



Third Annual WZB Conference on Migration and Diversity

NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MOTION

Conference Organizers: Ruth Ditzmann, Ines Michalowski

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List of Abstracts and Corresponding Authors

Abstracts

Panel 1: Macro-Level Approaches to National Identity

Citizen Makers: Immigration and National Identity Debates

Liav Orgad, Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya and Free University Berlin.

Liberal democracies are citizen makers. They have a long tradition of attempts to "Protestantize" Catholic immigrants and "Westernize" non-Western immigrants. In contemporary liberal democracies, the ultimate goal of the naturalization process is to "liberate" the illiberal and channel immigrants into the dominant customs, beliefs, and values of the dominant majority—by, for example, Anglifying or Germanizing the immigrants. This process is tricky—how to be citizen makers without being law breakers? More importantly, in order to make "good" citizens out of immigrants, liberal states must define not only the qualities that make one a good citizen, but also the specific qualities that make one a good national citizen (American, German, etc.). In order to answer this challenging question, states must explore who they are (or think they are) and which essential elements define their national character. The process which a non-citizen undergoes to become a citizen is one of the most fascinating fields to explore national identity. The presentation will address two simple but important questions: a) what can immigration policy teach us about national identity in Europe and the United States?; and b) is it morally justified for a liberal state to implement immigration policy as a means of design (or redesign) of national identity?

'Migrants with Poor Prospects': Ethnicity and Class in the Construction of Dutchness and Its Other in Dutch Civic Integration Debates

Saskia Bonjour, University of Amsterdam (with Jan Willem Duyvendak)

In this paper, we investigate how the figure of the unassimilable migrant is construed in Dutch political debates and how, through the mirror of this Absolute Other, politicians define what 'Dutchness' is. The Netherlands have been at the forefront of the civic turn in immigrant integration policies in Europe since the 1990s. This turn has implied a 'culturalization' of immigrants' citizenship: what it means to be Dutch is increasingly defined in cultural and emotional terms (shared emotions, norms and values), and immigrants who live in the Netherlands are supposed to assimilate into this new Dutchness. However, since the turn of the century, Dutch civic integration policies have been reformed so as to function not only as migrant integration policies, but also as selective immigration policies, i.e. to ensure that only migrants who are expected to 'integrate well' can come to or stay in the Netherlands. A central figure in debates about these policies is the 'migrant with poor prospects' (kansarme migrant) who should be barred from coming to the Netherlands. At first sight, the notion of 'poor prospects' is primarily socio-economic, referring to education and employment. However, a closer look reveals that the figure of the 'migrant with poor prospects' is also very much defined in socio-cultural terms, related to values, attitudes, and cultural practices. In this paper, we analyse how ethnicity and class intersect in the discursive construction by different political parties of this unwanted 'migrant with poor prospects'. Furthermore, we highlight how this figure of the unassimilable Other contributes to defining 'Dutch' identity as middle-class and progressive.

From Burden to Asset: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Remaking of Racial Difference in the Campaign for Hawai'i Statehood

Sarah Miller-Davenport, University of Sheffield.

Once a racially problematic overseas territory whose population was deemed unassimilable, by the time it became a state in 1959 Hawai'i was being touted as a global model of racial harmony and an emblem of American anti-colonialism. Based on primary source research, this paper argues that Hawai'i's shift from colony to state represented a key transitional moment in how Americans defined their nation's role in the world, and how they negotiated the problem of social difference at home. Unlike all 49 states that came before it, Hawai'i's full inclusion in the nation was based less on claims to its sameness to the rest of the U.S. than to its difference from the mainland. Hawai'i's mixed and majority

ethnically Asian population was the main obstacle to statehood, even up until the late-1950s. By 1959, however, Hawai'i was valuable to the U.S. precisely because it was home to so many people of Asian descent. Statehood arrived at a moment when the U.S. was seeking to draw the peoples of Asia into its orbit by convincing them of America's good intent. Statehood thus represented an embrace of a more expansive notion of American identity—both in terms of who could be counted as American at home and what areas of the world were considered to be within the U.S. sphere of influence. This was a cultural shift codified in law, as statehood represented a significant change in Hawai'i's legal status.

But the transformation of Hawai'i from colony to state, and the expansiveness this represented, was never inevitable. This paper explores the Congressional debates over statehood and how they reflected competing visions of national identity against the background of global decolonisation.

Acknowledgment of Responsibility for Harm Doing: A Comparative Approach

Cengiz Erisen, TOBB University (with Rezarta Bilali).

Historical injustices and acts of violence toward other groups are common, whereas the acknowledgment for the harms done during these events is rare. This is unfortunate because acknowledgment of responsibility for past misdeeds facilitates reconciliation, whereas denial and justification of ingroup harmdoing inhibits peace and justice. The goal of our work is to encourage and increase acknowledgment of injustices. Doing harm threatens moral integrity. Therefore, to maintain a positive identity, group members are often inclined to deny or justify the harm committed by their groups. Strategies to increase the likelihood of acknowledgment of ingroup harm need to address identity threats posed by in-group's misdeeds (Bilali, Tropp, & Dasgupta, 2012; Cehaji, Brown, & González, 2009).

The current paper (as a part of a larger project) aims to test strategies aimed at increasing group members' acknowledgment of ingroup's injustices. We build our strategies by drawing on implicit theories of groups and on research on lay dispositionism (Staub, Pearlman, Bilali, Haven, & Vollhardt, 2006). We test these ideas by experimentally manipulating construals of violence and of groups' character in the US and in Turkey. We hypothesize that when group members believe groups to be fixed and when they appraise an ingroup's misdeed as a global, fundamental flaw of their ingroup's character, this misdeed is more threatening to the ingroup's identity, and thus leads to denial/justifications of

the past. However, if group members believe that groups can change, and when they appraise an ingroup's misdeed as reflecting a specific flaw of the group which can be overcome, then this appraisal is more likely to lead people to repair the flaw through acknowledging injustices and restoring the harms done.

Panel 2: National Identity of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities

The Politics of Patriotism

Matthew Wright, American University (with Tim Reeskens)

Advanced democracies face growing ethnocultural diversity, which (according to many) imperils "social cohesion" and its putative benefits. Some, mostly famously David Miller (1995), argue that patriotism towards a shared national identity mitigates this problem. The weakness of this hypothesis, we argue, lies in the fact that patriotism is not an abstract quantity that always drives (or undermines, depending on point of view) social solidarity. Rather, here we conceptualize patriotism as a *mediating *variable: pride conditions the relationship between a country's politics in a given policy realm and public opinion on that policy. The intuition behind our Politics-Pride-Public Opinion (PPP) model is simple: the underlying effect of patriotism depends very much what respondents understand it to mean, which in turn depends on how political elites have constructed it over time via elite discourse and policy. We demonstrate these dynamics empirically by showing how patriotism mediates the link between national-level multiculturalism policy and various attitudes regarding immigration and ethnic diversity. To do so, we employ policy measures and demographics culled from various sources, combined with comparative public data from the European Values Survey and International Social Survey Programme.

Conflicting or Compatible? How Schools Shape National, Ethnic and Religious Identities of Muslim Immigrant Youth

Karen Phalet, KU Leuven (with Judit Kende, Fenella Fleischmann, Kay Deaux & Gülseli Baysu)

The national identity of second-generation immigrant youth is part and parcel of complex and multiple identities, combining their ethnic or religious belongings with the national membership they share with majority peers (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2015; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Against the background of public hostility against Muslims and Islam in European societies

(Voas & Fleischmann, 2012), a key question is when and how the Muslim identity of the second generation is compatible or conflicting with a common national identity. While public discourse commonly represents the national identity as inherently conflicting with Islamic values and ways of life, we argue that identity conflict arises from the way institutions like schools define national identity and ethnic/religious diversity. We draw on large-scale longitudinal CILS data (Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Surveys) on Muslim youth (wave 1 N=873, M=14 years; wave 2 N=623; M=15) in secondary schools (n=60) in Flanders-Belgium to put this reasoning to an empirical test. We conducted multi-level longitudinal analyses, taking into account school composition and individual attainment. As expected, lagged effects of ethno-religious identities on (changes in) national identification varied from negative (conflict) to zero or positive (compatibility) between different schools (random slopes). Moreover, school diversity approaches (eg, peer perceptions of discrimination and accommodation at school) moderate identity compatibility or conflict. The research adds to our understanding of how immigrant minority youth negotiate national identity content (conflict or compatibility) within schools as institutional settings.

Cultural Identity as a Predictor for Educational Achievement of Immigrant Students Under Stereotype Threat

Silvana Weber, University of Koblenz-Landau (with Markus Appel & Nicole Kronberger)

According to the OECD, adolescent immigrants often underperform in educational settings. One of the underlying reasons might be the psychological phenomenon Stereotype Threat, proposing that the fear of confirming a negative stereotype which is held against one's group leads to an extra pressure not to fail, and eventually results in cognitive underperformance. Previous research has shown that cultural identity strength moderates the impact of stereotype threat on cognitive performance, insofar as stronger identification with the residence culture (cf. national identity) serves as a buffer.

In two experimental field studies we aimed at examining how brief interventions at school to strengthen students' sense of belonging to the residence culture might reduce the detrimental effect of stereotype threat on academic performance, and eventually help close the educational achievement gap. Study 1 (n = 156) was conducted in a 2 (Immigration background: yes vs. no) x 2 (Identity Treatment: strengthening vs. weakening) cross-sectional design, and showed that strengthening the identification with the residence culture

positively influences immigrant adolescents' performance in a cognitive ability test taken under stereotype threat. Study 2 (n = 540) was conducted in a 2 (Immigration background: yes vs. no) x 2 (Identity Intervention: strengthening vs. neutral) longitudinal design over the course of one school year. It was examined how strengthening students' sense of belonging to the residence culture influences their educational achievement, including grades, school dropout, stereotype threat vulnerability, academic belonging, and learning motivation. Theoretical and practical implications of the findings are discussed.

Panel 3: National Identity of Host Citizens

The Importance of National Identity for Intergroup Relations in Culturally Diverse Nations: A Social Psychological Perspective

Kumar Yogeeswaran, University of Canterbury

Immigration and globalization has increased cultural diversity in many parts of the world. Such growing diversity has led to contentious debate on how to best maintain national cohesion given people's membership in varied ethnic subgroups. Should national identity be granted to any individual, regardless of their background, if they embrace certain core ideals and participate in the community? Or should national identity be limited to only those with specific ancestral bloodlines? This distinction lies at the heart of what social scientists have called ethnic vs. civic national identities. In this presentation, I will use a social psychological lens to discuss how nations as political institutions and psychological conceptions of nationhood impact intergroup relations within ethnically diverse national contexts. First, I will present findings from several programs of research that examine the impact of construing national identity as ethnic vs. civic on majority group members' attitudes, inclusion, and behavior toward ethnic minorities. Second, I will discuss some of the implications of national and ethnic identification for relations between majority and minority groups. And finally, I will conclude by discussing some of the ways in which future research may benefit from using a social psychological perspective – such a framework can help shed light on our understanding of the nature and consequences of national identity for intergroup relations in ethnically diverse nations of the 21st century.

Shades of American Identity: Implicit Associations Between Ethnicity and National Identity

Thierry Devos, San Diego State University

Many countries face the challenge of balancing attachment to the nation and identifications with more specific ethnic groups. Our work focuses on a particular aspect of this complex puzzle and on a specific socio-historical context: we examine the relative inclusion or exclusion of ethnic groups in the national identity in the United States of America. In this talk, we review and integrate research examining the extent to which the American identity is implicitly granted or denied to members of different ethnic groups. When perceptions are assessed at a level that escapes conscious control or awareness, European Americans are conceived of as being more American than African, Asian, Latino, and even Native Americans. This implicit American = White effect emerges even when explicit knowledge or perceptions point in the opposite direction. The propensity to deny the American identity to members of ethnic minorities is particularly pronounced when targets (individuals or groups) are construed through the lenses of ethnic identities. Implicit ethnic-national associations fluctuate as a function of perceivers' ethnic identity and political orientation, but also contextual or situational factors. The tendency to equate being American with being White accounts for the strength of national identification (among European Americans) and behavioral responses including voting intentions. The propensity to deny the American identity to ethnic minority groups reflects an exclusionary national identity. In contrast to claims of a post-racial America, ethnic distinctions continue to delineate the rights and opportunities of ethnic groups making up the U.S. population. Behind ethnic distinctions lurk asymmetries of power and status. Automatic and largely unconscious assumptions about what it means to be American imply that the national identity is less easily psychologically granted to ethnic minorities than to Americans of European descent. The unequal access to a national identity is a specific manifestation of a broader socio-structural reality.

National Disloyalty and the Immigrant-Native Boundary

Rahsaan Maxwell, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (with Lucie House)

In this article we examine the nuances of national boundaries by analyzing responses to national disloyalty perpetrated by in-group natives as opposed to immigrants. This approach allows us to gauge the depth of the immigrant-native boundary. Immigrants occupy a special place in this national insider-outsider distinction because they arrive with foreign cultural, linguistic and religious

practices that can be interpreted as evidence of disloyalty during everyday life. Yet, despite immigrants' position as the fundamental outsiders in a national community, there are many reasons to fear threatening disloyalty from in-group natives as well. Our analytical approach may be especially useful because existing literature offers competing and unresolved hypotheses about how natives should respond to native as opposed to immigrant disloyalty. Furthermore, although there is a long tradition of analyzing the multiple ways in which individuals can be attached to their national community, this literature has primarily focused on the different ways in which in-group members (natives) regard the out-group (foreigners), without an explicit comparison of threats from fellow in-group members. Our results are mixed. Overall, there is evidence that the distinction between being disloyal or not is more significant than the distinction between whether that disloyalty is perpetrated by immigrants or natives. Yet, there is also evidence that the immigrant-native boundary is important for understanding how disloyalty is interpreted. In addition, our results suggest that interpretations of disloyalty vary according to the strength of national identification. These findings have several implications for our understanding of national identity boundaries and immigrant integration.

Religious Boundaries of National Belonging in Europe - Exploring Within and Between Country Differences

Sabine Trittler, Georg-August-University of Göttingen

This paper analyzes how differences in the salience of religious boundaries of the nation among the majority population in Europe can be explained. Compared to previous studies dealing with civic and ethnic conceptions of national identity this paper focuses on the relative importance of religious boundaries for national belonging. To go beyond the classical secularization approach and its reference to the effects of modernization processes, I consider individual and country-level factors based on theories of social identity and perceived ethnic threat due to an increasing Muslim population. In addition, the institutional relationship between state and church and historical manifestations of religious nationalism are included as additional frameworks, which I assume to influence the construction and maintenance of religious boundaries on the individual level. In order to analyze within and between-country differences in the relative importance of religious boundaries for national belonging multi-level models are applied to data from 22 countries using the national identity module of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP 2003). The results reveal that, besides

religious affiliation and religiosity, especially for those who feel economically threatened by immigrants religion becomes a salient feature of national belonging. On the country level, a close and supportive relationship between state and church turns out to be an important institutional framework that increases the importance of religious boundaries of the nation. Furthermore, in countries with historical manifestations of religious nationalism such as in Ireland or Poland, religion is considered to be more salient for national belonging.

Panel 4: National Identity in Fragile States

How Refugees Drive Preferences for Citizenship Exclusion: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa

Yang-Yang Zhou, Princeton

How does exposure to refugees affect natives' preferences for citizenship regimes? Speaking to the literatures on native-refugee conflicts, attitudes towards immigration, and nation-building and citizenship in Africa, this project examines how the presence of refugees can challenge citizens' conceptions of their national boundaries and consequently, drive preferences for exclusion. Using new data on refugee camp locations provided by the UNHCR and over 40,000 geo-referenced respondents from the most recent Afrobarometer survey, I find that respondents living closer to refugee camps endorse exclusion with greater likelihood, especially with respect to *jus soli* or granting citizenship by birth. Respondents near camps also report lower confidence in the national economy and less interpersonal trust, suggesting that they feel threatened both economically and symbolically by refugees.

Identity in Partition: Evidence from a Panel Survey in Sudan

Bernd Beber, NYU (with Philip Roessler & Alexandra Scacco)

How do identities respond to significant political change? In mid-2011, South Sudan separated from Sudan and formed a newly independent state. Building on our previous work on migration decisions of Southern Sudanese around the time of partition, this paper presents statistical evidence about identity change among individuals in Sudan at this critical political moment. We present evidence for adaptive behaviors, for example among Southerners trying to pass as non-Southern, and discuss ways in which such adaptation is constrained. We

also explore to what extent we can observe shifts in self-identification among other non-Arab minorities as well as relocated Southerners. The paper presents results from a panel survey of 1400 respondents drawn from the capital Khartoum, which to our knowledge is the only systematic data collected on Sudanese attitudes at the time of partition. The first round of the survey was implemented by the authors in the fall of 2010, with a post-partition follow-up in the fall of 2011.

The Construction and Deconstruction of Egyptian National Identity After the January 2011 Revolution: What Does It Mean to Be Egyptian Under Religious and Military Rule?

Nourhan Abdel Aziz, American University in Cairo

National identity is often regarded as the most basic form of social identity. It is also often perceived as “natural” and homogeneous in a nation-state. This paper will look at the measures and policies taken by the Egyptian State since 2011 to construct a unified Egyptian national identity to support its political goals. However, identity cannot be simply used as a top-down concept through which it is strictly perceived as ideological cement that is open for construction. As a result, the paper will also examine how the opposition deconstructed the State-sponsored identity.

The paper focuses on the measures taken by the religious and military governments who came to power after the 2011 revolution. To trace these measures, the paper has four objectives that are interlinked. Firstly, the paper will look at national identity and its articulation through the different constitutions. By examining the 2012 and 2014 Constitutions, the paper seeks to analyze the approach of the religious rule and military rule. Secondly, it will examine the intervention of the State in schools to fulfill the goal of education in building the “Egyptian character” and preserving “national identity” as specified in the constitution. Thirdly the paper will look at the media’s approach in facilitating the dissemination of the governments’ policies. Particular emphasis will be directed towards the use of Syrian and Palestinian refugees as a threat to Egyptian identity and unity. Lastly, the paper will show the military’s opposition to the religiously constructed identity and the religious opposition to the identity constructed by the military.

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