

CRISEI

Centro di Ricerca Interdipartimentale in Sviluppo Economico e Istituzioni

Discussion Paper Series

Hate Crimes and Immigrants' Social Identity: Evidence from the "San Gennaro's Massacre"

Maria Rosaria Carillo, Tiziana Venittelli, Alberto Zazzaro

**Discussion
Paper No. 1
January 2024**

ISSN: 2280-9767



CRISEI - Università di Napoli - Parthenope

Università degli Studi di Napoli - Parthenope

CRISEI

Hate Crimes and Immigrants' Social Identity: Evidence from the "San Gennaro's Massacre"

Maria Rosaria Carillo,* Tiziana Venittelli,* and Alberto Zazzaro**

* Parthenope University of Naples

** University of Naples Federico II

CRISEI

Via Generale Parisi, 13 - 80132 –
Napoli (Italy) Tel. (+39) 081 547 42 36
Fax (+39) 081 547 42 50

Hate Crimes and Immigrants' Social Identity: Evidence from the « San Gennaro's Massacre »

Maria Rosaria Carillo*

Tiziana Venittelli†

Alberto Zazzaro‡

Abstract

In this paper we explore the impact of the « San Gennaro's Massacre », the camorra attack against the African community residing in a small municipality in southern Italy, which took place on the evening of September 18th, 2008, on the social identity of Africans living in Italy. Using a difference-in-differences approach, we find that the sense of belonging to Italy increased after the Massacre. The analysis of the potential mechanisms highlights that the effect propagates in provinces with high level of organized crime and where civil society mobilized after the Massacre to protest against racism and violence. Our findings show that localized hate events affecting living conditions of a specific immigrant group have effects on the sense of self-identification to the host country of large immigrant populations. Further, we find that both the dangerousness of the host local environment and the risk of being subjected to violent crimes, and the solidarity of the natives are incentives for immigrants to assimilate to the majority group.

Keywords: Immigrants' identity, Cultural shocks, Determinants of integration, Diff in Diff

JEL classification: J15, O15, R23, Z13

*University of Naples Parthenope. E-mail: mr.carillo@uniparthenope.it.

†University of Naples Parthenope and GLO. E-mail: tiziana.venittelli@uniparthenope.it.

‡University of Naples Federico II, CSEF and MoFiR. E-mail: alberto.zazzaro@unina.it.

1 Introduction

The increase in regular and irregular international migration flows during the last thirty years (only momentarily slowed down by the Covid19 pandemic), and the strong increase of racist and xenophobic hate crimes have put the issue of immigrants' integration at the center of public debate (McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou, 2022; OECD, 2022).¹ In addition, an ever-increasing literature in economics and other social sciences has shown that the socio-economic integration of immigrants is of utmost importance to save cultural and social cohesion in the host society, avoid ethnic conflicts and foster economic prosperity in the short and long run (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Oliver and Wong, 2003; Montalvo and Reynal-Querol, 2005; Letki, 2008; Algan and Cahuc, 2010; Esteban et al., 2012; Burchardi et al., 2019; Giavazzi et al., 2019; Tabellini, 2019; Fulford et al., 2020; Sequeira et al., 2020).

A key step for successful integration of new immigrant populations is for foreign newcomers to develop a strong sense of belonging to the host country and form a non-oppositional social identity, a sense of self not separate from the prevailing values and beliefs in the settlement community (Austen-Smith and Fryer, 2005; Battu et al., 2007; Bisin et al., 2016; Bisin and Tura, 2019; Fouka et al., 2022). The formation of social identity is a complex and open-ended process based on the way immigrants combine their ancestry culture with new cultural traits they are exposed to during their stay in the country of destination (Tajfel et al., 1971; Ak-erlof and Kranton, 2000; Turner et al., 1987). It takes place within the family and community network through the transmission of values and beliefs rooted in the group of origin, and other habits of thought and norms of conduct considered relevant for being accepted in the new settlement society and/or by one's own ethnic group (Bénabou and Tirole, 2006; Tabellini, 2008; Bisin and Verdier, 2010, 2022). The ancestral values passed on across generations help to form the deep preferences and life goals that immigrants set for themselves and their families in the medium-long run and to shape the long-lasting traits of their social identity. However, as shown by social psychology studies, the sense of belonging of immigrants to the society of settlement is also a cognitive process that develops and feeds on the social contacts, interpersonal interactions and experiences they have in the place where they live (Turner et al., 1994). In this case, the social identity of immigrants can change rapidly in response to events that make certain identity attributes salient, making them feel closer or further away from the host community or the ancestry group (Shayo, 2009, 2020; Bernard et al., 2016; Giavazzi et al., 2019).

1. In the United States the racist and xenophobic hate crimes officially reported by the Department of Justice increased by 60% between 2017 and 2021 (from 4,832 to 7,736). Similar and even much more sustained trends in the official racist hate crimes have been recorded in many other Western countries: in Germany and the United Kingdom and Germany the increase has been over 30%, while in Canada and France they skyrocketed, with the number of criminal events in 2021 more than 200% higher than those recorded in 2017. In Italy, the number of racist and xenophobic hate crimes recorded by the police have increased by 40%, from 828 in 2017 to 1160 in 2021 (data are drawn from the Hate Crime Reporting of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) at <https://hatecrime.osce.org>).

Obviously, only an inclusive and tolerant society, where natives do not feel themselves separate from the new populations entering the country, can aim to achieve a lasting cultural and social integration of immigrants. However, it is not clear how episodes of intolerance and xenophobia towards immigrants influence their social identity and sense of identification with the country of destination. On one hand, hateful episodes and hostile environments rise the costs of social integration for immigrants, by causing a backlash that reinforces the ethnic identity, separation, and marginalization of immigrants (Battu et al., 2007; Bisin et al., 2016; Gould and Klor, 2016; Steinhardt, 2018; Fouka, 2019; Abdelgadir and Fouka, 2020). On the other hand, immigrants may react to hostilities towards them from (a part of) the indigenous population by adopting strategies of identification with the majority group in order to limit the risks of experiencing discrimination, aggression and violence (Fouka, 2019; Jaschke et al., 2021; Saavedra, 2021).

In this article, we contribute to this debate by empirically exploring the effects of a brutal episode of xenophobic violence on the formation of immigrants' self-perceived social identity. Specifically, we examine the impact of the so-called « San Gennaro's Massacre » perpetrated by the camorra crime organization against the large African community residing in Castel Volturno, a small coastal town about 30 km from Naples, in southern Italy, on the sense of belonging to Italy of African immigrants. The brutal Massacre took place on the evening of September 18th, 2008, the day before the feast of Saint Januarius, the patron saint of Naples. Six innocent Africans, who were unrelated to any criminal activity, were murdered by the local crime organization (the so-called "Casalesi clan") with the aim to assert the power of the clan in the coastal area north of Naples and drive the African community out of that area for racial reasons. The Massacre caused a strong reaction from the Africans, who rioted in Castel Volturno asking for an immediate and strong response from the Italian authorities. The Massacre and the immigrants' protests received great coverage from the national media. In the weeks following the brutal assault, various demonstrations of solidarity took place in the country in support of immigrants, in which there was a wide and heartfelt participation of associations and native Italian citizens. Furthermore, there was a quick and effective response of the police forces that after four days of the multiple murder arrested one of the alleged killers, and in the same month carried out a maxi blitz against the Casalesi clan considered responsible for the Massacre, by making over one hundred arrests.

We use data from the "Integrometro" survey conducted in 2008-2009 by the "Initiatives and Studies on Multi-ethnicity" (ISMU) foundation, a well-established research institute producing documentation and promoting studies on immigration and ethnic diversity in Italy. We take advantage of the date of the interview included in the survey to study whether and how the Massacre affected the sense of attachment to Italy of African immigrants. In order to account for possible time trends unrelated to the Massacre event and unobservable variables related to

social identity, we estimate a differences-in-differences (DiD) model by running a before-after comparison of the differences between the sense of social identity of African (the treated) and non-African (the control) immigrant groups. We find that the Massacre resulted in a statistically and economically significant increase in the percentage of Africans living in the area of Castel Volturno who report feeling attached to Italy compared to other immigrants in the same area. Then, we show that the increase in the sense of identification with Italy extends to the entire African community in the country, albeit its intensity decreases with the geographical distance from the site of the Massacre. In addition, we find that the positive effect on the attachment of African immigrants to Italy is largely limited to those who live in municipalities characterized by a strong presence of mafia organizations and where there were tangible forms of protest and solidarity on the part of Italian natives. This suggests that the awareness of the risks and costs of being separated from the local community, as well as the perception of the closeness and support from the local civil society have the effect of stimulating the immigrants' sense of belonging to the host community.

This paper contributes to different lines of research. First, it relates to the empirical literature on the determinants of immigrants' self-perceived (or chosen) social identity. Earlier studies indicate the importance of pre- and post-migration individual characteristics (country of origin, age, years since arrival, gender, religion, education, employment status) as well as of contextual features of society of arrival and the neighborhood where immigrants live. In particular, [Georgiadis and Manning \(2013\)](#) find that the immigrants' sense of belonging to the UK is negatively affected by the degree of discrimination in society and government organizations that they perceive, while it increases with the extent immigrants feel to be treated with respect by natives. [Masella \(2013\)](#) shows that the probability that a member of a minority group feels to belong to the host country more than to her ethnic group decreases with the degree of ethnic fractionalization and polarization in the host country. These studies, however, do not consider how immigrants' chosen identity changes in response to events or situations they experience in the host country.

From this perspective, our paper is more closely related to a recent literature exploring the effects of the xenophobic attitude of natives and the perpetration of anti-immigrant acts of violence against immigrants on immigrants' behaviors – such as the return intentions, use of language, importance of religion, choice of school or preference for homogamous marriages – that reveal the degree of attachment to the host country and cultural integration (i.e., the so-called imposed identity).² [Gould and Klor \(2016\)](#) consider the increase of hate crimes against Muslims in the United States after the 9/11 attacks. They document that in States where hate crimes have increased the most, the local Muslim community has experienced a separation ef-

2. Other studies have considered the effects of the exposure to discrimination, mistreatment, and violent events on economic and behavioral outcomes ([Alsan and Wanamaker, 2018](#); [Archibong and Obikili, 2020](#); [Albright et al., 2021](#); [Ameja and Xu, 2022](#)).

fect, increasing their attachment to the group of origin and its cultural traits : the number of inter-ethnic marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims, as well as English proficiency and female labor participation rate of Muslims, reduce, while the fertility rate of Muslim women increases. [De Coulon et al. \(2016\)](#) analyze the self-reported settlement intentions of a sample of Romanian immigrants in Italy interviewed a few weeks after a violent crime perpetrated by a Romanian migrant against an Italian woman in a suburb of Rome in 2007. Consistent with the separation effect found by [Gould and Klor \(2016\)](#), [De Coulon et al. \(2016\)](#) find that Romanians who have been exposed to the increase in anti-immigrant news broadcasted on state TV in the aftermath of the event show a significant reduction in the intentions to settle in Italy long-term, with respect to their intentions of settlement prior to the event reported retrospectively by themselves. Similarly, [Steinhardt \(2018\)](#) show that the wave of xenophobic violence against the Turkish community in West Germany in 1992 increased the return intentions of immigrants and reduced their proficiency with German, while [Abdelgadir and Fouka \(2020\)](#) show that the French policy of forced assimilation and restrictions of towards Islamic religious culture, which led to the headscarf ban in 2004, reduced socio-economic integration of muslims and strengthened both ethnic and religious identities. Finally, [Ferrara and Fishback \(2020\)](#) analyze the effects of local anti-German sentiment in American counties during World War I, finding that Germans abandoned the local communities that discriminated most and moved to other counties with a lesser degree of anti-German feeling in order to avoid the costs of discrimination.

These studies indicate that immigrants respond to the intolerance of the natives by acquiring a more separate imposed identity that reduces their integration into the host society. On the contrary, however, other studies document that anti-immigrant hostility and violent intimidation by the local population end up bringing immigrants closer to the indigenous community, prompting them to choose greater integration. [Fouka \(2019\)](#), for instance, shows that German immigrants increased their integration efforts (in terms of Americanization of names and petitions for US citizenship) in the US states that registered higher levels of violence against German during World War I. Similarly, [Saavedra \(2021\)](#) document that Japanese immigrants in the US increased the Americanization of first names of their children after the Pearl Harbor attack which produced a strong increase in the anti-Japanese sentiment by Americans. With reference to today's experiences, [Jaschke et al. \(2021\)](#) document that refugees assigned to German regions more hostile to immigrants in the period 2013-2016 converge faster to local culture compared to other refugees, suggesting they aim at reducing the risks and costs of discrimination. Our results add to this literature by analyzing the effects of racist hate crime episodes racial on immigrants' chosen identity and by showing that both the fear and empathy channels are simultaneously at work and that one tends to prevail over the other depending on the environment immigrants live in.

Our paper is also related to the sociological and political literature which analyses the ef-

fects of protests and riots on the formation of group identity and political orientation of those who participate in the protests (Klandermans et al., 2008; Kim, 2012; Silber Mohamed, 2013). According to this line of research, participation in riots and protests modifies the group identity of protesters, who become aware of their relationships and commonality, and of their political power if they act as a group. Kim (2012) shows that the riot of Korean Americans following the acts of violence that injured the Korean community in Los Angeles in 1992, (the so-called *saigu-insurgence*) caused a cultural trauma that modified the collective consciousness of Korean community leading to “the emergence of a new Korean/Asian identity..... Through the victimization of Koreans and the riots, there was a slippage between an identity based on nationality into one incorporating race” (Kim, 2012, p. 2005). Closely related to our study, Silber Mohamed (2013) and Zepeda-Millán and Wallace (2013) show that after the protests against the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 in the United States, Latinos increased their sense of self-identification as Americans and reduced their sense of racialization, while there was no significant difference in the sense of attachment to the country of origin. We find similar results, as the violent attack to the African community and the protests that followed it, have determined an increase in the attachment of Africans to Italy.

Finally, our paper speaks to a strand research on cultural change that analyzes how individuals’ cultural attitudes respond to events that change the costs and benefits of deviating from socially prescribed behavior patterns or put forward new beliefs and lifestyles. These events can unfold slowly, shifting cultural attitudes gradually over time (Beaman et al., 2009; La Ferrara et al., 2012; Fernandez, 2013), but they can also occur suddenly, as a result of a shock (in our case, the brutal Massacre) that triggers a radical change in incentives, beliefs, and attitudes of the individuals who are exposed to it (Giuliano and Nunn, 2017; Fernandez et al., 2019).

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we describe the shock and the context in which it took place. Section 3 reports our hypotheses on the effects of the Massacre. Section 4 provides information about the data and variables. Furthermore, in this section, we propose our identification strategy. In Section 5, we present our basic results on the impact of the Massacre on the sense of self-identity of the local community of Africans. Section 6 extends the analysis to Africans throughout Italy and investigates some mechanisms that would drive our results. Finally, section 7 concludes.

2 Context

2.1 The place

Castel Volturno is a small town on the Domitian coast less than 20 kilometers (12 miles) from the metropolitan area of Naples, the largest city in southern Italy (and the third largest city in Italy). Since 1945 Castel Volturno has been part of the new province of Caserta, although the main economic and social reference for the local population is always with the metropolitan area and the city of Naples.³ Currently it hosts one of the largest African community in Italy, the majority of whom are irregular immigrants, predominantly native of Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Togo, Republic of Benin, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt from which they had left in search of better living conditions and, in many cases, to escape the violence of war.

With an economy traditionally based on agriculture, buffalo breeding and fishing, in the past a pleasant holiday destination for many residents from Naples and the nearest towns, Castel Volturno has experienced a dramatic urbanization process since the 1970s which has led to a growth in construction entrepreneurship and massive real estate speculation largely in the hands of local Camorra families. In just over twenty years, due to the lack of a general zoning plan, thousands of illegal buildings have sprung up in the area.

To increase power and profits, the Camorra clans start began to recruit illegal immigrants to work at very low cost on construction sites. Starting from the early 80s, Africans in Castel Volturno grew more and more numerous : poorly paid and exploited, they prevalently find seasonal employment as farmworker for the harvest of tomatoes and vegetables, herdsmen in buffalo farms, laborer in construction workers, dishwashers and porters at hotels and restaurants. Many of them work outside the area of Castel Volturno, in Naples and other provinces of Campania, returning only at the end of the day back to the place where they reside. Their massive presence and precarious living conditions in the area have provoked feelings of intolerance from local population. While according to official data from the Italian National Institute of Statistics there are 4000 foreigners residing regularly in Castel Volturno today, over a total population of about 25000 residents, it is estimated there are about 15,000 foreigners who reside illegally. This has made the social and economic inclusion of immigrants in the area more difficult, and the sense of intolerance of the natives stronger. Furthermore, the increase in natives' intolerance has been also powered by the involvement of a non negligible part of immigrants in illegal activities, such as drugs and prostitution, controlled either by the Camorra clans or by the so-called "Nigerian mafia".

3. Even the symbolic date, the day of the patron saint of Naples, chosen for the Massacre by the local Camorra clan is an indication of the centrality and importance of Naples for those who live in the Castel Volturno area.

2.2 The Massacre

The « San Gennaro's Massacre » represents one of the most brutal episodes of racial violence ever occurred in Italy. It took place in Ischitella, a small fraction of the Castel Volturno's municipality, on 18 September 2008, the night before the saint Januarius day, the patron saint of Naples. Six Ghanaian citizens under 30 – Christopher Adams, Kwame Antwi Julius Francis, Eric Affun Yeboa, El Hadji Ababa, Alex Geemes and Samuel Kwaku – were murdered outside the African "Ob Ob Exotic Fashion" tailor shop by a commando of the Casalesi clan (the local Camorra organization), twenty minutes after the same commando had murdered Antonio Celi, a member of the Casalesi clan guilty of being a police informant. There was only one survivor of the Massacre, Joseph Ayimbora, who, pretending to be dead, was able to recognize the killers and testified against them during the trial.

The investigations and trial records revealed that none of the victims were involved in criminal activities nor they were linked to the local camorra clans or "Nigerian mafia", and almost all of them were in possession of a regular residence permit for humanitarian reasons. The motive for the Massacre was the affirmation of the mafia leadership in the area with the aggravating circumstance of the racial hatred, as can be read in the final sentence of the Italian Supreme Court of Cassation on January 30, 2014, which confirmed the second degree judgment to life imprisonment for the boss and three affiliates of the Casalesi clan and to 28 years and 6 months of imprisonment for a fifth member of the killer commando.⁴

According to the Italian writer Roberto Saviano, author of the best seller *Gomorra*, the Massacre was a message of the local mafia to the African communities in view of the approval of a project on the development of a tourist area in Castel Volturno – a business of millions of euros. An attempt to carry out an ethnic cleansing of the area, expelling immigrants whose presence would have prevented the project from being carried forward successfully.⁵ "It was a racist Massacre – the National Anti-Mafia Prosecutor Federico Cafiero de Raho will say ten years later –, to tell the immigrants they had to leave that territory [...] The clan had important investment projects in the area that, according to them, were prevented by the presence of immigrants. So they had been told to get away from Castel Volturno: they did not do that and were hit [...] the racist component was represented by the desire to exclude them from the territory just because they were of a different race [...] The Camorra wanted to limit their freedom completely. Seeing them working in those places, such as the tailor's shop or other handicraft activities without the consent of the clan was contrary to what they had been told."⁶

4. Initially, the judgment at first instance identified the terrorist intent as a special circumstance of the Massacre: the Casalesi clan acted arousing panic and instilling terror in the community, through a violent, indiscriminate and deliberately striking action, with the aim of undermining the trust of citizens in the State and thus weakening its structures.

5. *Il coraggio dimenticato* by Roberto Saviano, published in *La Repubblica*, May 13, 2009. Available at the website <https://www.repubblica.it/2009/05/sezioni/cronaca/immigrati-7/saviano-coraggio/saviano-coraggio.html>.

6. Our translation from the press article: *Intervista al procuratore. La strage di Castel Volturno* 10

2.3 The protest and the natives' response

The day after the Massacre, Africans prompted a violent riot in Castel Volturno, protesting against not only local Camorra families and their protective social environment but also against the local authorities and national government asking for the recognition of civil rights and legal protection. The riot attracted strong attention by both local and national media; they all defined the Africans reaction to the Massacre as “unprecedented in Italy”. It is again Roberto Saviano who, in one of the most popular Italian newspapers, *La Repubblica*, writes: “The riot brings cameras from all over the world and the images that are broadcast are those of an entire community who stop everything to ask for attention and justice...Those who shouted “enough now” to the Mafia bosses, clans, families were Africans.”⁷ The African population has introduced into the daily fabric of southern Italy some fundamental antibodies to face the mafia, antibodies that Italians seem to lack. Antibodies that arise from the elementary desire to live”.⁸

In a few days the news of the event spread throughout the national territory. This fostered a strong response to the Massacre by natives at national level. Several initiatives supporting Africans were taken by “civil society”. Many public demonstrations were organized in Ancona, Caserta, Parma, Rome and other Italian cities at the beginning of October, protesting against racism and xenophobic violence in Italy. Furthermore, politicians, intellectuals, artists took a resolute position and promoted different initiatives against the Massacre and racism. For instance, the South African singer and civil rights activist Miriam Makeba, nicknamed Mama Africa, performed in a concert in Castel Volturno two months after the Massacre supporting the African community against local Camorra and racism. Also the action from public institutions was fast and effective : Italian government sent military to Castel Volturno to restore public order and both instigators of the Massacre and killers were arrested in few weeks.

3 Theory and hypotheses

Although the Massacre that took place in Castel Volturno has highlighted the existence of pockets of xenophobic hatred and racial segregation in a part of Italian society that concerns and involves the entire immigrant population regardless of the country of origin, there is little doubt that the Camorra's attack had a strong racial salience to the African immigrant community. Africans were the victims of the Massacre, Africans were the immigrant community largely predominant in Castel Volturno, Africans were those who rioted publicly against the Camorra,

anni dopo by Antonio Maria Mira, published in *Avvenire*, September 18, 2018. Available at the website <https://www.avvenire.it/attualita/pagine/i-casalesi-e-la-strage-dei-migranti-la-camorra-non-ancora-sconfitta>.

7. Our translation from *Il coraggio dimenticato* by Roberto Saviano, *La Repubblica*, 13 May, 2009.

8. Our translation from *Intervista al procuratore. La strage di Castel Volturno 10 anni dopo* by Antonio Maria Mira, *Avvenire*, 18 September, 2018.

racist violence, negligence, and disinterest of authorities, Africans were the community placed at the center of the attention of the media and public manifestations of solidarity organized by Italian associations.

In this section, we formulate a series of testable hypotheses about the reaction in African immigrants' social identity to the brutal act of racial hate in Castel Volturno through the lenses of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) introduced in social psychology by Henri Tajfel and John Turner (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), and taken up in the economic models of social identity formation (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000; Shayo, 2009, 2020; Bernard et al., 2016).

The central tenet of SIT and SCT is that individuals aim to make a positive sense of self and that the perception of belonging to a social group (i.e., their social identity) contributes to define their self-identity. As Tajfel (1978, p. 63) writes, social identity represents the "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from knowledge of membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value or emotional significance attached to that membership".

The self-identification with a social group is, more or less consciously, the object of personal choice. A decision on the social group(s) to identify with is activated by events or situations which make a social identity salient, strengthening the perception of psychological significance and value of being part of or separate from a group (Oakes, 1987). The sense of belonging and connectedness to a community is a cognitive state, a context-dependent feeling that therefore can change quickly in response to some occurrence that reinforces or challenge the value of self-ascribed social identity and induces behaviors associated with a certain group (Turner et al., 1994).⁹

The value of identification with a group, the gains in identity, to use Akerlof and Kranton's terminology, increases with the perceived "status" and "accessibility" to that group. The status that people ascribe to a social group and to feeling part of it reflects the relative position that in their eyes that group has in comparison to other groups respecting one or more dimensions able to evoke a sense of personal satisfaction, security and well-being. On the other hand, accessibility to a social group captures the perceived degree of similarity (or the degree of social closeness) between the characteristics and value of the individual and the stereotyped image he/she has of the characteristics and values of the members of the group.

In principle, it is difficult to say how a horrific crime of racial hatred such as the Castel Volturno Massacre could have affected the social identity of Africans, i.e., if the Massacre brought the African immigrants closer or further away from the settlement community. In fact,

9. Experimental evidence show that situational cues can make a specific social identity salient and lead people exposed to such activating situations to strengthen their self-identification with the social group made momentarily salient (or "primed") by the situation itself. These studies have documented that choices and preferences of individuals exposed to norms of multiple social-group identities respond to random, experimentally induced, small manipulation of the identities' salience (Kramer et al., 1993; Bernhard et al., 2006; Benjamin et al., 2010; McLeish and Oxoby, 2011).

the San Gennaro massacre was a multifaceted story, which dramatically revealed the dangers of living in certain areas of the country, the racism of a part of the Italian population, but which also showed how close and supportive of an important part of Italian society is to the immigrant community and sensitive to its requests. Such different facets may have evoked various feelings in African immigrants, influencing the perceived value of identification with Italy in different ways.

On the one hand, the brutal manifestation of racial hatred against innocent countrymen may have induced a *separation effect*. It may have strengthened the sense of animosity, contempt and distrust of Africans towards Italian society, diminishing the perceived status of belonging to Italy and increasing the perception of the social and cultural distance from Italians. On the other hand, the xenophobic violence unleashed against its own ethnic group may have generated an *identification effect*. The assassination of six harmless and uninvolved young immigrants at the hands of Camorra clans made clear the risks of living in an ethnic enclave separate from the host society in areas with a strong presence of organized crime. This heightened sense of threat may have increased the perceived relative social status of natives in the eyes of Africans, the value of being part of the settlement community and the benefits associated with greater interaction with its members and identification with the culture and values of the majority of Italian civil society.¹⁰ Moreover, the prompt reaction of the Italian authorities to the strong protest of the African community for greater protection and rights, as well as the spontaneous demonstrations of solidarity in which thousands of Italians took part have revealed the possibility of being heard by the institutions and accepted by natives as an integral part of the national community. This may have reduced the perceived distance of the host community and increased the sense of belonging to it.

Based on these arguments, our conjecture is that the San Gennaro's Massacre determined a change in the perceived value of connectedness to the settlement community in the African community in Italy. We begin our study by exploring the short-run effects of the San Gennaro's Massacre on the sense of self-identification with Italy expressed by the African immigrants living in the Castel Volturno area compared to that of the other immigrant communities living in the same area.

Unfortunately, the area of Castel Volturno is at the same time characterized by a strong presence of Camorra clans and by demonstrations of solidarity by the local population. For this reason, the data at our disposal do not allow us to establish whether the impact of the massacre on the perceived value of identification with Italy was determined either by a change in the status attributed to belonging to the dominant group by the African community or by a

10. Experimental evidence in social identity literature confirms the existence of an "in-group favoritism" in behavior towards members of groups one identifies with as opposed to out-group members, which influences the status ranking of social groups and the value of self-identifying with them.(Bernhard et al., 2006; Chen and Li, 2009).

variation of the perceived social distance from the settlement community. Therefore, we extend the analysis to all African immigrants in Italy to examine whether and how the racial salience of the Massacre spilled over into African communities in other parts of the country affecting their social identity formation.

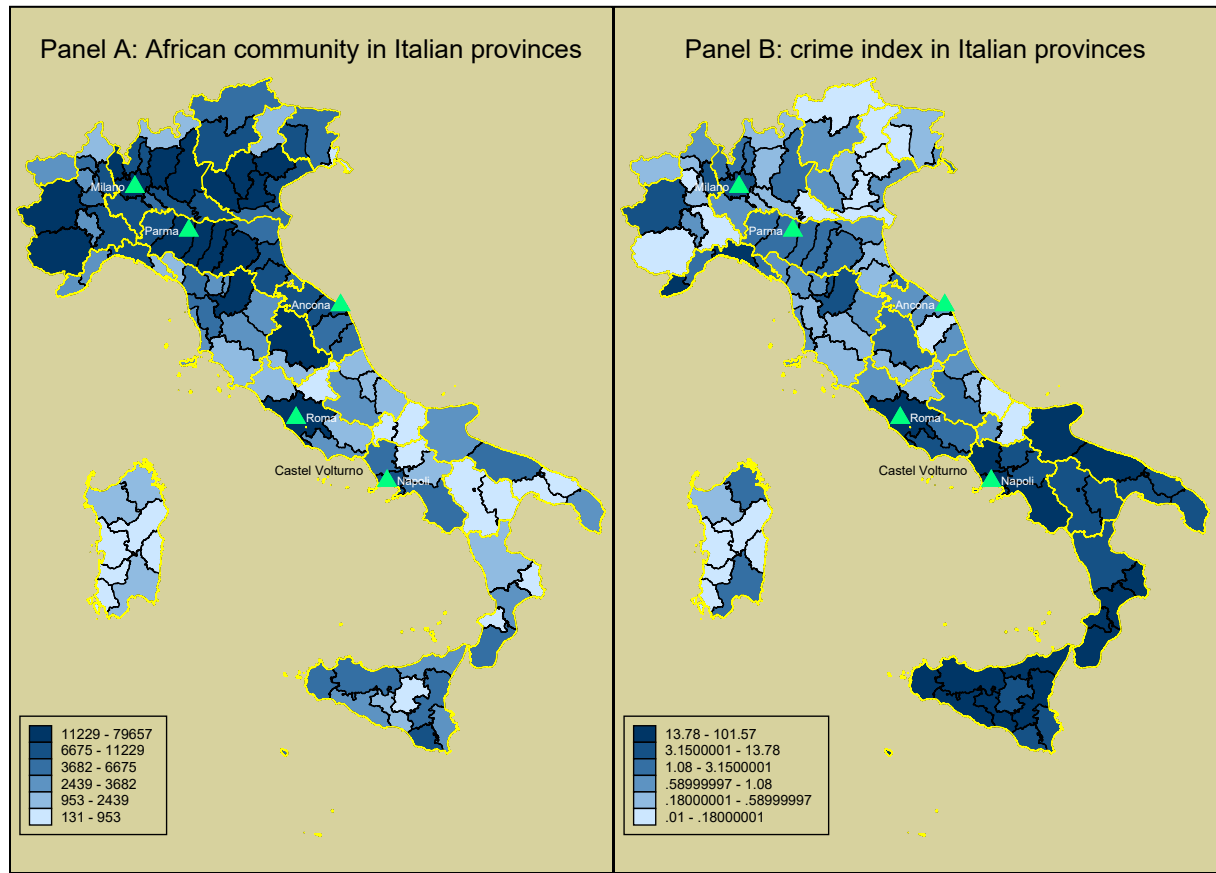
First we consider the immigrants' exposure to information about the events. As we have seen in the previous section, the news of the brutal racial violence perpetrated against the six young Africans in Castel Volturno and the following protests echoed throughout the country, widely covered by national and local television broadcasts and newspapers. Moreover, African immigrants were (and still are) a rather widespread and itinerant group in Italy, moving temporarily from region to region following the demand for seasonal labor from the agricultural and construction sectors. Panel A in Figure 1 shows the map of African immigrants in Italian provinces, highlighting their greater presence in the North of the country even if large African communities are present in some areas of the Center (for example, in the provinces of Perugia in Umbria and the province of Rome) and in the South (for example, in Catania and Ragusa in Sicily or in Bari in Puglia). Therefore, it is conceivable that knowledge of the Massacre reached other African communities in the country through storytelling and word of mouth of those who were in the Castel Volturno area or came into contact with others who experienced the events. However, to the extent that the availability, accuracy, and vividness of official and informal information about the massacre decreases with distance from Castel Volturno and the community directly impacted by the Camorra attack, the degree of emotional engagement of African immigrants and the perceived racial relevance of the Massacre should also decrease with distance from Castel Volturno.

Second, we consider the possibility that the effects on the perceived value of identification with Italy have spread among the African community through the channels of "fear" and "solidarity", in areas of the country that, like Castel Volturno, are characterized by a strong mafia presence or where Italian citizens have taken to the streets to demonstrate against all forms of violence and racial discrimination and to demand integration policies. Panel B in Figure 1 provides a visualization of the geography of possible spillover effects along fear and solidarity channels, reproducing the map of organized crime and solidarity demonstrations in Italy. Although, as is known, there is a strong concentration of organized crime in the southern provinces of the country, it is interesting to note what emerges is that mafia-type crime is spread patchily in the rest of the country with a strong presence, for example, in big cities like Milan, Rome and Turin, but also in smaller realities such as Florence, Genoa, Imperia or Rimini. Finally, triangles in green indicate the cities where demonstrations in support of the African community took place.

Summarizing, we test the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. *The San Gennaro's Massacre brought about a change in the feeling of belonging*

FIGURE 1 – Potential channels on the spillover effects of the Massacre in Italy



Notes. Panel A shows the number of African immigrants by NUTS 3 province (NUTS-3) in January 2008 drawn from the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) "Immigrati.stat" (<http://stra-dati.istat.it/>). Panel B displays the Index of Mafia Presence by NUTS 3 provinces in the period 2000-2011 provided by the Joint Research Centre on Transnational Crime (TRANSCRIME) at the Cattolica University of Milan (Italy). It combines murders and attempted assassination by Mafia in 2004-2011, people accused of Mafia association in 2004-2011, municipalities and public administration dissolved for Mafia in 2000-2012, assets confiscated from Mafia in 2000-2011, active groups reported in 2000-2011. In both figures, green triangles indicate the cities where demonstrations in support of the African community took place between September and October 2008. Regional borders are marked by the yellow line.

to Italy among African immigrants living in the Castel Volturno area compared to that of the other immigrant communities living in the same area.

Hypothesis 2. *The effect of the San Gennaro's Massacre on the subjective sense of belonging to Italy of African immigrants living in other parts of the country decreases with the geographical distance from Castel Volturno.*

Hypothesis 3. *The effect of the San Gennaro's Massacre on the subjective sense of belonging to Italy of African immigrants living in other parts of the country is greater where there is a strong presence of organized crime.*

Hypothesis 4. *The effect of the San Gennaro’s Massacre on the subjective sense of belonging to Italy of African immigrants living in other parts of the country is greater where local population has mobilized against racism.*

4 Data, variables and empirical strategy

4.1 ISMU survey

For the purpose of our analysis we use the *Integrometro* survey conducted between 2008-2009 by the ISMU Foundation, an Italian private research institute which supports initiatives and studies on multi-ethnicity and on the social and economic inclusion of foreigners residing in Italy. Along with many individual characteristics, the survey provides detailed information on immigrants’ preferences and attachment to the host and the home country.¹¹ In addition, survey data include information on both immigrants’ specific nationality and municipality of residence in Italy, that allow to control for unobserved time-invariant characteristics which are related to the home country culture and the socio-economic environment where immigrants live. The comprehensiveness and richness of data collected in the ISMU survey makes it a unique source to study the determinants of immigrants’ social identity compared to other surveys exploring immigration in Italy, which only indirectly inform on social identity of respondents.¹²

Respondents are 12,049 immigrants, aged 18 or older, coming from 127 countries and residing, either legally or illegally, in 233 Italian municipalities distributed in 32 provinces of 13 Italian regions. Since most of the respondents are concentrated in municipalities in some oversampled regions, we used sample weights in all regressions presented in the empirical analysis. As shown in [Carillo et al. \(2023\)](#), the shares of immigrants by municipality-ethnicity in the survey are broadly representative of the geographical distribution of ethnic groups in Italy as documented by the official ISTAT census. Immigrants who reside in Campania, the region in which the massacre occurred, are 1,019.¹³ Africans represent 35% of our sample – 20% of whom residing in Campania –, while 38% are from Eastern Europe, 18% from Asia and 9% from Central and South America.

4.2 Social identity

We measure the social identity of immigrants by the self-reported sense of attachment to Italy. Specifically, we exploit the survey question : “How much do you feel to belong to Italy?”,

11. A detailed description of the data and of the sampling design is available in [Cesareo and Blangiardo \(2009\)](#).

12. The ISMU survey has been recently used also by [Dustmann et al. \(2017\)](#), [Pinotti \(2017\)](#) and [Guriev et al. \(2018\)](#) and [Carillo et al. \(2023\)](#).

13. The other regions of residence of immigrants interviewed in the survey are : Abruzzo, Emilia Romagna, Lazio, Lombardia, Marche, Molise, Piemonte, Puglia, Sicilia, Toscana, Trentino Alto Adige and Veneto.

at which respondents can choose one of the four options : (i) “in no way”; (ii) “little”; (iii) “enough”; (iv) “very much”. Our main dependent variable is the indicator *Host* which captures the immigrants’ identification with Italy and takes the value of 1 if the respondent declares “enough” or “very much” to the survey question concerning the sense of attachment to the host country and zero otherwise.

4.3 Interviews’ date

For each survey respondent, the ISMU foundation provided us with data on the exact day of the interview. Our treatment group is formed by the African immigrants who participate in the survey after September 18th. The survey does not include interviews with immigrants in the small town of Castel Volturno. However, it has a large coverage of the immigrant population of the neighboring municipalities belonging to the metropolitan area of Naples at a maximum distance of 70 kilometers (44 miles) from the site of the massacre. As for Africans living in Campania [the metropolitan area of Naples], interviews are almost homogeneously distributed before (95 people, 47%) and after (107 people, 53%) the Massacre date [(83 and 85 people, respectively)], while the number of non-Africans interviewed before and after September 18th is 310 and 503, respectively. In the rest of Italy, the interviews are more concentrated in the months following the Massacre (80%), to a slightly greater extent for Africans (82%).

4.4 Empirical strategy

Our empirical strategy to identify the causal impact of the Massacre on the sense of identification with Italy of African immigrants relies on the timing of the interviews as an instrument that affect social identity indirectly through the exposure to the unexpected brutal racial hate event. This identification strategy has gained popularity in the literature as the “Unexpected Event during Surveys Design” (UESD).¹⁴ Using the UESD to estimate the causal effect requires that the event under investigation and its timing be exogenous and unexpected, so that survey’s participants are as-good-as randomly interviewed before or after the event. In addition, the UESD is based on the assumption that the date of the event affects the outcome only through the exposure of respondents to the event (*excludability assumption*) and that the timing of the interviews is unrelated to individual, observed and unobserved, characteristics that are correlated to the outcome variables (*ignorability assumption*).

14. Muñoz et al. (2020) provides a comprehensive analysis of the UESD methodology. It has been increasingly employed in the political, sociological and economic literature to study the impact of unexpected events – e.g., political announcements, frauds, scandals, terrorist attacks, health pandemics, economic sanctions, protests, riots and other violent and non-violent events – on people attitudes towards something or someone – e.g., political institutions and leaders, unknown others, ethnic and religious groups, economic and political issues (in addition to the studies cited in Muñoz et al., 2020, a selective review of the literature is provided by Nägel and Nivette, 2022).

In our case, although the site of the Massacre, Castel Volturno, was a dangerous area plagued by mafia violence and racial tensions, the date of the Massacre and its brutality were certainly unexpected by the local African community – and even more so by African immigrants in the rest of Campania and Italy – and exogenous to their sense of social identity. Moreover, no other relevant events occurred on the day or days close to the Massacre. What is instead more problematic to exclude is the presence of calendar effects and omitted variables related to the timing of the interviews and the immigrants' self-reported social identity. For this reason, in addition to comparing the sense of attachment to Italy of African immigrants before and after the Massacre, our preferred identification strategy relies on a difference-in-differences (DiD) model in which we compare changes before and after the « San Gennaro's Massacre » (the "treatment") in the identity outcome of the African immigrants (the "treated group") with changes in the identity outcome of non-African immigrants (the "control group"). Specifically, we estimate the following model :

$$Host_{it} = \alpha + \beta African_i + \gamma Post_t + \delta African_i \times Post_t + X' \theta + \lambda_l + \eta_p + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where $Host_{it}$ indicates the immigrant's sense of belonging to Italy at time t proxied by the indicator described in the previous section, $African$ is a dummy equal to one if the immigrants is African and zero otherwise and $Post$ is a dummy equal to one if the immigrant is interviewed after the Massacre (i.e., after September 18th) and zero before it. Our parameter of interest is δ , which capture the differential impact of the Massacre on the Africans' sense of belonging to Italy.

To take into account that respondents before and after the Massacre are different persons, we control for a large number of socio-demographic and “post migration” features potentially affecting the sense of social identity of immigrants (the vector X'). First, we control for individual characteristics such as *Age*, *Gender*, *Marital status*, *Presence of Children* and *Years since arrival* in Italy. Second, we control for immigrants' education by including four dummies for completed school levels – *No education*, *Compulsory*, *High school* and *Bachelor or plus* –, and for their proficiency in Italian measured by the average value of self-reported scores, from 1 to 5, in reading, writing, listening and speaking abilities. Third, we control for religion and nationality of friendships of immigrants to capture the role of cultural background and local social interactions : religion is measured by dummies for the status of *Christian*, *Muslim*, *Buddhist*, *Hindu*, *Sikh*, *Belonging to other religions*, and *Non-religious*, while the nationality of friendships is measured by four dummies indicating whether people habitually frequented are *Exclusively foreigners*, *Predominantly foreigners*, *Foreigners and Italians*, *Predominantly Italians*. Finally, To capture legal and economic conditions of immigrants, we include the variables *Irregular status*, taking the value of 1 if the immigrant does not have residence permit

in Italy and 0 otherwise, and the *Occupational status*, taking the value of 1 if the respondent has a job (regular or irregular, full or part time, as employee or self-employed) at the time of the interview and 0 otherwise. In Table A.1 we report the full list and description of variables used in the empirical analysis.

Finally, to control for possible omitted variables relative to the socio-economic and emotional context where immigrants live and are interviewed we include a series of indicators, η_p and λ_l), that inform on the province of residence of immigrants and the place where the interview took place.¹⁵

4.5 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics are reported in Table A.2. Selected sample is based on 9820 observations (of which 739 in Campania). Panel A shows that 56% of the sample affirms to be attached to Italy (see column 2), with slight differences between Africans and non Africans (columns 5 and 8, respectively), that is slightly higher for the latter group. On average, immigrants are 35 years old and about 53% of them are males, with a more relevant percentage for the African group with respect to non-Africans. More that 60% of the respondents have a high school diploma or more (with at least 18% having a bachelor degree or more); a stronger educational background is observed in the case of non African people. Married immigrants represent 54% of the sample, while 34% of the respondents declare to have children in Italy. Not surprisingly, the most relevant differences between Africans and non-Africans concern religion. Christians are 48% with a higher percentage among non African group (62.5%), while Muslims represent 39% of the sample, most of whom are Africans (about 75%); the remaining religious groups are less represented.

On average, immigrants have been living in Italy for 7.4 years, with a longer permanence for the Africans' group, and have proficiency in Italian, with an average score of 3.5 out of 5 ; about 73% of them declare to be employed (with a stronger percentage in the case of non-Africans), while 11% are undocumented with a stronger percentage for the African group (about 15%). Finally, half of immigrants interviewed are involved with exclusively or predominantly foreign friends, and the percentage increases for those who are Africans, while among non-Africans the percentage of those who declare to have predominantly Italian friends outperforms that one

15. The survey distinguishes between eleven places of interviews : (i) *centers providing services and assistance* (reception, work, health, counseling service, refectory, public offices); (ii) *training centers* (Italian courses, professional training courses, schools, universities); (iii) *worship centers* (churches, mosques, temples); (iv) *ethnic shops* (kebab shops, Islamic butchers, take-aways, food products); (v) *place of entertainments* (cinema, discos, sports facilities, bars, restaurants, shopping centers); (vi) *meeting places* (stations, squares, parks, lakes); (vii) *markets* (municipal markets, flower markets, fruit and vegetable markets); (viii) *workplaces or workforce recruitment* (construction sites, textile laboratories, restaurants and hotels, gatehouses, agricultural fields and farms); (ix) *associations and cultural centers*; (x) *service centers* (phone centers, money transfer agencies); (xi) *private residences*, to take into account potential selection of immigrants interviewed in specific places.

realized by Africans.

Similar descriptive evidence also emerges when we restrict the analysis exclusively to those foreigners living in Campania (see panel B of Table A.2).

We control for differences in the characteristics of immigrants interviewed before and after the Massacre in Table A.3. As for identity outcomes, the percentage of Africans and non African declaring of being attached to Italy increases for both group by 12% after the Massacre (and the difference is statistically significant according to the result of the t-test in columns 3 and 6, respectively). When we restrict the sample to foreigners in Campania this difference is stronger for Africans than non Africans (+ 36% versus + 11%), as reported in columns 9 and 12, respectively. As for the other variables, significant differences before and after the shock, both for the African and non African group, are represented by a reduction in the percentage of respondents who are men and undocumented (with stronger effect for Africans) and by an increase in the percentage of those who are high educated and have proficiency in Italian. Furthermore, only for non African group, we report the higher percentages of those who are married and have children in Italy after September 18th and their longer permanence in Italy, while the percentages of those who are Christian and employed reduce. As for significant differences which refer only to the African group, we observe a reduction in the percentage of Muslims and that one of those who affirm to have predominantly Italian friends, while increase the percentage of Christian. Finally, when we focus on the Campania sample, we observe more homogeneous subgroups for both Africans and non Africans, whose main differences refer to lower level of education and undocumented among those interviewed after the Massacre. Moreover, in the case of Africans we also observe significant differences in terms of higher rate of employed and having children in Italy, while the percentage of Christian reduces.

To sum up, descriptive statistics point out significant differences between treated and control groups and within each group between those interviewed before and after the Massacre, suggesting the inclusion of control variables in our empirical analysis, to avoid that potential sample selection effects could drive the results.

We proceed with the next sections as follows. We first explore the local impact of the Massacre, estimating the effects of the shock in Campania. Then, we replicate the analysis at the national level, verifying the hypothesis of the saliency of the event for all Africans residing in Italy. Consistent with the other hypotheses above, we next explore the heterogeneity in the shock effect by the geographical distance from the Massacre, the level of crime, and the presence of native support in each province, to say something about the mechanisms that would drive our main results.

5 Results on the local impact of San Gennaro's Massacre

We start investigating our first hypothesis that the San Gennaro's Massacre influences the social identity of Africans who live in the areas closest to the shock. To grasp the geographical proximity to the shock, we first cramped the analysis to Campania, the region of Southern Italy where Castel Volturno, the place in which the Massacre occurred, is located. By extending the analysis to Campania we are able to capture the strong network effects that are established among Africans living throughout the region; generally, the immigrants of Castel Volturno move every day to work throughout the region, returning to their small city of residence to restore at the end of the day. Therefore, we expect that the effect of the shock will extend to the whole region, as the probability of being (directly or indirectly) involved with the victims of the Massacre is very high, given the habits of Africans in the territory.

We report results of our differences in differences estimation strategy in columns (1)-(4) of Table 1. According to column 1, the Massacre affects positively the Africans' sense of belonging to Italy (*African x Post*) by 23.5 percentage points with respect to non-African immigrants living in the same region. The results are confirmed when we progressively add the other covariates, i.e. the foreigners' socio-demographic characteristics (column 2), the dummies for the province in which they live (column 3), and those for the places in which the interviews take place (column 4). The coefficient of *Host* remains stable across all the specifications.¹⁶

We compare our differences-in-differences results with those in column (5) of Table 1, which refer to a simple "before-after" analysis on the treated group (Africans), and find a larger effect of the Massacre in this latter case, that it suggests the existence of confounding factors to bias the estimates provided with the before-after analysis. Therefore, we use the differences in differences model as our preferred estimation strategy, and capture the potential effects of the counfounding factors, exploiting the variation in identity outcomes of the control group (non-Africans) before and after the Massacre.

However, in order to obtain an unbiased estimates using a differences in differences approach, a crucial point is that the pre-treatment trend in the identity outcome between Africans and non Africans should be parallel. Figures 2-4 give some insight about the parallel trend assumption on the immigrants' attachment to Italy and about the hypothesis it is satisfied. In Figure 2 we show descriptive evidence on the trends analysis, in which we group the observations in 2 periods of time before the shock, from June (including some few interviews collected in March, April and May) to September (up to 18), which represents the time interval in which

16. As for the influence of the other covariates on the foreigners' self-identification to Italy (not shown in Table 1 but available upon request), we find a more effective role played by post-migration conditions. In particular, variation in years spent in Italy, proficiency in Italian, and having Italian friends increase the identification with the host country. Instead, regarding the pre-migration characteristics we find an inverted U-shaped relationship with foreigners' age and a positive correlation for the case of those declaring to profess the Catholicism.

TABLE 1 – Basic results : The local impact of the massacre

	Campania					Naples	
	DiD estimates				Before-After on the treated	DiD estimates	Before-After on the treated
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		(6)	(7)
African	-0.1126** (0.0483)	-0.1557** (0.0660)	-0.1393** (0.0644)	-0.1381** (0.0606)		-0.1677** (0.0580)	
Post	0.0487 (0.0437)	0.1230*** (0.0354)	-0.0179 (0.0688)	-0.0183 (0.0529)	0.1385*** (0.0428)	-0.1124** (0.0403)	0.6812* (0.3735)
African $\times$ Post	0.1520** (0.0687)	0.2038*** (0.0612)	0.2199*** (0.0549)	0.2541*** (0.0616)		0.2803*** (0.0630)	
Controls	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Place of interview FE	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Municipality FE	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Geographic area FE	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adjusted R^2	0.008	0.163	0.199	0.194	0.214	0.202	0.261
Observations	982	742	742	742	165	633	132
Mean dependent	0.5949	0.5952	0.5952	0.5952	0.5787	0.5986	0.5476

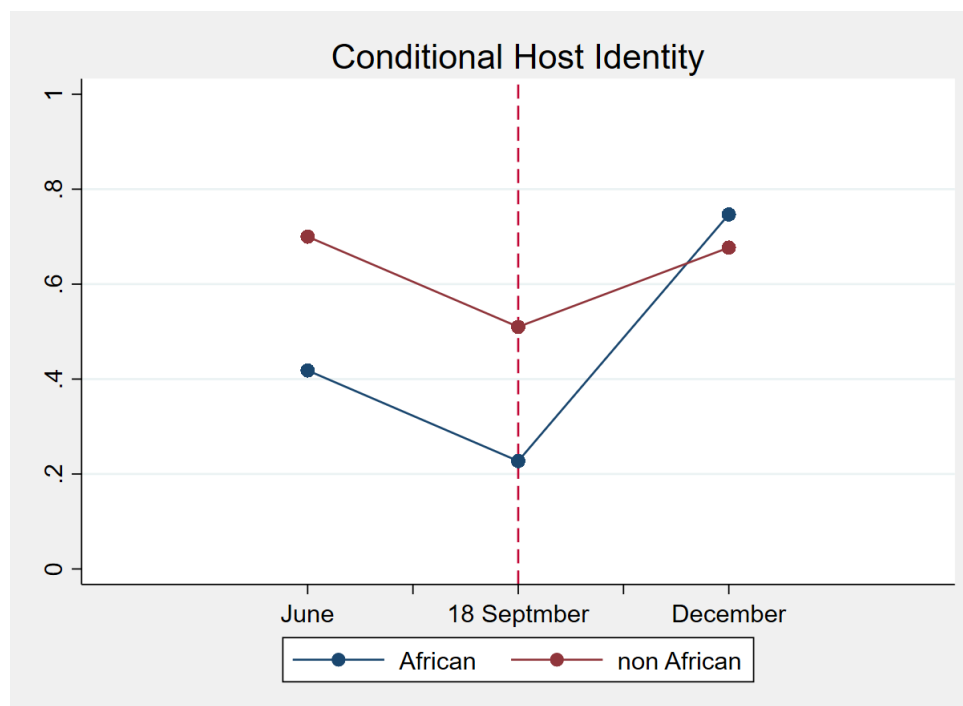
Notes. OLS estimates in columns (1)-(7). Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at city level; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, + $p < 0.15$. We report DiD estimates on the influence of the massacre on the immigrants' attachment to Italy for foreigners residing in Campania in columns (1)-(4) and for foreigners residing in Naples in column (6). Columns (5) and (7) report simple difference estimates (before-after analysis) on the Africans only in Campania and in Naples, respectively. In column (1) we exclude all the control variables. In column (2) we include immigrants' characteristics as gender, age, education, civil status (a dummy for married status), religion, years spent in Italy, friends' nationality and dummies for both legal and worker status. In column (3) we also add municipality and continent of origin dummies. Finally, in column (4) we also include the place of interview dummies. Column (5) includes all the controls. In all regressions sampling weights are used.

the interviews were carried out in Campania and one period of time after the shock.¹⁷ We observe a negative trends for both treated and control group before the Massacre in the left part of Figure 2. The negative trend was likely caused by the approval of the law 125/2008 in the summer of 2008. Launched to combat crime due to the presence of irregular immigrants in Italy, the so-called “Security Package” was considered very restrictive of the rights of all immigrants living in Italy. Thus, likely it would have discouraged the foreigners' trust toward Italy. By contrast, the right part of Figure 2 highlights a positive trend for both African and non African groups after the Massacre (up to December), but the increase in the mean of *Host* identity is much larger for the African group with respect to non African group. Furthermore, in an attempt to make more informative and precise the trend analysis, in Figure 3 we distinguish 3 points of time before and after the shock and group the observations in order to have the same number in each point, that confirm previous finding. Finally, in Figure 4 we show the dynamics of the effect of the Massacre on the Africans sense of belonging to Italy, by a DiD regression model in which coefficients are estimated within standard 95% confidence intervals, and find a differential impact of the Massacre between Africans and non Africans only in the

17. We measure the pre and post-treatment trends for Africans and non-Africans attachment to Italy, based on the common support that we obtain using the propensity score matching technique. Trends are therefore balanced. Details on the matching analysis are available upon request.

post-treatment times.¹⁸

FIGURE 2 – Parallel trend - I

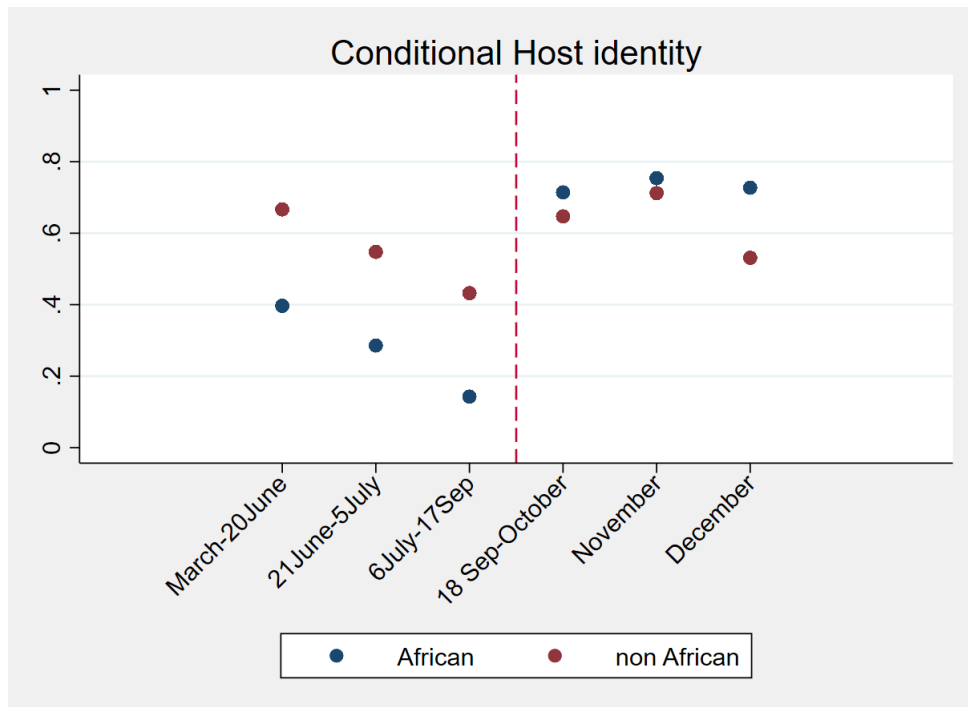


Notes. Trends for African and non-African foreigners on the attachment to the host country are balanced and performed by propensity score matching techniques. We select treated and control groups according to the following variables : gender, age, education, civil status, religion, years spent in Italy, presence of children in Italy, friends' nationality, legal and worker status. Trends refer to foreigners who reside in Campania in 2008. Observations are grouped to exploit two time periods before the shock and one time period after the shock.

To sum up, the first results we obtain with Table 1 seem to suggest that the leading effect of the shock would consist in the greater attachment to Italy of the Africans living in the region in which the Massacre occurred. This is consistent with the hypothesis of the greater salience of the event for the Africans living near the place of the Massacre, as they are more exposed to shock ; they are more likely to become aware of the event, both for the stronger network effects and direct involvement with the event and for the greater attention from the local media. As for the positive effect of the Massacre, other factors could be at work. For example, Africans living near the place of the shock most likely share the same risks as the victims of the Massacre ; therefore, after the assassination, they likely understood the costs of living “outside” the Italian society. Furthermore, the strong support received from the natives after the event, in terms of both effective action by public Institutions and mobilization by civil society (many initiatives took place in Campania as the public manifestation at the beginning of October or the concert of Miriam Makeba against racism and Camorra etc.), informed them of the benefits they obtain

18. Coefficients are estimated selecting only the observations on the region of common support provided with a matching analysis, as in Figures 2 and 3.

FIGURE 3 – Parallel trend - II



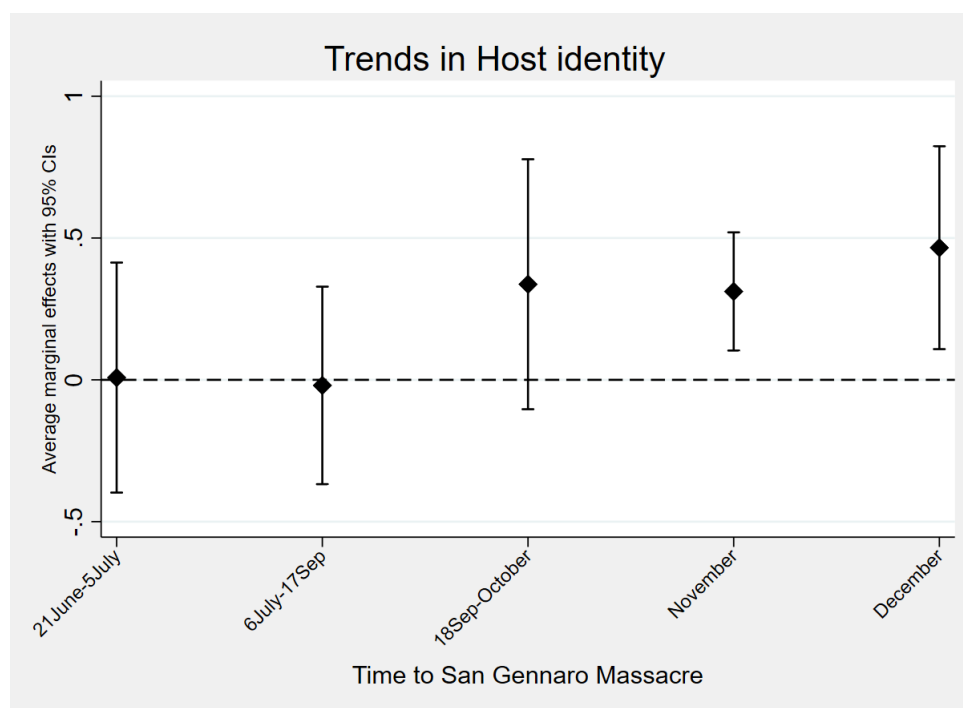
Notes. Trends for African and non-African foreigners on the attachment to the host country are balanced and performed by propensity score matching techniques. We select treated and control groups according to the following variables : gender, age, education, civil status, religion, years spent in Italy, presence of children in Italy, friends' nationality, legal and worker status. Trends refer to foreigners who reside in Campania in 2008. Interviews in Campania before the Massacre date are concentrated in June and July. Hence, according to this, three time periods before and after the shock are exploited.

by joining the host society. Thus, we argue the shock has ultimately increased the Africans' incentive to assimilate.

6 Spillover effects : the impact of the Massacre in Italy

The analysis of the previous sections highlighted the effects of a local shock, such as the San Gennaro Massacre, on the social identity of a specific community, such as the Africans living in the surroundings of Castel Volturno. Another interesting part of this story is then to understand if salient localized events that influence the living conditions of a specific community can influence the sense of self-identification to the host country of large populations of immigrants. Therefore, in this section we investigate to what extent the San Gennaro's Massacre affects the sense of belonging to the host country for the whole African community in Italy. Indeed, the strong reaction of Africans who riot in Castel Volturno the days after the Massacre attracted considerable media attention ; news about the event rapidly spread nationwide. The spread of the news was followed by a large mobilization by natives and civil society across the country in support of the African community and against racism in Italy. We argue that the cruelty of

FIGURE 4 – Parallel trends and dynamic effects



Notes. The figure shows the dynamics of the effect of the Massacre on the Africans sense of belonging to Italy for foreigners in Campania in 2008. DiD regression is performed with coefficients estimated within standard 95% confidence intervals. Coefficients are estimated selecting only the observations on the region of common support provided with a matching analysis. We select treated and control groups according to the following variables : gender, age, education, civil status, religion, years spent in Italy, presence of children in Italy, friends' nationality, legal and worker status. Interviews in Campania before the Massacre date are concentrated in June and July. Hence, according to this, three time periods before and after the shock are exploited.

the event, the spread of the news and the great solidarity from the natives could represent key factors driving the salience of the event and the reaction of the African community also at the national level. Indeed, it is undoubt that the reaction of the African community depends on the awareness of the event and the degree of involvement in it, which in turn are functions of the geographic distance with the place of the Massacre : the shorter the geographical distance, the higher the probability of being informed about the shock and being emotionally involved, because of the stronger media coverage and network effects among African community in the areas nearer the place in which the Massacre occurred. While we do not exclude that a possible reaction to the Massacre could consist in a sort of “animosity effect”, which increases distrust and detachment from Italian society, we expect that a greater sense of belonging to Italy could be observed, as a consequence of the Massacre, in those provinces characterized by social contexts more similar to Castel Volturno and/or where the support from civil society was more intense ; indeed, in such contexts the occurrence of the Massacre increases the incentive to integrate into the host society as it shows more clearly “the costs of living separated from” and “the benefits of assimilate into” the host society.

Thus, in the next subsection, we explore the existence of spillover effects of the shock, measuring the impact of the Massacre for all Africans residing in Italy. Then we investigate potential heterogeneous effects by the distance from the place of the Massacre and by the presence of either the organized crime or the natives' mobilization at the province level. In other words, we empirically test the aforementioned hypothesis of greater salience of the event for those who live near Castel Volturno, in high-risk contexts and where the solidarity by natives was stronger, which allowed us to give some insights on the main mechanisms which would explain our results.

TABLE 2 – The effect of the Massacre in Italy

The dependent variable is : <i>Host</i>								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
African $\times$ Post	0.007 [0.034]	0.167** [0.083]	-0.024 [0.036]	-0.032 [0.038]	-0.033 [0.038]	-0.027 [0.040]	-0.123 [0.083]	-0.114 [0.102]
African $\times$ Post $\times$ Distance		-0.0003** [0.000]						
African $\times$ Post $\times$ dist100			0.283*** [0.107]					
African $\times$ Post $\times$ dist200				0.242*** [0.089]				
African $\times$ Post $\times$ dist300					0.236*** [0.085]			
African $\times$ Post $\times$ dist400						0.184** [0.077]		
African $\times$ Post $\times$ dist530							0.158* [0.090]	
African $\times$ Post $\times$ dist600								0.132 [0.108]
Controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Province FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Place of interview FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adjusted R^2	0.202	0.203	0.203	0.203	0.203	0.203	0.203	0.203
Observations	9892	9892	9892	9892	9892	9892	9892	9892

Notes. OLS estimates in columns (1)-(8). Robust standard errors in parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. All regressions include (i) immigrants' characteristics - as gender, age, education, civil status (a dummy for married status), religion, years spent in Italy, friends' nationality -, (ii) province dummies and (iii) place of interview dummies. In all regressions sampling weights are used.

6.1 Heterogeneity by network and media effects : controlling for geographic distance

In Table 2 we report results of the effect of the Massacre in Italy. We find that the shock does not alter Africans' sense of belonging to Italy at national level (column 1). However, we expect the effect to be larger in municipalities that are closer to Castel Volturno and to become

smaller with distance from it. We argue that the salience of the event is greater the closer to Castel Volturno, potentially because of stronger local network effects, through storytelling and word of mouth communication within the same African community, and greater news coverage by local media. Indeed, both these factors increase the probability of being informed about the shock or being undirectly involved with it. We directly test this hypothesis using the municipality distance in kilometers from Castel Volturno and interacting this variable with “*African x Post*”. We thus estimate a triple differences model. Consistent with hypothesis 2 mentioned above, we find that the distance from the place of the shock matters and that the effect of the Massacre is larger as we get closer to Castel Volturno (column 2 of Table 2). This latter result is confirmed in columns (3) to (8) in which we show that the effect is significant within a radius of about 500 kilometers from Castel Volturno. Interestingly and consistent with our hypothesis, the magnitude of the effect declines with distance.

6.2 Heterogeneity by “fear and solidarity effects” : controlling for crime and natives’ support

To investigate other potential mechanisms driving our estimated effects, we now explore whether the results vary depending on exposure to organized crime or to civil society mobilization against the Massacre. To begin, we run a heterogeneity analysis by the degree of exposure to organized crime. We measure exposure to organized crime using the crime index proposed by the Cattolica University of Milan (Italy) . This is a comprehensive index that informs on the whole criminal activities carried out by the mafia in each Italian municipality. It combines murders and attempted assassination for Mafia in 2004-2011, people accused for Mafia association in 2004-2011, municipalities and public administration dissolved for Mafia in 2000-2012, assets confiscated from Mafia in 2000-2011, active groups reported in 2000-2011. It takes values from 0.002 (for a municipality in North of Italy with the lowest level of criminality) to 100 (for a municipality in South of Italy with the highest level of criminality).

We use the crime index to explore the Africans’ reaction to the Massacre according to the level of organized crime in each municipality. To do so, we interact our variable of interest “*African x Post*” with the crime index (*Crime*) and estimate a triple differences model. We find a stronger effect of the Massacre, increasing the level of criminality in each municipality (column 1). To facilitate the interpretation of the effect we interact “*African x Post*” with a dummy variable equal to one for municipality above the median of the crime index distribution (municipalities with higher level of organized crime) and zero for those below the median (municipalities with lower level of organized crime).¹⁹ Results, reported in columns 1 and 2 of

19. The provinces below the median of the crime index variable distribution are : Chieti-Pescara, Forli-Cesena, Grosseto, Isernia-Campobasso, Livorno, Lucca, Massa-Carrara, Pisa, Pistoia, Ravenna, Siena, Teramo, Trento, Treviso-Vicenza-Padova. The provinces above the median are : Arezzo, Bari, Ancona, Benevento, Napoli, Milano,

TABLE 3 – Heterogeneity by crime and solidarity in Italy

	The dependent variable is : <i>Host</i>				
	All	Crime		Manifestation	
		continous	dummy (median)		where Crime >median
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
African $\times$ Post	0.0060 (0.0406)	-0.1098+ (0.0692)	-0.0669** (0.0320)	-0.0152 (0.0302)	0.0127 (0.0578)
African $\times$ Post $\times$ Naples	0.2534*** (0.0448)	0.1889*** (0.0674)	0.1860*** (0.0587)	0.2080*** (0.0399)	0.1884*** (0.0577)
African $\times$ Post $\times$ Crime		0.0028+ (0.0018)	0.1396* (0.0714)		
African $\times$ Post $\times$ Manifestation				0.1812*** (0.0346)	0.2011*** (0.0571)
Controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Place of interview FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Province FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Geographic area FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adjusted R^2	0.199	0.201	0.200	0.175	0.197
Observations	9985	9984	9985	9985	4727
Mean dependent	0.5670	0.5670	0.5670	0.5670	0.5721

Notes. OLS estimates in columns (1)-(5). Standard errors clustered at province level in parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, + $p < 0.15$. The provinces below the median are : Chieti-Pescara, Forlì-Cesena, Grosseto, Isernia-Campobasso, Livorno, Lucca, Massa-Carrara, Pisa, Pistoia, Ravenna, Siena, Teramo, Trento, Treviso-Vicenza-Padova. The provinces above the median are : Arezzo, Bari, Ancona, Benevento, Napoli, Milano, Torino, Roma, Catania, Palermo, Firenze, Modena, Parma, Prato, Rimini. The provinces with manifestation are Roma, Napoli, Ancona, Parma and Milano. All regressions include (i) immigrants' characteristics - as gender, age, education, civil status (a dummy for married status), religion, years spent in Italy, friends' nationality -, (ii) province and continent of origin dummies and (iii) place of interview dummies. In all regressions sampling weights are used.

Table 3, show that while “*African $\times$ Post*” has a negative sign (statistically significant in column 1 and not significant in column 2 where we use a dummy variable to account for the presence of organized crime), the sign of “*African $\times$ Post $\times$ Crime*” has a positive and always significant sign. Hence our findings show that Africans' attachment to Italy increases after the Massacre in areas more exposed to organized crime, while in more secure areas the effect of the violent attack seems not significant or to rise immigrants' separation from Italian society. We argue that Africans living in highly insecure and risky environments share the same feeling of people living in Castel Volturno as they face the same costs and perils. Therefore, the shock makes them aware of the consequences of living “hidden from the host society”; ultimately the shock increases their incentive to integrate into the society of arrival. On the contrary, Africans who reside in a more secure environment do not perceive the same risks; they probably consider the shock as “far away” and manifest a sense of detachment from Italy for the terrible attack

Torino, Roma, Catania, Palermo, Firenze, Modena, Parma, Prato, Rimini.

suffered by their community. We argue that the “animosity effect” is observed in this case.

Next, we explore the role of civil society mobilization against the Massacre. We measure the latter with the dummy *Manifestation* that is equal to one if the respondent lives in one of the provinces where a manifestation occurs - Roma, Napoli, Ancona, Parma, and Milan - and zero otherwise. We interact this variable with our variable of interest “*African x Post*”. The results of this exercise are reported in column 3 of Table 3. We find that Africans’ reaction to the shock (i.e. the increase in their sense of belonging to Italy) is mainly driven by those residing in provinces where public manifestations were organized. This suggests that the support they receive from natives represents a significant incentive for them to integrate into Italian society. Furthermore, to try to disentangle the effect of mafia from solidarity, taking into account that the provinces with public manifestations are also characterized by a high level of organized crime, we replicate the analysis proposed in column (2) for only the provinces above the median in the mafia index distribution (column 4). Interestingly, we find that in provinces where organized crime has significant power, the effects of the manifestations are higher, which indicates that the “*fear effect*” and the “*empathy effect*” reinforce each other by further rising the sense of belonging of Africans to Italian society. Thus, results seem to suggest the fundamental role of the natives’ solidarity in supporting the assimilation process of those who live in very insecure and risky contexts.

Therefore, the analysis presented so far highlights some interesting factors to be taken into consideration in the study of the social identity of immigrants, as the effect of short-term phenomena. Despite the fact that a large strand of literature has drawn attention to the persistence of immigrants’ identity over time, our results suggest that even unexpected and transient events, such as the San Gennaro Massacre, could play a fundamental role in influencing the attitude of immigrants towards the country of arrival in the short run. In particular, our analysis has shown that the Massacre has changed the incentives of individuals to integrate to host society and has identified in the support of natives towards immigrants living in high-risk and criminal contexts, potential mechanisms that make those affected by the shock aware of both the cost of living as “separated form” and the benefits of “adhering to” the arrival society.

7 Concluding remarks

In this paper we have analyzed the effect of a violent crime on the social identity of immigrants who live in Italy. Although there is an urgent and pressing need to foster the process of assimilation of immigrants in many European countries, little is known about how this process can be influenced by the local environment to which immigrants are exposed during their stay in the country of destination. This probably stemmed from the idea, emerging from the prevail-

ling economic literature, that the formation of the social identity of immigrants is a process that evolves slowly, involves long-lasting personality traits and reflecting the life goals they set for themselves and for their family in the medium and long term; hence the greater interest of researchers in studying the individual preferences and characteristics of immigrants and factors influencing the intergenerational transmission of the social identity from parents to children. We try to fill this gap, focusing on a peculiar shock which occurred in Italy in 2008, the *San Gennaro's Massacre*, a Camorra attack against the African community residing in a small municipality near Naples, one of the biggest Italian cities, and explore the effect of this shock on the Africans' sense of belonging to Italy.

The analysis of the Italian case is particularly interesting, not only for the rapid and continuous expansion of the immigration phenomenon in recent decades, but also and in particular way for the increased heterogeneity and cultural distance with respect to Italy of the ethnic groups that have arrived in recent years, which increases the risk of social conflicts and potentially hinders the opportunities for foreigners to integrate into the local areas. Furthermore, due to its geographical position as "landing country" in the Mediterranean, Italy represents one of the "key countries" in the current political debate of the EU and for the design of EU immigration policies. Therefore, investigating whether and how the local environment and in particular the occurrence of local shocks influences the assimilation process of immigrants could be useful in order to promote the effectiveness of future policies.

Using a difference-in-difference approach, through which we compare variation in social identity outcomes of Africans (the treated) before and after the Massacre with variation in social identity outcomes of the other non-African immigrants living in the same area (the control group), we find that the shock, increased the Africans' attachment to Italy, thus positively affecting their process of integration to Italy. The analysis of the potential channels highlights the effect is stronger, the lower the geographic distance from the place of the Massacre, probably because of stronger network effects among Africans and media coverage of the event at the local level. Moreover, we find that the effect spreads in provinces characterized by a high level of organized crime and where civil society mobilized against racism. We, therefore, argue that the shock, i.e. the set of events that characterized the shock and not the Massacre itself, modified the incentive of Africans to assimilate to Italy. The riot of the Africans in Castel Volturno, for example, represents a fundamental moment in which they became aware of the dangers they face every day in the place where they live and the costs of separation.

Similarly, the reaction of the natives, both as the effectiveness of public authorities and as a mobilization of civil society, represents a fundamental moment in which Africans become aware of the benefits of integration.

Acknowledgments

The research is funded by : the Italian Ministry of University and Research within the framework of PRIN 2022 - Project Title : The Role of skill-Biased Technological Change in Immiserizing Growth, Spatial Polarization, and Product Quality Upgrading (CUP I53D23002850006).

Références

- ABDELGADIR, A. AND V. FOUKA (2020) : « Political Secularism and Muslim Integration in the West : Assessing the Effects of the French Headscarf Ban, » *American Political Science Review*, 114, 707–723.
- AKERLOF, G. A. AND R. E. KRANTON (2000) : « Economics and Identity, » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115, 715–753.
- ALBRIGHT, A., J. COOK, J. FEIGENBAUM, L. KINCAIDE, J. LONG, AND N. NUNN (2021) : « After the burning : The economic effects of the 1921 Tulsa race massacre, » NBER Working Papers 28985, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- ALESINA, A. AND E. LA FERRARA (2002) : « Who Trusts Others ? » *Journal of Public Economics*, 85, 207–234.
- ALGAN, Y. AND P. CAHUC (2010) : « Inherited trust and growth, » *The American Economic Review*, 5, 2060–2092.
- ALSAN, M. AND M. WANAMAKER (2018) : « Tuskegee and the health of black men, » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 133, 407–455.
- AMEJA, A. AND G. XU (2022) : « The Costs of Employment Segregation : Evidence from the Federal Government Under Woodrow Wilson, » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137, 911–958.
- ARCHIBONG, B. AND N. OBIKILI (2020) : « Prison labor : The price of prisons and the lasting effects of incarceration, » AEH Working Paper Series 52, African Economic History Network.
- AUSTEN-SMITH, D. AND J. FRYER, ROLAND G. (2005) : « An Economic Analysis of "Acting White", » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120, 551–583.
- BATTU, H., M. McDONALD, AND Y. ZENOU (2007) : « Oppositional Identities and the Labour Market, » *Journal of Population Economics*, 20, 643–667.
- BEAMAN, L., R. CHATTOPADHYAY, E. DUFLO, R. PANDE, AND P. TOPALOVA (2009) : « Powerful Women : Does Exposure Reduce Bias ? » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124, 1497–1540.
- BÉNABOU, R. AND J. TIROLE (2006) : « Belief in a just world and redistributive politics, » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121, 699–746.

- BENJAMIN, D. J., J. CHOI, AND J. STRICKLAND (2010) : « Social Identity and Preferences, » *American Economic Review*, 100, 1913–1928.
- BERNARD, M., F. HETT, AND M. MECHEL (2016) : « Social identity and social free-riding, » *European Economic Review*, 90, 4–17, social identity and discrimination.
- BERNHARD, H., E. FEHR, AND U. FISCHBACHER (2006) : « Group affiliation and altruistic norm enforcement, » *American Economic Review*, 96, 217–221.
- BISIN, A., E. PATACCHINI, T. VERDIER, AND Y. ZENOU (2016) : « Bend It Like Beckham : Ethnic Identity and Integration, » *European Economic Review*, 90, 146–164.
- BISIN, A. AND G. TURA (2019) : « Marriage, Fertility, and Cultural Integration in Italy, » NBER Working Papers 26303, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- BISIN, A. AND T. VERDIER (2010) : « The Economics of Cultural Transmission and Socialization, » in *Handbook of Social Economics*, ed. by J. Benhabib, A. Bisin, and M. Jackson, Amsterdam : Elsevier, chap. 9, 339–416.
- (2022) : « Advances in the Economic Theory of Cultural Transmission, » NBER Working Papers 30466, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- BURCHARDI, K. B., T. CHANEY, AND T. A. HASSAN (2019) : « Migrants, Ancestors, and Foreign Investments, » *Review of Economic Studies*, 86, 1448–1486.
- CARILLO, M., V. LOMBARDO, AND T. VENITTELLI (2023) : « Social Identity and Labor Market Outcomes of Immigrants, » *Journal of Population Economics*, 36, 69–113.
- CESAREO, V. AND G. BLANGIARDO (2009) : *Indici di integrazione, un’indagine empirica sulla realtà migratoria italiana*, Franco Angeli.
- CHEN, Y. AND S. LI (2009) : « Group Identity and Social Preferences, » *American Economic Review*, 99, 431–457.
- DE COULON, A. D., D. RADU, AND M. F. STEINHARDT (2016) : « Pane e cioccolata : The effects of native attitudes on return migration, » *Review of International Economics*, 24, 253–281.
- DUSTMANN, C., F. FASANI, AND B. SPECIALE (2017) : « Illegal migration and consumption behavior of immigrant households, » *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 15, 654–691.
- ESTEBAN, J., L. MAYORAL, AND D. RAY (2012) : « Culture : Persistence and evolution, » *American Economic Review*, 102, 1310–1342.

- FERNANDEZ, R. (2013) : « Cultural Change as Learning : The Evolution of Female Labor Force Participation over a Century, » *American Economic Review*, 103, 472–500.
- FERNANDEZ, R., S. PARSA, AND M. VIARENGO (2019) : « Coming out in America : AIDS, Politics, and Cultural Change, » NBER Working Papers 25697, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- FERRARA, A. AND P. FISHBACK (2020) : « Discrimination, Migration, and Economic Outcomes : Evidence from World War I, » *European Economics : Labor & Social Conditions eJournal*.
- FOUKA, V. (2019) : « How Do Immigrants Respond to Discrimination ? The Case of Germans in the US During World War I, » *American Political Science Review*, 113, 405–422.
- FOUKA, V. F., S. MAZUMDER, AND M. TABELLINI (2022) : « From Immigrants to Americans : Race and Assimilation during the Great Migration, » *Review of Economic Studies*, 89, 811–842.
- FULFORD, S., I. PETKOV, AND F. SCHIANTARELLI (2020) : « Does it matter where you came from ? Ancestry composition and economic performance of US counties, 1850-2010, » *Journal of Economic Growth*, 25, 341–380.
- GEORGIADIS, A. AND A. MANNING (2013) : « One nation under a groove ? Understanding national identity, » *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 93, 166–185.
- GIAVAZZI, F., I. PETKOV, AND F. SCHIANTARELLI (2019) : « Culture : Persistence and evolution, » *Journal of Economic Growth*, 24, 117–154.
- GIULIANO, P. AND N. NUNN (2017) : « Understanding Cultural Persistence and Change, » NBER Working Papers 23617, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- GOULD, E. D. AND E. F. KLOR (2016) : « The long-run effect of 9/11 : Terrorism, backlash, and the assimilation of Muslim Immigrants in the West, » *Economic Journal*, 126, 2064–2114.
- GURIEV, S., B. SPECIALE, AND M. TUCCIO (2018) : « How do regulated and unregulated labor markets respond to shocks ? Evidence from immigrants during the Great Recession, » *The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 35, 37–76.
- JASCHKE, P., S. SARDOSCHAU, AND M. TABELLINI (2021) : « Scared Straight ? Threat and Assimilation of Refugees in Germany, » IZA Discussion Papers 14962, IZA Institute of Labor Economics.

- KIM, R. (2012) : « Violence and trauma as constitutive elements in Korean American racial identity formation : the 1992 L.A. riots/insurrection/saigu, » *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35, 1999–2018.
- KLANDERMANS, P., J. VAN DER TOORN, AND J. VAN STEKELENBURG (2008) : « Embeddedness and identity : Collective action participation among immigrants, » *American Sociological Review*, 73, 992–1012.
- KRAMER, R. M., P. POMMERENKE, AND E. NEWTON (1993) : « The social context of negotiation : Effects of social identity and interpersonal accountability on negotiator decision making, » *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 37, 633–655.
- LA FERRARA, E., A. CHONG, AND S. DURYEA (2012) : « Soap Operas and Fertility : Evidence from Brazil, » *American Economic Journal : Applied Economics*, 4, 1–31.
- LETKI, N. (2008) : « Does Diversity Erode Social Cohesion ? Social Capital and Race in British Neighbourhoods, » *Political Studies*, 56, 99–126.
- MASELLA, P. (2013) : « National identity and ethnic diversity, » *Journal of Population Economics*, 26, 437–454.
- MCAULIFFE, M. AND A. TRIANDAFYLIDOU, eds. (2022) : *World Migration Report 2022*, Geneva : International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- MCLEISH, K. N. AND R. J. OXOBY (2011) : « Social interactions and the salience of social identity, » *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 32, 172–178.
- MONTALVO, J. AND M. REYNAL-QUEROL (2005) : « Ethnic Polarization, Potential Conflict, and Civil Wars, » *American Economic Review*, 95, 796–816.
- MUÑOZ, J., A. FALCÓ-GIMENO, AND E. HERNÁNDEZ (2020) : « Unexpected Event during Survey Design : Promise and Pitfalls for Causal Inference, » *Politics, Groups and Identity*, 28, 186–206.
- NÄGEL, C. AND A. E. NIVETTE (2022) : « Unexpected events during survey design and trust in the police : A systematic review, » *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, Accepted for publication.
- OAKES, P. J. (1987) : « The Salience of Social Categories, » in *Rediscovering the social group : A self-categorization theory*, ed. by J. C. Turner, M. A. Hogg, P. J. Oakes, S. D. Reicher, and M. S. Wetherell, Oxford, UK : Basil Blackwell, chap. 6, 117–141.
- OECD (2022) : *International Migration Outlook 2022*, Paris : OECD Publishing.

- OLIVER, J. E. AND J. WONG (2003) : « Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings, » *American Journal of Political Science*, 47, 567–582.
- PINOTTI, P. (2017) : « Clicking on heaven’s door : The effect of immigrant legalization on crime, » *American Economic Review*, 107, 138–68.
- SAAVEDRA, M. (2021) : « Kenji or Kenneth ? Pearl Harbor and Japanese-American assimilation, » *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 185, 602–624.
- SEQUEIRA, S., N. NUNN, AND N. QIAN (2020) : « Immigrants and the Making of America, » *Review of Economic Studies*, 87, 382–419.
- SHAYO, M. (2009) : « A model of social identity with an application to political economy : Nation, class, and redistribution, » *American Political science review*, 103, 147–174.
- (2020) : « Social Identity and Economic Policy, » *Annual Review of Economics*, 12, 1355–1389.
- SILBER MOHAMED, H. (2013) : « Can Protests Make Latinos “American” ? Identity, Immigration Politics and the 2006 Marches, » *American Politics Research*, 41, 298–327.
- STEINHARDT, M. F. (2018) : « The Impact of Xenophobic Violence on the Integration of Immigrants, » IZA DP 11781, IZA Institute of Labor Economics.
- TABELLINI, G. (2008) : « The scope of cooperation : Values and incentives, » *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123, 905–950.
- TABELLINI, M. (2019) : « Gifts of the Immigrants, Woes of the Natives : Lessons from the Age of Mass Migration, » *The Review of Economic Studies*, 87, 454–486.
- TAJFEL, H. (1978) : « Social categorization, social identity and social comparisons, » in *Differentiation between social groups : Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. by H. Tajfel, London, UK : Academic Press, 61–76.
- TAJFEL, H., C. FLAMENT, M. G. BILLIG, AND R. F. BUNDY (1971) : « Social categorization and intergroup behaviour, » *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1, 149–177.
- TAJFEL, H. AND J. C. TURNER (1986) : *The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel and L. W. Austin (eds.), Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chigago : Nelson-Hall.
- TURNER, J., M. HOGG, P. OAKES, S. REICHER, AND M. WETHERELL (1987) : *Rediscovering the social group : A self-categorization theory*, Oxford, UK : Blackwell.

TURNER, J. C., P. J. OAKES, S. A. HASLAM, AND C. A. MCGARTY (1994) : « Self and collective : Cognition and social context, » *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 454–463.

ZEPEDA-MILLÁN, C. AND S. J. WALLACE (2013) : « Racialization in times of contention : how social movements influence Latino racial identity, » *Politics, Groups and Identity*, 1, 510–527.

Appendix

TABLE A.1 – Variables Description

Host	dummy = 1 if the respondent answers <i>Enough</i> or <i>Very Much</i> to the question : <i>How much do you feel you belong to Italy ?</i>
African	dummy = 1 if the respondent's nationality belongs to an African country
Post	dummy = 1 if the respondent is interviewed after the date of the Massacre (september 18th)
Male	dummy = 1 if the respondent is male
Age	Respondent's age
No education	dummy = 1 if the respondent has no educational qualification
Compulsory	dummy = 1 if the respondent has attended the compulsory schooling
High school	dummy = 1 if the respondent has a high school diploma
BA +	dummy = 1 if the respondent is graduated or more
Civil status : married	dummy = 1 if the respondent is married
Muslim	dummy = 1 if the respondent is Muslim
Christian	dummy = 1 if the respondent is Christian
Buddhist	dummy = 1 if the respondent is Buddhist
Hindu	dummy = 1 if the respondent is Hindu
Sikh	dummy = 1 if the respondent is Sikh
Other religion	dummy = 1 if the respondent is affiliated with other religions
No religion	dummy = 1 if the respondent is not religious
Children in Italy	dummy = 1 if the respondent has children and they live in Italy with her
Years in Italy	Respondent's # of years spent in Italy
Italian language knowledge	Average reading, writing, listening and speaking score, as self-reported by the respondent (in a scale from 1 to 5)
Friend : foreigners	dummy = 1 if the respondent's friends are exclusively foreign
Friend : predominantly foreigners	dummy = 1 if the respondent's friends are predominantly foreign
Friend : mixed	dummy = 1 if the respondent's friends are equally foreign or Italian
Friend : predominantly Italians	dummy = 1 if the respondent's friends are predominantly Italian
Irregular legal status	dummy = 1 if the respondent is undocumented
Employed	dummy = 1 if the respondent has a job at the time of the interview (formal or informal, full or part-time, as employer or employee)

TABLE A.2 – Descriptive statistics

	Panel A : Italy								
	All			African			Non African		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	count	mean	sd	count	mean	sd	count	mean	sd
Host	9820	0.558	0.497	3498	0.529	0.499	6322	0.575	0.494
Male	9820	0.528	0.499	3498	0.728	0.445	6322	0.418	0.493
Age	9820	35.146	10.120	3498	34.174	9.088	6322	35.683	10.611
No education	9820	0.070	0.255	3498	0.111	0.314	6322	0.047	0.212
Compulsory	9820	0.324	0.468	3498	0.358	0.479	6322	0.305	0.461
High school	9820	0.425	0.494	3498	0.384	0.486	6322	0.447	0.497
BA +	9820	0.182	0.386	3498	0.147	0.354	6322	0.201	0.400
Married	9820	0.536	0.499	3498	0.523	0.500	6322	0.542	0.498
Muslim	9820	0.393	0.488	3498	0.747	0.435	6322	0.197	0.398
Christian	9820	0.480	0.500	3498	0.218	0.413	6322	0.625	0.484
Buddhist	9820	0.032	0.177	3498	0.001	0.034	6322	0.050	0.217
Hindu	9820	0.016	0.126	3498	0.011	0.106	6322	0.019	0.136
Sikh	9820	0.006	0.076	3498	0.000	0.017	6322	0.009	0.094
Other religion	9820	0.009	0.096	3498	0.008	0.091	6322	0.010	0.099
No religion	9820	0.064	0.244	3498	0.014	0.119	6322	0.091	0.288
Children in Ita	9820	0.341	0.474	3498	0.313	0.464	6322	0.357	0.479
Years in Italy	9820	7.423	6.177	3498	8.408	6.999	6322	6.877	5.597
Italian language knowledge	9820	3.467	1.031	3498	3.441	1.057	6322	3.482	1.016
Friend : Foreigners	9820	0.161	0.367	3498	0.182	0.386	6322	0.149	0.357
Friend : Predominantly foreigners	9820	0.331	0.470	3498	0.334	0.472	6322	0.329	0.470
Friend : Mixed	9820	0.328	0.469	3498	0.329	0.470	6322	0.327	0.469
Friend : Predominantly Italians	9820	0.181	0.385	3498	0.156	0.363	6322	0.194	0.396
Irregular legal status	9820	0.107	0.310	3498	0.153	0.360	6322	0.082	0.275
Employed	9820	0.728	0.445	3498	0.655	0.476	6322	0.768	0.422

	Panel B : Campania								
	All			African			Non African		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	count	mean	sd	count	mean	sd	count	mean	sd
Host	739	0.598	0.491	164	0.555	0.499	575	0.610	0.488
Male	739	0.494	0.500	164	0.793	0.407	575	0.409	0.492
Age	739	36.809	9.880	164	34.280	8.293	575	37.530	10.180
No education	739	0.099	0.299	164	0.146	0.355	575	0.085	0.279
Compulsory	739	0.288	0.453	164	0.366	0.483	575	0.266	0.442
High school	739	0.422	0.494	164	0.305	0.462	575	0.456	0.498
BA +	739	0.191	0.393	164	0.183	0.388	575	0.193	0.395
Married	739	0.478	0.500	164	0.384	0.488	575	0.504	0.500
Muslim	739	0.225	0.418	164	0.732	0.444	575	0.080	0.272
Christian	739	0.601	0.490	164	0.213	0.411	575	0.711	0.454
Buddhist	739	0.072	0.258	164	0.000	0.000	575	0.092	0.290
Hindu	739	0.022	0.146	164	0.000	0.000	575	0.028	0.165
Sikh	739	0.007	0.082	164	0.000	0.000	575	0.009	0.093
Other religion	739	0.007	0.082	164	0.006	0.078	575	0.007	0.083
No religion	739	0.068	0.251	164	0.049	0.216	575	0.073	0.260
Children in Ita	739	0.288	0.453	164	0.250	0.434	575	0.299	0.458
Years in Italy	739	7.537	5.737	164	9.262	7.423	575	7.045	5.057
Italian language knowledge	739	3.308	1.028	164	3.361	1.051	575	3.293	1.021
Friend : Foreigners	739	0.165	0.372	164	0.116	0.321	575	0.179	0.384
Friend : Predominantly foreigners	739	0.288	0.453	164	0.226	0.419	575	0.306	0.461
Friend : Mixed	739	0.344	0.475	164	0.354	0.480	575	0.341	0.474
Friend : Predominantly Italians	739	0.203	0.402	164	0.305	0.462	575	0.174	0.379
Irregular legal status	739	0.268	0.443	164	0.341	0.476	575	0.247	0.432
Employed	739	0.794	0.404	164	0.713	0.454	575	0.817	0.387

TABLE A.3 – Descriptive statistics for Africans and non Africans before and after the Massacre

	Italy						Campania					
	Africans			non Africans			Africans			non Africans		
	before	after	t-test	before	after	t-test	before	after	t-test	before	after	t-test
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Host	0.434	0.552	0.118***	0.481	0.602	0.121***	0.384	0.744	0.360***	0.547	0.659	0.112**
Male	0.784	0.715	-0.070***	0.452	0.408	-0.044**	0.779	0.808	0.029	0.385	0.427	0.042
Age	34.263	34.152	-0.112	35.499	35.737	0.238	33.488	35.154	1.665	38.765	36.601	-2.165*
No education	0.117	0.110	-0.007	0.045	0.048	0.003	0.105	0.192	0.088	0.040	0.119	0.078***
Compulsory	0.401	0.347	-0.054**	0.353	0.291	-0.062***	0.326	0.410	0.085	0.275	0.259	-0.016
High school	0.350	0.392	0.042*	0.436	0.450	0.014	0.384	0.218	-0.166*	0.433	0.473	0.039
BA +	0.132	0.151	0.019	0.166	0.211	0.045***	0.186	0.179	-0.007	0.251	0.149	-0.102**
Married	0.547	0.518	-0.029	0.512	0.551	0.039**	0.360	0.410	0.050	0.510	0.500	-0.010
Muslim	0.821	0.729	-0.092***	0.180	0.202	0.023	0.674	0.795	0.120	0.073	0.085	0.012
Christian	0.156	0.233	0.076***	0.677	0.609	-0.068***	0.279	0.141	-0.138*	0.729	0.698	-0.031
Buddhist	0.001	0.001	-0.000	0.045	0.051	0.006	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.065	0.113	0.048*
Hindu	0.000	0.014	0.014**	0.015	0.020	0.005	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.032	0.024	-0.008
Sikh	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.010	0.009	-0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.012	0.006	-0.006
Other religion	0.004	0.009	0.005	0.007	0.011	0.004	0.012	0.000	-0.012	0.008	0.006	-0.002
No religion	0.017	0.014	-0.004	0.067	0.098	0.031***	0.035	0.064	0.029	0.081	0.067	-0.014
Children in Ita	0.300	0.317	0.017	0.316	0.369	0.052***	0.186	0.321	0.134*	0.296	0.302	0.006
Years in Italy	8.522	8.380	-0.142	6.538	6.976	0.438**	8.558	10.038	1.480	7.190	6.936	-0.254
Italian language knowledge	3.308	3.474	0.165***	3.383	3.511	0.128***	3.247	3.487	0.240	3.283	3.300	0.016
Friend : Foreigners	0.185	0.181	-0.005	0.164	0.145	-0.019	0.163	0.064	-0.099*	0.138	0.210	0.073*
Friend : Predominantly foreigners	0.330	0.335	0.005	0.342	0.325	-0.016	0.209	0.244	0.034	0.328	0.290	-0.038
Friend : Mixed	0.304	0.335	0.031	0.300	0.335	0.036*	0.326	0.385	0.059	0.385	0.308	-0.077
Friend : Predominantly Italians	0.181	0.150	-0.031*	0.194	0.194	-0.000	0.302	0.308	0.005	0.150	0.192	0.042
Irregular legal status	0.243	0.131	-0.112***	0.119	0.071	-0.048***	0.488	0.179	-0.309***	0.352	0.168	-0.185***
Employed	0.670	0.651	-0.019	0.806	0.757	-0.048***	0.628	0.808	0.180*	0.810	0.823	0.013