The role of gender in the recognition of social and political rights of ethnic minorities: a reflection on its implications for research on tolerance

Valentina Di Stasio

Introduction

Societies characterized by increasing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity are tasked with the challenge of promoting social cohesion while at the same time regulating the accommodation of group differences in the public sphere (Koopmans & Statham, 1999). In Western Europe, the debate about integration largely focuses on Muslim immigrants and their descendants, people whose values and traditions are perceived as fundamentally at odds with the norms and values of secularized and originally Christian societies (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Foner, 2018). In this context, Muslim practices such as the wearing of the headscarf, the ritual slaughtering of animals according to Islamic law, the building of Mosques, or the founding of religious schools are hotly contested. Interestingly, even people who are generally positive or neutral towards Muslims as a group show a reluctance to accept specific practices because they consider them objectionable or controversial, often on the basis of secular convictions (Helbling, 2014; Imhoff & Recker, 2012).

While intergroup differences in what constitutes the good life can hardly be erased, and dissenting views and practices are unlikely to be endorsed by people who hold fundamentally different convictions, they can still be tolerated. Various understandings of toleration have been discussed in the field of social psychology, inspired by contributions from philosophy and political theory (for recent reviews see: Verkuyten et al., 2019, 2020). Acknowledging that tolerance

is still a "contested concept" (Ziztmann et al., 2021, p.2)[1], the focus of the current study is on respect-based tolerance. From this perspective, tolerance presupposes a basis of respect and acknowledgment of equal rights.

In this study, I contribute to an emerging line of research on the boundaries of tolerance and focus on the gender of the tolerated outgroup. Recent studies have analyzed whether individuals' willingness to tolerate a practice depends on the type of practice they are asked to tolerate. The starting point of my analysis is the observation that many of the practices that are contested in society are not only Muslim practices, but also heavily gendered ones, the wearing of the headscarf being a case in point. Gender is likely to be especially salient for practices enacted by Muslims, as the public discourse on the integration of Muslims in European societies is centered on gender-related issues such as the acceptance of gender equality and task divisions within families (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018). Furthermore, stereotype content research has consistently found that Muslim men are perceived as oppressive, violent, and aggressive (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012; Wiemers & Di Stasio, 2022) and public opinion studies have documented particularly hostile attitudes towards Muslim men (Bansak et al., 2016; Ward, 2019). To the extent that the negative stereotyping of Muslim men induces feelings of threat, people might be reluctant to recognize them as equal fellow citizens. In the following, I bring together research on toleration with research on social dominance, group threat, and multiple categorization (described below in more detail) to examine whether the basis for respect-based toleration, i.e. the acknowledgment of fellow citizens as equals, varies depending on the gender of the tolerated outgroup.

Respect-based tolerance of gendered practices and gender gaps in equality recognition

According to the disapproval–respect model of tolerance (Simon & Schaefer, 2016; Simon et al., 2019), outgroup toleration is only possible when the disapproval of others' beliefs, dispositions or practices perceived as objectionable is counterbalanced by feelings of respect and equality recognition. Although people may disapprove of specific outgroups' practices or beliefs, they may still be willing to tolerate the ways of life of ethnic and religious minorities out of respect for them as equal fellow citizens, thus restraining their disapproval without removing it. In other words, respect functions as the overriding reason for suspending interference (Galeotti, 2015): a "powerful restraining force" (Simon, 2020, p.157) counterbalancing disapproval.

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[1] Different notions of toleration have been discussed in the literature. The focus of this study is on a respect-based understanding of tolerance, which differs from a permission-based understanding of toleration, or from forms of intuitive tolerance as it implies a more equal relationship between groups.

The hypothesized positive relationship between outgroup respect and tolerance – i.e., the outgroup respect–tolerance hypothesis – has been examined in several recent studies. Longitudinal research has confirmed that respect for disapproved outgroups is a causal antecedent of outgroup tolerance among both ethnic and religious minorities (Simon & Schaeffer, 2016) as well as majority groups (Simon et al., 2019). The link between respect and outgroup toleration has also been supported experimentally (Simon et al., 2019). A recent meta-analysis has taken stock of this emerging field of research, showing that the effect of respect on tolerance is both positive and substantial across a range of studies conducted in different countries and focusing on different outgroups (Ziztmann et al., 2021).

Respect-based tolerance is based on the principled belief that all citizens are autonomous members of society with equal rights (Velthuis et al., 2021). It implies that the tolerating parties recognize one another as morally and politically equal, even when fundamentally disagreeing about what constitutes the good life (Forst, 2012). While respect-based toleration presupposes the recognition of others as fellow citizens with equal rights, it does not require the approval of the outgroup beliefs and practices one is tolerating (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Instead, the recognition of outgroup members as different equals requires one to take into consideration what members of different groups in society value and to make reasonable accommodations (Simon, 2020), accepting their "right to their own way" (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017, p.76).

Among different sources of respect, the recognition of people's standing as equals, also known as equality recognition, has proven to be the strongest predictor of outgroup tolerance (Simon et al., 2019; Ziztmann et al., 2021), in line with Honneth's (1995) recognition theory. Respect toleration on the basis of equality recognition is the acknowledgment that specific practices, customs, and traditions are to be seen as legitimate options in the context of pluralist societies, to the extent that they are harmless and do not infringe on the rights of others. Respect guarantees the full inclusion of minorities in society on an equal footing as the majority group, and their entitlement to full participation in society without having to abandon their different lifestyles, beliefs, or practices (Forst, 2012).

Next to establishing the source of tolerance, recent works have focused on the limits of tolerance and whether toleration depends on the type of practice one is asked to tolerate (e.g. Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Dangubi et al., 2020). To answer this question, researchers compared tolerant judgments across a range of different practices. For example, Gieling and colleagues (2010) found that participants were least tolerant of a homophobic statement made by a religious authority and most tolerant of the wearing of a headscarf, with the cases of the

schools and the shaking of hands in between. They interpreted these differences as an indication that practices that violate strong moral norms are perceived as wrong and unacceptable. In line with this finding, a homophobic statement was also the least tolerated practice in the study by Hirsch et al. (2019). Similarly, Sleijpen et al. (2020) reported the lowest level of tolerance for an anti-abortion statement made by an imam. Instead, practices that are associated with the personal domain, such as the wearing of religious dress, were better tolerated (Dangubi et al., 2020; Gieling et al., 2010).

As shown in Table 1, however, the practices that were compared in the studies just described also varied with regard to the gender of the Muslim actor who was performing the act, with the least (most) tolerated practices being also the ones

Table 1: Operationalization of Muslim practices in tolerance research

Study	Muslim practices to be tolerated	Results in relation to actor's gender
Gieling, Thijs & Verkuyten (2010)	- wearing of a headscarf - female Muslim teacher not shaking hands with men - founding of separate Muslim schools - imam voicing harmful opinions about homosexuals	Participants were least tolerant of a homophobic statement (<u>male actor</u>) and most tolerant of the wearing of a headscarf (<u>female actor</u>), with the cases of the schools and the shaking of hands in between.
Hirsch, Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran (2019)	- founding of religious primary schools - exclusion of women from religious boards - homophobic statements by religious authorities, i.e. imam/priest	Participants were least tolerant of a homophobic statement (<u>male actor</u>) and most tolerant of founding religious schools, with the exclusion of women in between.
Dangubi, Verkuyten & Stark (2020)	- Muslim/Christian religious education in public schools for those who want it - wearing of visible religious symbols (veil/nun's habit) in public schools	Participants showed less discriminatory rejection of Muslim practices when evaluating religious dress codes (<u>female actor</u>)
Sleijpen, Verkuyten & Adelman (2020)	- wearing of a religious necklace by a civil servant - organization of religious lessons in a community centre - requesting a quiet room at the workplace for praying - a religious authority (minister/imam) equating abortion with murder	Participants were rather intolerant towards the anti-abortion statement made by a religious authority (<u>male actor</u>), while they were more likely to accept the other three practices than to forbid them

Note. The list of studies is not meant to be exhaustive.

performed by men (women). Interestingly, Gieling et al. (2010) also found, based on a sample of Dutch adolescents, that girls were more tolerant than boys for practices enacted by Muslim women and less tolerant than boys for the practice enacted by Muslim men.

A confounding of actor's gender with practice type may overestimate or underestimate differences in tolerance across practices, depending on the gender of the person enacting the practice. Research on multiple categorization has highlighted that ethno-racial and gender categories are perceptually and psychologically intertwined; as a result, they interact to determine the meaning of group membership, how people with intersecting identities are perceived, and what they experience in intergroup contexts (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). In particular, the subordinate male target hypothesis (SMTH), derived from social psychological theories of social dominance, posits that individuals have an evolutionary tendency to support non-egalitarian group-based hierarchies and that outgroup males are the primary targets of intergroup aggression and discrimination (Sidanius et al., 2018). Because ethnic hierarchies result from a competition over scarce symbolic and material resources largely involving males, it is men from subordinate groups (e.g., outgroup males) that disproportionately lose out in the race. From this perspective, racial and ethnic bias is primarily directed towards outgroup men, who are treated with hostility by other men out of rivalry while at the same time being avoided by women out of perceived threat and fear of sexual coercion (Navarrete et al., 2010).

The SMTH is consistent with the more hostile attitudes against immigrant men found in survey experiments conducted among natives (e.g., Gereke et al., 2020; Ward, 2019). Extending this intersectional perspective to research on tolerance, it is plausible that the egalitarian pre-condition that is at the basis of respect-based tolerance would less easily apply to outgroup males than to outgroup females. Hence, I hypothesize:

> *Hp1: All else equal, equality recognition is lower if directed towards outgroup men compared to outgroup women.*

Gender gaps in equality recognition should be particularly pronounced for outgroups associated with gender inequality and male dominance. Muslims, in particular, are one of the most stigmatized groups in Europe, victims of negative stereotyping (Wiemers & Di Stasio, 2022), overt discrimination in access to scarce resources (Di Stasio et al., 2021; De Vries & Di Stasio, 2020) and subtler forms of interpersonal distrust (Aranguren et al., in press). The traditions and ways of life of Muslims are often seen with suspicion and interpreted as a symbolic threat to national identity or national security. These fears are fueled

by episodes of radicalization among European-born Muslims, typically men. A recent field experiment found that anti-Muslim discrimination is exacerbated in male-dominated occupations: to interpret this finding, the authors speculated that in contexts where masculinity is salient, Muslim males might be perceived as particularly threatening (Di Stasio & Larsen, 2020). Moreover, in the public debate on integration, Muslim men are typecast as misogynist and aggressive, and Muslim women as submissive and in need of liberation (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018; Wiemers & Di Stasio, 2022). Combining this line of research on group threat with the literature on toleration, I draw the following hypothesis:

> Hp2: Gender gaps in equality recognition are more pronounced for Muslim outgroups than for non-Muslim outgroups.

Method

Data and participants

The data used for this study were collected in December 2020. An online survey was administered by a survey agency to a nationally representative sample of the Dutch majority population (i.e. people born in the Netherlands with both parents born in the Netherlands) aged 18 years and older and regularly taking part in online panels. Originally, these data were collected for a different project on the topic of gendered ethnic stereotypes. The project received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Science of Utrecht University (FETC 20-516).

Of the 2,344 panelists who were invited to participate, 83 refused to provide informed consent and were excluded from the study. At the beginning of the survey, the remaining 2261 participants were randomly assigned to a group. Ten groups were varied between-subjects: Chinese, Indians, Moroccans, Dutch, Polish, Spanish, Somali, Syrians, Turkish, and a group of Muslims (with ethnic origin unspecified). These groups were presented either in generic terms (e.g., Chinese people living in the Netherlands), or in gendered terms (e.g., Turkish women, Polish men living in the Netherlands). The study also included a generic group of men and women, with national origin unspecified, for a total of 32 groups. Participants were first asked to provide a list of the stereotypes that they thought people in the Netherlands associated to the group they were assigned to, and then responded to a series of questions worded in relation to the specific group.

For the analysis, I retained the participants assigned to the gender-by-origin groups only (e.g., Muslim men; Muslim women). I further excluded those assigned

to the ingroup (Dutch women; Dutch men), as for them, the item I used as the dependent variable in the analysis was worded in relation to ethnic minorities in general, with no reference to gender. The remaining sample consists of 1266 participants, aged between 20 and 80 (M_{age}=50.59; SD_{age}=15.83) and with a medium-to-high level of education (44% highly educated; 88% with at least a basic qualification). Approximately half of the sample (51%) was female. After excluding cases with missing values on the dependent variable, the sample used for the analysis consists of 1,254 participants, 1,209 of which had no missing values on the relevant measures.

Measures

Dependent variable. Equality recognition was captured with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*) measuring agreement with the question '*[Target group] should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch*'. The recognition of these rights is crucial for both political tolerance and social tolerance, with some studies even using equality recognition as a proxy for tolerance itself (e.g. Miklikowska, 2016). As equality recognition is a causal antecedent of tolerance (Schaefer et al., 2021; Simon & Schaeffer, 2016; Simon et al., 2019) and considering the distribution of this variable is heavily skewed, I distinguished between those who agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (1) and the rest (0). My focus is on differences between groups in the extent to which they are granted equal rights as the majority group: a dichotomized dependent variable reflects the respect understanding of tolerance, according to which equality recognition is a pre-condition for being tolerated. In the appendix (Table A3), I also report the results of analyses that rely on two different operationalizations, discussed below.

Independent variables. My main interest is in the effect of the gender and origin of the target group, and of their interaction, on equality recognition. A dummy variable distinguishes between male target groups (1) and female ones (0). Ethnic groups were recoded into a set of dummies differentiating between Asians (Chinese and Indians; the reference category), Europeans (Polish and Spanish), guest workers' descendants (Moroccans and Turks), recent refugees (Syrians and Somali) and Muslims. Two model specifications are presented below: one that pools together groups originating from Muslim-majority countries (Moroccans, Turks, Syrians, Somali, Muslims) and compares them with the rest; and a region-specific one that differentiates between Asians, Europeans, Moroccans/Turks (i.e., groups associated with post-war migration and guest workers programs), Syrians/Somali (i.e., groups associated with refugee flows) and Muslims (ethnic origin unspecified).

Controls. Attitudes towards the target group were measured with a group-specific feeling thermometer ranging from 0 (*as cold and negative as possible*) to 100 (*as warm and positive as possible*), with the mid-point indicating neutral feelings. Contact with the target group was measured on a 7-point scale (1=*never*, 7=*very often*). Beliefs that the target group suffers from discrimination in Dutch society were measured on a 7-point scale (1=*not at all*, 7=*very much*). These variables are not, strictly speaking, control variables: as participants were randomly assigned to the target groups, the coefficients for the gender and ethnic origin of the target are not expected to change after including the controls. Rather, I have decided to include these variables to show how they relate to equality recognition. Due to the random assignment of respondents to target groups, the results are robust to the inclusion of controls for respondents' gender, age and level of education (these variables are not added to the models presented below).

Analytic strategy

For the analysis, I estimated a series of linear probability models (LPMs) with robust standard errors to deal with violations of the homoscedasticity assumption. Cases with missing values were listwise deleted. Note that results are identical when using logistic regression models, but LPMs were preferred due to the more straightforward interpretation of both main and interaction effects (Hellevik, 2009; Mize, 2019). Coefficients from LPMs can be interpreted as the percentage point increase in the probability that the target group is seen as deserving of the same social and political rights as the Dutch.

Results

Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2, according to the gender of the target group. The majority of participants agreed or strongly agreed that the group they were assigned to deserved the same social and political right as the Dutch. This rather high level of endorsement of equality recognition (a pre-condition for outgroup tolerance: Simon et al., 2019) is consistent with the strong levels of respect-based tolerance found in previous research in the Netherlands (Velthuis et al., 2021). At the same time, and in line with expectations, endorsement was significantly higher for the female target groups, $\chi^2(1, N=1,254)=12.19$, $p<.001$. Participants also reported significantly warmer feelings for the female target groups, $t(1231)=-8.36$, $p<.001$. Frequency of contact and perceived group discrimination were comparable across target groups, regardless of gender.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics, by gender of the target group

	N	Mean/%	SD	Min	Max
Female target groups					
Deserving same rights	627	66.83	-	0	1
Feeling thermometer	619	59.41	20.01	0	100
Contact with target group	619	2.74	1.65	1	7
Perceived group discrimination	627	4.47	1.44	1	7
Male target groups					
Deserving same rights	627	57.26	-	0	1
Feeling thermometer	614	49.78	20.44	0	100
Contact with target group	618	2.82	1.68	1	7
Perceived group discrimination	627	4.43	1.52	1	7

The results of the LPMs are displayed in Figure 1 (the regression tables are provided in Table A1 in the Appendix). In these models, I collapsed groups associated with Muslim-majority populations (Moroccans, Turks, Syrians, Somali, Muslims) into a single category and compared them with non-Muslim groups (Chinese, Indians, Polish, Spanish). On average, participants were less likely to agree that the target group should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch if the target group was Muslim. At the same time, net of the type of minority group considered, equality recognition was significantly lower for male groups than for female groups, in line with Hp1. The interaction between gender and religion was statistically significant (b=-0.12, SE=0.04, p=.026; see model 2 in Table A1): while non-Muslim groups were considered similarly deserving of equal rights, regardless of gender, equality recognition was significantly lower for Muslim men than it was for Muslim women. As shown in Figure 1, gaps are far from negligible: the predicted probability of agreement that the target group should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch was 66% for Muslim women, but only 51% for Muslim men. Hp2 is also supported. The inclusion of the control variables did not affect the results. Unsurprisingly, participants were more likely to agree that the target group deserved equal rights the lower their prejudicial attitudes toward the group. At the same time, it should be stressed that the differential recognition of equal rights by gender and for Muslim and non-Muslim groups is independent of participants' prejudicial attitudes towards these groups. Interestingly, frequency of contact was not associated with equality recognition.
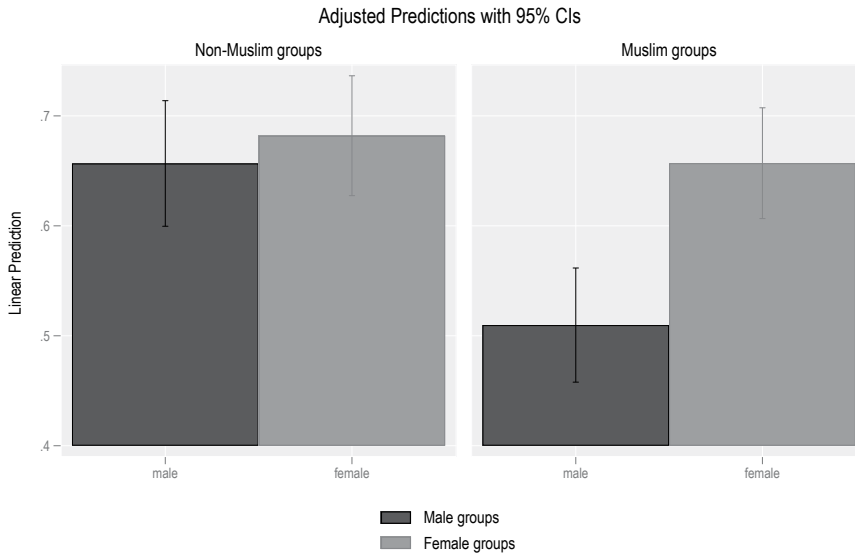
Figure 1: Predicted equality recognition for Muslim and non-Muslim groups, by gender. *Note*. Predicted probabilities were calculated with the margins command in Stata, from model 2 of Table A1 in the Appendix.

In additional analyses (available upon request), I included a control for party ideology. Participants reported their voting behavior at the previous national elections and I assigned to each party a score on a scale ranging from 0 (left) to 10 (right), based on the Populism and Political Parties Expert Survey (POPPA; Meijers & Zaslove, 2020). This cross-national survey measures the positions of 250 parties on key attributes related to populism, party ideology, and party organization, based on information provided by country experts. As some respondents could not vote, voted blank, preferred not to say, or voted for parties not included in the POPPA dataset, about one fifth of cases had a missing value on this variable. People voting for more conservative parties were less likely to agree that the minority groups deserved equal rights as the Dutch. Still, the gaps in equality recognition based on the gender and origin of the target groups are unaffected by the inclusion of the conservative ideology proxy (which is to be expected, given the random assignment of groups to participants). This analysis also shows that conservatism and outgroup prejudice have independent negative associations with equality recognition.

Furthermore, I re-ran the same models using two alternative operationalizations of equality recognition, namely the original continuous measure (though heavily skewed) and a dichotomized measure of denial of equality recognition, which distinguished those who strongly disagreed or disagreed with the original statement (1) from the rest (0). Results are reported in Table A3 in the Appendix.

When measured on a 5-point scale, equality recognition is still significantly lower for Muslim outgroups and for male outgroups, but the interaction is no longer statistically significant. Moreover, respondents were more likely to deny the recognition of equal rights to Muslim outgroups, especially if male (the interaction term is statistically significant: p=.004). The predicted probability of opposing or strongly opposing that the target group should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch was 17% for Muslim men, but only 12% for Muslim women. No gender differences were present for non-Muslim target groups. Overall, the interpretation of results is largely consistent with that of the main analysis: male outgroups were perceived as less deserving of equal rights than female outgroups. Overall, in two of the three operationalizations examined, the lower equality recognition granted to male outgroups was particularly pronounced for groups originating from Muslim-majority countries.

In the next set of LPMs, I disaggregated the Muslim and non-Muslim groups into ethnic categories differentiating between Asians, Europeans, Moroccans/ Turks, Syrians/Somali, and Muslims (ethnic origin unspecified). Asians, often considered a model minority (Kuipers & van der Ent, 2016), were the reference category in the regression models. Results are displayed in Figure 2 (the regression tables can be found in Table A2 in the Appendix). Compared to Asians, equality recognition was significantly lower for all other groups. This
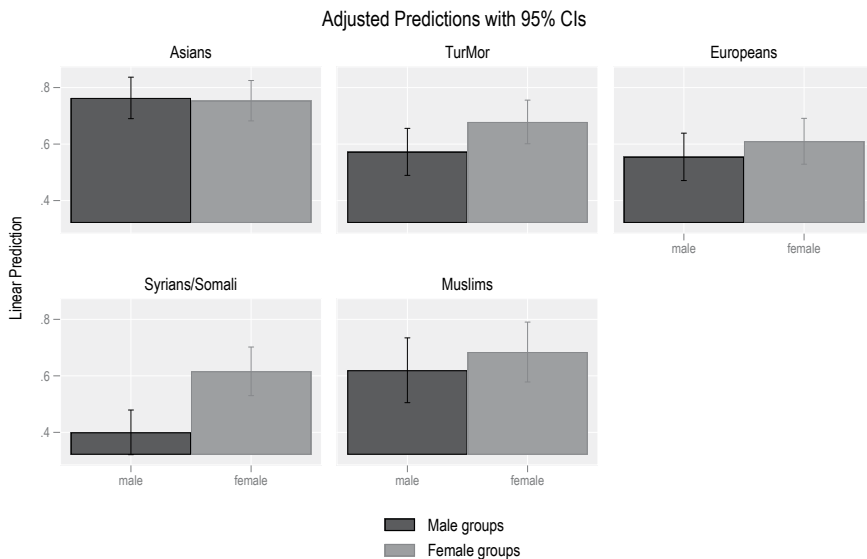

Figure 2: Predicted equality recognition, by gender and origin group.
Note. Predicted probabilities were calculated with the margins command in Stata, from model 2 of table A2 in the appendix.

result is quite interesting, considering that the data collection took place during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic, at a time when Asian minorities faced a heightened risk of harassment and discrimination. Gaps in equality recognition are especially sizeable for Europeans (i.e. Polish and Spanish minorities) and the refugee groups (i.e. Syrians and Somali). It is plausible that the reasons for limiting their social and political rights differ across groups. Although this explanation cannot be tested with the current data, Europeans are probably more likely to evoke feelings of ethnic competition and realistic threat, while Syrians and Somali may trigger symbolic threat (Hellwig & Sinno, 2017). Interestingly, equality recognition was not lower for the Muslim group when the ethnic origin of the group was unspecified: this result is in line with previous research by Velthuis et al. (2021), which relied on broad category labels (e.g. Muslims, non-Western immigrants) and did not find differences across groups.

With regard to the effect of gender, male target groups were perceived as significantly less deserving of equal rights than female target groups, net of ethnic origin. Furthermore, the models with interactions reveal significantly more pronounced gender gaps in equality recognition for the Syrian and Somali groups than for Asians. The predicted probability of agreement that Syrians and Somali should have the same social and political rights as the Dutch decreased by one third for men compared to women of the same groups. The interaction term for Turks and Moroccans is also marginally significant in the last model, indicating sizeable gender gaps in equality recognition for these groups, too (the F test for the joint significance of all interaction terms is marginally significant: p=.073; note that the hypothesis was one-directional). Interestingly, equality recognition is higher for the female groups within all outgroups expect for Asians, the ethnic origin less strongly associated with masculinity (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012).

Discussion

From a respect-based understanding of toleration, outgroup tolerance is made possible when feelings of respect towards others as equal fellow citizens can balance one's disapproval of outgroups' beliefs, preferences and practices. People whose practices are tolerated are recognized as "different equals" (Simon, 2020) who belong to a different religious, cultural, or ethnic group but are still granted equal rights by virtue of their membership in the same society. The findings from this study, however, show a selective pattern of equality recognition: Muslim women, and Syrian and Somali women in particular, were more readily recognized as fellow equal citizens by members of the Dutch majority population than males of the same outgroups.

Considering the outgroup respect-tolerance link established by previous research, and the role of equality recognition as a causal antecedence of respect-based tolerance, one implication of these findings is that dissenting practices enacted by Muslim men might be less tolerated than dissenting practices enacted by women. This double standard is characteristic of forms of intuitive tolerance (Verkuyten et al., 2020), whereby people accept the practices of one group (e.g., Muslim women) while rejecting the same practices when enacted by another group (e.g., Turkish men). As the authors explain: "intuitive intolerance implies intergroup differentiation whereby only some groups are denied their equal rights and freedoms" (p.469). In line with this interpretation of tolerance, my findings suggest that Muslim men may less likely be treated according to a respect-based understanding of toleration.

Empirically, given the gaps in equality recognition found in the current study, the gender of the tolerated may be a confounder in research designs that compare different dissenting practices enacted by actors of different gender (see Table 1). To avoid confounding, researchers are advised to opt for gender-neutral items as a way to operationalize dissenting practices, e.g. "the wearing of Islamic dress" (e.g., Adelman et al., 2021). If the research focus is on a practice associated with only one gender, such as the wearing of the headscarf, the comparison is obviously limited to practices enacted by females (e.g., Velthuis et al., 2022). If a mix of gendered practices is examined, equality recognition could be added to the analysis as a mediator to parse out the part of the association that is rooted in respect-based tolerance.

Lastly, a question to be addressed in future research is whether the extent to which a particular practice is tolerated depends on the gender of the tolerated. One-act-multiple-actors or multiple-acts-multiple-actors experimental designs (e.g., Dangubi et al., 2020) can vary the type of practice and the gender of the actor engaging in the practice independently, in order to differentiate between rejection of the practice itself (equal rejection) and a double standard in judgment (discriminatory rejection). Based on the gender gaps in equality recognition found in the current study, higher levels of tolerance are expected for practices enacted by women. These gaps might also depend on the gender of the tolerator.

Another fruitful avenue of inquiry is the extent to which Muslim women can leverage the gendered pattern of toleration shown in this study through political mobilization, advocacy and religious activism (Lewicki & O'Toole, 2017). Group-based claims-making plays a key role in minorities' struggles for recognition, but the literature has focused more on group demands and less on the process of claims-making and the agency of the actors involved. An interesting question

is whether the accommodation of minority rights depends on the gender of the actor engaging in acts of political mobilization and persuasion.

With this study, I hope to have contributed to the debate on the boundaries of tolerance and I conclude with a call for a sharper analytical distinction in future studies between the practices to be tolerated and the actors engaging in dissenting practices.

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Appendix

Table A1: Deserving equal rights: Muslim vs. non-Muslim groups

	Model 1 Main effects	Model 2 Interactions	Model 3 With controls
Muslim groups	-0.086**	-0.025	-0.017
	(0.027)	(0.038)	(0.037)
Male groups	-0.094***	-0.025	0.039
	(0.027)	(0.040)	(0.039)
Muslim X male		-0.122*	-0.103*
		(0.055)	(0.052)
Thermometer			0.008***
			(0.000)
Contact			-0.005
			(0.008)
Perceived discrimination			0.032***
			(0.009)
Constant	0.715***	0.682***	0.070
	(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.054)
N	1,254	1,254	1,209

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Stereotype data, 2020. * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.

Table A2: Deserving equal rights: gender-by-origin groups

	Model 1 Main effects	Model 2 Interactions	Model 3 With controls
Origin (ref. Asian):			
Turks/Moroccans	-0.131***	-0.075	-0.035
	(0.039)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Europeans	-0.174***	-0.144**	-0.094+
	(0.040)	(0.055)	(0.054)
Syrians/Somali	-0.254***	-0.138*	-0.108+
	(0.040)	(0.057)	(0.056)
Muslims	-0.105*	-0.069	-0.047
	(0.047)	(0.065)	(0.057)
Male groups	-0.088**	0.010	0.088+
	(0.027)	(0.052)	(0.051)
Origin X Male:			
Turks/Moroccan males		-0.116	-0.128+
		(0.078)	(0.076)
European males		-0.065	-0.091
		(0.079)	(0.077)
Syrian/Somali males		-0.226**	-0.213**
		(0.079)	(0.076)
Muslim males		-0.074	-0.047
		(0.095)	(0.087)
Thermometer			0.008***
			(0.001)
Contact			-0.014+
			(0.008)
Perceived discrimination			0.033***
			(0.009)
Constant	0.801***	0.754***	0.138*
	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.060)
N	1,254	1,254	1,209

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Stereotype data, 2020. + $p<.10$, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.

Table A3: Deservingness of equal rights: alternative coding of the dependent variable

	Continuous variable (1-5)		Dummy (disagree vs. rest)	
	Main effects	Interactions	Main effects	Interactions
Muslim groups	-0.216***	-0.163*	0.067***	0.019
	(0.057)	(0.074)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Male groups	-0.108*	-0.0485	0.016	-0.037+
	(0.054)	(0.074)	(0.018)	(0.021)
Muslim X male		-0.106		0.095**
		(0.103)		(0.033)
Thermometer	0.022***	0.022***	-0.005***	-0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Contact	-0.023	-0.023	0.013*	0.013*
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Perdiscr	0.101***	0.100***	-0.020**	-0.0195**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.007)
_cons	2.320***	2.296***	0.429***	0.450***
	(0.125)	(0.128)	(0.045)	(0.045)
N	1,209	1,209	1,209	1,209

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
Source: Stereotype data, 2020.
+ $p<.10$, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.