al., 2014; Huynh et al., 2018). Perceived “compatible” cultural identities (high on BII) are associated with greater adjustment overall (i.e., higher self-esteem, greater life satisfaction, greater subjective happiness, lower depression, lower anxiety, and less loneliness) and with a preference for an integration acculturation

strategy (Huynh et al., 2011; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). On the contrary, perceived “oppositional “cultural identities (low on BII) are associated with lower adjustment overall and separation or a marginalization acculturation style (Huynh et al., 2011; Nguyen et al., 2013).

Importantly, an experimental study examining the malleability of the bicultural experience manipulated the recall of positive or negative bicultural experiences and found out that recalling positive prior bicultural experiences increased BII, whereas recalling prior negative bicultural experiences decreased BII (Cheng & Lee 2013). These results suggest a potential relation between positive intergroup experiences, such as positive intergroup contact, and increased BII.

Moreover, differences in BII influence how bicultural individuals react to environmental and interpersonal cues (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). For example, Benet-Martínez and colleagues (2002) found that Chinese-Americans with highly integrated bicultural identities responded to environmental cues in culturally congruent ways. In contrast, those low on BII responded in culturally incongruent ways (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Overall, research shows that low scores on BII harmony dimension are related to higher perceived discrimination and more negative intercultural relations overall (Benet-Martínez et al., 2021), whereas high scores on the blendedness dimension have been positively related to language fluency, cultural competence, intergroup tolerance and adaptation (Benet-Martínez et al., 2005; Miller et al., 2011; Huynh et al., 2018; Benet-Martínez et al., 2021). Thus, bicultural identity integration seems to be an important factor for how bicultural individuals experience intercultural encounters, as it enhances important individual factors (e.g., cultural competence, linguistic fluency, feelings of closeness and intimacy, intergroup tolerance and culturally congruent behaviours and responses), that can play a role in shaping an intergroup contact situation as more positive or negative (Cheng et al., 2013; Fuochi et al., 2020).

Together these findings suggest that the way bicultural individuals integrate their identities may be associated with how they experience intergroup interactions. Indeed, the quality of the intergroup encounter might depend not only on the meta perceptions of the outgroup’s desire for contact (Stathi et al., 2019) but also on further individual factors, such as cultural competence, linguistic fluency and culturally congruent behaviours. For instance, competence in the use of a common language has been shown to trigger feelings of closeness and intimacy between conversation partners (Imamura, Ruble & Zhang, 2016) that are further associated with experiencing positive or negative intergroup contact (Fuochi, Voci, Boin, Hewstone, 2020).

One can speculate that the increased likelihood for culturally incongruent responses, poorer mental well-being, lack of cultural competence and linguistic barriers experienced by individuals low on BII (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Huynh et al., 2011; Nguyen et al., 2013) could turn a desired contact experience more negative after all. Therefore, we will explore if individuals' bicultural identity integration is associated with positive and negative contact experiences among Turkish-Germans, and if it moderates the relation of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact and positive or negative intergroup contact.

Previous research with minority groups showed that the meta-perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact were not positively related to experiences of contact itself (Stathi et al., 2019), although research shows that knowing that ingroup members have contact with the outgroup (i.e., extended contact) is associated with positive intergroup attitudes (Vezzali et al., 2014; Zhou et al., 2019). Indeed, previous research highlighted the important impact of ingroup norms supporting contact with the outgroup (De Tezanos-Pinto et al., 2010). Still, meta perceptions of the ingroup desire for contact were not related to experiences of actual contact among minorities, and we will explore if the perceived integration of one's bicultural identities can hinder or facilitate this effect. That is, one can speculate that the meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact will be beneficial for the contact experiences as long as minorities ethnic and mainstream identities are seen as blended and harmoniously integrated. When the two identities are seen as incompatible and conflictual, considering what the ingroup thinks about intercultural interactions may result in concerns and anxiety regarding the contact experience itself.

Therefore, we propose that the way individuals integrate (or not) their heritage and mainstream cultural identities (BII score) may be an important factor to account for when examining the impact of their meta perceptions regarding their heritage ingroup desire for contact and their actual experiences of intercultural contact.

When doing so, we rely on previous research on BII by examining the role of both identity integration dimensions (blendedness vs. compartmentalization and harmony vs. conflict) separately, which was explicitly mentioned as a recommendation for future directions in BII research (Benet-Martínez et al., 2021).

2.4. Background Turkish-German Biculturals

Due to Germany's rapid economic growth after the second world war, there was a labour shortage in the mid-1950s. Followingly, Germany began to recruit workers abroad. Between 1961 and 1973, about 867,000 workers immigrated from Turkey, becoming the largest workers immigrant group (Luft, 2014). Nowadays, over 3 million people with an immigrant background from Turkey count as the biggest group of immigrants and can be considered as a large minority group in Germany (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2015). Most of today's young Turkish Germans are second-and third-generation individuals who have German citizenship, are a socio-culturally differentiated group and mostly just know Turkey from stories and family holidays (Aumüller, 2010; Thelen 2017). However, when compared to descendants of Spanish, Greek or Italian guest workers, who are virtually absent from the integration debates, descendants of Turkish guest workers are comparatively less integrated (Aumüller, 2010). For instance, Turkish immigrants and their descendants face discrimination in the housing and labour market, as well as in educational opportunities and interpersonal contexts (Thijssen et al., 2021; Hunkler 2021; Moffitt, Juang, Syed, 2019; Weichselbaumer, 2016).

Discrimination is known to have several detrimental effects on well-being (e.g., self-esteem, depression, anxiety, psychological distress, life satisfaction) (Schmitt, Spears & Branscombe, 2003; Schmitt et al., 2014). For instance, the recent Gutenberg health study (2016) compared depression, anxiety and suicidal ideation among first- and second-generation migrants and native Germans. Central results showed that particularly Turkish migrants and their descendants of both sexes reported more depression, panic, and a particularly strongly increased suicidal ideation compared to other migrants and German natives (Beutel et al., 2016).

In line with the rejection identification model proposal that discrimination impacts social identification processes (Schmitt et al., 2003), prior research with immigrated Muslims in Europe showed that across nine inter-group contexts, Muslims who perceived more discrimination and rejection from the host society tended to identify more as Muslims and with their culture of origin (Fleischmann, Phalet, Klein, 2011). Also, prior research with Turkish-German Muslims in Germany revealed that "participants tend to fall back into an essentialized way of thinking that makes their ethnic being incompatible with being German; and they resort to their Muslim roots as a cultural resource for identity construction and self-worth" (Holtz, Dahinden & Wagner 2013, p. 231). A similar tendency became apparent in Germany during 2018, when 65,7% of immigrated Turkish Germans voted for Erdogan's authoritarian regime in Turkey that contradicts German and European values (e.g., regarding women rights, freedom

of speech and freedom of religious belief) (Hauser, 2018). On the other hand, Turkish-Germans “cope with their feeling of rejection by engaging in local politics and sports activities that allow them to attribute themselves a hyphenated identity as Turkish-Germans” (Holtz et al., 2013, p. 231).

Overall, research suggests that bicultural identity integration and identity processes for Turkish-German individuals vary and might be rather challenging, considering their experiences of discrimination, strains of mental health and perceived incompatibilities between the cultures, their values and religion (Aumüller, 2010; Holtz et al., 2013; Beutel et al., 2016; Toprak, 2018; Moffitt et al., 2019; Thijssen et al., 2021). Thus, it is important to better understand the complex bicultural reality of Turkish-Germans in general so that more appropriate mental-health interventions can be designed and potential problems in intergroup contact experiences can be detected. Finally, considering that most prior research on bicultural identity integration has focused mainly on North American and East Asian cultures (Cheng et al., 2014), the current study offers a novel cultural context to examine identity integration. Minority and majority groups in Europe have different historical, political, economic, and psychological characteristics that might influence an individual’s bicultural identity integration (Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, & Uskul, 2009; Cheng et al., 2014).

2.5. Present Study

The present study examined Turkish-Germans experience of intergroup contact. Specifically, we focused on two main social psychological factors that can impact how intercultural contact unfolds: meta perceptions of the ingroup’s and outgroup’s desire for intergroup contact (Stathi et al., 2019), and bicultural identity integration (BII) in general, and its specific dimensions of harmony vs. conflict and blendedness vs. compartmentalization.

Based on previous research showing that meta perceptions of the outgroup’s desire for contact were associated with minorities experiences of positive intergroup contact, we expect that Turkish-Germans positive meta perceptions of the outgroup’s desire for contact will be positively associated with positive contact (H1a) and negatively related to negative contact (H1b). Considering that meta perceptions of the ingroup’s desire for contact were not associated with minorities experiences of intergroup contact, we propose that BII may moderate this relation by hindering or strengthening it. Besides meta perception of the ingroup’s desire for contact with the outgroup, the quality of intergroup contact might depend on further individual factors, such as cultural competence, linguistic fluency and culturally congruent behaviours.

The increased likelihood for culturally incongruent responses, poorer mental well-being, lack of cultural competence and linguistic barriers for individuals low on BII (Huynh et al., 2011; Nguyen et al., 2013) could turn the ingroup desired contact experience more negative after all. Therefore, we propose that meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact will be positively related to positive contact and negatively related to negative contact only for those with high BII (H2).

Finally, we extend previous research by examining BII's potential direct association with positive and negative intergroup contact. Specifically, based on previous studies that showed that BII enhances important individual factors (e.g., cultural competence, linguistic fluency, feelings of closeness and intimacy, intergroup tolerance and culturally congruent behaviours and responses), that can play a role in shaping an intergroup contact situation as more positive or negative (Cheng et al., 2013; Imamura et al., 2016; Fuochi et al., 2020), we propose that high BII will be positively associated with positive contact (H3a) and negatively related to negative contact (H3b).

Methods

3.1 Participants

To participate in the study, participants had to be older than 18 and had to have Turkish origin (i.e., assessed through the place of birth of the participant, his/her parents, and grandparents). In total, 130 participants were recruited with a mean age of 32.18 (SD = 10.27, range: 18-67). 60% of the participants identified as female-, 39.2% as male, and 0.8% as diverse. Among all participants, 26.2 % were born in Turkey and moved to Germany (first-generation immigrants), 63.8% were born in Germany, and their parents were born in Turkey (second-generation immigrants), and 10% stated themselves and their parents were born in Germany, and their grandparents were born in Turkey (third-generation immigrants).

3.2 Procedure

The study was conducted through an online survey developed in Qualtrics. The questionnaire started with informed consent, followed by demographic information. Next, the measures were presented in the following order: Contact meta perceptions, frequency of contact, positive contact, negative contact, and bicultural identity integration¹. Overall, it took participants around 5 – 10 minutes to answer to all measures of interest. The study was approved by the ISCTE's Ethical Committee, and all materials were translated to German by using a back-translation procedure (Harkness, 2003).

Participants were recruited through different methods. The most effective one was snowball sampling, using personal contacts. Additionally, the researcher also used posts on social media like Instagram and several interests related groups on Facebook, (i. e. “Turkish-German friendship”) as well as university groups. A paid advertisement was set to raise more attention. The advertisement aimed at reaching people with Turkish related interests but surprisingly reached mostly right-wing individuals who reacted with hateful comments, promptly deleted. Finally, two Turkish restaurants, one in Hamburg and one in Jena, agreed to

¹ For exploratory purposes we also assessed additional measures: Extended contact, quality of contact, frequency of contact

have flyers with the QR-Code to the survey inside their facilities and agreed to make customers aware of them when they would pick up their food orders. In exchange, a 20 € restaurant voucher was raffled off. To make participation more attractive, there was, in addition, a 20€ Amazon voucher raffled off.

3.3 Materials

Meta perceptions of outgroup's desire for contact were assessed with three items (Stahti et al., 2019) about the extent to which participants perceived Germans as desiring contact with Turkish-Germans ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) ($\alpha = .81$; sample item, “to what extent do you think that Germans want to interact with Turkish-Germans?”). We computed a mean score index, with higher values indicating more desired contact.

Meta perceptions of ingroup's desire for contact were assessed with three items about the extent to which participants perceived Turkish-Germans (the ingroup) as desiring contact with Germans, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) ($\alpha = .83$; sample item, “to what extent do you think that Turkish-Germans want to interact with Germans?”). We computed a mean score index, with higher values indicating more desired contact.

Intergroup contact was assessed with items focusing on positive contact and negative contact.

Positive contact was assessed by five items (Reimer et al., 2017) on a 5-point-likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very often) (e.g. “being supported, helped, complimented, befriended, and made to feel welcome”; $\alpha = .88$). We computed a mean score index, with higher values indicating more positive contact.

Negative contact was assessed by five items (Reimer et al., 2017) on a 5-point-likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very often) (e.g. “being verbally abused, intimidated, threatened with harm, ridiculed, and made to feel unwanted”; $\alpha = .82$). We computed a mean score index, with higher values indicating more negative contact.

Bicultural Identity Integration was assessed with the BII scale II (Huynh et al., 2018). 10 items assessed harmony versus conflict dimension (e. g., “I feel conflicted between the German and the Turkish way of doing things”) and 7 items assessed cultural blendedness versus compartmentalization dimension (e. g. “I feel Turkish and German at the same time”) ($\alpha = .76$). The 10 items assessing harmony vs. conflict dimension revealed a low alpha ($\alpha = .51$). After removing two items (5 and 10), the alpha was adequate ($\alpha = .81$). All items were scored on a 5-point-likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). We computed a mean score index for blendedness and for harmony, with higher values indicating more blended cultural identities and more perceived cultural harmony.

Demographics included sex, age, generation of immigration, employment, income, ethnicity, citizenship, religious identification and political orientation, and were adapted from the European Social Survey 7nd round 2014.

CHAPTER 4

Results

Analyses were conducted with the statistics-software IBM SPSS Statistics (version 26). Results start with preliminary analyses describing participants BII in general and separately for first- and second-generation immigrants. Then, we present results of the linear regression analysis with meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact and intergroup contact (H1). Third, follows the moderation analysis with meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact, bicultural identity integration and intergroup contact (H2). Fourth, we present results from the linear regression of bicultural identity integration with intergroup contact (H3).

4.1. Preliminary Analysis

Descriptives and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 1.1.

To examine how participants experienced their bicultural identity integration (BII), we conducted one-sample t-tests comparing means of both BII dimensions (blendedness and harmony) against the scale midpoints. Concerning blendedness dimension, participants indicated higher levels of blendedness ($M = 3.8$, $SD = .81$, range: 1 - 5) than the midpoint of the scale $t(103) = 16.196$, $p < .001$. Concerning harmony dimension, participants also indicated just higher levels of harmony ($M = 3.0$, $SD = .89$, range: 1 - 5) than the midpoint of the scale, $t(108) = 7.005$, $p < .001$. To examine if mean scores on BII dimensions (blendedness and harmony) vary depending on participant's generation of immigration, we conducted an independent sample t-test. Results revealed no significant differences between first ($M = 3.6$, $SD = .78$) or second-generation immigrant's ($M = 3.9$, $SD = .39$) on BII blendedness dimension $t(91) = -1.232$, $p = .221$. However, we found significant differences between first generation immigrant's ($M = 3.5$, $SD = .74$) and second generation immigrant's ($M = 2.9$, $SD = .93$) mean scores on BII harmony dimension, $t(96) = 2.437$, $p = .017$. That is, perceived cultural harmony was lower among second-generation participants.

Table 1.

Zero-order Correlations, Means and Standard Deviation.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Inmeta	3.2	.88	-								
2 Outmeta	2.6	.79	.39**	-							
3 Negative contact	2.0	.80	-.15	-.35**	-						
4 Positive contact	3.2	.95	.08	.33**	-.37**	-					
5 BII harmony	3.0	.81	.20*	.26**	-.43**	.27**	-				
6 BII blendedness	3.8	.81	.01	.10	.12	.09	-.03	-			
7 Age	32.2	10.3	-.18*	-.10	-.06	.05	.20*	.08	-		
8 Religious Identification	3.4	2.1	-.10	-.21*	.18	-.29**	-.17	-.11	-.15	-	
9 First gen. immigrant **			-.20*	-.01	-.18	.10	.22*	-.11	.59**	-.31**	-
10 Second gen. immigrant***			.25**	-.05	.26**	-.17	-.22*	.14	-.38**	.35**	-.79**

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$. ** Dummy-coded: 1 = first generation immigrants, 0 = second and third generation immigrants. ****Dummy-coded: 1 = second generation immigrants, 0 = first and third generation immigrants. Inmeta = meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact, Outmeta = meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact.

4.2. Meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact and intergroup contact

We conducted two linear regression analyses to investigate first if Turkish-Germans meta perceptions of the outgroups desire for intergroup contact predict positive intergroup contact. Then, we investigated if Turkish-Germans meta perceptions of the outgroups desire for intergroup contact predict negative intergroup contact².

The results of the first model, including meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact and positive intergroup contact, indicated that meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact explained 10% of the variance ($R^2 = .10$, $F(1,121) = 14,355$, $p < .001$).

The results of the second model, including meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact and negative intergroup contact, indicated that meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact explained 12% of the variance ($R^2 = .12$, $F(1,118) = 16.487$, $p < .001$). Supporting our H1, meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact were positively associated with positive intergroup contact ($B = 0.398$, $t = 3.789$, $p < .001$) and negatively associated with negative intergroup contact ($B = -0.361$, $t = -4.060$, $p < .001$).

4.3. Meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact and Bicultural Identity Integration

To test Hypothesis H2 we ran a moderation analysis using SPSS PROCESS macro (Model 1) (Hayes, 2013). Meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact were entered as the predictor, the dimensions harmony and blendedness of BII were entered separately, as moderators, and positive contact and negative contact were entered as separate outcomes (see Table 2).

Contrary to the expected (H2), BII dimensions of blendeness and harmony did not moderate the relation of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact with positive or negative contact. However, the harmony dimension was positively related to positive contact and negatively related to and negative contact (see Table 2). That is, the more participants perceive cultural harmony between their cultures, the more they experience positive intergroup contact and the less they experience negative intergroup contact. The blendedness dimension was not significantly related to neither positive nor negative contact.

² Considering that religious identification was significantly related to positive contact, we replicated the regression analysis including it as a covariate. The pattern of results did not change.

Table 2.

Moderation analysis of meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact, BII harmony dimension, BII blendedness dimension and positive and negative contact.

Poscont		<i>B</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>p</i>	LLCI	ULCI
	Constant	3.2524	.0927	.0000	3.0686	3.4362
	Inmeta	.0215	.1096	.8451	-.1958	.2387
	BIIH	.2799	.1059	.0095	.0699	.4900
	Int_1	-.1158	.1157	.3192	-.3453	.1136
$R^2 = .0812, F(3.105) = 3.0947, p = .0301$						
Poscont		<i>B</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>p</i>	LLCI	ULCI
	Constant	3.2551	.0958	.0000	3.0650	3.4452
	Inmeta	.0493	.1139	.6660	-.1767	.2754
	BIIB	.1073	.1186	.3680	-.1281	.3426
	Int_1	-.1703	.1508	.2615	-.4694	.1289
$R^2 = .0225, F(3.100) = .7686, p = .5143$						
Negcont		<i>B</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>p</i>	LLCI	ULCI
	Constant	2.0333	.0699	.0000	1.8947	2.1719
	Inmeta	-.0006	.0826	.9943	-.1644	.1632
	BIIH	-.3787	.0799	.0000	-.5371	-.2203
	Int_1	-.019	.0873	.8280	-.1540	.1920
$R^2 = .1872, F(3.105) = 8.0626, p = .0001$						
Negcont		<i>B</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>p</i>	LLCI	ULCI
	Constant	2.0217	.0722	.0000	1.8687	2.1748
	Inmeta	-.0511	.0917	.5786	-.2331	.1309
	BIIB	.1144	.0955	.2339	-.0751	.3039
	Int_1	-.0845	.1214	.4882	-.1564	.3253
$R^2 = .0226, F(3.100) = .7716, p = .5126$						

Note. Inmeta = meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact, BIIB = bicultural identity integration's dimension blendedness vs. compartmentalization, BIIH = bicultural identity integration's dimension harmony vs. conflict, Poscont = positive contact, Negcont = negative contact

4.4. Bicultural Identity Integration and Intergroup Contact

We conducted a linear regression analysis to investigate if bicultural identity integration predicts positive and negative intergroup contact.³

First, we entered separately the BII blendedness dimension as predictor for positive ($R^2 = .008$, $F(1,102) = .775$, $p = .381$) and then for negative ($R^2 = .014$, $F(1,102) = 1.481$, $p = .226$) intergroup contact. In both models, blendedness was not significantly associated with neither positive ($B = 0.104$, $t = .880$, $p = .381$) nor negative ($B = 0.116$, $t = 1.217$, $p = .226$) intergroup contact.

Second, we entered separately the BII harmony as a predictor for positive and then for negative contact. Results of the first model, including harmony dimension and positive intergroup contact, indicated that the harmony dimension explained 7.2% of the variance ($R^2 = .072$, $F(1,107) = 8.355$, $p = .005$). Results of the second model including harmony dimension and negative intergroup contact, indicated that the harmony dimension explained 18.7% of the variance ($R^2 = .187$, $F(1,107) = 24.588$, $p < .001$).

Partially supporting H3, BII harmony was positively related with positive intergroup contact ($B = 0.296$, $t = 2.891$, $p = .005$) and negatively associated with negative intergroup contact ($B = -0.381$, $t = -4.959$, $p < .001$). That is, the more participants perceive cultural harmony between their cultures, the more they experience positive intergroup contact. On the other side, the less harmony (i.e., tension and conflict) participants perceive between their cultures, the more they experience negative intergroup contact. The BII dimension blendedness did not predict positive and negative contact.

³ We replicated the regression analysis including age and generational status as covariates. The pattern of results did not change.

Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

Discrimination of Turkish immigrants and their descendants continues to be a central problem in German society. Not only mental health studies showed increased reports of depression, panic and suicidal ideation among Turkish migrants compared to other migrants and German natives (Beutel et al., 2016), but also recent hate crimes against Islamic community indicate existing intergroup conflicts (Luft, 2011; Tagesschau, 2020; Thijssen et al., 2021; Weichselbaumer, 2016). With the aim to strengthen peaceful intergroup relations it is of crucial importance to further investigate intergroup contact, which is known to ameliorate intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew et al., 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011). More specifically, we aimed to understand what factors influence positive or negative intergroup contact experiences from the perspective of minority group members (Turkish-Germans), a domain that is traditionally less researched (Tropp et al., 2005; Vezzali et al., 2010; Lemmer et al., 2015; Greenland, 2021). Building on previous research regarding contact meta perceptions (Stathi et al., 2019), bicultural identity integration (BII) (Huynh, et al., 2011), and positive and negative intergroup contact (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017), this study examined how meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for contact relate to Turkish-Germans experiences of positive and negative contact. Furthermore, it analysed how Turkish-German's bicultural identity integration is related to contact experiences and moderate the impact of meta perceptions of contact. Overall, our findings showed that meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact, and differences in BII play both a significant role in predicting positive and negative intergroup contact experiences of Turkish-German individuals.

In line with recent research (Stathi et al., 2019) and supportive of H1, the meta-perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact was associated with both positive and negative intergroup contact. Since previous research measured only the impact of contact meta perceptions on the quality of intergroup contact as a symmetric construct (on one scale, with high values indicating positive contact and low values indicating negative contact) (Stathi et al., 2019), this study extends these results by focusing on positive and negative intergroup contact separately (on 2 scales), that promise more precise results, since positive and negative intergroup contact were recently shown to be asymmetric (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017). Overall, results showed that the degree of association of meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact with positive and negative intergroup contact was similar, but in

opposite directions. That is, the more Turkish-German participants (ingroup) perceived Germans (outgroup) to desire contact with Turkish-Germans (ingroup), the more they experienced positive contact. Also, the more Turkish-German participants (ingroup) perceived Germans (outgroup) to desire contact with Turkish-Germans (ingroup), the less they experience negative intergroup contact.

These findings replicate the recent findings of Stathi and colleagues (2019) showing that contact meta perceptions seem to be a powerful variable to account for when looking at intergroup contact from minorities perspective. These findings are also in line with previous research on acculturation that has shown that minorities expectations about intergroup interactions are associated with their perceived quality of intergroup contact (Matera et al., 2012; Deegan, Hehman, Gaertner, & Dovidio, 2015). Contact expectations and meta perception, therefore, seem to have a big impact on shaping intergroup interactions from minorities' perspective and should be further investigated.

However, our results also replicate the recent findings of Stathi and colleagues (2019) showing that Turkish-Germans (minorities) meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact were not associated with either positive or negative contact. Indeed, meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact were only associated with outgroup's meta perceptions, as well as with perceived cultural harmony, age (negative association) and generation of immigration (negative association). Relatedly, prior research stressed that the more the outgroup is perceived to want contact, the more the ingroup reports to be interested in contact with the other group (Tropp et al., 2006).

Why it was only the meta-perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact that predicted positive and negative intergroup contact and not the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact as well, remains unclear, considering that we did not find support for the moderating role of bicultural identity integration (H2). Prior research on extended contact theory argued that perceived ingroup desire for contact should be positively associated to intergroup contact (Wright et al., 1997). However, as well as in Stathi and colleagues' findings with Muslim participants in the UK this was not the case in the current study.

In this study, we explored if high scores of BII would moderate the relationship of meta perception of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact and positive and negative intergroup contact. Contrary to the hypothesized (H2), results revealed no significant moderation. Thus, future studies could continue to explore factors that can explain when and how meta perceptions of the ingroup desire for contact relate to minorities experiences of actual contact. For instance,

a possible explanation could be a potential discrepancy between the perceived ingroup's desire for contact with the outgroup and the actual individual desire for contact with the outgroup that was not assessed and could potentially interfere this relationship.

Nevertheless, the BII harmony dimension was positively related to both meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for contact, indicating that even though the moderation was not significant, BII harmony and contact meta perceptions are related. Therefore, it can be interesting to further investigate the nature of this relationship by understanding how exactly they are associated (i. e. Has perceived cultural harmony a predictive power for the formation of contact meta perceptions?), using different types of analysis (e.g., mediations, regressions).

Moreover, it became clear that even though the tested moderation was not significant, there was a strong relation of BII harmony dimension with both positive and negative intergroup contact that was additionally examined through linear regression analysis. Overall, results indicated that differences in BII did affect Turkish-Germans positive and negative intergroup contact experiences. The harmony dimension, which mainly captures the affective component of managing two cultures (Huynh et al., 2011; Cheng et al., 2014; Benet-Martínez et al., 2021), was particularly related to both, positive and negative intergroup contact. That is, the more Turkish-German biculturals perceive cultural harmony, the more they indicate to experience positive intergroup contact and the less they indicate to experience negative intergroup contact. Thus, producing asymmetric results for positive and negative intergroup contact, stressed the importance of assessing them separately (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017). The other BII dimension, blendedness, that captures more perceptual, cognitive and behavioral aspects of the bicultural experience (Huynh et al., 2011; Cheng et al., 2014; Benet-Martínez et al., 2021), was not related to positive nor negative intergroup contact.

Thus, H3a and H3b were only partially confirmed, as it was just the harmony vs. conflict dimension, that was significantly related to positive and negative intergroup contact. High perceived cultural harmony was associated to individual's experience of more positive intergroup contact, while low perceived harmony (e. g. perceived conflict and clash between the cultures) was associated to individual's experience of more negative intergroup contact. These findings indicate that the affective component of biculturalism (e. g., feelings of harmony or conflict and clash between Turkish and German culture) seems to play a more powerful role in predicting positive or negative intergroup contact experiences for minorities, than cognitive and behavioral aspects of the bicultural experience (e.g., cultural competence, linguistic fluency) which are captured in the blendedness dimension (Cheng et al., 2014). Indeed, this in

in line with previous meta-analytical evidence showing that affective (i.e., anxiety, empathy) more so than cognitive (i.e., knowledge) factors underly the positive effects of contact on prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Therefore, future intergroup contact research on minorities could focus specifically on minorities affective components related to intergroup contact experiences (e.g., fear of rejection, intergroup anxiety, concerns about losing cultural identity etc.), since they seem to promise fruitful results.

However, the non-significant findings regarding of the BII blendedness dimension were surprising since we proposed that especially skills and competence in both cultures (that are captured in the blendedness dimension) might turn an intergroup contact experience more positive or negative. A possible explanation could be the relatively high levels of blendedness across the participants which indicate that most of the participants already move themselves fluently in both cultural contexts (e.g., speaking perfect Turkish and perfect German, applying cultural values correctly, etc.). Therefore, situations where a lack of cultural competence could influence the quality of intergroup contact experience, might not occur often. To further examine the impact of low blendedness on positive and negative intergroup contact, future research could examine first-generation immigrants that moved more recently to a new culture. Interestingly, even though participants scored high in blendedness, potentially because they live in Germany already for a long time (Luft, 2014), the average level of perceived cultural harmony was lower for second-generation immigrants. These results speak for potential perceived incompatibilities between the cultures, their values or religion, and are in line with prior research (Aumüller, 2010; Holtz et al., 2013; Beutel et al., 2016; Toprak, 2018; Moffitt et al., 2019; Thijssen et al., 2021).

Potential explanations why second-generation immigrants seem to perceive more incompatibilities and clash between Turkish and German culture than first-generation immigrants could be related to acculturation. For instance, depending on the acculturation preferences of the individual, and his/her perception of matching with the preferred acculturation orientations of German society, perceived harmony could increase or decrease (Berry, 2003; Navas, Rojas, García & Pumares, 2007; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi & Schmidt, 2009; Benet-Martínez et al., 2021). Specifically, acculturation research with German majority members showed that they are less willing to support cultural maintenance for second-generation immigrants, contrary to immigrants' preference of cultural maintenance and may therefore lead to particularly conflictual societal outcomes that likely influence Turkish-Germans perceived cultural harmony (Kunst & Sam, 2014). Furthermore, second-generation

immigrants that grow up in Germany are primarily exposed to the host cultural environment during their formative years in which they need to negotiate multiple issues related to identity processes and might be especially sensitive and permeable to tensions between the cultural identities (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Stevens, Pels Vollebergh & Crijnen, 2004; Giuliani, Tagliabue, Regalia, 2018).

5.2 Limitations and Future Research

This study is cross-sectional and does not allow to infer causality. Literature does not yet allow to draw a definitive line between antecedents and outcomes of bicultural identity integration. Until now, mainly correlational studies were conducted, and longitudinal research is arguably the most important plan for future research on BII in general (Benet-Martínez et al., 2021). Relatedly, the alpha score for BII harmony dimension was low, and two items had to be excluded in order to improve the scale reliability. This indicates that it is important to further test the recently developed BII dimensions (harmony and blendedness) (Huynh et al., 2018) in different contexts and with different samples- For example, across biculturals who have different ethnic backgrounds and are living in different countries. Additional research is needed in European countries, since prior BII research has focused mainly on Asian-American biculturals (Cheng et al., 2014). Moreover, it can be interesting to further investigate differences in BII dimensions across first, second and third-generation immigrants, to enhance knowledge on different developments of the dimension scores across time.

Another important limitation of this study is its relatively small sample size, and the consequent lack of power to detect significant relations. It is important to replicate this with a larger sample size. For instance, the non-significant moderation effect of BII on meta perceptions of the ingroup's desire for contact and positive and negative intergroup contact, could also be related to lack of power to detect it. Thus, further research is necessary to establish why, or under which conditions, the ingroup's desires for contact with the outgroup has weaker (or no) predictive role for the quality of intergroup contact. Disentangling contact meta-perceptions can further develop our understanding of contact avoidance and resegregation and positive and negative contact experiences in intergroup contexts (Al-Ramiah et al., 2015; Stathi et al., 2019).

During data collection, feedback of participants has been given, criticizing the measurement of positive and negative intergroup contact. Specifically, some participants indicated that the items were formulated to assess quality of intergroup contact just with the

outgroup (Germans). Since especially biculturals of the second-generation immigration often identify as both Turkish and German, the assessment of intergroup contact focusing on just one group (Germans) made them feel like they would not be seen as Germans and thus neglecting their German identity. Future measures of positive and negative intergroup contact, therefore, need to tackle this problem to guarantee ethic responsibility and to avoid harm for participants (APA, 2019). When looking at biculturals, we suggest to always assess intergroup contact with both cultural groups (e.g., in case of this study to assess perceived intergroup contact with Germans and with Turks). Considering this feedback and also the lower harmony scores of second-generation Turkish immigrants overall, it seems that bicultural identity of second-generation immigrants in the Turkish-German context might be an especially sensitive and difficult topic. This could be related to prior discrimination or identity neglecting experiences. Therefore, we recommend future research to focus on Turkish-German second-generation immigrants and specifically the potential antecedents for their perceived BII harmony dimension. Knowing more about what accounts for perceived harmony may offer important insights to create practical implications that can actually help Turkish-German second-generation immigrants to perceive more harmony between their inherited German and Turkish culture, thus increasing positive intergroup contact experiences and decreasing anxiety and depressive symptoms that are linked to low perceived cultural harmony (Chen et al., 2008; Downie et al., 2004; Miller et al., 2011).

Relatedly, since the BII harmony dimension was strongly related to negative intergroup contact, this relation could be further examined, especially considering previous research, which highlighted the strong effect of negative contact on prejudice increase, compared to the effect of positive intergroup contact on prejudice decrease (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017). For instance, it might be more important for future research to focus on factors that predict low harmony in order to prevent it and thus decrease negative intergroup contact (Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017).

5.3 Conclusion

The present research examined Turkish-German's meta perceptions of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact, their bicultural identity integration, and their relation to positive and negative intergroup contact experiences. Overall, our results showed that both meta perceptions of the outgroup's desire for contact as well as perceived cultural harmony were important aspects that predicted how Turkish-German biculturals experience positive and negative intergroup contact. These findings add to existing knowledge on how minorities experience intergroup contact. Besides (contact) meta perceptions, the way biculturals organize their bicultural identity (especially regarding the harmony dimension) plays an important role in their experience of intergroup contact.

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Appendix A – Questionnaire German

Start of Block: Informed consent

Die vorliegende Studie wird im Rahmen einer Masterarbeit an der Iscte - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (Universität Lissabon) durchgeführt. Thematisch geht es um die Erfahrungen und Gefühle von Türkischdeutschen im alltäglichen Umgang mit der deutschen Gesellschaft. Die Studie wird von Paula Duwe unter der Leitung von Dr. Rita Guerra (Iscte - IUL) und Dr. Loris Vezzali (Universität von Modena und Reggio Emilia) durchgeführt. Bei Fragen oder Kommentaren können Sie uns gerne kontaktieren. Ihre Teilnahme, die sehr geschätzt wird, besteht im Ausfüllen eines Online-Fragebogens der circa 10 - 15 Minuten dauern wird. Es sind keine signifikanten Risiken im Zusammenhang mit der Teilnahme an der Studie zu erwarten. Auch wenn Sie keinen direkten Nutzen aus Ihrer Teilnahme ziehen können, werden Ihre Antworten dazu beitragen, ein besseres Verständnis für die Erfahrungen von Deutsch-Türken in Deutschland zu entwickeln. Unter den Teilnehmer*innen wird ein 20 € Restaurantgutschein verlost und die Teilnahme ist absolut freiwillig: Sie können sich entscheiden, ob Sie teilnehmen möchten oder nicht. Wenn Sie sich für die Teilnahme entscheiden, können Sie sie jederzeit beenden, ohne sich dafür rechtfertigen zu müssen. Darüber hinaus ist die Teilnahme anonym und vertraulich. Die Daten dienen lediglich der statistischen Auswertung und keine Antwort wird individuell ausgewertet oder berichtet. Sie werden zu keinem Zeitpunkt während der Studie aufgefordert, sich zu identifizieren. Diese Studie folgt den ethischen Empfehlungen der ISCTE-Ethikkommission und wird von Dr. Rita Guerra (ana_rita_guerra@iscte-iul.pt) und Dr. Loris Vezzali (Universität Modena und Reggio Emilia, loris.vezzali@unimore.it) wissenschaftlich betreut. Wenn Sie Fragen oder Anmerkungen haben, wenden Sie sich bitte an Paula Duwe (pdeaa1@iscte-iul.pt), die Masterstudentin, die diese Forschung durchführt. In Anbetracht dieser Informationen geben Sie bitte an, ob Sie mit der Teilnahme an der Studie einverstanden sind und bestätigen, dass Sie mindestens 18 Jahre alt sind.

- Ich stimme zu (1)
- Ich stimme nicht zu (2)

End of Block: Informed consent

Start of Block: Demographics

Q1 *Wie alt sind Sie (bitte Zahlen zur Angabe benutzen)?*

Q2 Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?

- Grundschulabschluss (1)
 - Hauptschulabschluss (2)
 - Realschulabschluss (Mittlere Reife) (3)
 - Abitur (4)
 - Universitätsabschluss (Bachelor) (5)
 - Aufbaustudium (Master / Magister/ Diplom / Dokortitel) (6)
 - Weiß ich nicht (7)
-

Q3 Was ist Ihr aktueller Beschäftigungsstatus?

- Studierend (1)
 - Arbeitslos (2)
 - Beschäftigt (wenn zutreffend geben Sie bitte Ihren Beruf an) (3)

 - In Rente/Pension (4)
 - Anders (5) _____
-

Q4 Mit welchem Geschlecht identifizieren Sie sich?

- Männlich (1)
- Weiblich (2)
- Divers (3)
- Ich möchte nicht antworten (4)

Q5 *In welchem Land sind Sie geboren?*

Q6 *In welchem Land sind Ihre Eltern geboren?*

Q7 *In welchem Land sind Ihre Großeltern geboren?*

Q8 *Haben Sie die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft?*

- Ja (1)
- Nein (2)
- Ich möchte nicht antworten (3)

Q9 *Haben Ihre Eltern die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft?*

- Ja (1)
- Nein (2)
- Eine/r von Ihnen (3)
- Ich möchte nicht antworten (4)

Display This Question:

*If If In welchem Land sind Sie geboren? Text Response Does Not Contain deutschland
And And In welchem Land sind Sie geboren? Text Response Does Not Contain Deutschland*

Q10 *Wie alt warst du als du nach Deutschland gekommen bist?*

Q11 *Mit welcher dieser genannten, kulturellen Gruppen identifizierst du dich am Meisten?
(gib nur eine an):*

- Türkisch-Deutsch / Deutsch-Türkisch (1)
- Deutsch (2)
- Türkisch (3)
- Andere: (4) _____

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Contact Meta-Perceptions

Q12 Bitte geben Sie an, inwieweit Sie die folgenden Aussagen für zutreffend halten.

	Überhaupt nicht 1	2	3	4	Sehr viel 5
Inwieweit denken Sie das Deutsche etwas mit Deutsch-Türken zutun haben wollen? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inwieweit denken Sie das Deutsche es mögen mit Deutsch-Türken zutun zu haben? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inwieweit denken Sie das Deutsche Interesse haben etwas mit Deutsch-Türken zutun zu haben? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inwieweit denken Sie das Deutsch-Türken etwas mit Deutschen zutun haben wollen? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inwieweit denken Sie das Deutsch-Türken es mögen mit Deutschen zutun zu haben? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Contact Meta-Perceptions

Start of Block: Intergroup fears and concerns among the minority group

Q13 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Nie 1	2	3	4	Immer 5
Wie häufig haben Sie bei Kontakt mit Deutschen Angst diskriminiert zu werden? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie häufig haben Sie bei Kontakt mit Deutschen Angst abgelehnt zu werden? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Intergroup fears and concerns among the minority group

Start of Block: Quantity of direct Contact

Q14 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Keine 1	2	3	4	Viele 5
Wie viele Deutsche kennen Sie? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q15 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Nie 1	2	3	4	Immer 5
Wie häufig haben Sie im Alltag etwas mit Deutschen zu tun? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie häufig begegnen Sie Deutschen im Alltag? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Quantity of direct Contact

Start of Block: Quality of contact

Q16 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Überhaupt nicht eng 1	2	3	4	Sehr eng 5
Wie eng fühlen Sie sich insgesamt mit Deutschen verbunden? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q17 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Nicht viel 1	2	3	4	Sehr viel 5
Wie viel Wert legen Sie insgesamt auf die Zeit die Sie mit Deutschen verbringen? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q18 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Nicht wichtig 1	2	3	4	Sehr wichtig 5
Wie wichtig sind Ihnen insgesamt die Beziehungen, die Sie zu Deutschen haben? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q19 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Sehr niedrig 1	2	3	4	Sehr hoch 5
Wie würden Sie die Qualität Ihrer Beziehungen zu Deutschen insgesamt bewerten? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q20 Bitte geben Sie an...

	Nicht freundlich 1	2	3	4	Sehr freundlich 5
Wie angenehm und freundlich ist im Allgemeinen der Kontakt, den Sie mit Deutschen haben? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Quality of contact

Start of Block: Positive contact

Q21 Bitte geben Sie an, wie oft Sie die folgenden Situationen im Umgang mit Deutschen erleben

	Nie 1	2	3	4	Sehr häufig 5
Wie oft werden Sie von Deutschen unterstützt? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft wird Ihnen von Deutschen geholfen? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft bekommen Sie Komplimente von Deutschen? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft freunden Sie sich mit Deutschen an? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft werden Sie von Deutschen willkommen geheißen? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Positive contact

Start of Block: Negative contact

Q22 Bitte geben Sie an, wie oft Sie die folgenden Situationen im Umgang mit Deutschen erleben

	Nie 1	2	3	4	Sehr häufig 5
Wie oft werden Sie von Deutschen verbal beleidigt? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft werden Sie von Deutschen eingeschüchtert? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft bedrohen Deutschen Sie mit Gewaltanwendung? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft werden Sie von Deutschen ausgelacht? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wie oft lassen Deutsche Sie unerwünscht fühlen? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Negative contact

Start of Block: Extended Contact

Q23 Wie viele deiner (Deutsch-)Türkischen Freunde haben Deutsche Freunde?

Q24 Geben Sie die Anzahl der (Deutsch-)Türken die Sie kennen an, die deutsche Freunde haben

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

End of Block: Extended Contact. Q25 Bicultural Identity Integration

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu 1	2	3	4	Stimme voll und ganz zu 5
Ich finde es einfach, die türkische und die deutsche Kultur in Einklang zu bringen. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich fühle mich durch meine Bilingualität selten zwiespalten (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es fällt mir leicht, die Balance zwischen der türkischen und der deutschen Kultur zu finden (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich fühle mich nicht zwischen der türkischen und der deutschen Kultur gefangen (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich fühle mich zwischen der türkischen und der deutschen Kultur hin- und hergerissen (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu 1	2	3	4	Stimme voll und ganz zu 5

Ich habe das Gefühl, dass meine türkische und meine deutsche Kultur nicht miteinander vereinbar sind. (7)

Ich fühle mich zwischen der deutschen und der türkischen Art, wie man Dinge handhabt zwiegespalten (8)

Ich fühle mich wie jemand, der sich zwischen zwei Kulturen hin und her bewegt. (9)

Ich fühle mich nicht zwischen der türkischen und der deutschen Kultur gefangen (10)

End of Block: Bicultural Identity Integration Harmony vs Conflict

Start of Block: Bicultural Identity integration Cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalization

Q26 Bitte geben Sie an inwieweit Sie den folgenden Aussagen zustimmen

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu 1	2	3	4	Stimme voll und ganz zu 5
Ich kann die türkische oder deutsche Seite in mir nicht ignorieren. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich fühle mich türkisch und deutsch zugleich (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich kann mich besser einer kombinierten türkisch-deutschen Kultur als nur der türkischen oder nur der deutschen Kultur allein zuordnen (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I fühle mich türkisch-deutsch (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich fühle mich als Teil einer gemischt-zusammengesetzten Kultur (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich verschmelze meine türkische und deutsche Kultur nicht (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ich führe türkische und deutsche Kultur getrennt (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Bicultural Identity integration Cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalization

Start of Block: Attitudes towards minority rights

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu 1	2	3	4	Stimme voll und ganz zu 5
Die deutsche Regierung tut wenig, um die kulturelle Identität von Minderheiten zu schützen (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Minderheiten sollten das Recht haben, ihre Identität im kulturellen Leben auszudrücken (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Die Bundesregierung sollte Minderheiten dabei unterstützen, ihre eigene Identität zu bewahren (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Minderheiten sollten ihre eigenen Schulen gründen dürfen (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In deutschen Schulen sollte es für Minderheiten möglich sein etwas über ihre eigene Kultur und Geschichte zu lernen (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Minderheiten sollten das Recht haben, ihre eigenen politischen Organisationen zu gründen (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Das deutsche Fernsehen sollte mehr Programme von und für Minderheiten ausstrahlen (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Jede kulturelle Gruppe sollte das Recht haben, ihre Überzeugungen auszudrücken und zu verbreiten (8)

Minderheiten in Deutschland sollten viel mehr Rechte haben, als sie bisher haben (9)

Minderheiten haben das Recht, ihre eigene Sprache zu schützen und zu behalten. (10)

End of Block: Attitudes towards minority rights

Start of Block: DEMOGRAPHICS II

Q27 In der Politik spricht man manchmal von "links" und "rechts". Wo würden Sie sich selbst auf dieser Skala einordnen, auf der 0 für links und 7 für rechts steht?

Links

Rechts

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

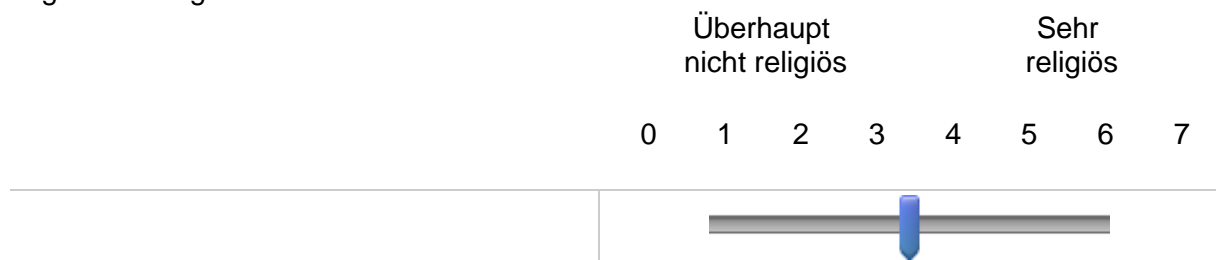
Ordnen Sie sich ein.



Q28 Was ist Ihre Konfession?

- Römisch-Katholisch (1)
 - Evangelisch (2)
 - Orthodox (3)
 - Andere christliche Konfession (4)
 - Jüdisch (5)
 - Islamisch (6)
 - Östliche Religionen (7)
 - Andere nicht-christliche Religionen (8)
 - Keine Konfession (9)
 - Ich möchte nicht antworten (10)
 - Andere: (11) _____
-

Q29 Unabhängig davon, ob Sie einer bestimmten Religion angehören, was würden Sie sagen wie religiös Sie sind?



Q30 Welche der Beschreibungen kommt dem am nächsten, wie Sie das Einkommen Ihres Haushalts heutzutage empfinden?

- Ich lebe komfortabel von meinem aktuellen Einkommen (1)
- Ich komme mit meinem aktuellen Einkommen zurecht (2)
- Ich finde es schwierig, von meinem aktuellen Einkommen zu leben (3)
- Ich finde es sehr schwierig, von meinem aktuellen Einkommen zu leben (4)
- Ich weiß es nicht (5)



Q31 Anmerkungen und Kommentare zu dieser Studie:

Q32 Wenn Sie an der Gutscheinverlosung (20€ Restaurant) teilnehmen wollen, geben Sie bitte hier Ihre E-Mail an

End of Block: DEMOGRAPHICS II
