

# »Analiza učinkovitosti inovativnih in prožnih oblik učenja v različnih kulturnih okoljih«

Javni razpis Krajša in daljša gostovanja tujih strokovnjakov in visokošolskih učiteljev na slovenskih visokošolskih zavodih 2019-2022



REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA  
MINISTRSTVO ZA IZOBRAŽEVANJE,  
ZNANOST IN ŠPORT



# Understanding migrations through experiments: behaviors and attitudes of individuals

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# Introductions

- I'm an assistant professor (docent) at Michigan State University
- I'm from Slovenska Bistrica (my dialect makes that pretty clear)
- I've lived in the US for 20 years
- I went to high school in Maribor and left for college in the US
  
- I use experiments to study the social exclusion of minorities
- My experiments use games (including a videogame I created)
- Most of my work is in Europe, but I also have some work on gender and race in the US

# Today's lecture

- Today's lecture will use a mix of languages
- As we have a mixed room & I have more familiarity with experimental terminology in English, I will speak in English most of the time
- I am happy to switch to Slovene if anything is unclear – **just unmute, interrupt me and ask**
- You don't have to speak English - you can ask questions in Slovene. Whatever you prefer is great.

# Chat bomb

Using just one word, how are you feeling right now?

Put your answer in the chat and wait until I tell you to post. Then post. This is practice for later.

# Roadmap

1. A bit context on the European Refugee Crisis
2. Stepping back – basics on hypotheses and variables
3. Experiments – what they are and what they help us do
4. Looking at some experiments in migrations
  1. Muslim immigrants and employment in France
  2. British support for religious schools
  3. Serbian reactions to the refugee crisis
  4. Host population preferences on immigration across Europe
5. Group assignment

# European Refugee Crisis

# Global trends

According to the UNHCR (The UN Refugee Agency):

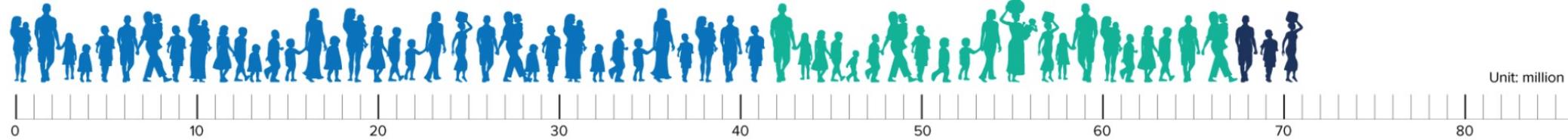
- We are witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record
- 1 person is forcibly displaced as a result of conflict or persecution every second
- This means that 37,000 people a day are forced to flee their homes because of conflict and persecution

Links to UNHCR:

<https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/figures-at-a-glance.html>

<http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview>

**70.8 million** forcibly displaced people worldwide



Internally Displaced People  
**41.3 million**

Refugees  
**25.9 million**

20.4 million under UNHCR's mandate  
5.5 million Palestinian refugees under UNRWA's mandate

Asylum-seekers  
**3.5 million**

Where the world's displaced people are being hosted



About 80 per cent of refugees live in countries neighbouring their countries of origin

**57%** of UNHCR refugees came from three countries

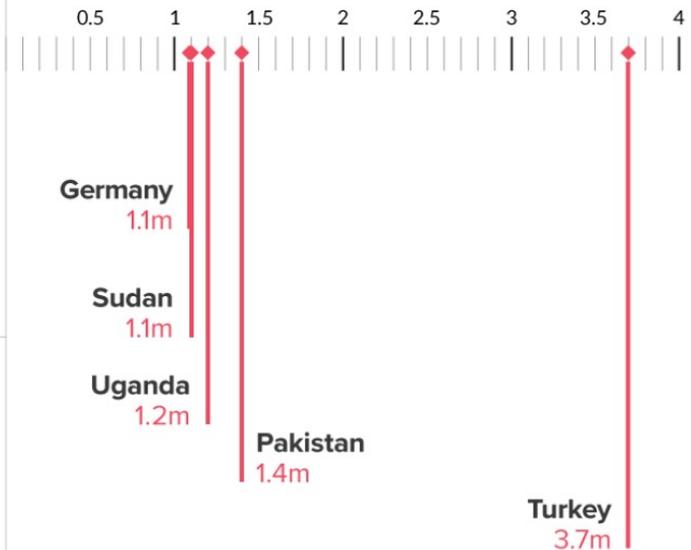


**341,800** new asylum seekers

The greatest number of new asylum applications in 2018 was from Venezuelans



Top refugee-hosting countries



# The Eurocentric View

While we are certainly facing a global refugee crisis...

... and there was a surge of refugees passing through Europe

... and there are refugees still passing through Europe every day,

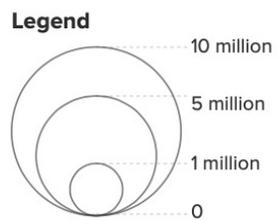
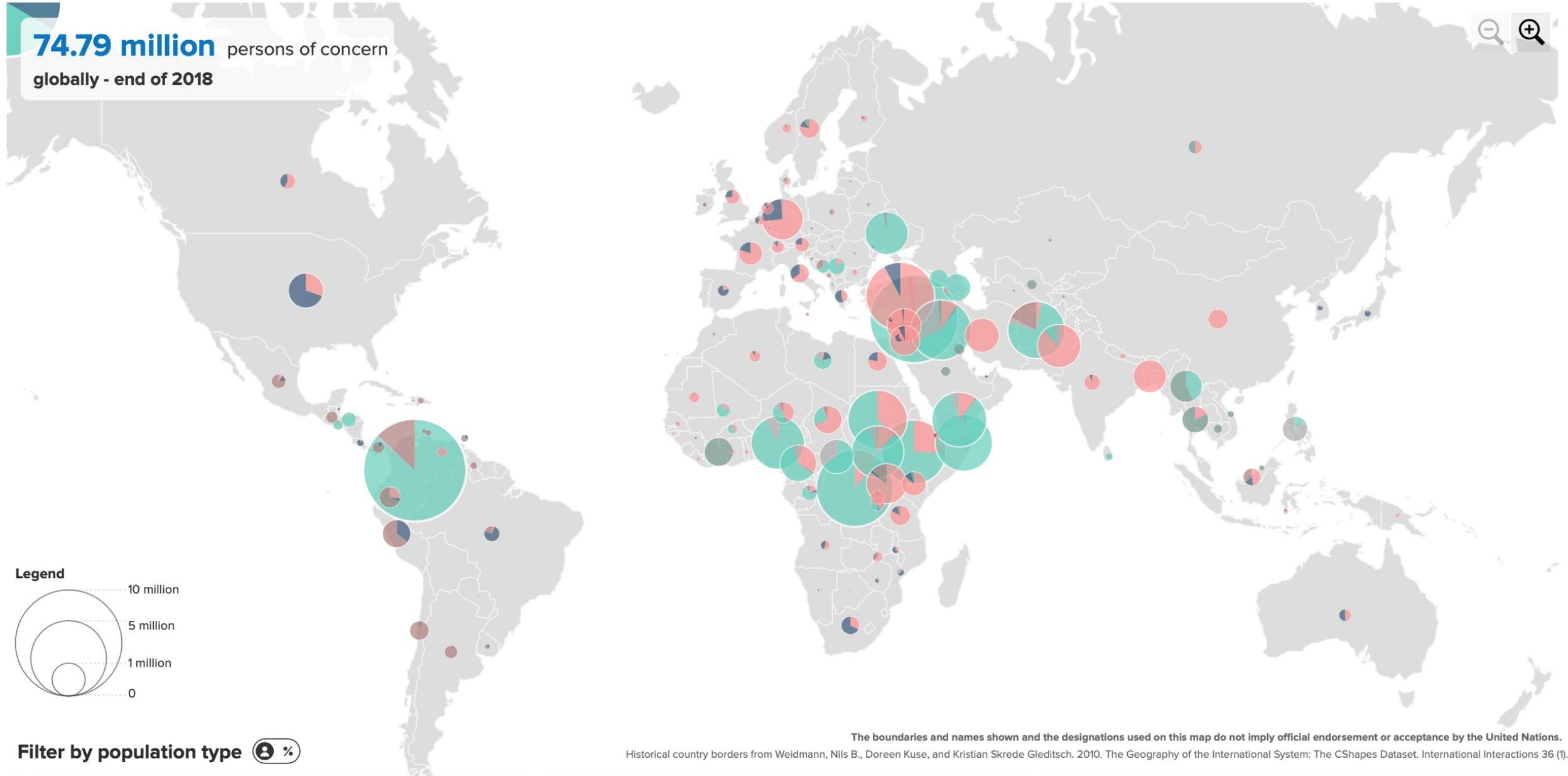
... the real crisis is happening elsewhere.

# UNHCR STATISTICS

The World in Numbers

HELP ?

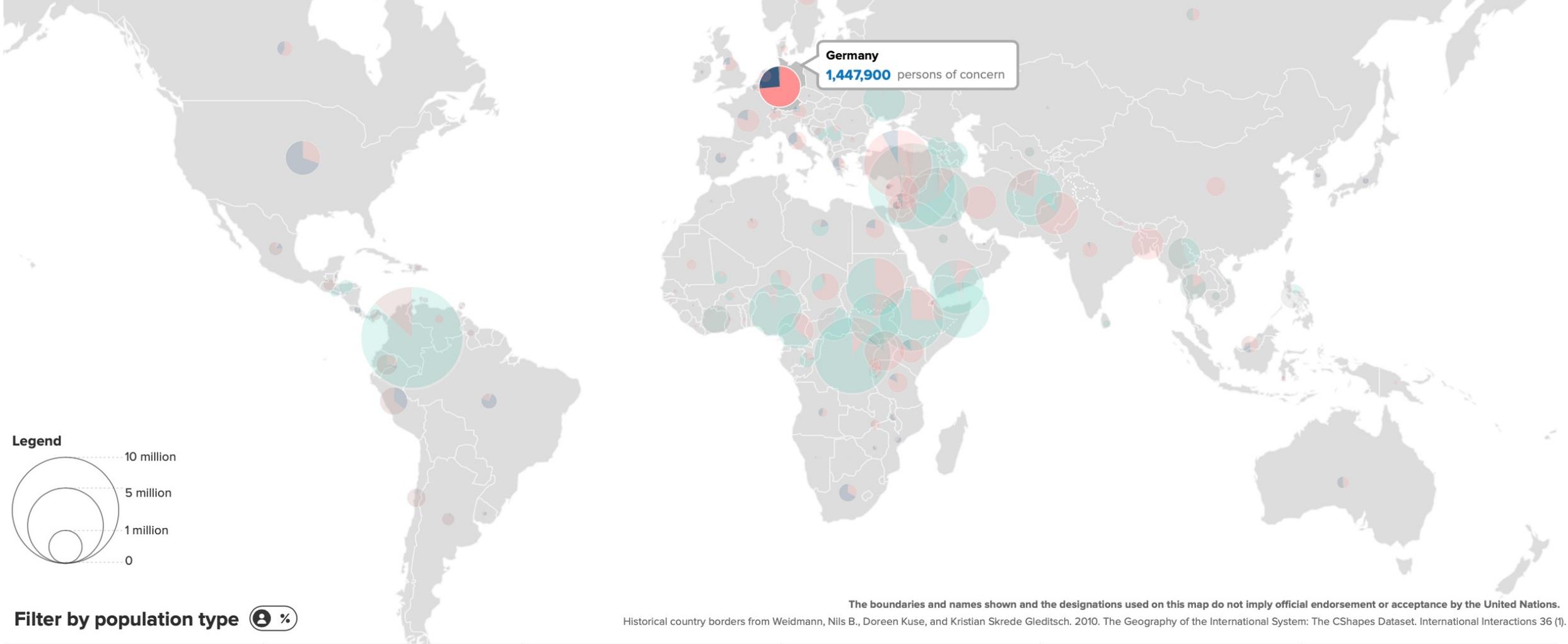
**74.79 million** persons of concern globally - end of 2018



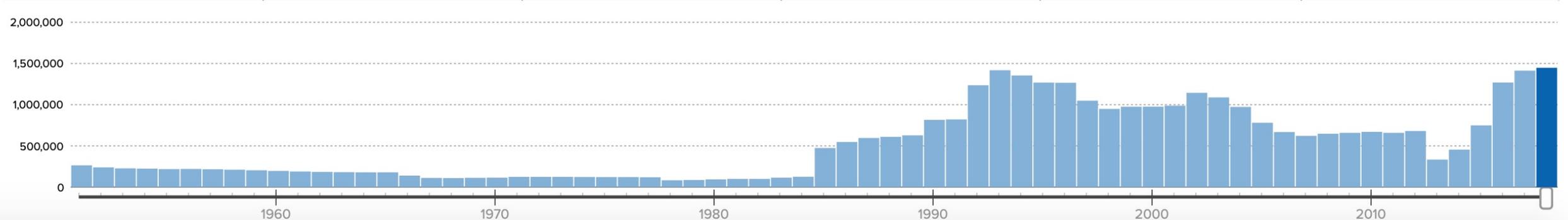
**Filter by population type**

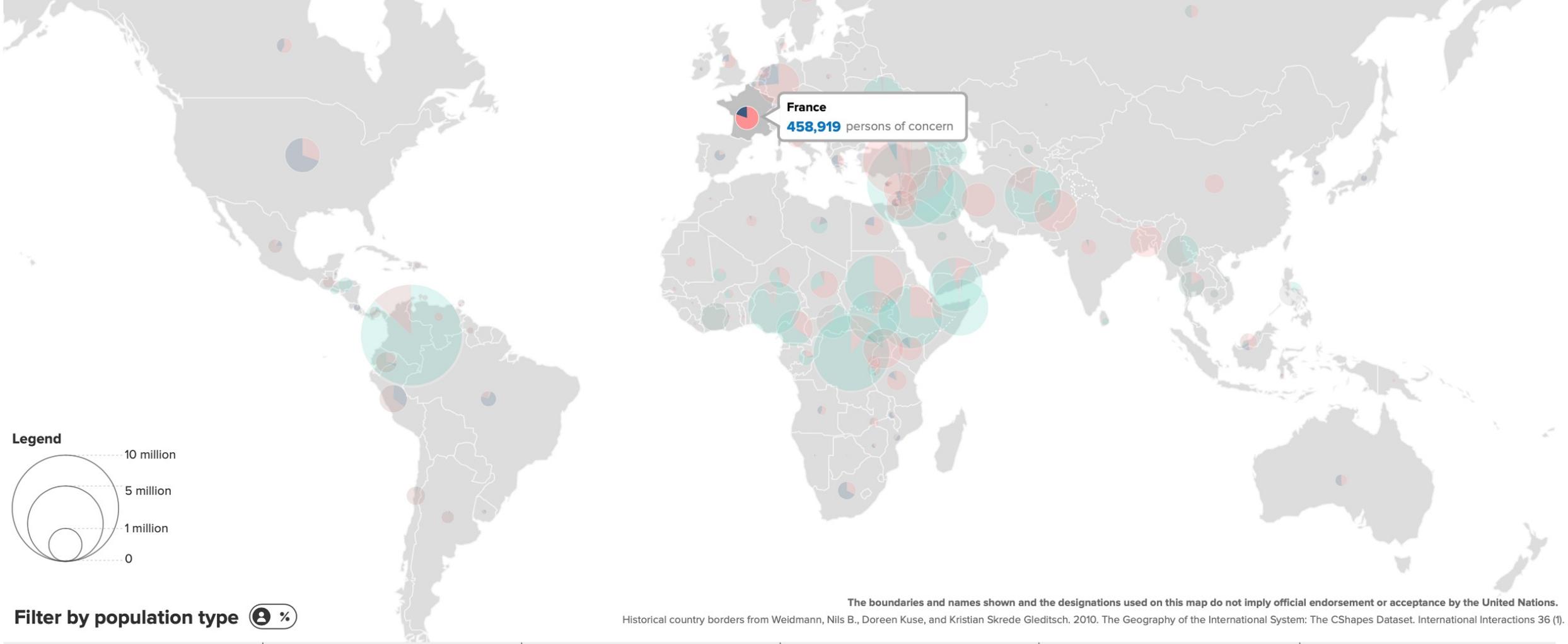
The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.  
Historical country borders from Weidmann, Nils B., Doreen Kuse, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2010. The Geography of the International System: The CShapes Dataset. International Interactions 36 (1).

Refugees	<b>20,360,562</b>	Asylum-seekers	<b>3,503,284</b>	IDPs	<b>41,425,147</b>	Returnees	<b>2,906,740</b>	Stateless persons	<b>2,820,348</b>	Others	<b>3,775,858</b>
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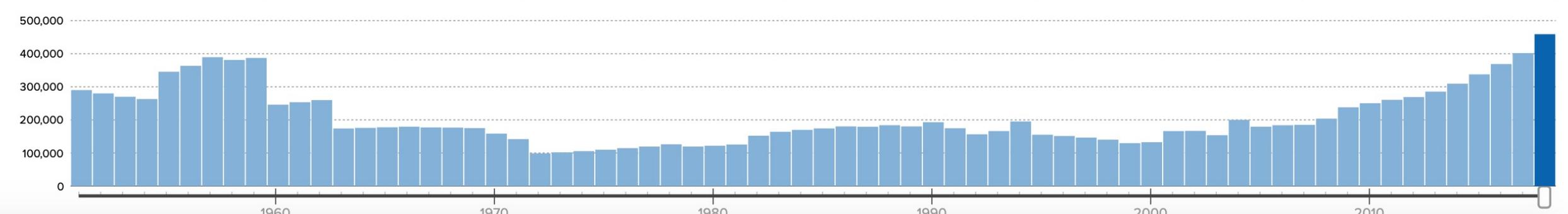


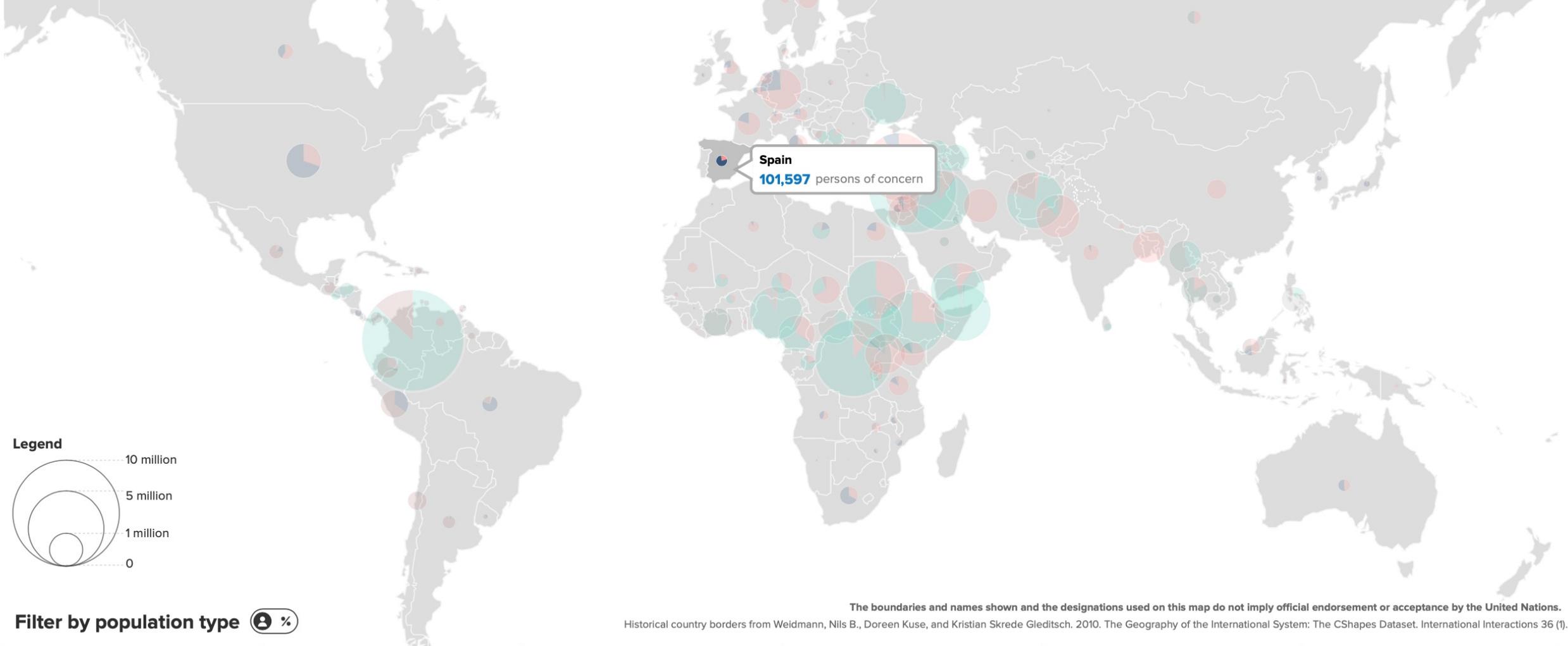
<span style="color: red;">●</span> Refugees	<b>1,063,837</b>	<span style="color: blue;">●</span> Asylum-seekers	<b>369,284</b>	<span style="color: teal;">●</span> IDPs	-	<span style="color: grey;">●</span> Returnees	-	<span style="color: green;">●</span> Stateless persons	<b>14,779</b>	<span style="color: brown;">●</span> Others	-
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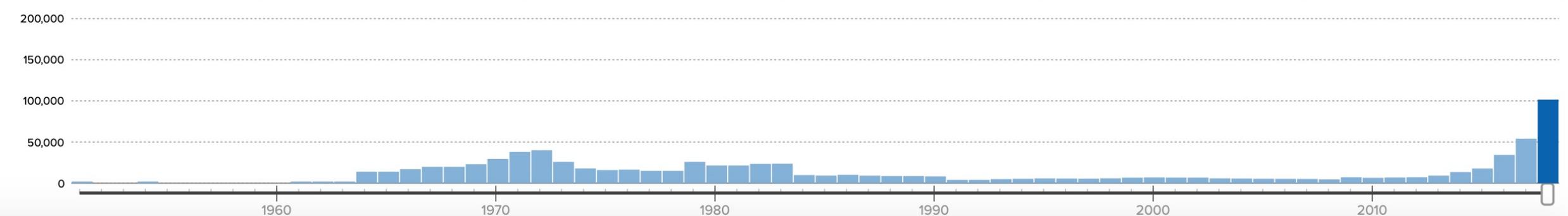


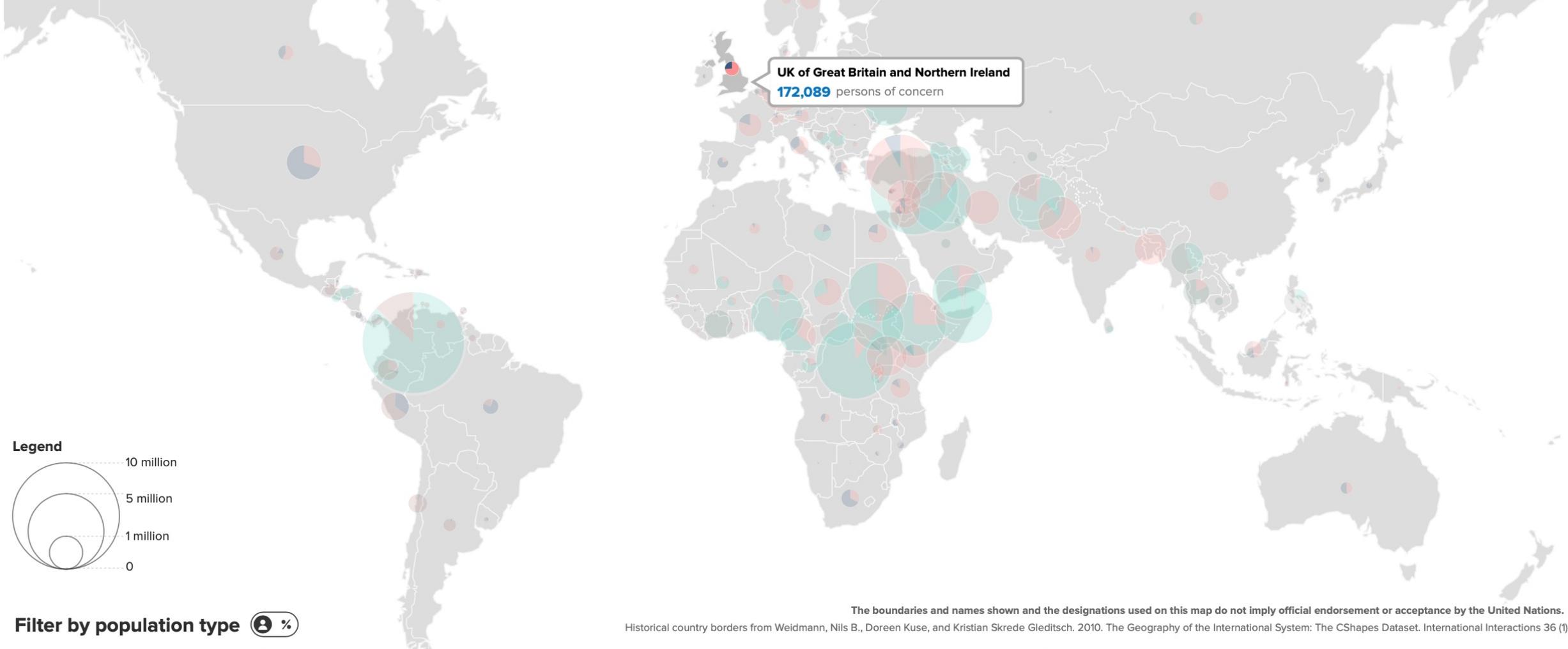
Refugees	<b>368,352</b>	Asylum-seekers	<b>89,074</b>	IDPs	-	Returnees	-	Stateless persons	<b>1,493</b>	Others	-
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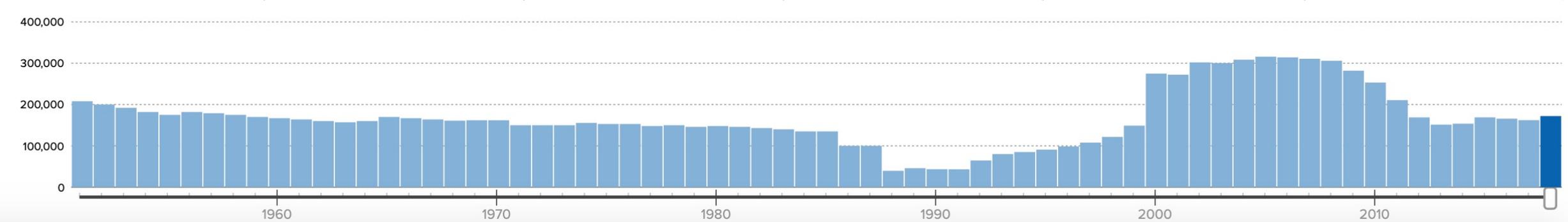


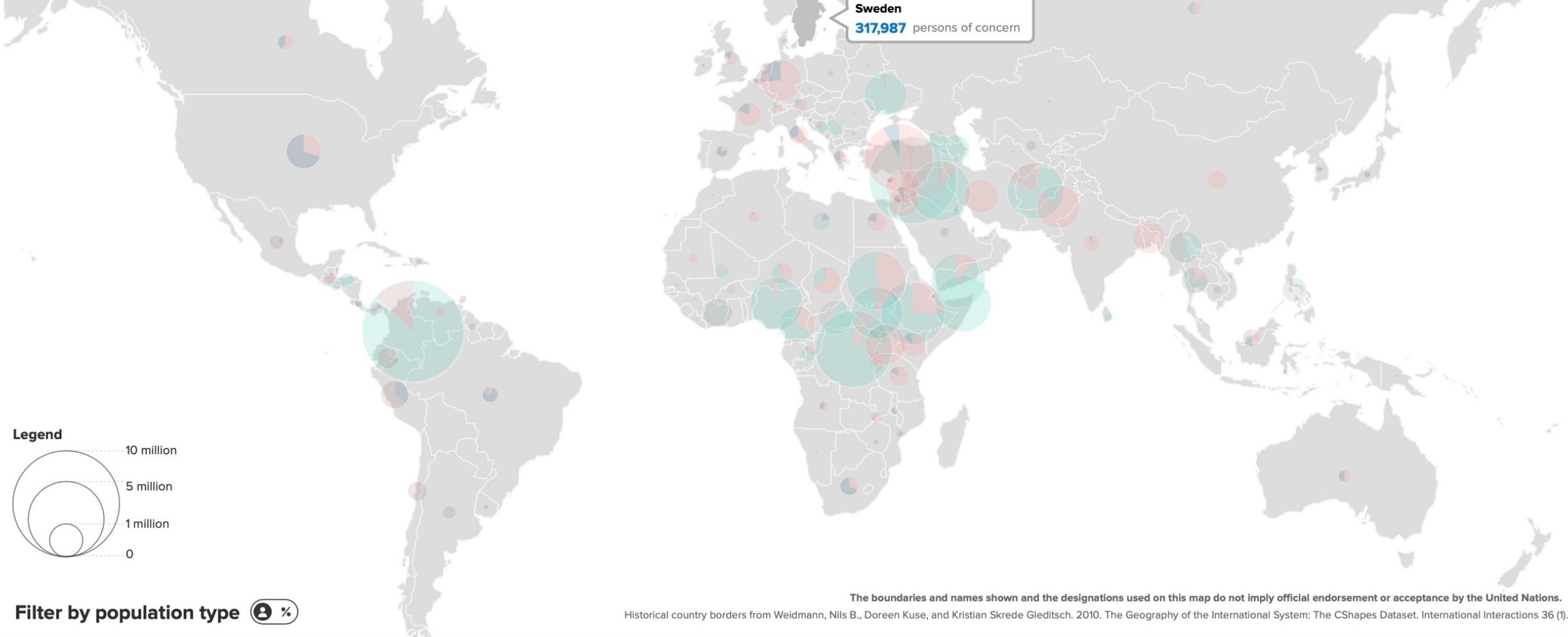
Refugees	<b>20,457</b>	Asylum-seekers	<b>78,685</b>	IDPs	-	Returnees	-	Stateless persons	<b>2,455</b>	Others	-
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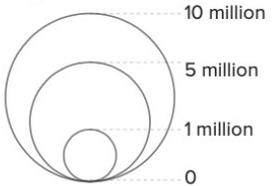


Refugees	<b>126,720</b>	Asylum-seekers	<b>45,244</b>	IDPs	-	Returnees	-	Stateless persons	<b>125</b>	Others	-
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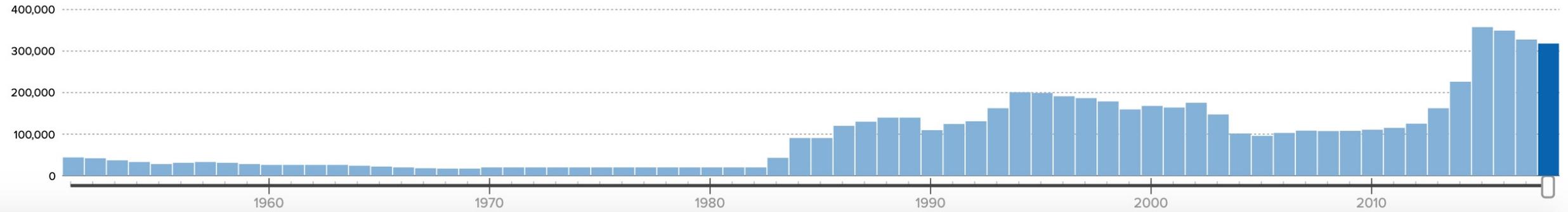
**Legend**



**Filter by population type**

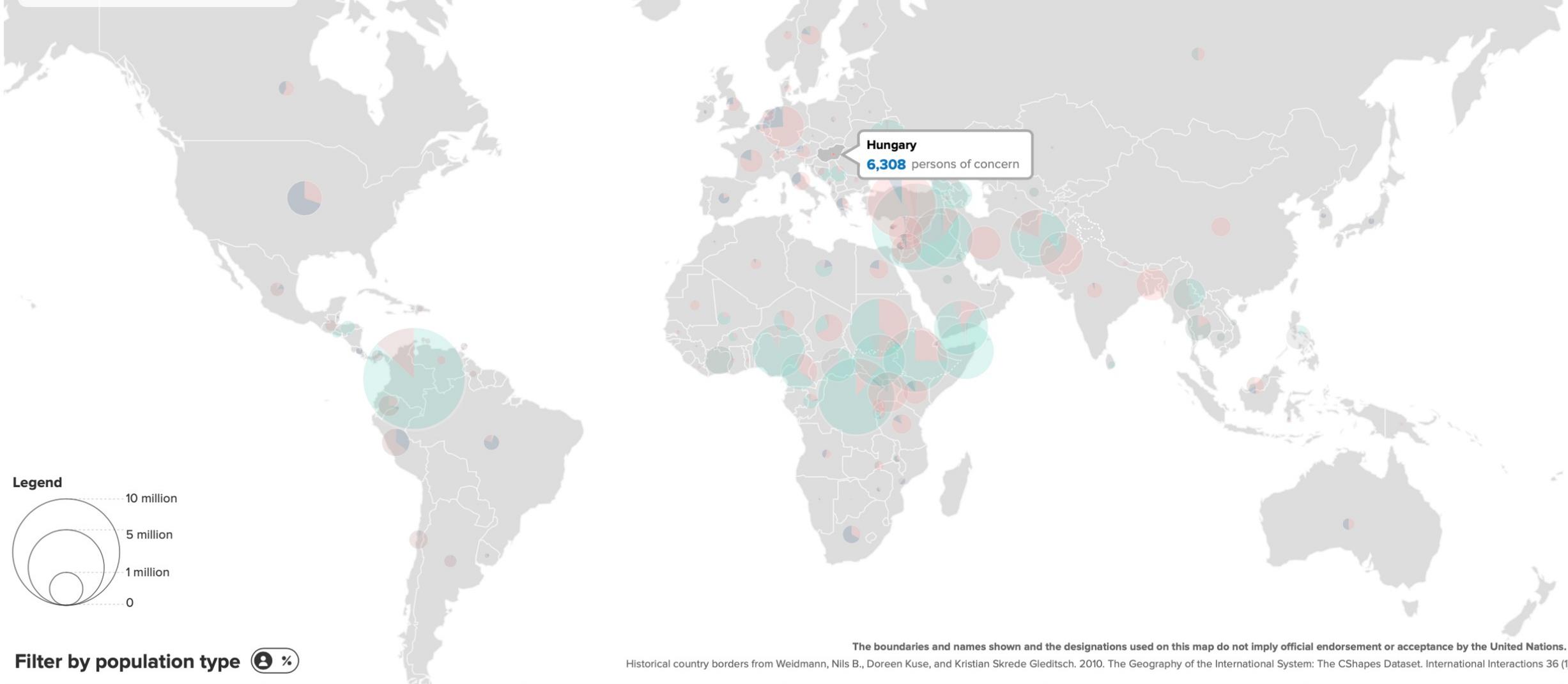


Refugees	<b>248,226</b>	Asylum-seekers	<b>37,942</b>	IDPs	-	Returnees	-	Stateless persons	<b>31,819</b>	Others	-
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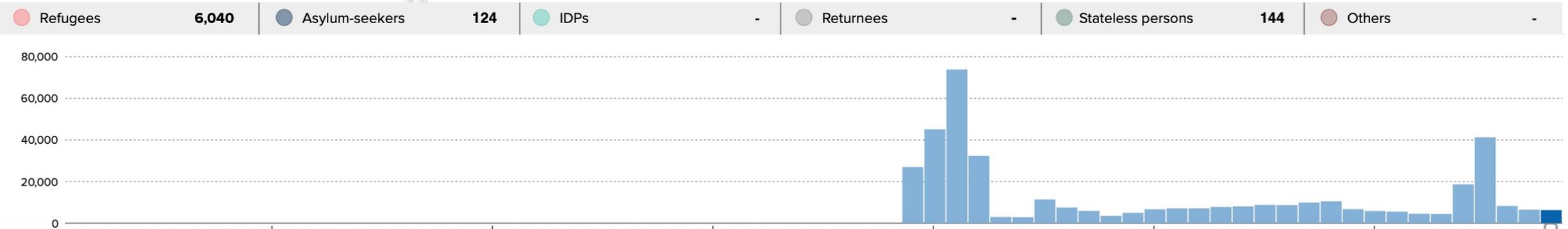


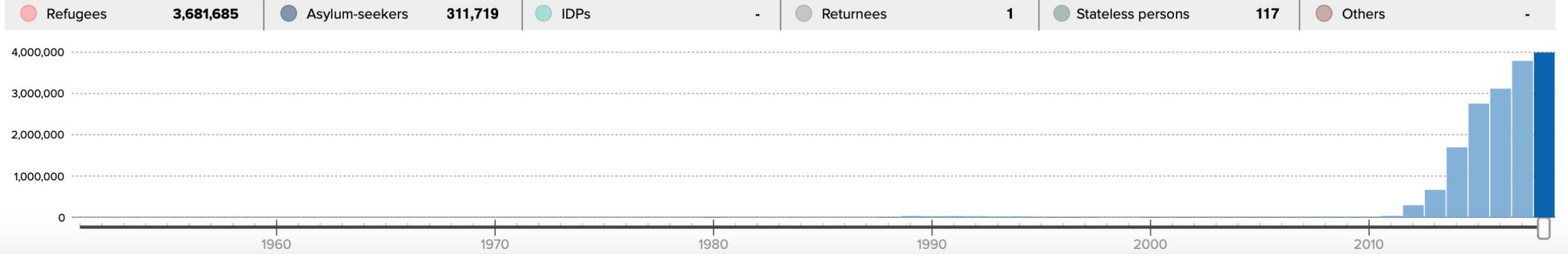
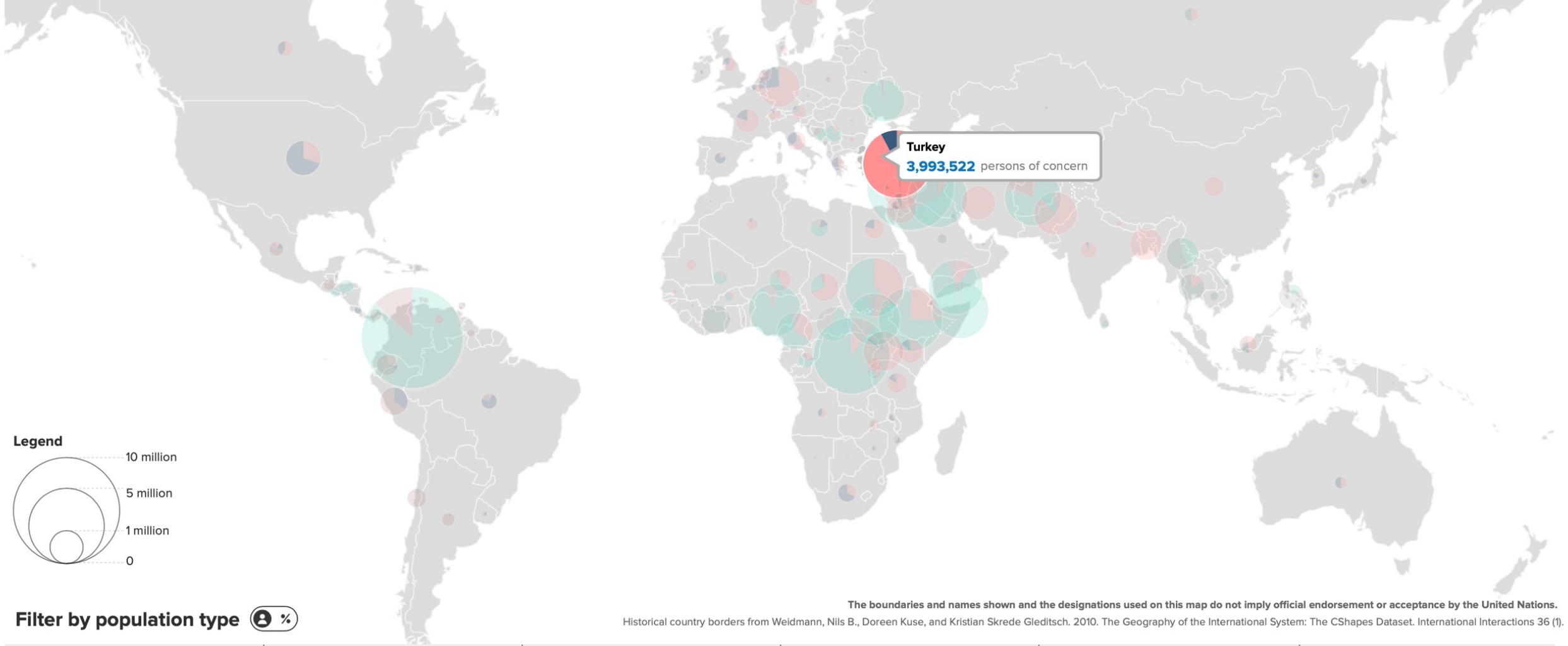
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**Hungary**  
6,308 persons of concern

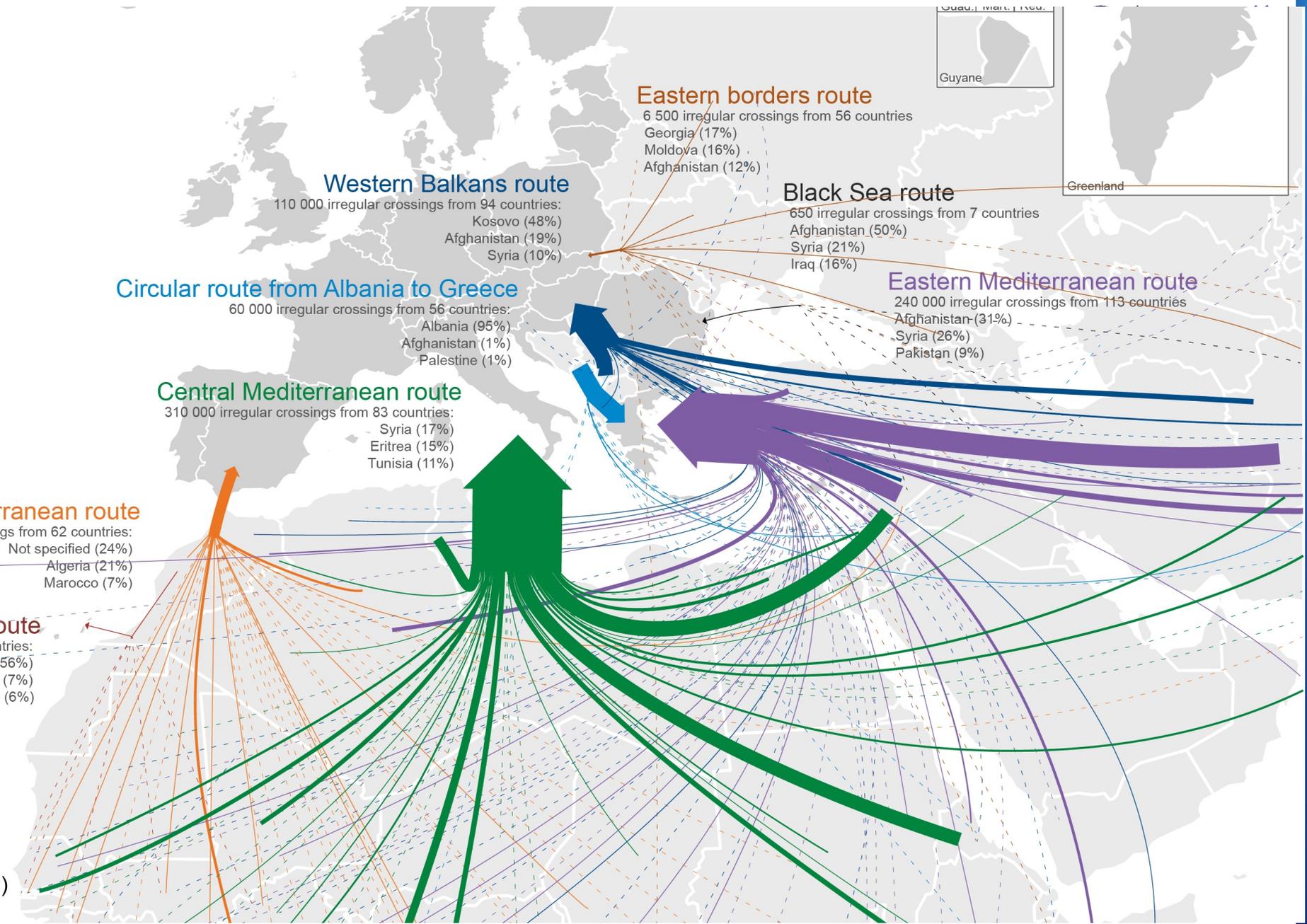
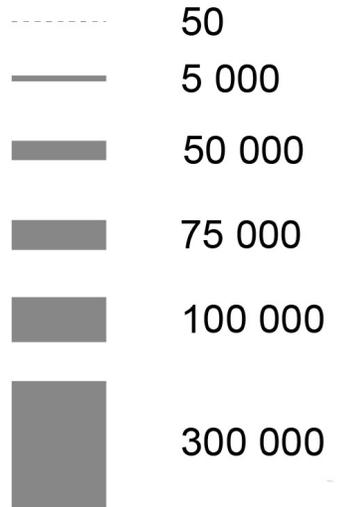




# The European refugee crisis: basic facts

- Between 2014 and 2017, over 3 million people applied for asylum in a number of European states (Eurostat 2018)
- Syrians and Afghans made up the two largest groups of asylum applicants
- the remainder were predominantly Iraqis, Pakistanis, Albanians, Eritreans, Kosovars, Somalis, Nigerians, and Bangladeshis
- Depending on the country of origin, individuals reached Europe through several primary routes (see next slide for map; for route-specific information, google Frontex (EU border and coast guard agency))

# Detections



Regional level: NUTS 0 (2006)  
Source: ESPON EGTC, 2015

# Refugee Crisis in Politics

- In a number of states, the refugee crisis has been used to mobilize voters for and against conservative approaches to immigration







Si





DEAR REFUGEES

**WE** WELCOME YOU  
TO DENMARK



# Refugee Crisis in Politics

- In a number of states, the refugee crisis has been used to mobilize voters for and against conservative approaches to immigration
- This has led to increases in seats awarded to conservative and far right parties:
  - Italy
  - Austria
  - Slovenia
  - Hungary
  - Slovakia
  - Poland
- Brexit

**WHY?**

# Theoretical background

- Humans form *social identities*
  - a part of our self-image that we construct from social groups to which we see ourselves belonging
- According to Tajfel and Turner (1979)
  1. individuals endeavor to maintain or strengthen their self-esteem,
  2. social groups either have positive or negative connotations which render social identity positive or negative, and
  3. a person evaluates his or her group by comparing it to others.
- In order to maintain a superior social identity that contributes to our self-esteem, we form ingroups to which we belong, and outgroups that consist of outsiders

# Theoretical background

- Forming ingroups is easy
  - We do it on the basis of characteristics that we possess that happen to matter in a particular context – they are situationally salient
  - I, for example, can switch from being a woman, an immigrant, a Slovene, an American, an academic, etc. depending on the situation
- Anything can be used as a basis of an ingroup
  - Random assignment to a group (Tajfel and Turner 1979)
  - Wearing a green shirt vs a blue shirt (Wright et al. 1997)
  - Environmental disaster experience (Vezzali et al. 2015)

# Theoretical background

When we are a part of an ingroup, we change our behaviors:

- We systematically favor members of our own group over members of other groups (Billing and Tajfel 1973; Dasgupta 2004)
- This results in ingroup favoritism, outgroup derogation, or both, and can extend to behaviors (Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002)
- Prosocial behaviors (behaviors that benefit others) are especially impacted here
  - We are more likely to help, trust, or share resources with members of their own group (Penner et al. 2005).

# Theoretical background

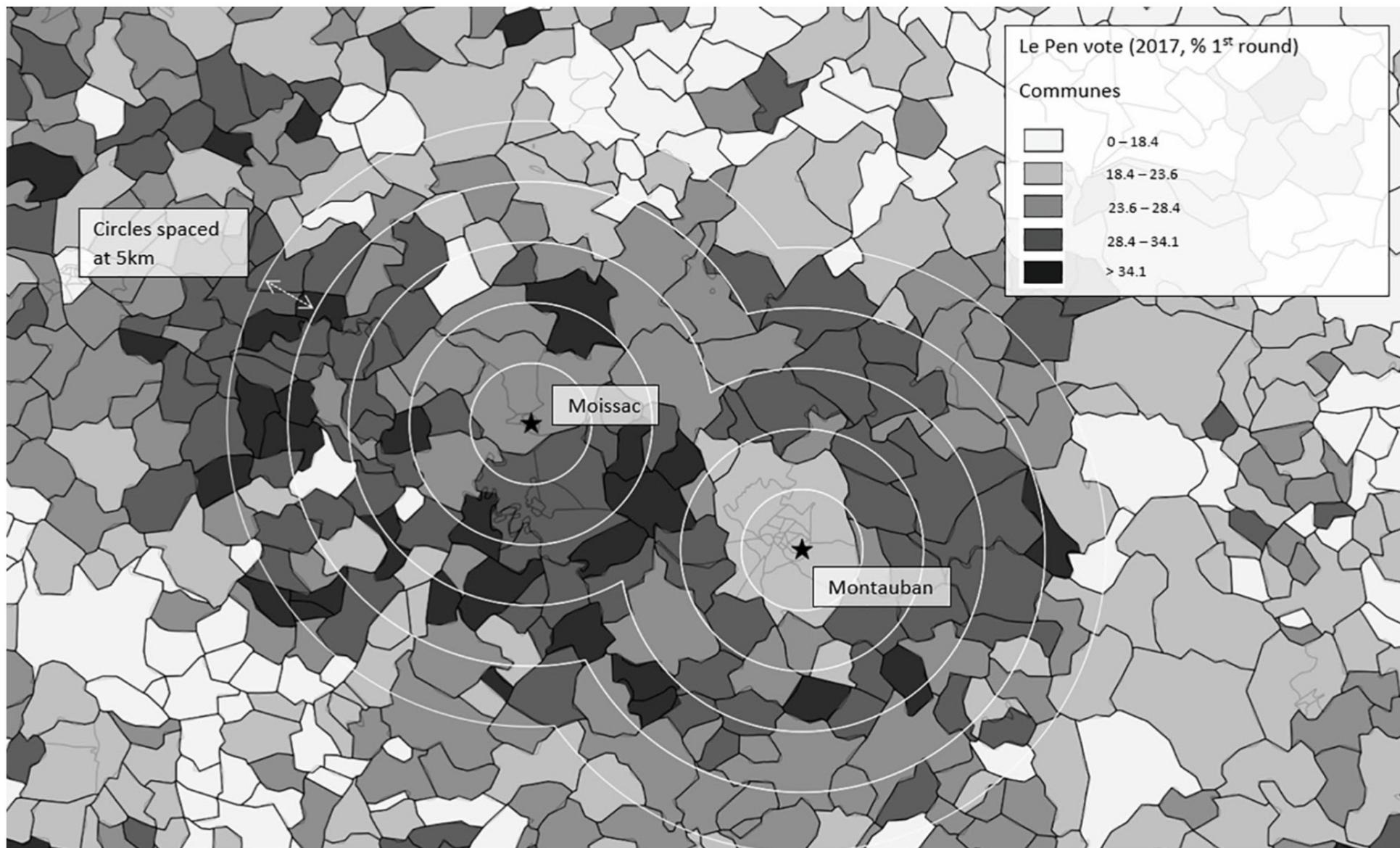
Bottom line: how we think about belonging matters for how we treat others. If people are considered outsiders (members of an outgroup), we won't treat them as well as we treat insiders (members of an ingroup).

This fact has serious practical implications for questions of individual attitudes and behaviors in the context of migration.

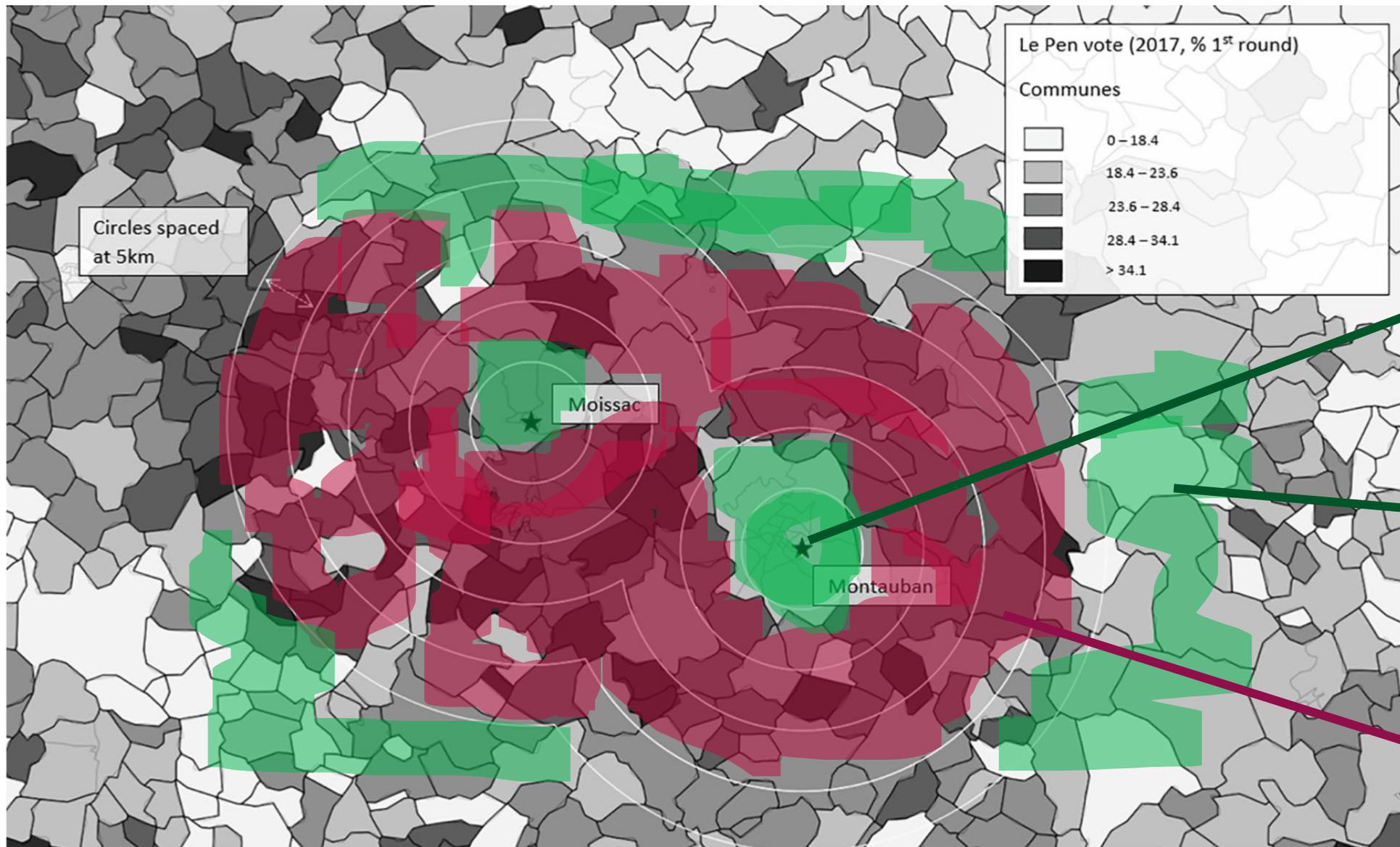
Turning back to the refugee crisis...

## **Example: Voters in Paris**

- Evans and Ivaldi 2021
- They look at the vote share for the far-right Front National among Parisian residents in 2017
- They look specifically at *\*where\** those voters live
  - Do they live in a neighborhood where a lot of immigrants live?
  - Do they live next to a neighborhood where a lot of immigrants live?
  - Do they live far from a neighborhood where a lot of immigrants live?



**Figure 1.** Example of halo distance—5 km concentric circles around areas of high immigrant population mapped on PRR vote, French presidential elections, 1st round.



Low vote share for far-right party among people who live **in** immigrant neighborhoods

Low vote share for far-right party among people who live **far from** immigrant neighborhoods (30-35 km radius)

High vote share for far-right party among people who live close to immigrant neighborhoods (5-25 km radius)

**Figure 1.** Example of halo distance—5 km concentric circles around areas of high immigrant population mapped on PRR vote, French presidential elections, 1st round.

# Let's take a step back ....

How do we know the Parisians who live around the immigrant neighborhood vote for the far right **because** of the immigrants?

- It could be something else about that neighborhood (heavy election campaigning by Front National?)
- It could be something else about the people who moved to that particular neighborhood (See Maxwell (2019) on population sorting)

## How do we know?

**Experiments can help...**

**... but first, some basics**

# Experiments can help...

## ... but first, some basics

- A hypothesis proposes a relationship between two or more variables
- Causal hypotheses have three parts:
  1. Dependent variable
  2. Independent variable
  3. Connecting logic

# What is a variable?

- Something that influences or is thought to be influenced by something else
- **Must vary**
- Can be discrete or continuous



Did you vote in the last election?  
0 – NO  
1 – YES

Are you a citizen of France?  
0 – NO  
1 – YES



How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

How many minutes per day do you spend on TikTok? \_\_\_\_\_

# Dependent variable (odvisna)

- What you're trying to explain
- Depends on something else

# Independent variable (neodvisna)

- Accounts for variation in the DV
  - explanatory/exogenous variable
  - Is not the only explanatory factor!
- 
- Note that there is nothing that makes a particular variable naturally independent or dependent. It will vary by research question! In some projects a variable is independent and in others is dependent.

# Connecting logic

Hypothesis: a statement about relationship between IV and DV:

- increases/decreases
- makes more/less likely
- **The connecting logic is essential.** If you don't know why you think your IV affects your DV, it's not a very good explanatory variable. The goal is to explain **why** some phenomenon (your DV!) occurs.

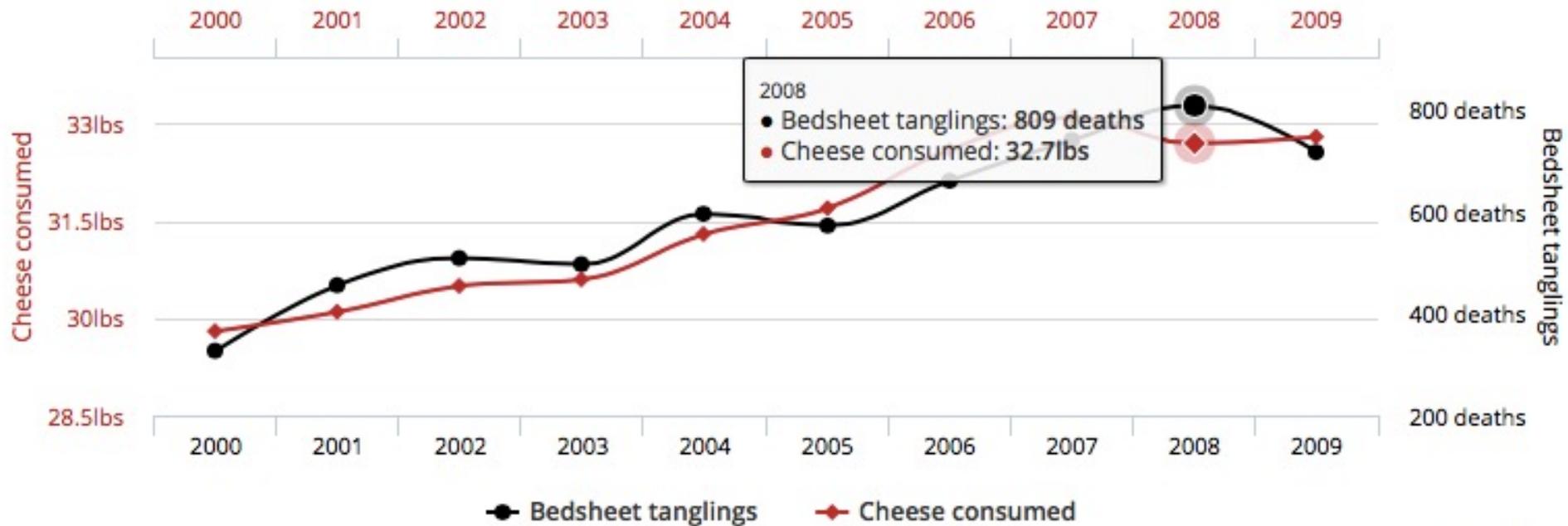
# Why is connecting logic important?

## Per capita cheese consumption

correlates with

## Number of people who died by becoming tangled in their bedsheets

Correlation: 94.71% ( $r=0.947091$ )



tylervigen.com

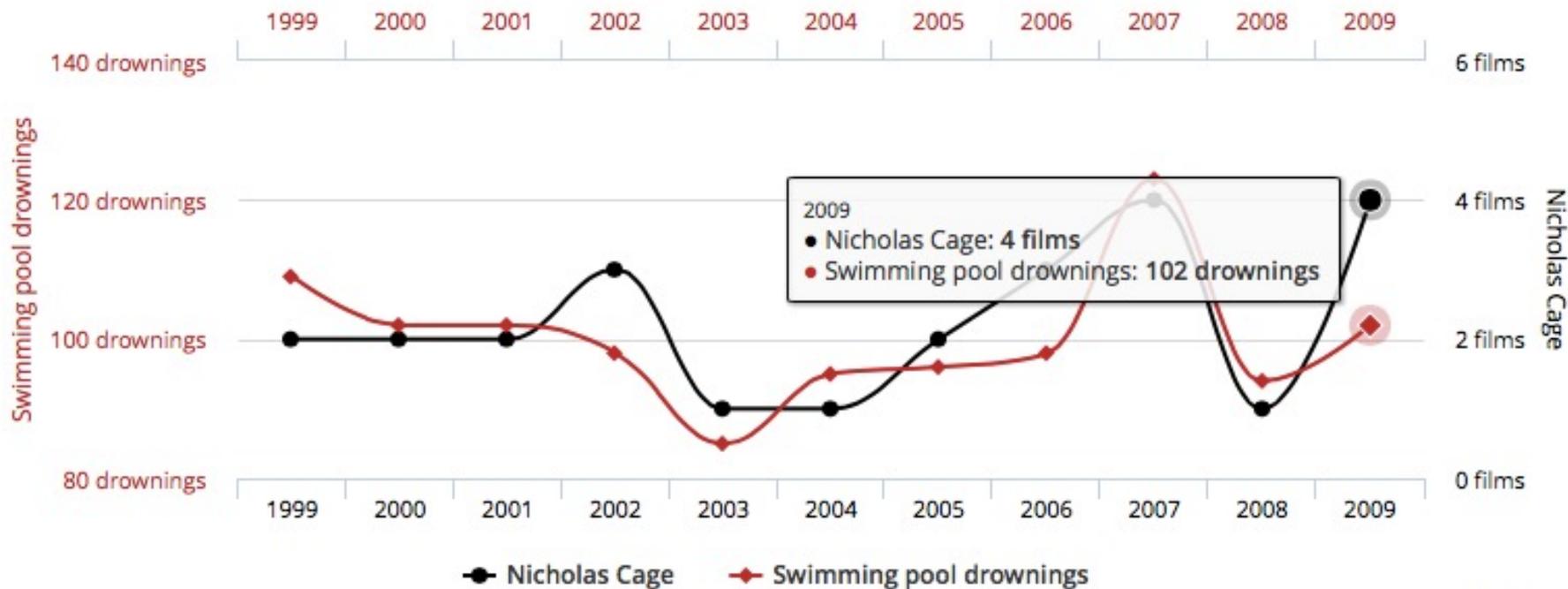
# Why is connecting logic important?

## Number of people who drowned by falling into a pool

correlates with

## Films Nicolas Cage appeared in

Correlation: 66.6% ( $r=0.666004$ )



tylervigen.com

Data sources: Centers for Disease Control & Prevention and Internet Movie Database

# Developing a hypothesis

- Hypotheses must be falsifiable – they could be wrong!  
Many are wrong.
- Be very clear.
- Be very specific.

# Developing a hypothesis

Read this statement:

“Elections are decided by the people who show up at the polls. In the United States, the **oldest** citizens are the **most likely to cast their ballots**, which gives them a lot of political power.”

What is the dependent variable?

What is the independent variable?

What is the hypothesis?

# Developing a hypothesis

Read this statement:

“Elections are decided by the people who show up at the polls. In the United States, the **oldest** citizens are the **most likely to vote**, which gives them a lot of political power.”

What is the dependent variable? Voting.

What is the independent variable? Age.

What is the hypothesis?

- Older Americans are more likely to vote than younger Americans.
- Age is positively correlated with voter turnout in the U.S.

# Back to experiments.

## What do experiments help us do?

- Suppose you want to find out if you prefer orehova potica with raisins.
- You could just bake one with raisins and then taste it. But do you really know?
- It's better to bake two.

### Potica #1

- No raisins
- CONTROL

### Potica #2

- Raisins added
- TREATMENT

**TASTE TEST!**

# What do experiments help us do?

- Often our goals are explaining **why** a phenomenon occurs
- Much of our research is observational, but with goals of moving toward causal explanations
  
- Does adding raisins to potica make you like it better?
- Does sending someone information about how to vote make them more likely to actually vote?
- Does listening to a season of a radio show about questioning authority make people more likely to express dissent?

# What do experiments help us do?

- They are a test of causation.
- They help us determine whether a change in the independent variable causes a change in the dependent variable.

# What do experiments help us do?

- Experiments have a precise definition: the experimenter manipulates the independent variable to observe changes in dependent variable
- If you have not randomly assigned values of the independent variable, IT IS NOT AN EXPERIMENT
- What is random?
  1. Each person has an equal probability of receiving the treatment
  2. Each person's probability of receiving a treatment is unrelated to anyone else's

# An example

# Background

- Is there a Muslim disadvantage in economic integration for second-generation immigrants to Europe?
- Several opinion-based studies find that there are no special problems for Muslims in Europe
- At the same time, Western European states are defined by their historic nationalities, all of them in the Christian tradition, and are seen as having a special problem with Islam
- And, importantly, is any disadvantage that a Muslim immigrant might experience due to her identity as an immigrant or due to her identity as a Muslim? Or is it both?

# Correspondence experiment

- A correspondence study or an audit study involves sending applications, letters, or CVs (curricula vitae) to potential employers, bureaucrats, landlords, and so on, and waiting to see what the responses are
- The materials that the experimenters send are identical except for very few important details that vary on the characteristic of interest
  - Gender (typically, control: man, treatment: woman); ethnic identity; religious activity; wealth; lgbtq+ status
- Outcome measures
  - Is there a reply at all (most studies)
  - Quality of the reply (Hemker and Rink 2017)

# AURÉLIE MÉNARD



## EXPERIENCE

**Accountant | Centre d'Observation et de Recherche  
2007-2010**

## EDUCATION

**Master's Degree | 2007 | École des Ponts ParisTech**

## OTHER

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## 3 women applicants with identical skills, but different identities

- Aurélie Ménard – French native, worked in a non-religious organization
- Marie Diouf – Senegalese immigrant, worked in a Catholic organization
- Khadija Diouf – Senegalese immigrant, worked in a Muslim organization
  
- All remaining qualifications were IDENTICAL (age, education, occupation)
  
- CVs sent to almost 300 employers

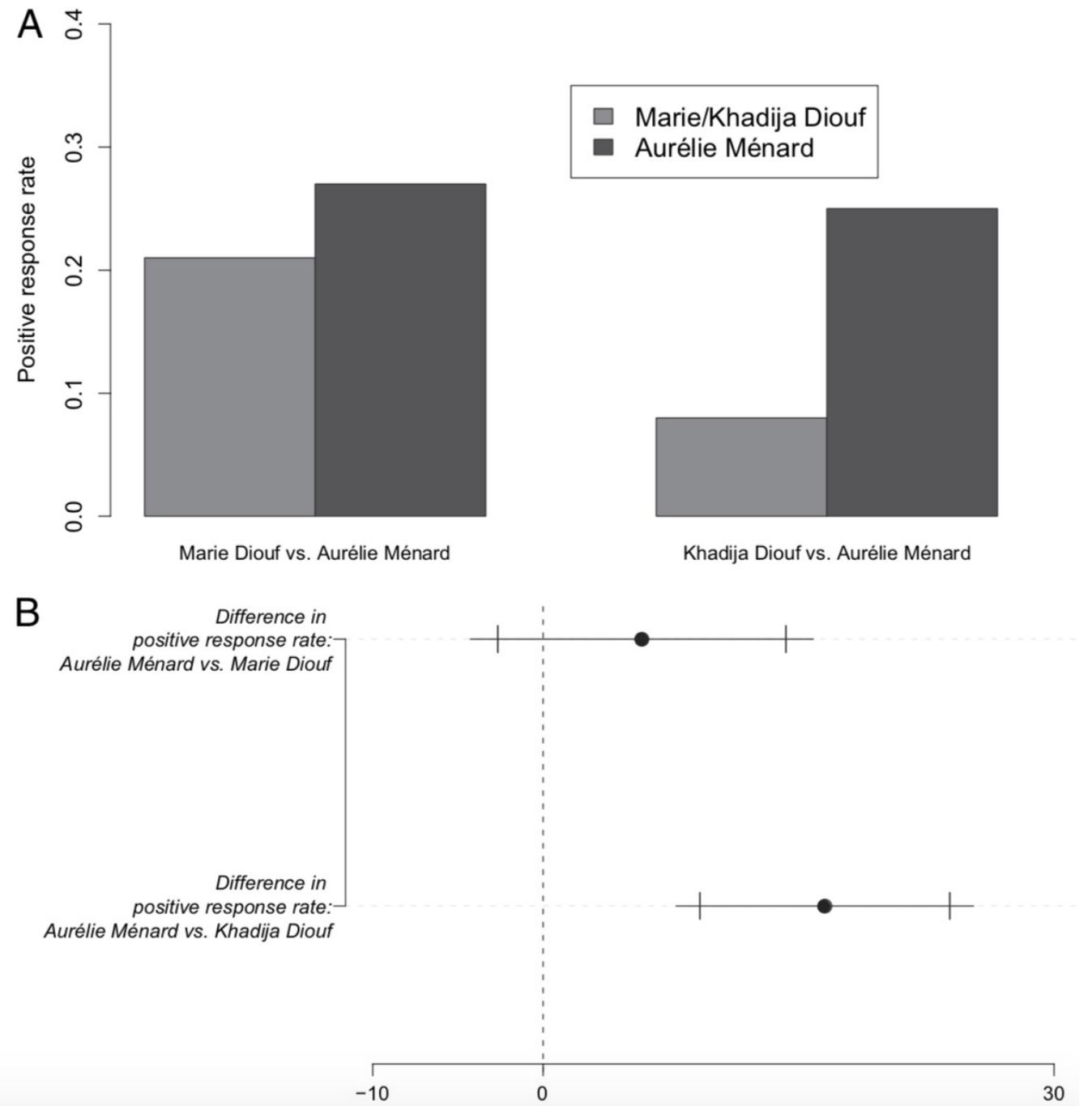
# Variables and hypothesis

- *Independent variable: applicant identity*
  - Native French, Catholic immigrant, Muslim immigrant
- *Dependent variable: employer response*
  - **Positive response** means a telephone call or an email from an employer inviting the candidate for an interview
  - Negative response means no response or a rejection

Hypothesis 1: Compared to the native French applicant (Aurélie) employers will have fewer positive responses to the immigrant job applicants (Marie, Khadija).

Hypothesis 2: Compared to the non-Muslim applicants (Aurélie, Marie) employers will have fewer positive responses to the Muslim job applicant (Khadija).

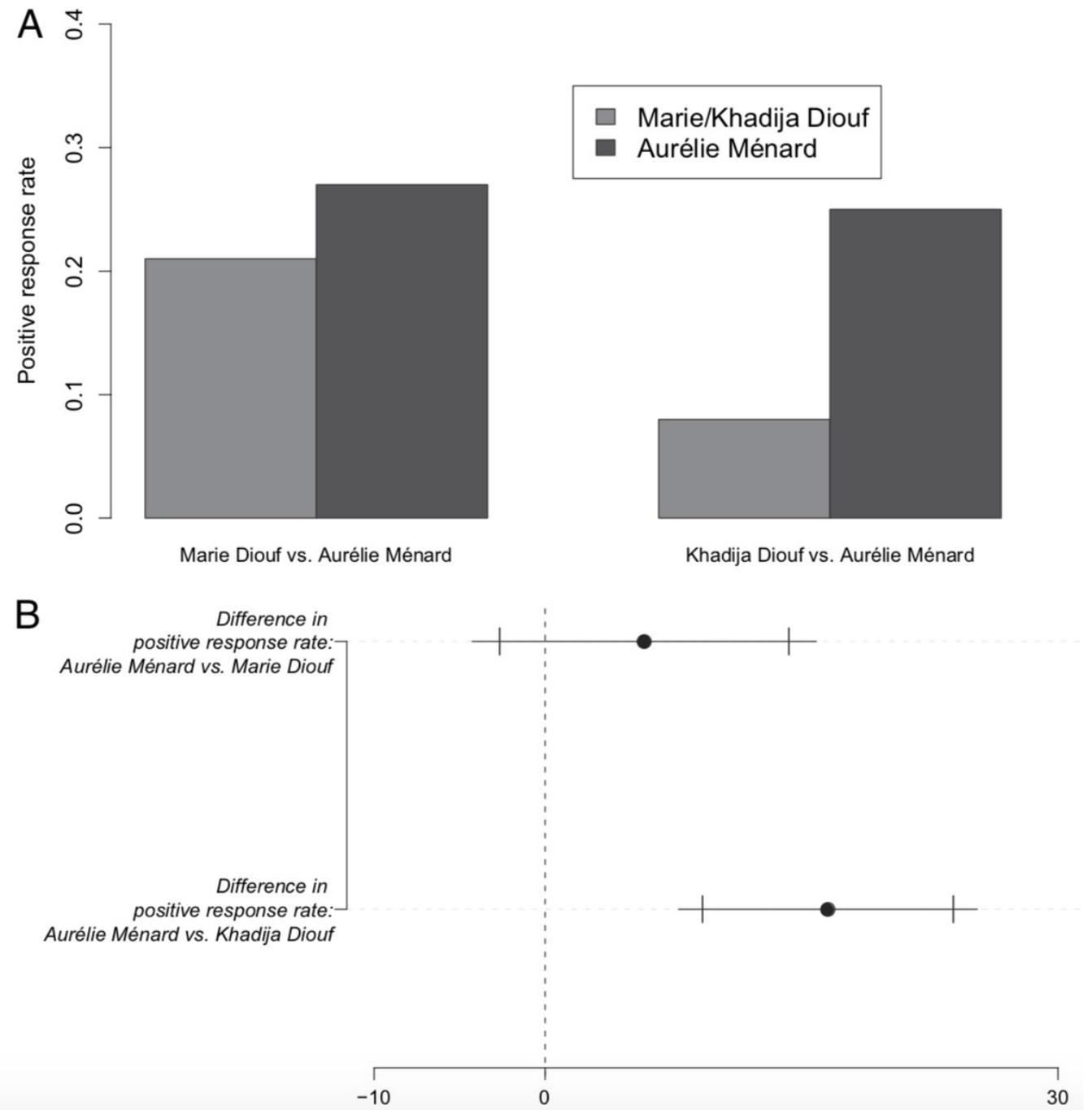
# Results



# Results

Panel A:

- There is a difference in positive responses between Marie and Aurélie
- And a much bigger difference in positive responses between Khadija and Aurélie
- Since Aurélie consistently gets more responses, we have evidence of discrimination



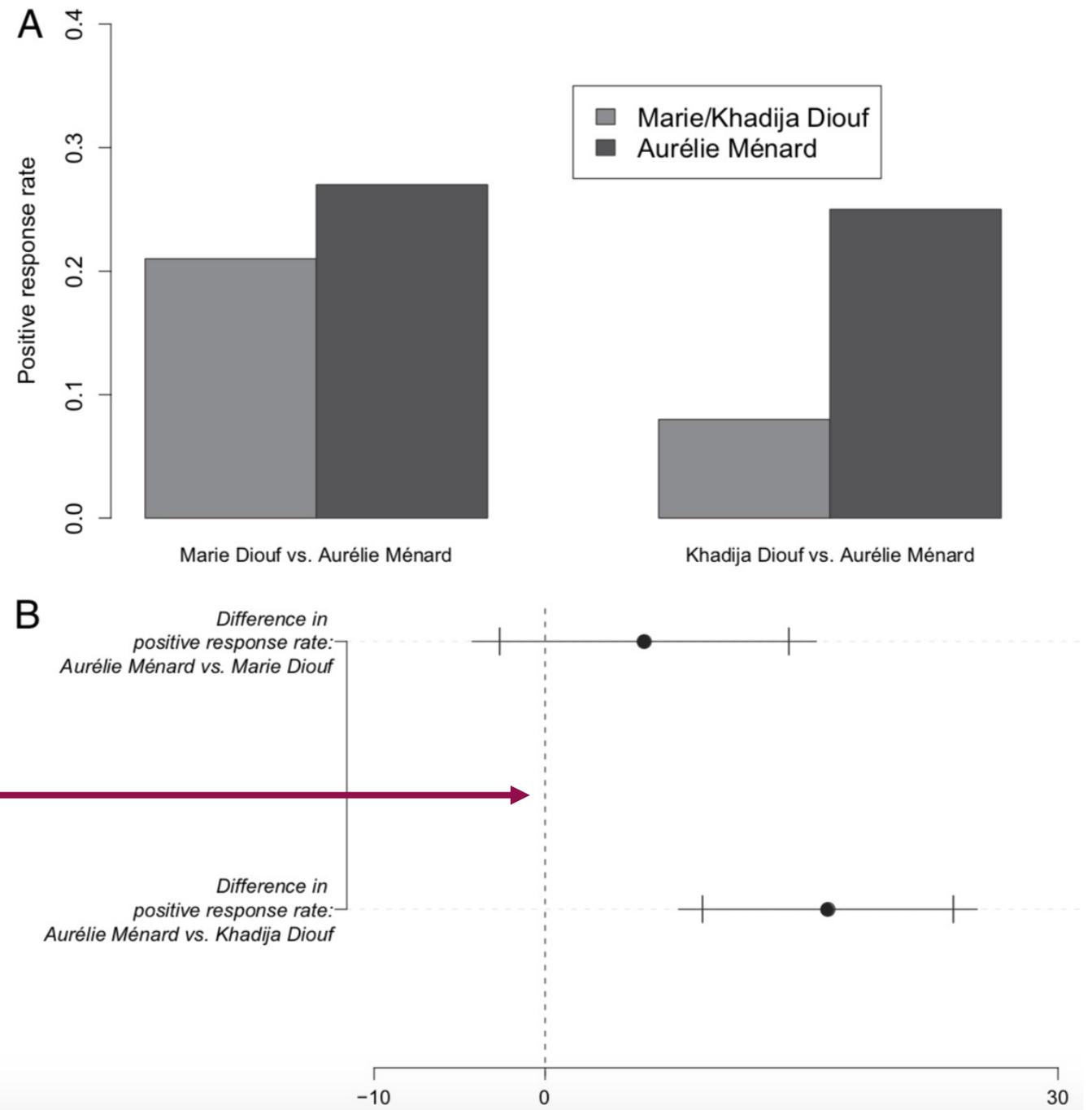
# Results

## Panel A:

- There is a difference in positive responses between Marie and Aurélie
- And a much bigger difference in positive responses between Khadija and Aurélie
- Since Aurélie consistently gets more responses, we have evidence of discrimination

## Panel B

- INTERPRETATION SHORTCUT: if a 95% confidence interval **includes 0**, then **it's not statistically significant**
- **The difference between Khadija and Aurélie is statistically significant**
- The difference between Marie and Aurélie is **not** statistically significant



# What can we conclude?

- French natives don't discriminate equally against immigrants in employment
- While the Christian immigrant from Senegal received fewer responses than the identically qualified French native job candidate, the difference was not statistically significant
- **Instead, the dramatic difference in responses happens when the immigrant candidate is Muslim**
  - For every 100 positive responses received by Marie Diouf, Khadija Diouf received only 38 positive responses
- This is evidence of a hierarchy of discrimination against immigrants based on religion

# Next study

# Your turn!

- We're going to do an exercise in breakout rooms
- Look at a document with treatment and control materials from an experiment
- Go to this website <https://www.anabracic.com/migracije.html>
- Please look at the [example from Blinder et al.](#)
- I'd like you to discuss, as a group, what you think this experiment was about (think about the variables and the hypothesis)
- Then, we will come back to the main room and you will post a chat bomb with your answer

# Three different questions

- Some parents in Britain would like to send their children to **private** schools, which teach the same subjects as the national curriculum but are based on **their own particular** values. Do you agree that parents should be allowed to send their children to **private** schools?
- Some parents in Britain would like to send their children to **Christian** schools, which teach the same subjects as the national curriculum but are based on **Christian religious**. Do you agree that parents should be allowed to send their children to **Christian** schools?
- Some parents in Britain would like to send their children to **Muslim** schools, which teach the same subjects as the national curriculum but are based on **Islamic religious** values. Do you agree that parents should be allowed to send their children to **Muslim** schools?

# What is their research question?

- Is there evidence of discrimination against Muslims when it comes to multicultural social policy?
- *Independent variable*: type of school proposed in the question
- *Dependent variable*: level of support for school
- *Hypothesis*: British survey participants will express less support for the school if the school is Muslim than they will if the school is Christian or private.

# Theoretical background

- I already mentioned the basics of social identity theory. This applies here and in every paper discussed today.
- Conflicts over multiculturalism in Europe increasingly focus on whether, and how, to accommodate the beliefs, practices, and preferences of Muslim minorities
- What is the role of anti-Muslim sentiment or bias in these controversies?
- Public debate rarely justifies policy opposition on the grounds of anti-Muslim sentiment, and instead opposes multicultural accommodation more generally.
- How much of this opposition is targeted at Muslims and how much is it about multiculturalism?

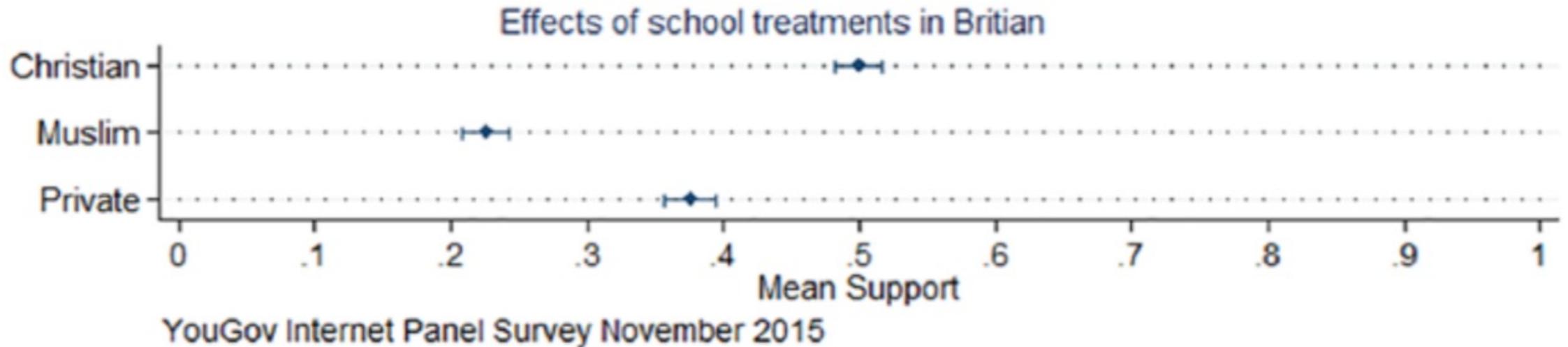
# Why are they doing an experiment?

- These are just questions. You could ask the same person all three questions. Why not simply do that?

# Why are they doing an experiment?

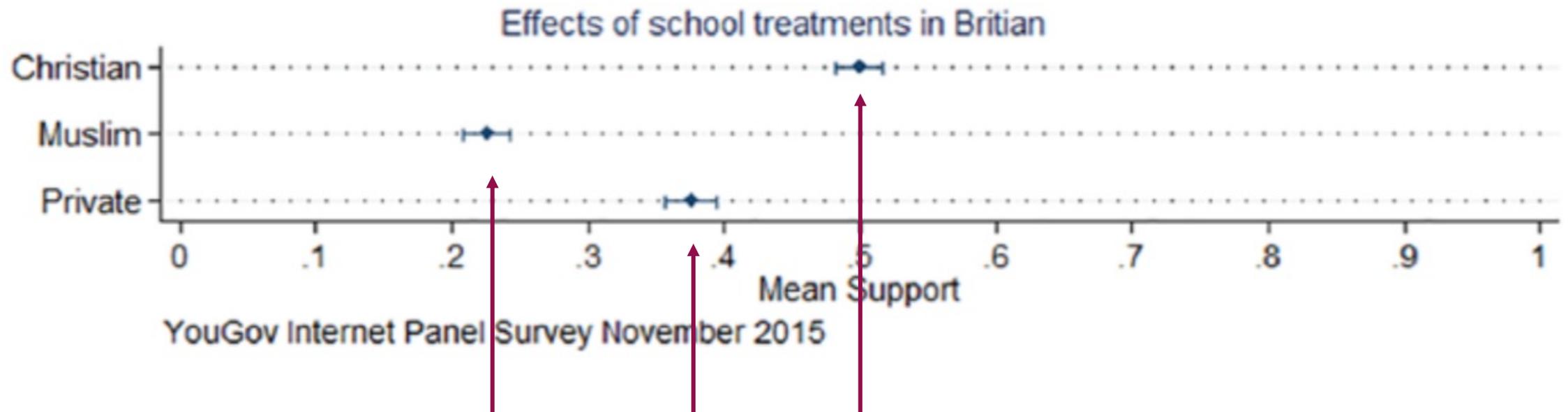
- These are just questions. You could ask the same person all three questions. Why not simply do that?
- **Because people will adjust their answers if they notice a comparison.**
- If you ask 3 questions like this together, some people will probably go back and change their answers so that they are more similar → **social desirability**
- If you space these questions apart, people will still remember the first one and so the way they answer the other two will still be influenced by their answer to the first one, even if they can't go back to change that answer

# What do they find?



NOTE: Higher number indicates more support for the school (0 is no support at all and 1 is full support).

# What do they find?



**NONE OF THE CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OVERLAP, WHICH MEANS THE DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT!**

# What do they find?

- In Britain, there is strong opposition to Muslim schools
- Schools run by churches from the dominant Christian tradition are very popular, and privately run schools, though less popular, are also much more popular than Muslim schools.
- They conduct additional analyses, showing that people who are motivated to reduce their own levels of prejudice (i.e. are upset when they find themselves thinking in a prejudiced way) are more likely to support Muslim schools – almost as much as they support Christian schools.

# Next study

# The Balkan route

When Hungary closed its borders, refugees were diverted and crossed through Croatia, Slovenia, and then Austria

Migrant route to Germany



Source: Europol

# Individual reactions to refugees in Serbia

- Serbia is in the middle of the Balkan route
- It also has a history of recent wartime displacement
  - Hosted 537,937 refugees from conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina
  - Hosted 209,021 internally displaced persons mostly from conflict in Kosovo
- Almost a quarter million of displaced people remained in Serbia
- How did Serbian residents react to the refugees?
- I conducted a survey experiment with 400 Serbian residents who experienced wartime displacement

# Your turn!

- We're going to do an exercise in breakout rooms
- Look at a document with treatment and control materials from an experiment
- Go to this website <https://www.anabracic.com/migracije.html>
- Please look at the [example from Bracic](#).
- I'd like you to discuss, as a group, what you think this experiment was about (think about the variables and the hypothesis)
- Then, we will come back to the main room and you will post a chat bomb with your answer

# Theoretical background

- Remember that people form *social identities*
- Since forming social identities is flexible based on context, we can influence which identities are momentarily salient/important
- This is called re-categorization (Gaertner et al. 1993)
- Superordinate identities are inclusive groups that form to join two different groups together

Bayern fans + Real Madrid fans = football fans

- Interventions that make people form superordinate identities have led to lower levels of prejudice and discrimination between previously distinct groups (Dovidio et al. 1997)
- BUT – this doesn't always work

# If a person is reminded of their own wartime displacement, are they more generous towards strangers experiencing the same thing?

- I conducted a survey experiment
- participants: 400 Serbian residents who experienced wartime displacement
- TREATMENT: I asked a random 1/2 of participants about their displacement experience (priming their identity as displaced people)
- CONTROL: I asked the other random 1/2 questions pertaining to Serbia (priming their national id)

# **If a person is reminded of their own wartime displacement, are they more generous towards strangers experiencing the same thing?**

*Independent variable:* Superordinate identity prime – whether someone is reminded of their identity as a displaced person.

*Dependent variable:* altruism (or generosity)

*Hypothesis:* Serbian residents who are reminded of their own displacement will be more generous towards strangers who are experiencing displacement than Serbian residents who are not reminded of their own displacement.

**If a person is reminded of their own wartime displacement, are they more generous towards strangers experiencing the same thing?**

*Dependent variable* : altruism (or generosity)

**How do you measure altruism?**

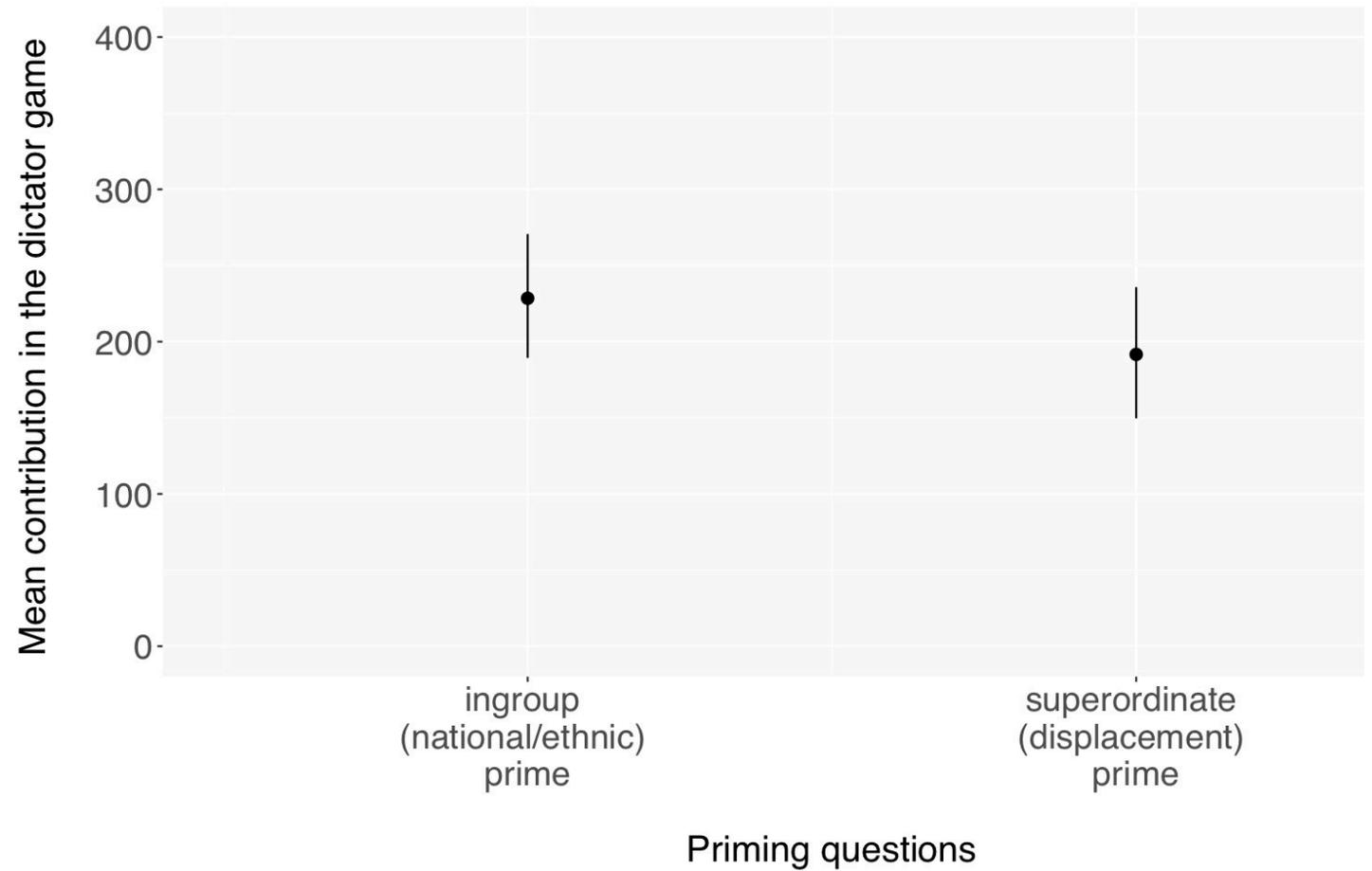
# If a person is reminded of their own wartime displacement, are they more generous towards strangers experiencing the same thing?

*Dependent variable* : altruism (or generosity)

How do you measure altruism?

- Participants played the dictator game
  - They were paid 800 dinars to participate, and had the option of sending some, all, or none of that money to an anonymous Syrian refugee family in need
  - This is used as a measure of altruism

Mean contributions to the Syrian refugee family in need in the dictator game, by ingroup and superordinate primes



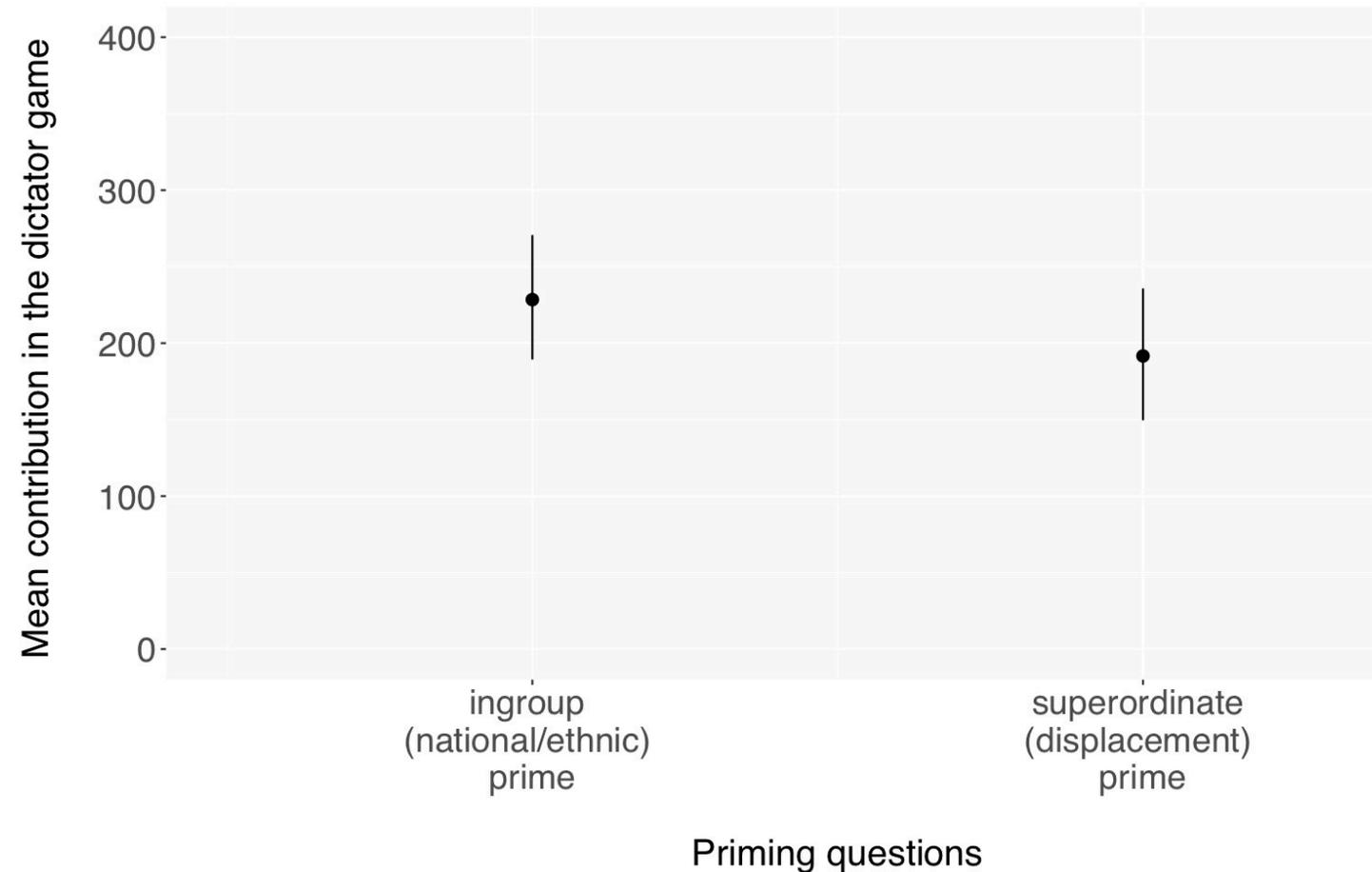
**DID IT WORK?**

## INTERPRETATION SHORTCUT

ROUGHLY: If 95% confidence intervals overlap, that means the difference between the two outcomes of interest **is not statistically significant**.\*

\*a small amount of overlap is not a problem, but you have to do some calculations to make sure it's alright

Mean contributions to the Syrian refugee family in need in the dictator game, by ingroup and superordinate primes

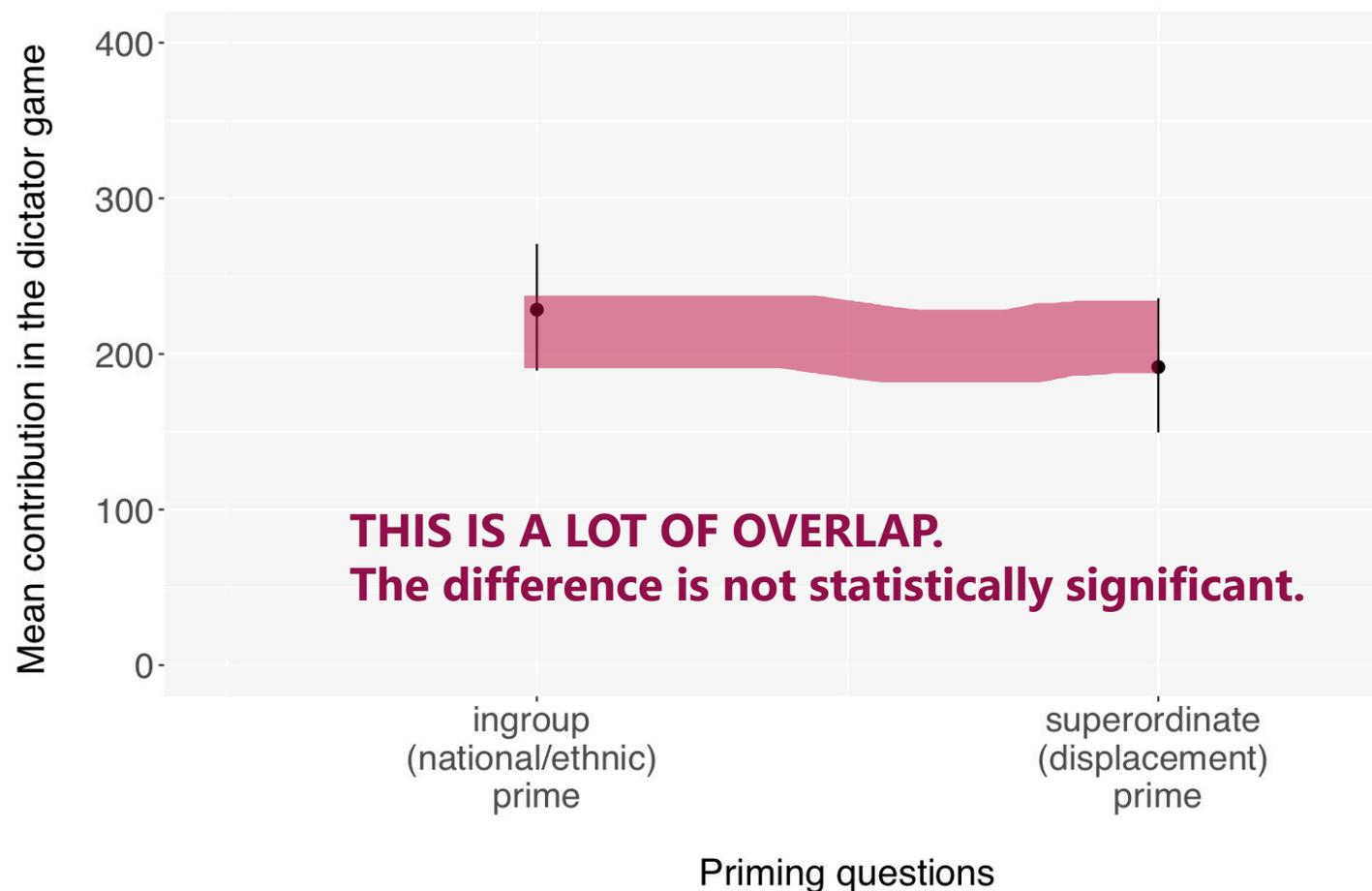


## INTERPRETATION SHORTCUT

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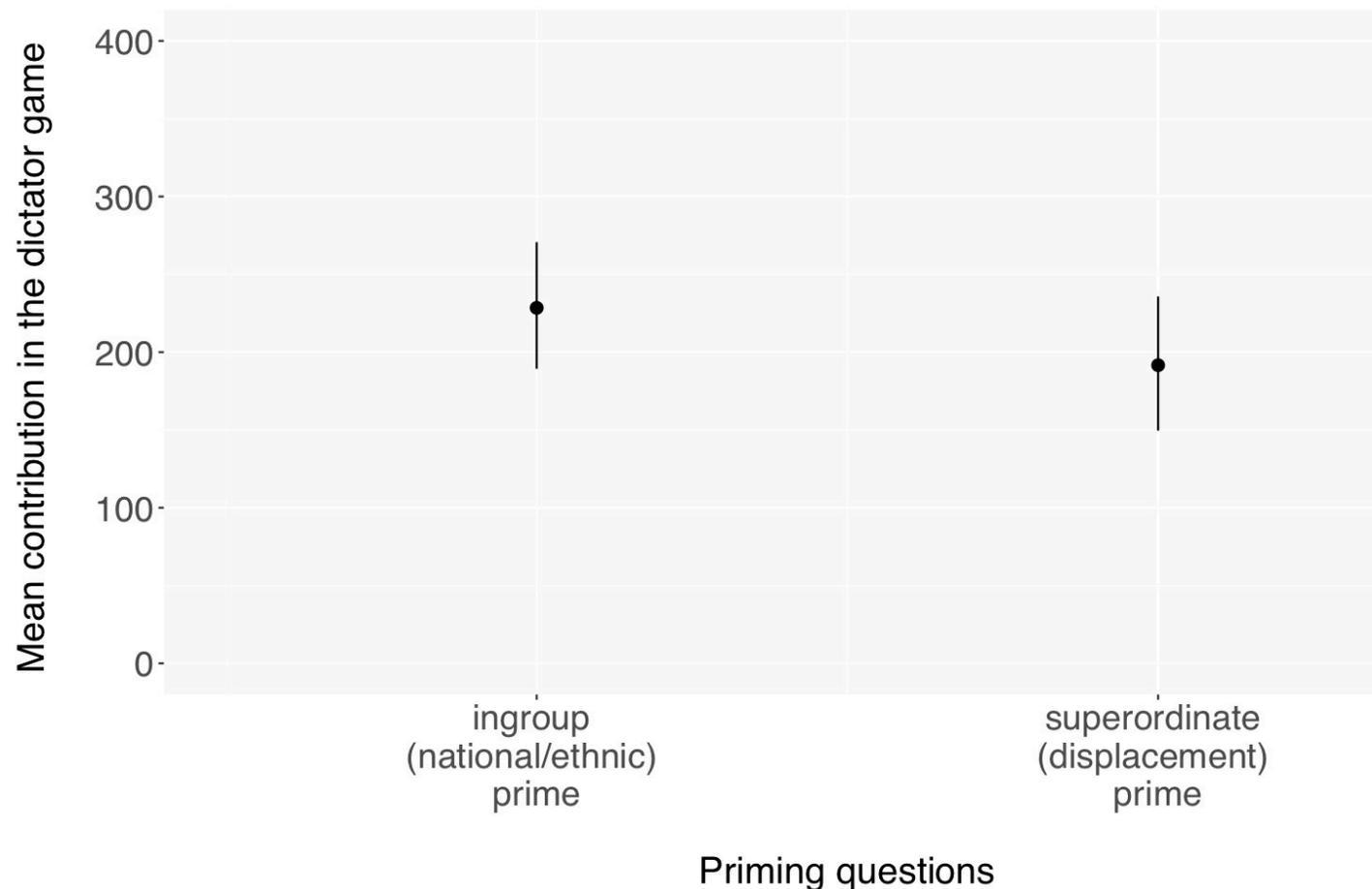
**If a person is reminded of their own wartime displacement, are they more generous towards strangers experiencing the same thing?**

My findings, based on the Serbian context, suggest **NO**.

Serbian residents who were reminded of their own displacement were no more generous towards a Syrian refugee family in need than Serbian residents who received the national/ethnic identity prime.

Both groups sent about 25% of their money (a total of 800 dinars) to the family.

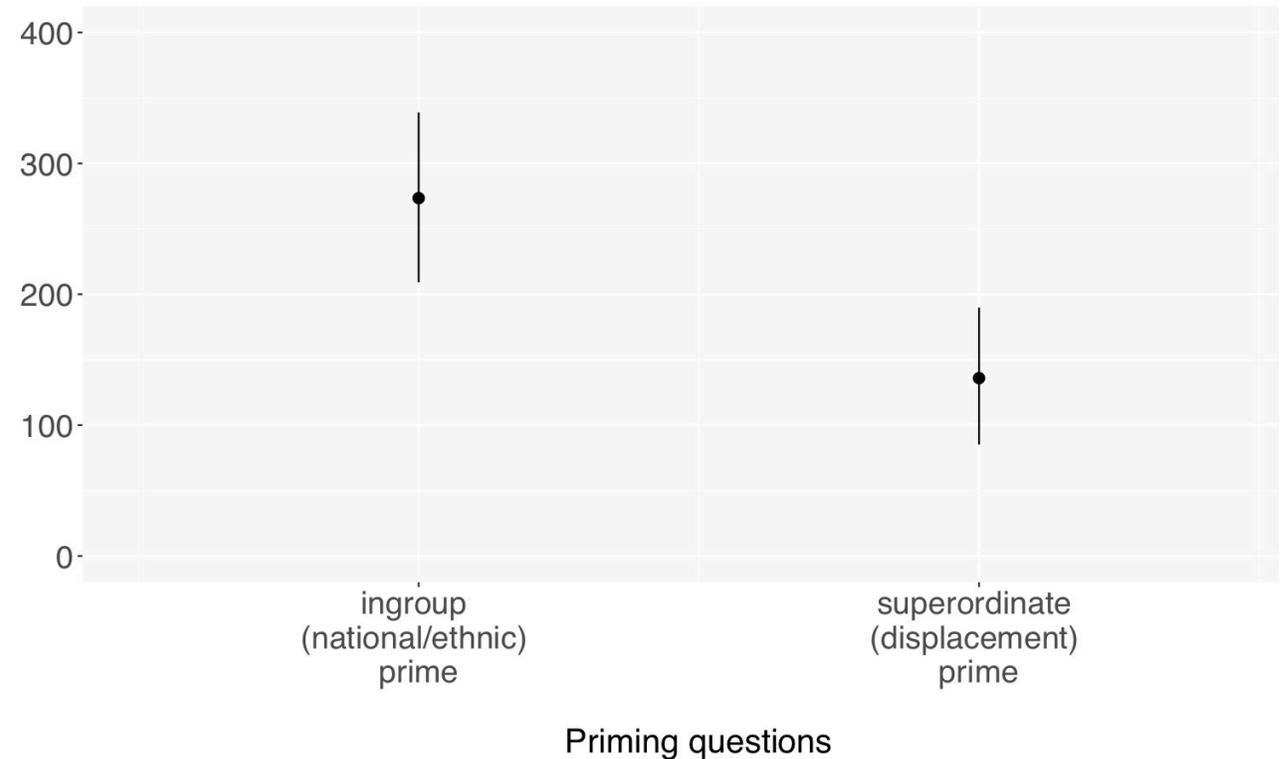
Mean contributions to the Syrian refugee family in need in the dictator game, by ingroup and superordinate primes



...in fact, Serbian residents who experienced both displacement and wartime violence

...sent significantly less to the Syrian refugee family in need

Mean contributions to the Syrian refugee family in need in the dictator game by participants who witnessed someone being hurt, by ingroup and superordinate primes



# What happened?

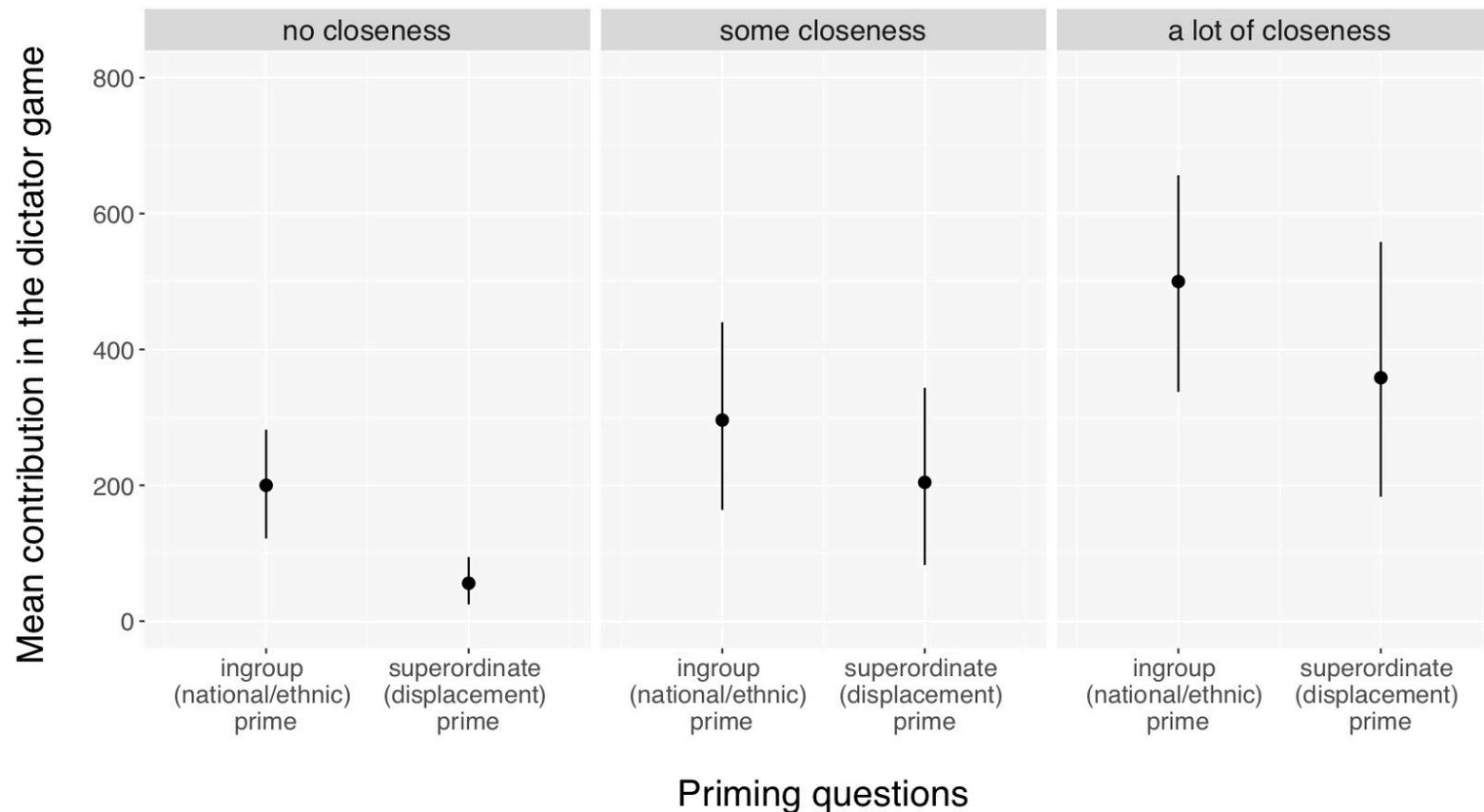
- In some circumstances, "altruism born of suffering" is very effective (Vollhardt 2011)
- But sometimes drawing links between two distinct groups (trying to increase the salience of a superordinate, shared identity) can backfire
- Individuals of one group might see their own experience as too distinct, rejecting the comparison
- This cautions against simple appeals to shared experience when trying to increase host country openness towards refugees



# So what does make a difference?

Mean contributions to the Syrian refugee family in need in the dictator game by participants who witnessed someone being hurt, by distinctiveness

What amount of closeness do you feel towards Syrian refugees?



**Feelings of closeness appear to matter**, though it's important to note that this is exploratory analysis!

# Next study

# A bit of context

- This is a study that spans 15 countries in Europe
  - Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.
- It was conducted using a massive survey
- Altogether, there were 18,000 participants, all eligible voters
- The study is about attitudes towards asylum seekers

# Your turn!

- We're going to do an exercise in breakout rooms
- Look at a document with treatment and control materials from an experiment
- Go to this website <https://www.anabracic.com/migracije.html>
- Please look at the [example from Bansak et al.](#)
- I'd like you to discuss, as a group, what you think this experiment was about (think about the variables and the hypothesis)
- Then, we will come back to the main room and you will post a chat bomb with your answer

# Background

- Motivation: how do we process asylum claims and provide shelter to accepted refugees, while at the same time developing asylum policies that are supported by domestic voters?
- Why care about domestic voters? In a democracy, policy must (at least to a degree) track public opinion and preferences
- There has been comparatively little research on public opinion regarding asylum seekers in Europe

# Variables and hypotheses

*Independent variable:* Asylum seeker characteristics

*Dependent variable:* Willingness to accept the asylum seeker

*Hypothesis:* Study participants will differ in their willingness to accept asylum seekers based on the personal characteristics of the individual seeking asylum.

# Which characteristics matter?

Based on previous research, there are 9 characteristics that matter:

1. Asylum testimony
2. Gender
3. Country of origin
4. Age
5. Occupation
6. Vulnerability
7. Reason for migrating
8. Religion
9. Language skills

# How a conjoint experiment works

ATTRIBUTE	APPLICANT 1	APPLICANT 2
Age	21 Years	62 Years
Language Skills	Speaks broken English	Speaks fluent English
Previous Occupation	Unemployed	Teacher
Religion	Christian	Muslim
Consistency of Asylum Testimony	Minor inconsistencies	Major inconsistencies
Vulnerability	Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)	No surviving family members
Origin	Iraq	Pakistan
Reason for Migrating	Seeking better economic opportunities	Persecution for ethnicity
Gender	Male	Male

# How a conjoint experiment works

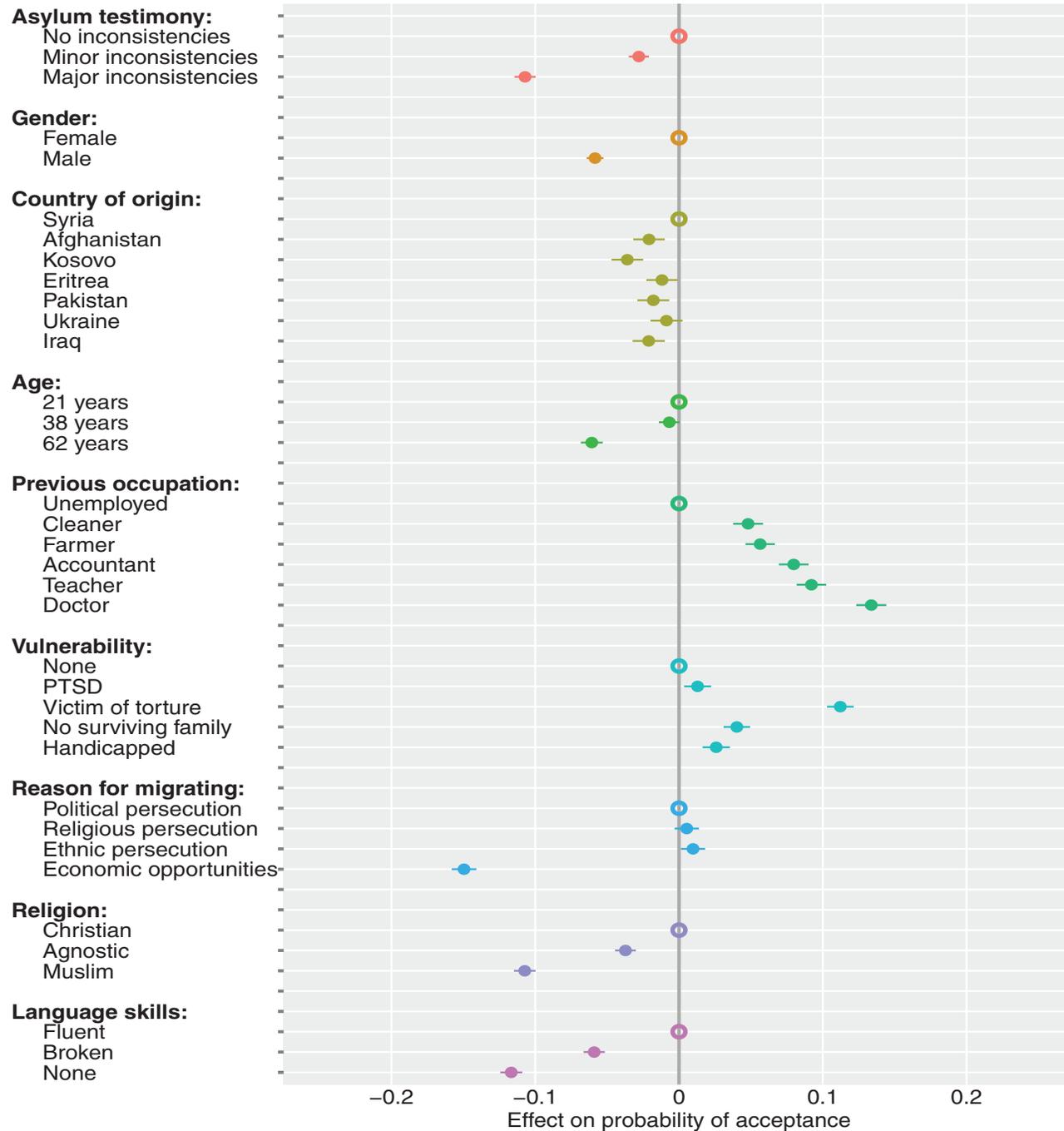
- Unlike in typical experiments, all participants are given the same task
- Everyone is shown 2 applicants and they have to choose which one they would be more likely to accept
- You can also ask people to rate the two applicants on a favorability scale (from 1 to 10, how much do you support this candidate)
- **What differs is the random assignment of characteristics**

ATTRIBUTE	APPLICANT 1	APPLICANT 2
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# What does randomly assigning characteristics in a conjoint experiment do?

- It lets us test the causal impact of multiple characteristics on decisionmaking
- It's a more accurate representation of real-life decisionmaking
- It captures discrimination in an unobtrusive way
  - Sometimes participants won't know why they prefer someone
  - Sometimes participants will know, but they have the opportunity to point to another characteristic
- It lets the researcher compare participant decisions across all characteristics
  - This doesn't only show which characteristics matter (which are a source of discrimination)
  - It also shows how much each characteristic matters compared to the others (i.e. is it more desirable to be Christian or to be educated?)

# Results



# Results: a closer look

## Asylum testimony:

- No inconsistencies
- Minor inconsistencies
- Major inconsistencies

## Gender:

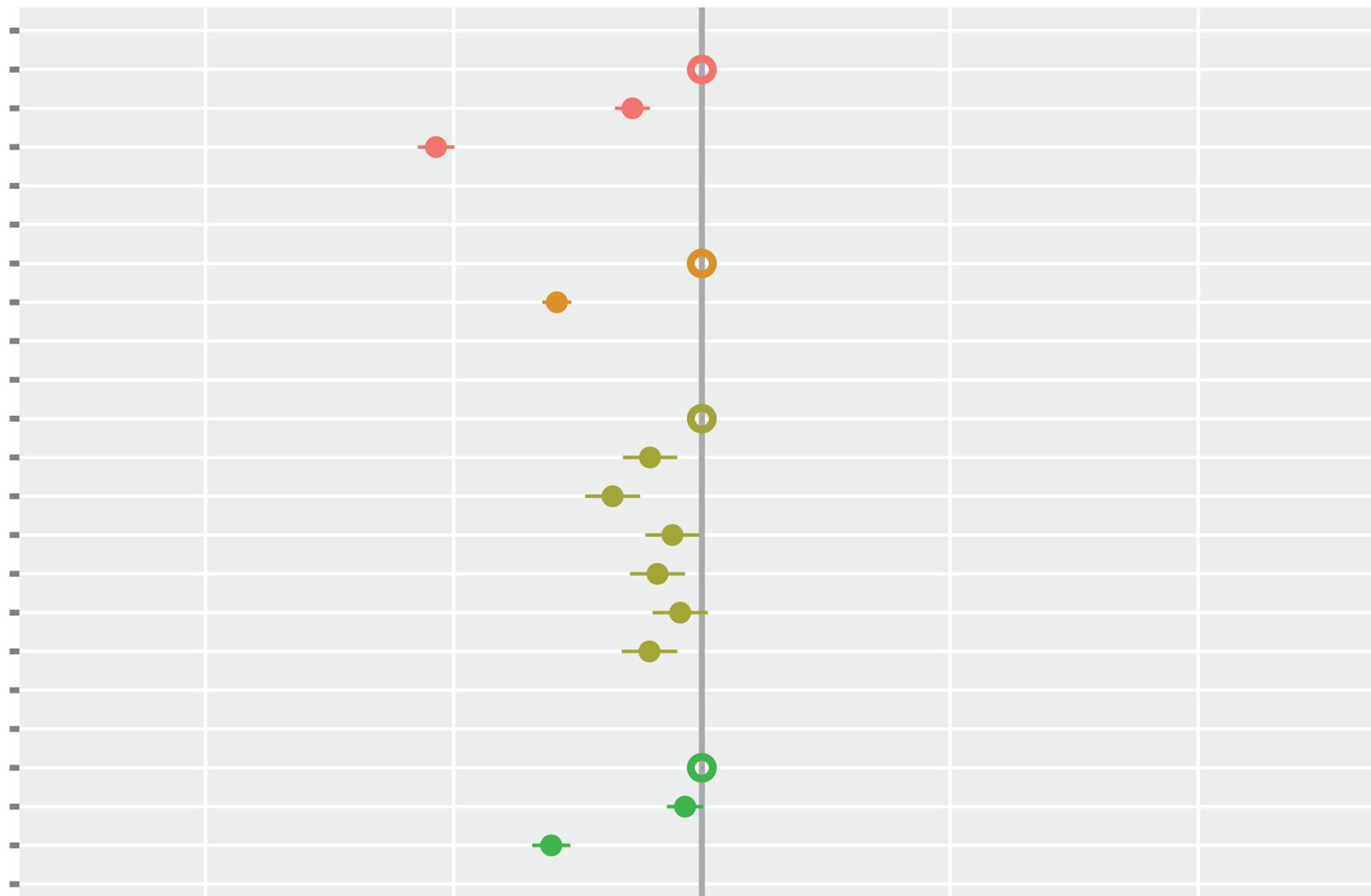
- Female
- Male

## Country of origin:

- Syria
- Afghanistan
- Kosovo
- Eritrea
- Pakistan
- Ukraine
- Iraq

## Age:

- 21 years
- 38 years
- 62 years



# Results: a closer look

## Previous occupation:

- Unemployed
- Cleaner
- Farmer
- Accountant
- Teacher
- Doctor

## Vulnerability:

- None
- PTSD
- Victim of torture
- No surviving family
- Handicapped

## Reason for migrating:

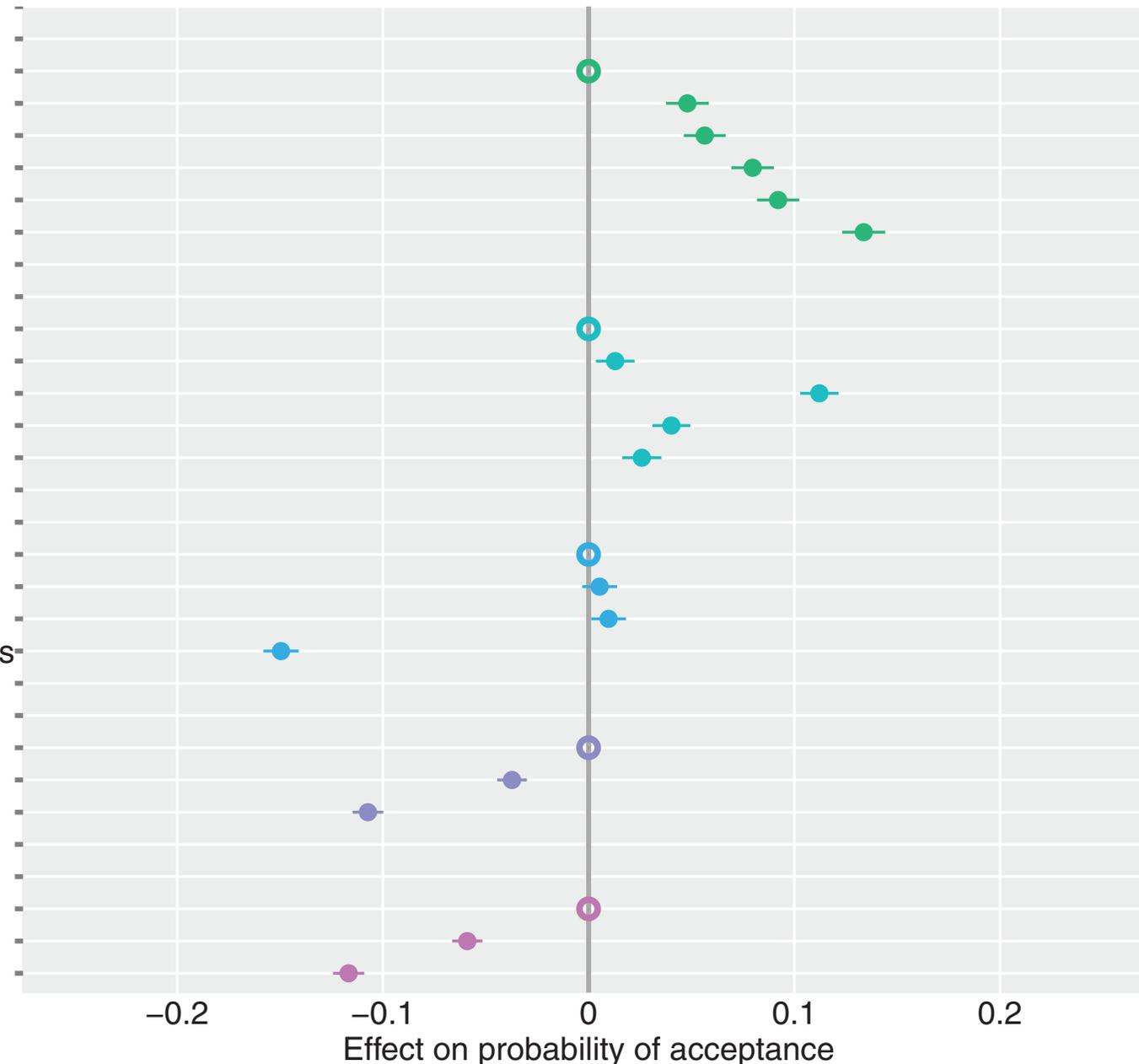
- Political persecution
- Religious persecution
- Ethnic persecution
- Economic opportunities

## Religion:

- Christian
- Agnostic
- Muslim

## Language skills:

- Fluent
- Broken
- None



# What do they find?

- European voters do not treat all asylum seekers equally

3 considerations matter most:

## 1. economic considerations

- Seekers with high-skill occupations are favored (13% doctor vs unemp)
- Seekers who speak the language are favored (12% fluent vs zero skill)
- Working age seekers are favored over retired seekers

## 2. humanitarian concerns

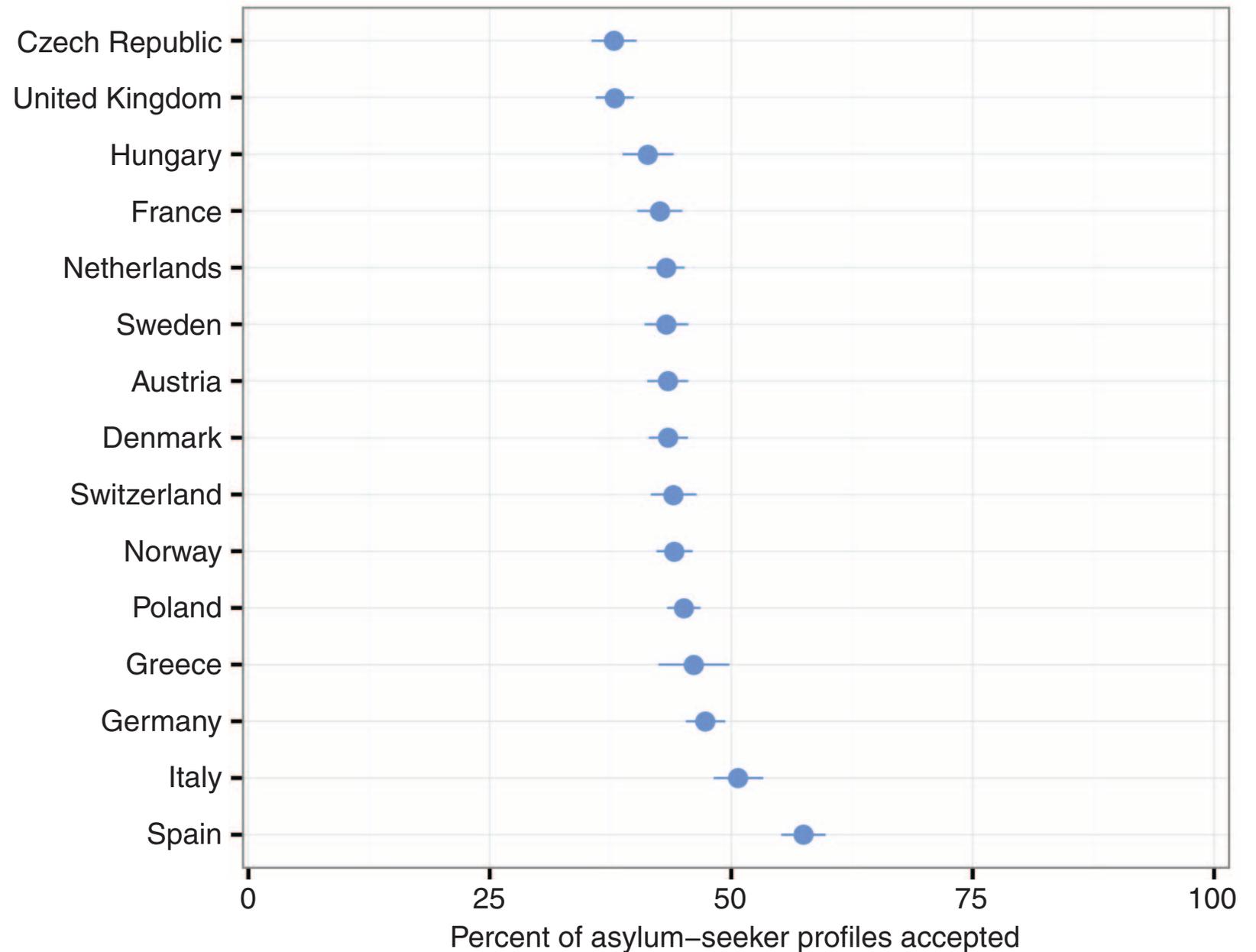
- Seekers who apply out of fear of persecution are 15% more likely to be accepted than seekers who apply out of economic necessity
- Experience of torture matters, as does a consistent story

## 3. anti-Muslim sentiment

- Muslim seekers 11% less likely to be accepted than Christian (this effect size is larger than the difference between teachers and unemployed)

# What do they find?

- There are differences between countries
- Participants from Spain are the most accepting
- Participants from Czech Republic and the UK are the least accepting



**Fig. 4. Percentage of accepted asylum-seeker profiles by country.** The percentage of accepted asylum-seeker profiles is similar across countries. Corresponding 95% CI are also shown.

# Some concluding thoughts

- Today we took a closer look at a few studies that use experiments to look at questions of migration
  - There are many more
  - Here are some general conclusions from research in this area that has been done since 2015
1. There remains substantial discrimination in employment
    - There are hierarchies in employment (Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016)
    - Everyone faces discrimination, but migrants from Eastern Europe are best off, followed by immigrants of Chinese, Indians, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi origins. Arabs and people of Middle Eastern origins are generally worst off.

# Some concluding thoughts

- Here are some general conclusions from research in this area that has been done since 2015
2. There is discrimination in education
    - Often policies are advertised as inclusive, but actually exclude (Abdelgadir and Fouka (2020); Jaffer-Walter 2016; Lems 2020)
    - This results in lower educational attainment and higher drop out rates
  3. There is discrimination in housing
    - An ethnic hierarchy exists, where Americans in Europe don't experience discrimination, Eastern Europeans in Western Europe do, but discrimination is worse for immigrants with Arabic names or immigrants from African countries (Gusciute et al. 2020; Van Der Bracht et al. 2015)

# Some concluding thoughts

- Here are some general conclusions from research in this area that has been done since 2015
4. There is discrimination in rules and bureaucracies
    - What status you officially get as a migrant matters for the rights that you get to have and the resources you can ask for (Baban et al. 2017)
    - Generally, welfare policies are designed to keep potential immigrants out of countries (look at Denmark!) (Slaven et al. 2021)
  5. There is underrepresentation in politics
    - Party selectors are often responsible for discrimination in politics because they decide who gets to be on a party list and what position they hold (Dancygier et al. 2015)

# Some concluding thoughts

- Here are some general conclusions from research in this area that has been done since 2015
6. Immigrants develop different strategies to navigate exclusion
- Resistance and withdrawal (Ellefsen and Sandberg 2021)
  - Confronting, deemphasizing, and ignoring stigma (Witte 2018)
  - Assimilation and concealment (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2015)
  - Differentiation and individualization (Klvaňová 2018)
  - Activism and mobilization (Easton-Calabria and Wood 2020)
  - Working with government agencies and NGO to help service provision (Serra Mingot and Mazzucato 2018)

# Your assignment

- This is a group project
- You will start working on it now, in breakout rooms
- I will come to breakout rooms to give you feedback
  
- I'm asking you to **design an experiment of your own**
- It can be very simple and based on one of the examples you saw in class today
- The assignment: <https://www.anabracic.com/migracije.html>
- Feel free to use the example as the basis for your assignment
- You can write it in Slovene or in English, your choice

# Your assignment

The necessary elements:

- Research question (what do you want to find out?)
  - Independent variable
  - Dependent variable
  - Hypothesis
  - Connecting logic (why do you think the IV influences the DV?)
  - Your experimental design
- If you have any questions, please ask today or email me later!*

# Thank you for listening!

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