# CONFERENCE

Cognition & Migration:
Researching Mobile Identities

16ᵗʰ – 17ᵗʰ November 2018
University of Oxford

## Abstracts

# Abstracts

## Keynote addresses

"Which Cognitions about Migrants?
Hosts First Want to Know Whether They Can Trust the Strangers."
Susan Fiske, Princeton University

Nations everywhere are integrating migrants, more than ever. But humans are not well equipped to welcome strangers: Images of refugees, migrants, homeless, and other nomads are among people's most negative reactions to outgroups. What information can satisfy hosts' concerns? Do the hosts want to know their economic value (status, skills), human connection (friendliness, morality) or core beliefs (political, religious)? Extant approaches disagree on the number and nature of the dimensions relevant to intergroup images.

The current project asks the potential hosts themselves what they need to know about societal groups in general and newcomers in particular. This likely depends on context. The project's goals include (a) assessing the impact of micro/human v macro/national contexts; (b) giving raters a broad array of choices; (c) measuring their active information-seeking; and (d) discovering which dimension(s) they prioritize. In spontaneous talk about all societal groups, human trustworthiness and sociality come first; economic worth (status, competence) comes second. Three experiments manipulate a more macro/national or micro/neighborhood context, and ask people what they want to know about migrants.

Content analyses consulted the raters, judges, and natural language processing. Although trustworthiness still matters most, its priority relative to competence/status varies with context. Migrants will always have to prove their trustworthiness, but depending on context, they may need more. If migrants and their allies want to improve their standing with policymakers in particular, maybe they should also prove their economic value; if they want to get along with their new neighbors, they mainly need to prove their human worthiness, so they should show both trustworthiness and sociality. Dimensions matter to cognitions about migrants.

"When Rational Migrants Meet Irrational Policies."
Douglas Massey, Princeton University

Immigration scholars have generally focused their theorizing on the cognition and decision-making of prospective migrants, yet migratory outcomes are also powerfully shaped by the cognition and decision-making of self-interested actors in receiving nations. The decisions made by policy makers, politicians, and pundits in host societies are not grounded in any understanding of immigration as a social and economic process or any desire to achieve a specific policy outcome with respect to human mobility.

Instead their decisions are guided by a narrow self-interest that seeks to use immigration and immigrants symbolic props to amass power and resources, irrespective of the consequences for immigrants and the communities that receive them. Bureaucrats manipulate immigration symbolically to gain funding and influence for their agencies. Politicians do it to mobilize political support and win elections. Entrepreneurs do it to enhance profits and expand business. Unions do it to enhance the

employment and wages of workers. Pundits do it to sell books and air time. The manipulation of immigration as a symbolic trope for selfish interests often outlasts the immigration flows themselves and can have a strong transformative effect on immigration trends and patterns, with negative consequences for both immigrants and natives, as this presentation will demonstrate.

## Panel 1

### From Sacred to Instrumental: Exploring the Changing Meaning of Citizenship
Yossi Harpaz, Tel-Aviv University

In recent years, scholars have identified a shift in the social meaning of nation-state citizenship. According to this literature, citizenship has become less significant for individuals' identity and emotions, and it is acquired and used in an increasingly instrumental and individualistic manner. This stands in stark contrast to the traditional understanding of citizenship as governed by a logic of selfless, non-calculating action for the sake of the collective, up to and including sacrificing one's life. Applying terms borrowed from Émile Durkheim, we could say that national citizenship has lost much of its sacred character. The profanation thesis has been promoted by authors who studied citizenship across a range of different contexts, including immigration, dual nationality and citizenship-by-investment programs. To date, however, there has been no attempt to systematically articulate the meaning of profanation and analyze the causal mechanisms driving it. In this paper, I will address this lacuna and lay out the analytical groundwork for exploring the profanation or instrumentalization of citizenship. First, I will formulate a working definition of instrumental or profane citizenship and propose ways of measuring it empirically. Second, I will survey the commonly-cited causes for the profanation of citizenship (including, among others, the legal toleration of dual nationality, the abolition of conscription, increased ethnic diversity and growing income inequality) and discuss the sociological and psychological mechanisms through which each of them may produce profanation. For example, the toleration of dual citizenship may allow individuals to accumulate nationalities, thereby encouraging a utility-maximizing attitude, while the shrinking burden of duties may limit citizens' emotional commitment. This analysis is intended to provide the basis for an interdisciplinary research that will draw on sociological and psychological perspectives to explore changes in the meaning of citizenship and, more broadly, processes of profanation and instrumentalization.

### A time focused perspective for analysing the effects of religious diversity
Miguel R. Ramos, University of Oxford

Demographic trends reveal that modern societies have become more socially diverse. Research examining the effects of social diversity has revealed both negative and positive effects bringing us to a paradox: how will the world's increasing diversity impact our quality of life? With religious diversity data comprising a total period of 33 years and 100 countries, we show that short-term changes in religious diversity are associated with lower trust in others and, in turn, with lower self-reported quality of life. However, in the long-term, diversity is associated with more intergroup contact, which dissipates initial negative effects of diversity. Our results with data from all around the world suggest that humans tend to react negatively to threats to homogeneity, but this is compensated by impulses to strive for intergroup contact and benefit from intercultural exchanges.

Belonging in Irish and German migrant letters: a comparative long-term analysis
Félix Krawatzek, ZOiS

Migrant letters are an evocative source to gain an intimate access to how individuals have made sense of the migration experience and how such evaluations change over time. At the same time, these letters are an empirical illustration of the assumption of simultaneous belonging which recent sociological work on contemporary migration has emphasised. But these idiosyncratic sources challenge us in how they can be systematically analysed using methods of text analysis. Currently, the number of migrant letter collections is growing, and whilst their value as historical socio-cultural artefacts is generally accepted, finding the best means to exploit such resources is an ongoing challenge. Indeed, the computational methods that have been developed to explore "big data" oftentimes turn out to be too coarse to do justice to the idiosyncratic nature of such letters.

This paper suggests to compare the integration experiences contained in two of the largest historical collections of migrant letters existing today, those of Irish and German migrants in the US during the 19th and 20th century. We use, on the one hand, the Irish migrant letters coming from the Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration (DIPPAM) project which is an online archive of sources hosted by Queen's University, Belfast that relates to the history of Ireland and the migratory experiences of its population between 1700 and the twentieth century. The Irish Emigration Database (IED) is part of this resource, containing over 4,000 letters between Irish migrants and their families back home. To this, we add a collection of German migrant letters which has been digitised and made machine readable by one of the authors. The collection, stored in hardcopy at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, contains nearly 7,000 letters and has, leaving shorter edited editions aside, not yet been explored  systematically.

This research project brings together linguistics and political science to bridge the gap between the detailed study of individual migrant families and their trajectories, political contexts and socio-cultural worlds, and, on the other hand, the study of how linguistic features differ and evolve which has occurred to some extent in isolation from the changes in political or economic structures. We probe different techniques of text analysis to understand better how individuals made sense of  their migration experience.

A substantive aim of this research is to compare the different themes that emerge in these two corpora and to focus in particular on ideas of belonging as expressed by Irish and German speaking migrants. We therefore hope to contribute to the idea of an emerging national identity of migrants throughout the 19th century through the experience of migration.


Ethnic and national identity development of Muslim adolescents in Europe:
A person-oriented approach
Olivia Spiegler, University of Oxford


Muslims adolescents of immigrant origin in Western Europe appear to have strong ethnic identities together with relatively weak national identities, but little is known about the development of both identities over time and the links between identity change and adjustment in this population. Therefore, we examined developmental trajectories of Muslim adolescents' ethnic and national identities and links between identity change and adjustment.

Our sample was based on the CILS4EU data and included Muslim adolescents ($n$ = 2950, $M_{age\ T1}$ = 15 years, 49.3% male, 77.3% second generation) from four Western European countries: Germany (36.3%), Sweden (25.8%), Netherlands (21.5%), and England (16.3%). There were three waves of annual measurement (attrition T1-T3 53%). At each time point, adolescents reported on their ethnic and national identity, problem behaviour at school, delinquent behaviour, life satisfaction, internalizing problems, and health.

Our analyses were conducted in two major steps. First, we used the longitudinal measures (T1-T3) of ethnic and national identities and growth mixture modelling to identify subgroups of identity change (Muthén & Shedden, 1999). In a second step, we related subgroups of identity change to adolescent adjustment and its changes over time by building growth curve models in which the subgroups were introduced as predictors.

Our results indicate that Muslim minority youth had strong, stable ethnic and weaker, stable national identities on average. However, our person-oriented approach revealed four distinct subgroups of identity change (see Figure 1): (1) Integration: A large group of adolescents (39%) reported equally strong and stable identities, indicating identity integration. This developmental pattern was more common among adolescents from Asia-Pacific. (2) Separation: Another large group of adolescents (39%) reported separation between ethnic and national identities, but the identities grew together over time. This pattern was more likely in the Netherlands and among adolescents from the Middle-East / North Africa and Europe. (3) Extreme Separation: A smaller group of adolescents (15%) reported more extreme and stable identity separation; a pattern that was more likely in Germany and among Turkish immigrant-origin youth. (4) Assimilation: The smallest group (8%) can be described as transitioning from assimilation to integration; this was more likely in Sweden and among adolescents from Asia-Pacific and Sub-Saharan Africa.

The analyses of adjustment indicated that adolescents with (extremely) separated identities reported more delinquent behaviour than integrated or formerly assimilated adolescents. While separated adolescents became less delinquent over time, extremely separated adolescents continued to report more delinquent behaviour. Adolescents with (extremely) separated identities further reported more problem behaviour at school than adolescents with integrated identities and this difference remained over time. Internalizing problems were persistently higher among adolescents with formerly assimilated identities compared to the other groups of identity change. Adolescents with formerly assimilated identities also reported consistently lower levels of life satisfaction than peers with separated identities. No differences between the subgroups of identity change were found for adolescents' health.

Our research highlights that there is substantial heterogeneity in ethnic and national identity development among Muslim adolescents of immigrant origin, and that identity integration is linked to better behavioural and psychological adjustment.

Multiethnic individuals in friendship networks: The potential of "brokers" for interethnic relations
Angelika Love, University of Oxford

In today's increasingly diverse societies, the growth of multiethnic populations is challenging the well-rehearsed view that people are either ingroup or outgroup members. It is therefore becoming ever more important to incorporate mixed identity populations into research on social categorization and intergroup relations.

Using social network and survey data from the English sample of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (Kalter et al., 2016a, 2016b, 2016c), we studied the involvement of multiethnic individuals in intergroup relationship processes ($N_{students}$ = 2697, $N_{classrooms}$ = 163, $N_{multiethnic}$ = 139). Specifically, we investigated their location in friendship networks; the effect of contact between multi- and mono-ethnic individuals on attitudes and interethnic friendship; and whether building bridges between members of different groups adversely affects wellbeing. Our multilevel analyses suggest that multiethnic individuals have the potential to be gateways for more positive relations between different monoethnic groups. However, we also find that being a broker may be related to a challenging rather than harmonious intergroup climate.

Within classroom networks, multiethnic individuals were especially likely to connect members of the monoethnic groups that converge in their mixed identity. However, occupying such "broker" positions was associated with experiencing more discrimination. Regarding the effect of positive contact with multiethnic individuals on intergroup relations, we found notable differences between majority and minority participants: Among majority White participants we found that having more friendship ties to mixed minority-White classmates was associated with more positive attitudes towards the associated monoethnic minority and more contact with the monoethnic minority outside the classroom. Conversely, among minority ethnic participants we found that having more mixed minority-White friends was associated with more negative attitudes towards the White outgroup and less contact with White people outside the classroom.

We discuss these findings, as well as the group-level effects of multiethnic brokers, in relation to research on the perception and categorization of multiethnic individuals (Pauker et al., 2018) and research on how contact not with an outgroup directly, but with intermediaries, could help facilitate greater social integration (see also Levy et al., 2017; Schmid et al., 2012; Wright, 1997).


Cultural Barriers to the Successful Integration of minorities in Britain
Neli Demireva, University of Essex

Using data from the Ethnic Minority British Election Study 2010 and Understanding Society 2009-2016. This paper highlight that important differences exist between ethnic minority groups along integration dimensions. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis fare worse at the group level in terms of linguistic, social and cultural integration, while more than 50 per cent of Indians have registered medium to high levels of integration across outcome measures. Black Caribbeans do well on some measures such as linguistic integration. A great proportion of Black Africans still follows foreign affairs, identifies strongly with ethnicity rather than Britain (in comparison more than 73 per cent of Bangladeshis claim dual or British identity) and with religion rather than Britain. Only about 30 per cent in each ethnic minority group, however, have demonstrated non-convergence in terms of liberal values integration.

Overall, the increasing presence of co-ethnics registers a strong negative association with social integration across ethnic minority groups and with linguistic and cultural integration for some groups, and especially among women. The effect of the presence of co-ethnics is however far from pervasively negative. Muslim South Asian women are not the group that is most negatively affected by presence of co-ethnics as politicians suspect, and the size of the 'negative' marginal change observed for co-ethnic concentration is much smaller compared to the 'positive' marginal effect observed for generational status. This leads us to conclude that politicians should not fixate on one ethnic minority group in a zero-sum integration narrative. The importance of the leap in the second generation and with the acquisition of citizenship should be celebrated, and the dimensionality of integration strongly recognized in line with the ethos of the advanced civic integration framework.

## The determinants of trust: Evidence from rural South India
Christophe J. Nordman, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement

Trust and participation in social networks are inherently interrelated. We make use of the demonetization policy in India, an unexpected and unforeseeable exogenous variation that had direct effects on networks but not on interpersonal trust, to causally identify the effect of social networks in determining trust. We use first-hand quantitative and qualitative data from rural South India and control for a variety of individual characteristics that could influence network formation and trust, such as personality traits and cognitive ability.

We find that social interactions only had a significant effect on levels of trust among men. Further, we find important differences along the lines of caste membership. Among lower castes, who live in homogeneous neighborhoods and relied on their neighbors and employers to cope with the shock, making use of one's network more intensely increases levels of trust placed in neighbors. Among middle castes, who live in more heterogeneous neighborhoods and relied predominantly on other caste members to cope, a larger network size leads to higher levels of trust placed in kin among employees but lower levels of trust in neighbors (who tend to be more dissimilar). This paper thus shows that social interactions can foster trust, though this is dependent on the type of interaction occurring. The paper also demonstrates the importance of having clearly defined in- and out-groups in trust measures, given the highly segregated nature of social interactions in rural South India.

## Bridging divides of caste and religion in South India
Nils Reimer, University of Oxford

We examined how people construct their social identities from multiple group memberships—and whether intergroup contact can reduce prejudice by fostering more inclusive social identities.

South Indian participants (N = 351) from diverse caste backgrounds viewed 24 identity cards, each representing a person with whom participants shared none, one, two, or all of three group memberships (caste, religion, nationality). Participants judged each person as "us" or "not us", showing whom they included in their ingroup, and whom they excluded. Participants tended to exclude caste and religious minorities, replicating persistent social divides. Bridging these divides, cross-group friendship was associated with more inclusive identities which, in turn, were associated

with more favourable outgroup attitudes. Negative contact was associated with less inclusive identities, showing that past experiences shaped whom participants considered "us" or "not us". Contact and identity processes were unrelated to support for affirmative action in advantaged and disadvantaged caste groups.

**Roundtable**

State Identity and Normative Decision-Making. The case of the European Refugee Crisis in 2015
Kathrin Bachleitner and Alexander Betts, University of Oxford

Our paper examines the responses of states to the recent European refugee crisis in the summer of 2015. By way of analyzing the diverse reactions of governments at the end of the Balkan route, Hungary, Austria and Germany, it shows how the national identity of countries mattered for political decision-making vis-a-vis the arriving Syrian refugees. Following moral philosopher Christine Korsgaard's approach, this research locates the sources of normativity for political action in the practical identity of a state which is embedded in intersubjective and fluid historical narratives a country tells about itself. Thus, how a country collectively remembers its own past, paints a selective, contemporary picture of its own community that in turn determines the viewing of the "other", in this case, the refugees.

Documenting the autumn of 2015 – the memory intuitions, Sweden and the refugees
Malin Thor Tureby, Linkoping University

In 2015, Sweden received over 160 000 asylum seekers. In the autumn of 2015, there were sometimes up to 1 000 refugees daily seeking asylum. Many of the refugees arrived in southern Sweden at the central train station in Malmö. Several actors, the Swedish government, local authorities and Non-Governmental Organizations and private citizens were involved in the reception of the refugees. Media reported every day from and about the refugee receptions. At the same time, various local and national memory institutions (archives, museums and libraries) almost immediately started an intensive work to document the reception and to collect and record narratives about and from refugees and volunteer workers at the reception sites. In this presentation I will give some examples from which historical narratives were invoked or constructed about Sweden, the Swedes and the refugees in the documentation processes of the situation in the autumn of 2015.

Political Memories, Refugees and Conflicts of Belonging in Germany
J. Olaf Kleist, University of Osnabrück

Traditionally, Germany's ethnic identity was considered hostile towards non-German migrants. Riots and legal reforms against asylum seekers in the 1990s seemed to validate this assumption. In light of these experiences, the welcome refugees received in Germany around 2015 seemed surprising.

I discuss how notions of political belonging changed in the face of the recent refugee reception by looking at memories of Germans' forced displacement. Since the 1950s, Heimatvertriebene, German expellees from Eastern Europe after World War Two, provided with cultural memories of their displacement a conservative backbone to an ethnic German model in the Federal Republic of Germany. By 2015 however, memories of Heimatvertriebene underpinned a "welcome culture" with the notion that "Germans were refugees, too". I show how these narratives of belonging changed over time and informed competing reactions to migrants, based on cultural and civic memories

respectively. I argue that rather than one identity, political memories provide competing rationales for political communities to negotiate their relationship to non-members. Thus, Germany continues to probe its past as it debates its political approach to refugees today.


Austria and the 'refugee crises'
Sarah Knoll, University of Vienna


At the end of summer 2015 the "refugee crises" reached the Austrian border. Since then politicians and the public are dealing with this "wave of refugees". The Austrian public is torn between solidarity with political refugees and a refusal of "economic refugees". The sentiment of solidarity is often combined with Austria being represented as a country with strong humanitarian traditions.

The master narrative, depicting Austria as a hospital country for refugees, started with the events of Hungary in 1956. One year after the ratification of the Austrian State Treaty and the regaining of independence, Hungarian refugees were a good possibility to create a new and positive picture of Austria. But also the transit of these refugees became highly important during this time. Austria always wanted to offer transit to refugees and not a new home.

Since 1956 there were another six main refugee influxes to Austria (1968/69 from Czechoslovakia, 1981/82 from Poland, 1989 from the GDR, 1990 from Romania and 1991–1995 from Yugoslavia). The presentation examines the major "refugee crises" in a comparative way. It illustrates, in which way questions about the Austrian identity influenced the discussions about refugees today.


Securitization as Enacted Melodrama:
The Political Spectacle of the Hungarian Anti-Immigration Campaign
András Szalai, Central European University


This paper seeks to expand on the empirical literature on securitization in non-democratic settings by retelling the Hungarian anti-migration campaign, launched in 2015, as a case of securitization, with the explicit aim of seeking to theorize its empirical findings. The paper departs from the observation that the current Hungarian discourse on migration bears striking resemblance to Western European discursive structures of the 1990s and early 2000s, yet, despite the liberal borrowing of tried and tested frames, the securitization campaign is unique due the conditions underlying its inception and its evolution. Its uniqueness also leads to a set of puzzles for securitization theory: the campaign remains extremely effective without the physical presence of a subject of security (i.e. the migrant/refugee), emergency measures do not require acceptance from the audience the campaign is targeted at, and current politics of xenophobia bear more resemblance to normal politics than any realm of state emergency.

In order to make sense of these empirical puzzles, the paper relies on post-Copenhagen securitization scholarship, and demonstrates that in-built bias towards Western European contexts make conventional forms of securitization theory blind to securitization in non-democratic and semi-authoritarian/illiberal regimes. To remedy this gap in the extant literature, the paper offers a reconceptualization of the issue of context in securitization theory as a composite of political ontology and socio-political context proper. In this reconceptualization, democratic systems represent one of

the extremes of a continuum of political ontologies wherein normal and emergency politics are clearly separable, and therefore security can retain its exceptionality as something beyond the democratic process. Non-democratic regimes, especially totalitarian systems on the other hand completely blur the line between normal and emergency, as any issue can be turned into a threat to the state/regime. With this separation absent, securitization fulfills a number of different roles within a non-democratic polity, *beyond* the legitimization of emergency measures. Illiberal regimes, like the one in Hungary, are then the in-between, where the boundaries of emergency politics gradually blurred as securitization logics are normalized. This normalization however cannot be deterministic as the general population retains partial agency due to the regime's continued reliance on elections.

To account for the normalization of security within this illiberal context, the paper rediscovers Murray Edelman's concept of political spectacle. The political spectacle is a mechanism elites use to construct crisis situations in order to reinforce or reshape the identity of their audience through a Schmittian division between a threatened Us, and a threatening Other. As spectacle, the securitization acts of the Hungarian government vis-à-vis migration fit the definition of melodrama, wherein a moral panic is constructed around refugees and is promoted through the media that only the heroic protagonist (the Prime Minister) can resolve. Once interpreted through this very specific, yet highly flexible practice of threat construction, the government's policies on migration recall previous instances of melodramatic spectacles that were used to mobilize Hungarians around contentious policies. Through this mechanism, the government elite is reinforcing supporters' national identity as a band of rebels under attack from various, often very mundane menaces, ranging from banks and multinationals to utility costs. As televised melodrama, a heavily securitized interpretation of the migration crisis can thus become normal for a society at large. Thus, in sum, securitization attempts as melodramatic spectacles can be used to gain legitimacy for the regime in power by mobilizing support, maintain an atmosphere of uncertainty, and to construct the PM as the leader of the community and the only source of security. By visiting more and more contentious policy issues under this script, the illiberal regime is pushing the boundaries of what counts as emergency politics as it normalizes security discourses.

Spain: Fragmented Nationhood and Denied Memory
Joana Duyster-Borreda, University of Oxford

> '…*thousands of dinghies loaded with African migrants who are desperate*
> *to reach the Spanish coast so that they can start a new, better life* (ABC, 9 December 2014)'

The refugee and migrant crisis of 2015 has not only produced very diverse responses from different states, it also sheds light on the way in which Europe's history of migration emerged or was suppressed during the crisis. Spain has a long-lasting history of migration, starting in the nineteenth century and continuing throughout the twentieth century. However, up until the 1990s, more people emigrated from Spain than immigrated (Cebolla Boado and González Ferrer 2013). Despite this migration history, these narratives seem not to be part of the Spanish collective memory. Spain's migration history is hardly ever mentioned in the debates and the policy decisions concerning the refugee crisis today. Despite quite low numbers of political asylum seekers in the beginning of the refugee crisis (CEAR 2015), the real numbers and motives were exaggerated by the Spanish media through images of refugees climbing the wall in Ceuta and Melilla and immigrants arriving in small boats on the Spanish coats.

This paper examines the nexus between the Spanish migration history and the responses to the current refugee crisis. It uses a quantitative but mostly qualitative analysis of contemporary Spanish press (*ABC, El Mundo* and *El País* from 2015-2018) and analyses historic documents to examine the denied memory of the Spanish migration identity. It will use three major historic moments of Spanish emigration and examines how they contributed to a *fragmented Spanish nationhood*. The three migration narratives examined in this paper are the migration at the end of the nineteenth century, the migration during the Spanish Civil War and the beginning of the Franco regime as well as the migration in the 1960s. The paper presents three major narratives of Spanish migration and reflects on how they are represented within the news coverage from 2015 up until today. The paper hopes to give an overview of the Spanish responses to the refugee crisis and partially explain the diverse and inconsistent reactions by the media and the politicians. Furthermore, it reflects on the connection between memory and identity and raises questions of how to make 'denied collective memory' visible.