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Migration – keine Last, sondern eine Chance

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In den heutigen Medien taucht immer wieder eine hochdebattierte Thematik auf – Migration. Während ein beachtenswert großer Teil der Migranten „freiwillig“ in der Eurozone migriert, sind viele Leute gezwungen, in Europa nach einem neuen Zuhause zu suchen. Durch Krieg, Naturkatastrophen, Hungersnöte, Krankheiten und andere humanitäre Katastrophen werden viele aus ihren Heimatländern vertrieben und suchen Zuflucht und eine sichere Unterkunft in anderen Ländern. Da die meisten Geflüchteten aus Afrika und Asien stammen, bieten die relativ nahen und wohlhabenden Regionen von Zentral- und Westeuropa die Chance, Frieden und Freiheit zu finden. Jedoch setzt sich der Leidensweg für viele auf der Reise fort. Die Überquerung des Mittelmeers von Afrika nach Europa mit kleinen Booten birgt viele Gefahren. Hinzu kommt, dass Anti-Immigrationsbewegungen in ganz Europa sowie rechtsgerichtete Populisten die Neuankömmlinge nicht willkommen heißen (Pohl & Wodak, 2011). Durch die Flüchtlingskrise und andere Ereignisse, betrug die Zahl der Menschen, die auf der Suche nach Schutz in den letzten 10 Jahren nach Europa kamen, 5.033.545. Diese verstärkten „Flüchtlingsströme“ führten dazu, dass sich die öffentliche Meinung gegenüber Migration deutlich verschlechterte. Migranten, insbesondere nicht-europäische, werden von einem wesentlichen Teil der europäischen Bevölkerung als Bedrohung für die europäischen Werte und die europäischen Wirtschaftsgüter wahrgenommen. Darüber hinaus kreieren lockere Grenzkontrollen und ein internationalisierter Arbeitsmarkt ein Unbehagen in der allgemeinen Bevölkerung (Goodhart, 2017).

Diese negativen Einstellungen gegenüber Fremden lassen sich zu einem Großteil durch die Soziale Identität Theorie von Tajfel und Turner aus dem Jahre 1974 erklären. In dieser Theorie wird postuliert, dass Menschen ihre natürliche Umgebung in Kategorien einteilen und bewerten. Genauer gesagt heißt das in Bezug auf Migranten, dass Leute, die einem ähnlich sind, der Eigengruppe zugeordnet und favorisiert werden. Im Gegensatz dazu werden Leute mit eher unähnlichen Eigenschaften, insbesondere die offensichtlichen wie Hautfarbe, Ethnie, Religion oder Sprache der Fremdgruppe zugeordnet und als falsch, nicht vertrauenswürdig oder sogar gefährlich eingestuft (Popa-Roch & Delmas, 2010). Als Resultat folgen Vorurteile, Diskriminierung und in extremsten Fällen oftmals auch Gewalt gegen die Fremdgruppe. Dabei spielt nach Reicher et al. (2008) nicht nur das Denunzieren der Fremdgruppe, sondern vor allem auch die Lobpreisung der Eigengruppe eine Rolle. Diese simple Technik der Schwarz-Weiß-Kategorisierung wird oftmals von Agitatoren verwendet, um klare Fronten zu schaffen und durch eine stärkere Homogenisierung die Eigengruppe besser kontrollieren zu können.

Abgesehen von der moralischen Verwerflichkeit solcher Hetzmethoden, stellt die Einfachheit der Kategorisierung in Eigen- und Fremdgruppe ein Problem dar. Denn obwohl sich Heuristiken als mentale Abkürzungen im alltäglichen Leben durchaus ihre Berechtigung haben (Kahneman, 1982), verwehrt das schnelle Abstempeln, basierend auf oberflächlichen Charakteristiken und Verallgemeinerungen, zwischenmenschliche Kontakte und Kooperationen.

Die internationale Kooperation zwischen fremden Kulturen ist jedoch auf einem globalisierten Markt essentiell.

Gegenüber Migranten werden Vorurteile oftmals als mentale Heuristiken benutzt, obwohl sie meist unbewiesen und ungerechtfertigt sind. Ein Beispiel ist die Annahme, dass Migration die lokale Wirtschaft bedroht und den Finanzsektor negativ beeinflusst. Bezogen auf diese Annahme, konnte nur ein neutraler, wenn nicht sogar positiver Effekt von Migration in einer Reihe von Studien bewiesen werden (Gott & Johnson, 2012; OECD, 2014). Dennoch verweilen solche Vorurteile in den Köpfen der Bevölkerung (Batsaikhan et al., 2018), was auf eine Fehlkommunikation von Fakten gegenüber der Bevölkerung schließen lässt. Unterstützt durch falsche Behauptungen und Anfeindungen von Agitatoren wird eine erfolgreiche Integration verhindert.

Anstatt einer Last könnte Immigration durch Integration eine Chance darstellen. Durch die Überalterung der Gesellschaft und den Mangel an Fachkräften in vielen Branchen der europäischen Wirtschaft (Ruhs, 2010) könnte ein Ausgleich durch Migranten geschaffen werden. Schaut man auf die Anzahl der Stellenausschreibungen und die Ab-/Einwanderungsraten der Länder, wird deutlich, dass vor allem in osteuropäischen Ländern mehr qualifiziertes Personal gesucht wird und gleichzeitig mehr Leute die Länder verlassen. Diese Kluft könnte durch Migranten, im Besonderen von nicht-europäischen Migranten, geschlossen werden. Davon könnten auf der einen Seite die Migranten, auf der anderen Seite aber auch die Unternehmen profitieren.

In der Datenanalyse „Diversity Matters“ der internationalen Beratungsfirma McKinsey wurde deutlich, dass international ausgerichtete Unternehmen einen deutlichen Marktvorteil und bessere Erfolgschancen gegenüber ihren ethnozentrisch ausgerichteten Kontrahenten haben. Insgesamt haben international ausgerichtete Unternehmen eine 35% höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit, Um-

sätze über dem nationalen Branchenmedian zu erzielen. Auf der anderen Seite erreichen Firmen, die nicht auf Diversität in ihrer Arbeiterschaft setzen, oftmals nicht mal den Durchschnitt (Hunt, 2015).

Den Nährwert, den internationale Zusammenarbeit hat, wird an dem Beispiel der VW-Skoda-Fusion deutlich. Durch den „Tandemansatz“, bei dem deutsche VW-Manager tschechische Skoda-Manager in kapitalistische Managementstrukturen nach dem Fall der Soviet Union einführten, während die tschechischen Manager die deutschen in den lokalen Gegebenheiten unterrichteten, konnte eine Symbiose durch interkulturelle Zusammenarbeit geschaffen werden, die sich monetär bis heute positiv auf beide Unternehmen auswirkt (Guttman, 1995).

Durch solche Beispiele wird deutlich, dass Migration eine Chance darstellt, wenn diese Angelegenheit mit Sorgfalt und Struktur angegangen wird. Dies betrifft nicht nur Großkonzerne aus der Automobilbranche, sondern auch kleine und mittelständische Unternehmen, für die internationale Zusammenarbeit und die Inklusion von ausländischen Fachkräften die Möglichkeit bietet, auf einem globalen Arbeitsmarkt konkurrenzfähig zu sein. Damit dies jedoch möglich ist, muss die öffentliche Meinung zum Positiven bekehrt werden. Darüber hinaus sollten die Wissenschaft, öffentliche Einrichtungen, NGO's, Unternehmen und Regierungen zusammenarbeiten, um Barrieren zwischen den Kulturen zu überwinden und das Fortbestehen der europäischen Werte wie Einheit und Menschlichkeit auch für die Zukunft zu sichern.

Die Beiträge sowie dieser Leitartikel, entstanden in dem Kontext des BMBF-Projektes „Kulturelle Öffnung – Diversity und Interkulturelle Kompetenz im Kontext der Integration von Geflüchteten“. Die Beiträge wurden bei dem Workshop und Small Research Meeting im Dezember 2018 präsentiert.

Migration – not a burden, but a chance

In today's media, one highly debated topic constantly reoccurs – migration. Whereas a substantial part of migrants moves “voluntarily” within the Eurozone, many people are forced to search for a new home. Due to events such as war, natural disasters, famine, disease and other humanitarian crises, many people are driven from their home countries and seek for shelter. Since most refugees stem from Africa and Asia, the relatively close and prosperous regions of Central and Western Europe offer the possibility to find peace and freedom. Yet, the agony doesn't end for many with leaving the region. Boarding small boats and crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Africa to Europe bears dangers. On top of that, anti-immigration movements throughout Europe and right wing populists do not give their welcome to the newly arrived sojourners (Pohl & Wodak, 2011). With the refugee crisis and other events, 5.033.545 people came to Europe for shelter in the last 10 years. The high immigration flow changed the public opinion towards migration for the worse. Migrants, especially non-European migrants, are perceived by a substantial part of the European society as a threat to European values and economic assets. Moreover, loose border regulations and the internationalization of the labor market put many people at unease (Goodhart, 2017). Thereby, economic, but also ideological reasons play a role for hostile attitudes and behavior towards refugees and migrants in general.

As described by Tajfel and Turner (1974) the social identity and the identification with a certain group, in this case the nationality, should not be underestimated in their explanatory power regarding people's motives to think and act as they do. Unfamiliar traits of outgroup members, especially the obvious ones such as skin color, religious beliefs, customs and language are perceived as different from one's own and therefore

ultimately considered to be wrong, untrustworthy, inappropriate and dangerous (Popa-Roch & Delmas, 2010). As a result prejudices, discrimination or, at its most extreme form, violence are often the consequences of such separation processes. As described by Reicher et al. (2008) not only hostility and despise of the outgroup are necessary conditions for collective hate. Moreover, praising the ingroup as virtuous and superior makes it possible for agitators to influence the public opinion and create hardened fronts. Mostly, collective hate is created to gain political power, since a unified homogenous group with a common enemy is easier to control. The simplicity of denouncing others and praising the ingroup is a quite successful strategy, because the heroes (the ingroup), the enemy (the outgroup) and the duty to fulfil (reject/fight) are clear. The mere division in “us” and “them” is comprehensible by everybody, which makes it possible to deliver the message across all educational levels. Next to the problem of morality and the danger of escalation concerning hatred towards the outgroup, the flawed and over simplistic nature of scapegoating is a problem itself.

While heuristics and mental short cuts based on a few external cues render helpful in routine based everyday tasks (Kahneman, 1982), interpersonal contact with unfamiliar cultures are complex situations that require the ability to abstract. Hence, while cues in form of differences obviously exist such as ethnicity or cultural aspects, commonalities are present as well. Using heuristics based on these differences to make overall assumptions about people is not only erroneous, but also problematic if they are generalized to every member of the outgroup. Judging people preventively denies the possibility of potential intercultural cooperation, which is necessary in the globalized world of today – especially on an international labor market.

That is, while the societal cleft between cultures and worldviews poses a challenge to the future of humanity, a more tangible

and topical issue is the economic loss that is created through ethnocentric economic activities. Leaders of anti-immigration movements often propagate the claim that migration threatens the local economy and negatively affects the fiscal sector. This claim cannot be verified by the literature (Batsaikhan et al., 2018). Instead, rather the opposite seems to be true. In the study of Gott and Johnson (2012) the researchers could confirm that there is no significant difference between host country nationals and migrants in terms of: 1) paying more taxes than public services, 2) and have a second or third job. In another report by the OECD it is stated that a rather neutral effect on the fiscal sector by migration was observed (OECD, 2014). With such empirical evidence, the myth of the "lazy migrant" is debunked, yet still prevails in the heads of the public (Batsaikhan et al., 2018). Apparently, a miscommunication of facts to the public, supported by false claims and rumor made by agitators and denouncers seems to fuel hostility towards migrants, preventing measures to integrate them successfully.

Yet, immigration could be a chance rather than a burden. Many European markets face the loss of skilled workers and up-and-coming talents. This is partly due to demographic factors such as over ageing of the population, but also due to brain drain and migration itself. While entire Europe is the destination for many refugees from e.g. Africa, economic migrants from Eastern Europe migrate within the Eurozone to wealthier countries in the west. This creates a lack of people, especially in the artisanal branches (Ruhs, 2010). By looking at the job vacancy rates across Europe, it becomes eminent that job offerings are growing. However, plotting the net migration rate against this job vacancy numbers, one can see higher emigration numbers than immigration numbers, especially for Eastern European countries. More jobs, but less people creates a gap that needs to be filled in order to avoid economic devastation in the long-term. Gaps, that can be filled by mi-

grants from outside of Europe. Hence, European societies and decision makers have the opportunity to create a situation with regulated and fostered integration measures that benefit the individual, migrants, and enterprises alike. The data analysis "Diversity Matters" of the global consultancy agency McKinsey shows that diversity orientated organizations have better chances at succeeding at the globalized market and outpace competitors that follow a uniformity approach. In more detail, organizations, which incorporated diversity management successfully in their organization's strategy to integrate people with different backgrounds at the work place, are 35% more likely to reach revenues above their respective national industry medians. Contrary, companies in the bottom quartile of gender and ethnicity management are significantly less likely to reach revenues above average. On top of that, results from the U.S. could confirm a linear relationship between revenue and diverse work forces (Hunt, 2015).

Europe that underwent major economic changes due to the end of the cold war, the collapse and the Soviet Union and the growth of the European Union with open-border policies, ex-socialist countries such as the Czech Republic had to adapt to a capitalist western market. German major corporations such as the automobile giant Volkswagen saw the opening of borders as a chance. They strove for the expansion on the Eastern European market by merging with the popular Czech automobile brand Skoda. While this endeavor would give them access to a new market, the company entered unknown territory. To successfully reach their new target group and establish a branch office in the Czech Republic, they had to understand their new target group and regulations in the new environment. Yet, they intended to keep their successful company philosophy and Volkswagen management strategies. Therefore, they developed the so called "tandem approach", which is based on the exchange of intercultural knowledge (Gutmann, 1995). German

managers were sent as expatriates to the Czech Republic, where they taught their equal Czech manager counterparts the Volkswagen strategies, whereas the Czech managers explained local conditions and gave insider information on the Eastern European market. This model has proven to be highly successful, benefiting both Volkswagen and Skoda.

With examples like this, it stands to reason that migration constitutes an opportunity, if the matter is approached with care and structure. While the example above explains the success of two major automobile players, this is also important on a smaller scale affecting small and medium sized business. After all, the heterogeneity in European societies grows, bringing knowledge and skills from different regions around the globe. For this to happen however, the public opinion needs to be in favour of migration and integration measures. Moreover, science, public authorities, NGO's, corporations and governments need to develop measures that overcome the barriers between cultures and ensure the prevailing of European values such as unity and humanity.

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Welcome Culture?: Cultural Intelligence, Contact and Social Orientation toward Refugees

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Abstract

As violence against refugees is increasing, the reduction of prejudices becomes more and more important. Based on an online study with 159 students, the constructs contact quality, contact quantity, social orientation and cultural intelligence are implied to explain prejudices against refugees. Thereby, this study examines three forms of prejudices: open, subtle and implicit prejudices. It reveals that contact quality, social orientation and cultural intelligence are partially useful for the prediction of certain forms of prejudices, while contact quantity does not show any influence on prejudices.

Keywords: Prejudices; refugees; cultural intelligence

Willkommenskultur?: Kulturelle Intelligenz, Kontakt und soziale Orientierung in Bezug auf Geflüchtete

Zusammenfassung

Mit zunehmender Gewalt gegen Flüchtlinge wird der Abbau von Vorurteilen immer wichtiger. Basierend auf einer Online-Studie mit 159 Studierenden werden die Konstrukte Kontaktqualität, Kontaktmenge, soziale Orientierung und kulturelle Intelligenz angedeutet, um Vorurteile gegenüber Flüchtlingen zu erklären. Dabei untersucht diese Studie drei Formen von Vorurteilen: offene, subtile und implizite Vorurteile. Es zeigt sich, dass Kontaktqualität, soziale Orientierung und kulturelle Intelligenz teilweise für die Vorhersage bestimmter Formen von Vorurteilen nützlich sind, während die Kontaktmenge keinen Einfluss auf Vorurteile zeigt.

Schlüsselwörter: Vorurteile; Flüchtlinge; kulturelle Intelligenz

Kurzfassung

Die derzeitige Flüchtlingskrise und die zunehmend feindlichen Einstellungen gegenüber Flüchtlingen sowie das Vorhandensein von Vorurteilen stellt die grundlegende Frage nach geeigneten Konstrukten, die als Prädiktoren für Vorurteile gegenüber

Flüchtlingen dienen. In dieser Studie wird eine differenzierte Sicht auf solche Vorurteile eingenommen.

Basierend auf einer Online-Studie mit 159 Studierenden sollte anhand verschiedener Skalen und eines Reaktionszeittests untersucht werden, ob sich die Konstrukte Kontaktqualität, Kontaktquantität, soziale

Orientierung und „kulturelle Intelligenz“ dazu eignen, Vorurteile von Studierenden gegenüber Geflüchteten möglichst zuverlässig vorherzusagen, um zu verstehen, was die Bedingungen von Diskriminierung sind, um dieser möglicherweise entgegenzuwirken. Dabei werden drei Formen von Vorurteilen untersucht: offene, subtile und implizite Vorurteile.

In dieser Studie war es möglich, die verschiedenen Konstrukte und Vorurteilvariablen zu erheben und somit Beiträge zur Bewältigung der negativen Begleiterscheinungen der aktuellen Flüchtlingskrise auf wissenschaftlicher Basis zu erbringen. Hierdurch konnte ein wertvoller erster Beitrag geleistet werden, um Vorurteile gegenüber Geflüchteten besser zu verstehen und um diesen entgegenzuwirken.

Der vermutete negative Einfluss der „kulturellen Intelligenz“ auf die Vorurteile wurde zwar nachgewiesen, zeigt sich jedoch als relativ schwach. Ebenfalls zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass sich bei einer höheren Kontaktqualität und „kulturellen Intelligenz“ die relative Wahrscheinlichkeit des Auftretens von hohen offenen Vorurteilen verringert. Ein vergleichbarer Effekt zeigt sich bei einer höheren Kontaktqualität sowie sozialen Orientierung und der relativen Wahrscheinlichkeit des Auftretens von hohen subtilen Vorurteilen. Weitere signifikante Einflüsse der vier Konstrukte Kontaktqualität und -quantität, soziale Orientierung und „kulturelle Intelligenz“ auf die relative Wahrscheinlichkeit des Auftretens hoher offener, subtiler sowie impliziter Vorurteile lassen sich bei der Datenanalyse in dieser Studie nicht bestätigen. Der fehlende signifikante Einfluss der Kontaktquantität lässt vermuten, dass sich nicht die Häufigkeit, sondern die Qualität des Kontaktes zu Geflüchteten auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit des Auftretens von Vorurteilen auswirkt. Es hat sich außerdem gezeigt, dass die Aufnahme von Kontakt als Moderator zur Vorhersage von Vorurteilen durch die Ausprägung der sozialen Orientierung nur für subtile Vorurteile geeignet ist.

Als kritische Limitationen sollte berücksichtigt werden, dass die Stichprobe relativ klein ist.

Auch wenn alle angewendeten Messinstrumente gute Gütekriterien aufweisen, zeigen die Ergebnisse nicht die vermuteten Zusammenhänge auf. Dies könnte man mit dem Zeitpunkt der Messung erklären. Als die Untersuchung durchgeführt wurde, war zwar die Präsenz der Flüchtlingskrise in den Medien hoch, wodurch die damit verbundenen Ängste und die Aktivierung von potentiellen Vorurteilen als hoch einzuschätzen ist, jedoch fanden kaum oder relativ wenige Kontakte mit Geflüchteten statt. Von hoher realer Kontaktquantität und daraus resultierender hoher Kontaktqualität kann kaum ausgegangen werden.

Da die Strukturgleichungsmodelle sich in dieser Stichprobe nicht bestätigt haben, bedarf es weiterer Forschungsarbeiten, inwieweit die unterschiedlichen Vorurteilsformen von verschiedenen Konstrukten beeinflusst werden. Auch wenn zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt die Notwendigkeit weiterer Forschung im Hinblick auf eine möglichst effektive Vorhersage von Vorurteilen gegenüber Geflüchteten besteht, kann das Bewusstsein über die Relevanz der Thematik und über den Nutzen einer Berücksichtigung eine wertvolle Grundlage bilden.

1 Introduction and theoretical background

Europe has to confirm their commitment to provide the necessary resources for a dignified survival of refugees. From a humanitarian point of view, this is of high relevance: Since migration will be a big topic of the future, a lack in humanitarian ways to deal with this topic has barbarism as its only alternative (some name it the ‘clash of civilizations’) (Žižek 2015, p. 82).

The current refugee crisis imposes a great challenge to the European Union, which will exacerbate with a possible in-

crease in migration flows in the future. The present study addresses these challenges, especially the challenge of hostility towards refugees by citizens of the host society. In fact, people respond with prejudice to growing social and cultural diversity on a regular basis (Benz & Widmann, 2007; Fuchs, 2007). Furthermore, it is to be expected that such prejudices against refugees will increase, with the rising number in refugees (Anger et al., 2010; Weiguny, 2016; Ziegler & Beelmann, 2009). One possible way of approaching this challenge is to involve decision makers, with low prejudices against refugees, in organisations. Role modelling from respective decision makers can lead to the prevention of discriminatory attitudes and to a reduction in discrimination. Such considerations lead to the fundamental question about suitable constructs serving as predictors for prejudices against refugees. In this study, a differentiated view will be taken on prejudices against refugees. For that matter, the constructs cultural intelligence, contact and social orientation will receive special attention as variables that might predict prejudices. In the following, the different relevant variables will be examined in detail.

1.1 *Prejudices and prejudices against refugees*

Prejudices can be understood as an expression of attitudes (Aronson et al., 2008). In more detail, attitudes are expectations and evaluations towards people, objects and ideas (Wirtz, 2013). That is, stereotypes and prejudices, as a special form of attitudes, function as an orientation for individuals in a complex world. Furthermore, they support the delimitation of one's own identity from others as we all as one's own group from other groups (Benz & Widemann, 2007). However, these definitions are nothing new to the world of social sciences.

Prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination are classical terms from social psychol-

ogy, with their very own, distinct definition. For example, stereotypes can be understood as a general assumption about a group. The group characteristics created by stereotypes are attributed to all group members, without considering individual differences (Aronson et al., 2008). Discrimination on the other hand, can be defined as hostile, negative behaviour towards group members due to their attributed group characteristics (Aronson et al., 2008). However, when it comes to the development of prejudices, the definition does not seem as universal as for the other two. In research, different theoretical explanations of the development of prejudices exist (Benz & Widemann, 2007).

One theory is the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT). Thereby, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes contribute to the development of prejudices or discriminatory behaviour (Stephan et al., 1999). Realistic threats are conflicts between groups and put the basis of existence or the well-being of one's own group in danger. Yet, a threat can only be perceived as real, but does not necessarily have to be real (Stephan et al., 1999).

The symbolic threat describes perceived differences between groups in regard to moral, values, norms, standards, attitudes and beliefs. Intergroup anxiety includes feelings, which can be perceived by the interaction with members of a different group. These feelings are often negative and expressed through fear because of the lack in superficial identification with the other group as well as profound differences in values (Stephan et al., 1999).

In this study, it is distinguished between subtle, open and implicit prejudices. The subdivision between subtle and open prejudices is derived from the definitions by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). Subtle prejudices are indirect, detached and sober. They are characterized by defending traditional values, super evaluation of cultural differences as well as a lack of positive emotions towards a foreign group (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

Open prejudices are expressed direct, close and emotional. They are characterized by a perceived threat of the foreign group, the feeling of superiority of the own group, avoidance of the other group, as well as feelings of power (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). In contrast to open and subtle prejudices, implicit prejudices describe subconscious and uncontrolled attitudes. Moreover, implicit prejudices are attitudes activated without an intent and by the presence of a trigger (Turner & Hewstone, 2012).

In this study, the term *refugees* is defined as a description of a group in the broad sense. A detailed definition of the term refugee can be found in convention documents relating to the legal status of the person (The UN Refugee Agency, 1951). According to this definition a person is considered a refugee, when he/she leaves his/her home because of the fear of being persecuted. The fear of persecution has to be based on race, religion, social group membership, political opinion or nationality in order to receive the status of a refugee (The UN Refugee Agency, 1951).

It can be observed, that this definition is not known to the public (Treibel, 2011). However, in this study, individual prejudices are analysed. Thus, it is important that the definition of refugees reflects a more common understanding. Based on the definition of the Duden Spelling Dictionary, the term refugee will be referred to in this paper as a person, who had to hastily leave their home for various reasons.

Prejudices against refugees can have a negative impact on their integration. Moreover, as a consequence of prejudices, the reduction of intercultural contact and negative attitudes of the local population towards refugees hinders integration (Zagefka & Nigbur, 2009). Also, research indicates that discrimination negatively affects the physical und mental health of refugees (Hansen & Sørli, 2012; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Ziegler & Beelmann, 2009). Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes and Garcia (2014)

confirmed in their meta-analysis that perceived discrimination has a negative impact on the mental well-being of the victims.

In the Eurobarometer 437, 56% of the German citizens answered that the ethnic background can be viewed prejudicial during candidacies, regardless whether the same qualifications were given (European Commission, 2015). Therefore, prejudices influence in different ways the evaluation of applicants and employees (Weuster, 2012). Previous studies showed that a foreign name or accent could negatively affect the perceived suitability (Schneider et al., 2014; Weuster, 2012). The lack of objective and qualitative selection procedures fosters the practical relevance of heuristical decisions such as prejudices and stereotypes (Kanning, 2015). But discrimination often does not only have negative consequences for the applicants but also for the employers. Thereby it is possible that qualified applicants are rejected and their competencies are not available to the organisation.

1.2 Contact, cultural intelligence and social orientation

Prejudices against refugees can be influenced by the contact between the parties (Allport, 1981; Binder et al., 2009). According to Allport (1981), contact on eye level with common goals leads to a reduction in prejudices. Furthermore, promoting conditions of cooperation between parties as well as the support by authorities has an effect. Subsequently, the contact hypothesis was topic of numerous research studies (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stürmer, 2008). Yet, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) showed in their meta-analysis that contact without the condition of Allport (1981) reduced prejudices.

In this study it is assumed that both, contact and intercultural competence can be beneficial to counteract prejudices, especially against refugees. First it is to note that cultural intelligence correlates highly with

intercultural competence (Matsumoto & Hysung, 2013). Cultural intelligence can be understood as the individual's ability to act appropriately in situations that are created by cultural diversity (Ang et al., 2006). In more detail, cultural intelligence is a multi-dimensional construct consisting of the dimensions of meta-cognitive, cognitive, motivational and behavioural cultural intelligence. The dimension meta-cognitive cultural intelligence describes mental processes for acquisition and understanding of cultural awareness (Ang et al., 2007). The cognitive cultural intelligence describes the knowledge of norms, practices and traditions of different cultures. Motivational cultural intelligence describes the ability of investing time and energy in learning intercultural situations (Van Dyne et al., 2009). The fourth dimension, the behavioural cultural intelligence refers to the ability to behave appropriately in intercultural situations (Ang et al., 2007).

In this study it is also assumed that a higher *social orientation* has proven useful to counter prejudices. Kanning (2009b) describes social orientation as a whole portfolio of abilities, skills and knowledge of an individual to improve social behaviour. The improvement of the social situation is shaped by the implementation of personal aims during the act as well as the social acceptance of such (Kanning, 2009b). The individual competencies consist inter alia of relative consistent personality traits as well as mechanisms of mental behaviour regulations (Wirtz, 2013). The social orientation describes a positive attitude towards third parties in general. People with high levels of social orientation are able to put themselves into other people's position and take other perspectives. Also, they are characterized by high levels of tolerance towards other's values and norms (Kanning, 2009a).

2 Methods

In this study it is assumed that a high expression of cultural intelligence fosters unprejudiced attitudes towards refugees of different cultures. The interactions between contact, prejudices and social orientation will be analysed. In this context, the following hypotheses will be presented.

2.1 Hypothesis 1

The construct of cultural intelligence is related to the ability of adaption (Gröschke, 2013). In turn, adaptability is associated with low expression of distinctive prejudice (Butler & McManus, 2011). These findings allow the conclusion that cultural intelligence is negatively related, at least indirectly, to prejudices. Also it is assumed that dimensions of cultural intelligence can affect the variables of ITT. For example, an individual with high motivational cultural intelligence should display low intergroup anxiety. Furthermore, high cognitive as well as meta-cognitive cultural intelligence lead to less negative stereotypes (Girvan, 2016). These considerations are presented in figure 1 and lead to the following partial hypotheses (see Figure 1. Hypothesis 1.).

- (1a) Higher distinctive cultural intelligence of students forecasts lower distinctive open prejudices towards refugees.

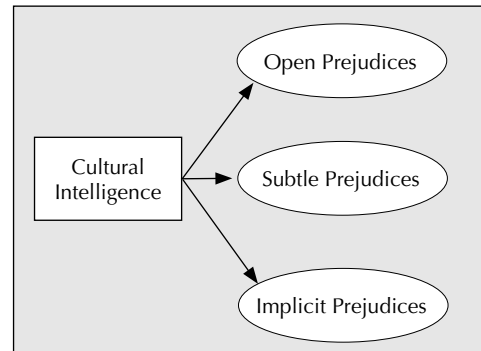


Figure 1. Hypothesis 1