



**Migration and Political Identity  
in the European Union:  
Research Issues and Theoretical Premises**

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**STATE OF THE ART REPORT**

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## Migration and Political Identity in the European Union: Research Issues and Theoretical Premises

*Ettore Recchi and Tina M. Nebe\**

### 1. Intra–EU Migration and the Spread of European Identity

#### *1.1. Globalization, Migration, and Collective Identities*

Globalization entails a rising volume of economic, cultural, and social interactions on an international scale. State borders are more and more permeable to goods (through shipping and wired transactions), information (through the media and telecommunications), and people (through tourism and migration)<sup>1</sup>. Migration, in particular, represents the most deep-seated and enduring vector of globalization. Displaced human beings cannot be easily removed or cancelled like shipment orders or images on a screen. When settling down in a different country, individuals bring with themselves a rich array of symbols and relationships. Their movement is, at the same time, the result of material and symbolic investments in their original milieu and the source of emerging networks of relations in the host country. In brief, migration acts *construct* globalization making transnational contacts wider, thicker, and less disposable by power centres. This is perhaps the most tangible reason why mobilities are central to contemporary sociological analysis (Urry 1999).

Migration affects political identities on many grounds. As it intensifies contacts among differently socialized people, it stirs entrenched identities. Both native and migrant groups confront themselves with the 'Other' on basic and banal loyalties (Billig 1995). In particular, in the political realm it is the supreme symbol of unity – the nation – that is questioned. Members of both groups can manage such a confrontation in a very diverse way. They can replace old allegiances with new ones, fuse them together, or just refuse them. Assimilation, hybridisation, and conflict are the possible outcomes of intensified contacts between people feeling that they belong to different ethnic communities.

In fact, conflict is quite common. Among immigrants, the rediscovery of original traditions and myths vis-à-vis habits and values of the host society functions as a way of reasserting communal bonds and sustaining their own status. Among natives, the presence of aliens revives previously withering ethnic identities. Immigrants are thus likely to be stigmatised as a threat to national homogeneity and integrity. Xenophobia is indeed a recurrent and ubiquitous phenomenon. Its widespread and deep appeal, in turn, make it tempting for political power-holders to support anti-immigration policies – or play down pro-immigration provisions when they have to pass them (Guiraudon 1999) – even though immigration is often an ingredient of economic growth (or, at least, it is in the best interest of economic elites).

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\* This paper has been conceived jointly by its two authors. Ettore Recchi has written § 1 and Tina Nebe § 2 and 3, while the conclusion has been drafted together.

<sup>1</sup> According to the UN Population Division, 'around 175 million persons currently reside in a country other than the one where they were born – about three per cent of the world's population. The number of migrants has more than doubled since 1975' (UN 2002). For Europe, detailed figures on migration trends and projections are presented in Wanner (2002).

As a matter of fact, barriers to immigration are being raised almost everywhere in the industrialized world in the early XXI century. There is only one exception to this trend: the European Union. Or, more precisely, the territorial area formed by the EU member countries, where EU nationals can circulate with growing ease, regardless of state frontiers, since the late 1960s<sup>2</sup>. Whereas migration is discouraged in the bulk of economically advanced societies, the European Union welcomes movements of EU citizens<sup>3</sup> across its member states as an instrument for increasing economic efficiency (reducing unemployment, enhancing labour productivity and speeding up innovation processes) and fostering socio-cultural integration. Indeed, the European integration process is largely premised on the free movement of capitals, goods, services *and* persons. Since the Treaty of Rome of 1957, a higher mobility of individuals among member states has been designed as the trigger of this process. Once legal and practical obstacles for migration within the EU are removed, people are expected to move about in search of better jobs and economic conditions. As a by-product of their movement, it is supposed that a more mixed European society will emerge, wiping out the image of fellow Europeans as ‘foreigners’<sup>4</sup>.

In recent years, the strategic nature of this view has been concretely reasserted by a number of Community acts aimed at: i) favouring the free mobility of various social categories of individuals (e.g., students and pensioners), ii) promoting information services for potential movers (like, most recently, [www.ploteus.net](http://www.ploteus.net), the self-defined ‘Portal on Learning Opportunities throughout the European Space’), and iii) eliciting member state level reforms on discriminatory practices, recognition of qualifications and access to social benefits<sup>5</sup>. Further targets of the growing EU commitment to the removal of barriers to mobility are the monopolistic national organisation of certain professions, and the non-transferability of retirement funds around national welfare state systems.

These efforts notwithstanding, *internal migration within the EU has not increased as spectacularly as policy-makers expected. Moreover, its virtuous effects on European integration writ large remain a matter of mere speculation.* These two considerations represent the key issues that the PIONEUR project intends to address.

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<sup>2</sup> Quite the contrary is true for third-country nationals, whose entry into the EU territory is filtered if not contrasted – up to the point of evoking an image of the Union as ‘Fortress Europe’. Witness of this attitude, 8 of the 15 EU member states are reported by the United Nations to orientate their immigration policy towards ‘lowering’ fluxes (UN 2002).

<sup>3</sup> As the European Council put it during its Stockholm meeting (March 2001), ‘labour mobility needs to be encouraged to allow greater adaptability to change by breaking down existing barriers’.

<sup>4</sup> The same spill-over approach underlies the introduction of the single currency (i.e., another key step in the integration process): achieving the Europeanisation of collective identities via the growing Europeanisation of the economy.

<sup>5</sup> As regards legal actions, the mutual recognition of school certificates and the opening of public job competitions to citizens of all member states are specific examples of interventions of the Community to favour a higher mobility of European citizens from one member state to another. As regards information actions, a concrete step to be acknowledged is the establishment of the European Employment Services (EURES), which aims to facilitate the free movement of workers within the 17 countries of the European Economic Area; partners in the network include public employment services, trade unions and employer organisations at the country-level, co-ordinated by the European Commission.

### 1.2. Question # 1: Which Factors Constrain Intra–EU Migration?

An unavoidable yardstick for comparison of internal migration flows is the USA where 31 in 1000 residents moved to a different state yearly as opposed to just over 1 in 1000 in the EU in the late 1990s (Thorogood, Winqvist 2003, 2; Schachter 2001, 1). As a celebrated political scientist has observed, ‘compared with the citizens of most other countries, Americans have always lived a nomadic existence’ (Putnam 2000, 204).

But why do Americans move so much more than Europeans? The economic theory of migration takes earnings differentials as the primary spur to workers’ mobility. Are such differentials lower among EU member states than they are among states in the US? Although more evidence is needed, this does not seem to be the case. Minimum wages in the EU member states vary from € 416 in Portugal to more than three times as much in Luxembourg (precisely, € 1369) (Clare, Paternoster 2003, 2)<sup>6</sup>. In the United States there is one single minimum wage established by the federal government; but if we take average yearly incomes at the state level as a comparable proxy, their range is tighter, as they span from \$22,644 in Montana to \$48,727 in the District of Columbia (US Census Bureau 2000, 38).

A more likely candidate for a satisfactory explanation of the EU–US disparity in internal migration is language. Very simply, Americans speak one single idiom, Europeans many. It is reasonable to deem that language differences pose a steep handicap to mobility. Yet, were it only due to this factor, the growing foreign–language literacy of the younger generations could have started to smooth over such an obstacle to territorial mobility, as the spread of linguistic skills in the EU is proving to be a quick process: 68% of European people between 15 and 24 is able to keep a conversation in a language different from his or her native one, while only 57% of people between 25 and 39, and 45% between 40 and 54 can (Eurobarometer 2001).

Another likely constraint to intra–EU mobility is ‘the persistence of national forms of labour market organization, welfare state and fiscal systems’ that complicate migration projects (Geddes, Balch 2002, 1; see also Vandamme 2000). However, the discouraging effect on internal migration of this ‘incompleteness of European integration’ variable is extremely hard to assess on the basis of macro indicators.

Finally, there is a sort of residual and ‘hidden’ factor: the cultural resistance to live in a different country in spite of a common citizenship. Again, something that can only be measured with attitudinal data at the individual level.

Overall, which of these factors is most relevant? Or, more realistically, how do these variables combine to make some move and others – the vast majority – spend all their life in the state of which they are citizen *prima facie*? This question will stand out as a guiding light of the empirical analysis that will be carried out by the PIONEUR project.

### 1.3. Question # 2: Does Intra–EU Migration Bring About ‘Europeanness’?

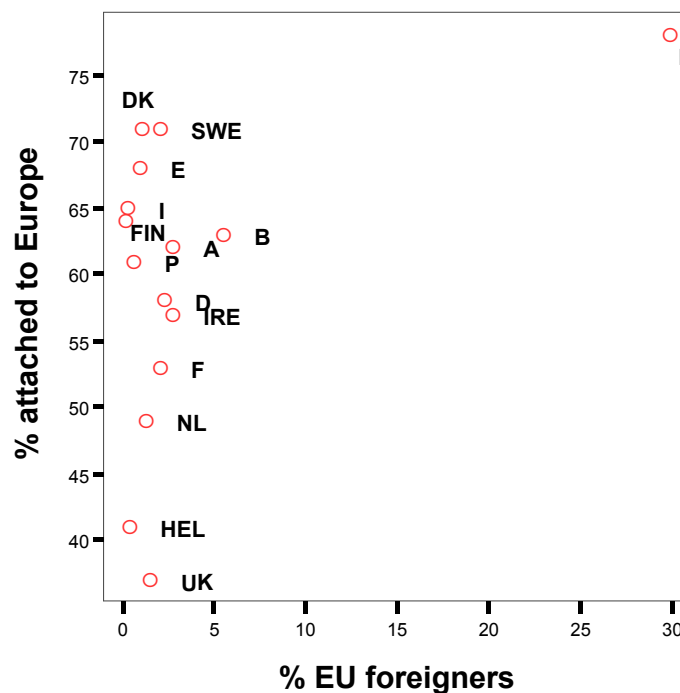
It has been observed that ‘since its early days, the Community has recognised that freedom of movement is not merely a functional prerequisite of the common market’

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<sup>6</sup> However, it must also be considered that minimum wages do not exist in six of the fifteen EU member states.

(Kostakopoulou 2001, 40). As stated most explicitly in the 'Action Plan for Mobility', the EU official position is that 'the mobility of citizens [...] encourages the sharing of cultures and promotes the concept of European citizenship as well as that of a political Europe'<sup>7</sup>. Yet, should we necessarily expect EU internal migrants to be more highly Europeanized and pro-EU than other European citizens? And, furthermore, do they contribute to propagate a supra-national identity wherever they settle down?

Figure 1. Correlation between proportion of EU-15 non-nationals among residents and size of population 'very+fairly' attached to Europe (Eurobarometer 51)

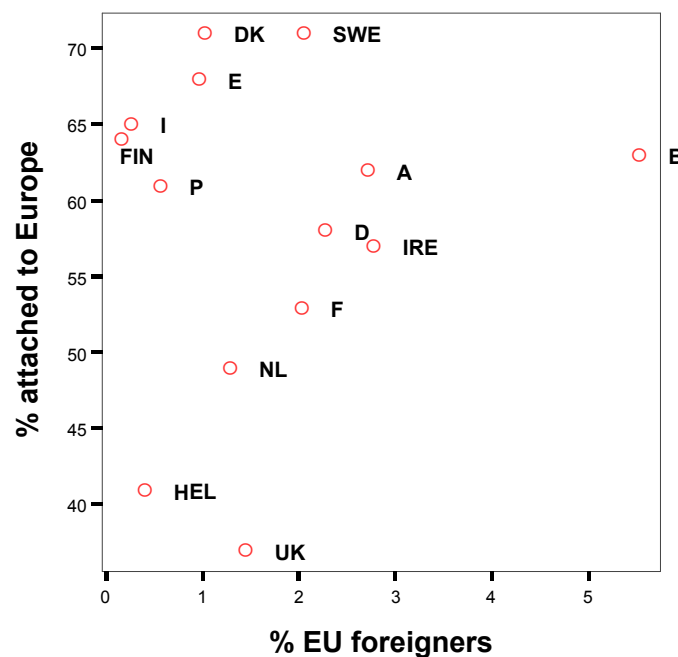


In the following sections of this paper we will explore the micro-sociological theoretical foundations of these hypotheses. But, to start with, they are not empirically warranted macro-sociologically. Although the Pearson correlation between the proportion of EU-15 foreigners among residents and the proportion of residents declaring to feel 'very or fairly attached to Europe' (as from Eurobarometer 51) is positive ( $r=.45$ ) and significant, this is only due to the 'boosting' effect of an outlier: Luxembourg (figure 1). Indeed, Luxembourg is both the EU member state with the highest proportion of residents from other EU member states (29.9%) and the country exhibiting the highest levels of support for European institutions and European integration (20% of respondents to Eurobarometer in 1999 declared to feel 'European' only: European Commission 2001, 10–11). We cannot generalize from such an anomalous case – the smallest EU country, where the European Union is

<sup>7</sup> 'Resolution of the Council and of the representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council of 14 December 2000 concerning an action plan for mobility', Official Journal C 371, 23/12/2000.

the single largest employer. The ‘Luxembourg effect’ is not replicable. Excluding Luxembourg, the correlation coefficient drops to .08 (figure 2).

Figure 2. Correlation between proportion of EU–15 non–nationals among residents and size of population ‘very+fairly’ attached to Europe (Eurobarometer 51) *excluding Luxembourg*



The absence of a correlation between the proportion of EU non–national residents in EU member states and the national level of attachment to Europe is likely to depend on the very limited number of EU internal movers – they account for only 1.5% of the EU population. They can hardly affect pro–Europe sentiments, unless we assume they have an exceptional capacity to spread Euro–enthusiasm around them. In fact, we have no evidence proving they are Euro–enthusiasts themselves. Hence, this is something which needs to be assessed empirically first. This lacuna can be filled only by taking a bottom–up approach to the study of the relation between intra–EU migration and identification with Europe – that is, by listening to the voices of the persons who concretely experience what it means to move and settle in a different EU country.

Generally speaking, what we know about EU internal migrants is little. On the one hand, there is a limited set of statistics on their citizenship and gender (but not on their age distribution, education, and occupation). On the other, existing research is circumscribed to some ethnographic analyses based on convenience samples of ‘slices’ of this population (Tarrius 1992, 2000; Wagner 1998; Favell 2001). Seminal as they are, these studies are limited either in geographical scope or in occupational variation, dealing with expats of large companies and international organizations,



cross-border commuters, and ethnic businessmen<sup>8</sup>. A survey-based portrait of EU internal migrants is therefore needed to fill the knowledge gap about this relatively small but potentially crucial population. In a constructivist view of European integration as the by-product of everyday interactions rather than the outcome of an institutional tailoring of legal statuses and formulae devoid of social practices, internal migrants are certainly on the forefront of the process and of the possible – even contradictory or conflictual – forms that an European identity can take.

Before we proceed, however, some conceptual clarifications are in order. In particular, much of our analysis will focus on ‘identity’ – a slippery and multi-faceted term that has to be handled with care. The following section, thus, is dedicated to a discussion and definition of how this concept will be used in the rest of our study. In turn, this is a preliminary step in view of the final section of this paper, that pulls the threads of empirical questions (§ 1) and conceptual specifications (§2) by formulating research hypotheses about the linkage of intra-EU migration and European identification.

## 2. Studying Migrants’ Identities: Theoretical and Methodological Premises

As early as 1978, observers remarked that the concept of identity had been ‘driven out of its wits by over-use’ (MacKenzie 1978, 11). Employed to signify too many and, even worse, contradictory, ideas, ‘identity’ had become meaningless as an analytic category. More recently, Brubaker and Cooper have summed up these concerns as follows:

‘Clearly, the term ‘identity’ is made to do a great deal of work. It is used to highlight non-instrumental modes of action; to focus on self-understanding rather than self-interest; to designate sameness across persons or sameness over time; to capture allegedly core, foundational aspects of selfhood; to deny that such core, foundational aspects exist; to highlight the processual, interactive development of solidarity and collective self-understanding; and to stress the fragmented quality of the contemporary experience of ‘self’, a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse and contingently ‘activated’ in differing contexts’ (2000, 8).

The usage that we shall make of the term ‘identity’ for the purpose of our research will therefore only contain a small and well-defined fraction of its manifold meanings. *We take ‘identity’ (or, better, ‘identification’) to refer to the social and dynamic, both categorical and relational, qualities of our auto-defined Self concept.* Only this particular perspective on identity, we will argue, allows for an investigation of the possible mixing or ‘hybridisation’ of identities due to a change in the context the actor moves in.

In order to clarify what exactly the above definition encapsulates and how it can be differentiated from other conceptions of identity, let us take a closer look at a couple of dimensions commonly referred to in the identity literature.

### 2.1. Essentialist vs. Dynamic Conceptions of Identity

Rather than being interested in identity as the quintessence of personhood (cf. Erikson 1968), the most profound and basic element of a person’s Self to be

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<sup>8</sup> Technically speaking, cross-border commuters and other short-term movers (e.g., EU students abroad with a three-months grant) are not migrants, as they do not move their residence for 12 months or more. Therefore they fall out of the scope of PIONEUR empirical analysis.

cultivated and preserved, our aim is to understand whether the experience of intra-EU migration can *modify* the migrants' feeling of belonging and produce a mixing/hybridisation of (national) identities. Accordingly, our research requires a dynamic, not an essentialist, conception of identity: What is the influence of contextual, socio-cultural factors on identity? Can identity be re-negotiated in social interaction?

For this reason, our usage of the concept 'identity' draws on a Hegelian (dialectic) and Bakhtinian (dialogical) philosophy of science, viewing 'human cognition and languages in a manner that provides a provocative dynamically and socio-culturally based alternative to the mainstream conception of cognitions and language which is based largely on various kinds of individualistic or collectivist, yet static, epistemologies (Markova 2000, 424). Following Derrida's insights into the unfinished aspects of meaning (1992), we agree with Hall that 'identity is a 'production' which is never complete, always in process' (Hall 1997, 51). By allowing for polyphony and tension within a person's identity, we discard the classical Cartesian occidental<sup>9</sup> model viewing identity as a fixed and stable property of the individual mind (for an application of this model, cf. the identity conceptions inherent in phenomenology, psychoanalysis and trait theory).

## 2.2. Social vs. Individual Identity

Following Durkheim's distinction between the 'être collectif' and the 'être privé', it has become commonplace in the social sciences to distinguish between individual or personal identities on the one hand, and social or collective identities on the other hand. To scholars taking an interactionist stance, however, from Simmel (1968) onwards, it is misleading to make such a distinction. Rather, *any identity is social by definition; in terms not only of its content but also of its genesis and functions*. The content of identity is always constructed around dichotomies (or even triads), such a similarity–difference or absence–presence<sup>10</sup>, contrasting the Self or ingroups from the Other or outgroup. As pointed out by both Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979, Tajfel 1981) and by post-structuralist scholars (Foucault 1982, Derrida 1992), I can only think of myself as being something (e.g. male, Danish) in *contrast*<sup>11</sup> to the opposing category (e.g. non-male or 'female', non-Danish or Italian, etc.). In this way, the identity of the Self is always dependent on the possibility or reality of difference.

As far as the social genesis and functions of identity are concerned, we need to differentiate between two levels introduced in the seminal work of G.H. Mead (1934)

<sup>9</sup> As Geertz points out, the Cartesian identity concept is in itself culturally constructed: 'The Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe [...] is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures' (Geertz 1979, 229).

<sup>10</sup> If 'presence is built on absence, identity on difference' (Sampson 1993, 90), the phenomenon of intra-EU migration involves an absence-presence that contradicts the national order: the immigrant is absent from the country of which she is a national, while she is present at a different country, to which she does – according to the logic of nations – not belong. On the absence-presence dialectic and the migration experience, see Sayad (1999).

<sup>11</sup> The theorisation of similarity and difference according to Social Identity Theory and Post-Structuralism differ greatly: Contrast is regarded as *automised* by S.I.T. and as *symbolic* by post-structuralism.

on the two components of the self-concept, the I (agent) and the Me (reflexive Self). On the one hand, and less importantly regarding adult migrants, the infant develops a sense of Self, or *agency*, only in relation to other people and to the external world<sup>12</sup> (cf. Piaget 1968/9 on 'decentring', 'Copernican Revolution' and Winnicott 1971 'from holding to handling'). On the other hand, Mead's Me, the reflexive Self, is renegotiated and adapted in the life-course of a human being. It is achieved by 'looking at oneself through the eyes of the other'. The 'Generalised Other', in Mead's terminology, refers to the voice of the community, the totality of the norms and attitudes of the ingroup that we need to internalise in order to cope with and function in society and to derive a true sense of Self. This last point makes clear why, third and last, our identities enable us to manoeuvre in the social space and thereby fulfil a social function.

In sum, only if we think of 'identity' as being social in nature can we hypothesise that mixing or 'hybridisation' of identities might occur due to the act of moving from one lifeworld to another (cf. Schütz 1996). If identity is social, such a move would include the potential for new contrasts and hence new self-definitions, and for taking on the point of view of a different 'Generalised Other' and hence reflexively thinking of ourselves in a new light.

When it comes to measuring identifications, it might however be useful to distinguish between social and individual identities as distinct *levels of analysis*: While the social level of identities might be uncovered by content- or discourse-analysing a peer magazine of Brits living on the Spanish Costa Blanca or the speeches held at a Greek ex-patriot meeting in Stockholm (within-group communication, non-obtrusive researcher), the individual's social identities will surface in surveys and interviews (uni-directional communication, researcher-led). While our research methods focus mainly on the latter level (individual level), focus groups bear some scope for bridging the gap with the former level (social level).

### 2.3. *Categorical vs. Relational Conceptions of Identity*

One of the main foci of sociological inquiry into (national) identity has been to understand, using large-scale surveys, how distinct socio-demographic *categories* (the sexes, age groups, social classes, etc.) differ with regards to behaviours or attitudes seen as constitutive of the identity under scrutiny. This logic differs starkly from the anthropological understanding of identity:

'From an anthropological point of view, identity is a relationship and not only an individual qualification, as everyday language has it. Therefore, the true identity question is not 'Who am I?' but 'Who am I with regards to others, who are the others in relation to me?' (Jean-François Gossiaux in the name of *Revue d'ethnologie française*; cited by Ruano-Borbala 1998, 2; our translation).

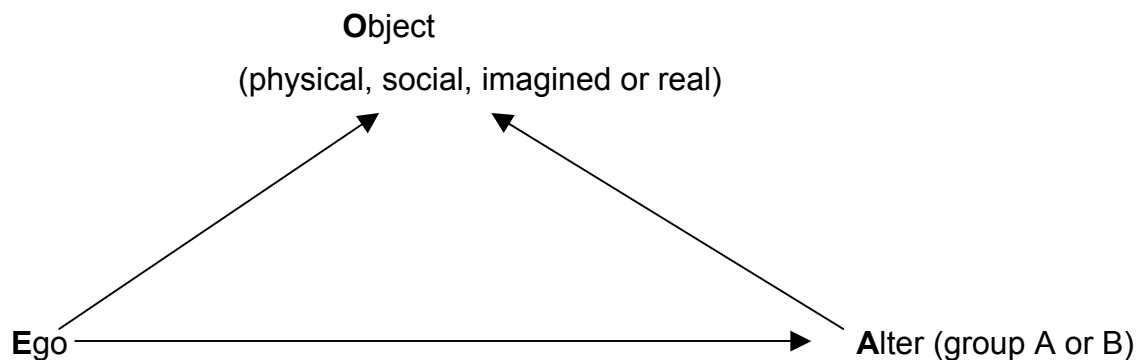
In the case of migrant identities, a *combination* of these two conceptions of identity is called for. In order to capture the changes in identity constructions due (at least partly) to the experience of migration, a relational perspective is needed: Do I position myself differently to a social object in relation to social group A (my national ingroup) and social group B (receiving society)?

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<sup>12</sup> The infant realises her own subjectivity only when particular others contest her actions and recognise her as an actor, not an object.

In order to capture the distinct starting conditions and barriers opposing self-identification (see discussion on hetero-identification below) as a member of the receiving society, an investigation into identity as a category is required. Can a Portuguese single male manual worker who does not speak German be expected to identify with his host country in the same way as a British business man who converses in fluent German with his kids and German wife on a daily basis?

Figure 3. Moscovici's Semiotic Triangle (1984, 9)



The different research instruments to be employed in our empirical investigation of intra-EU migrant identities shall account for these two levels of identities: While categorical identification can be brought to the fore via the European Internal Migrants Social Survey, relational identification will be explored in Qualitative Interviews and Focus Groups.

#### 2.4. External vs. Internal Identity

In order to become part of a community, it is not sufficient to dispose of a feeling of belonging to that community (internal identification). In addition, the members of the community in question have to accept the newcomer by identifying her as part of the group (external identification). These 'internal and external moments in the dialectic of identification', as Jenkins (2000, 7–11) labels them, are the basic principles of the social psychology of intergroup relations, especially of research on prejudice and racism. Here, external identification has been variously named as categorisation, representation, stereotyping, stigmatisation, schematisation, etc.<sup>13</sup> and is generally believed to be due to universal cognitive processes.

The most widely known and employed approach within this group is Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1979, 1982) stating that in-group members will classify and

<sup>13</sup> Note that very important epistemological differences exist between these terms; e.g. 'categorisation' is the key term in the social cognition paradigm, 'stigma' comes from the symbolic interactionist literature, 'representation' is used with very different connotations by social cognitivists ('mental representation') and social constructionist scholars ('social representation'). All of these, however, refer to the hetero-identification of a social actor.

discriminate against out-group members on two grounds: First, in order to cope with the multitude of information that surrounds them (humans as ‘cognitive misers’) and, secondly, to achieve a positive self esteem. Two automatic cognitive principles, the *Accentuation Principle* and the *Self-Enhancement Motive*, guide these cognitions: The former refers to people’s propensity to accentuate differences *between* and similarities *within* a category (e.g. a group of people) in order to find their way around social reality. The latter assumes that people discriminate against the out-group in order to generate a feeling of belonging to the ‘superior’ group.<sup>14</sup> Although accentuation and self enhancement are basic cognitive principles that can be activated in random in- and out-group assignments, they are dependent on a number of *situational and contextual factors*. The factors that modulate outgroup-discrimination are social norms (Tajfel 1982), the strength of the negative ingroup representations vis-à-vis the outgroup (Pettigrew 1958) and the circumstances that might lead to the activation of one or the other view of the outgroup (Sanchez-Mazas et al. 1993; Oakes, Haslam and Turner 1994).

In our empirical research we will focus exclusively on internal identifications. We will be able to capture external identifications of EU-migrants only via ‘double hermeneutics’ (Giddens 1993), i.e. self-reported statements regarding the level of acceptance by the receiving society made by the migrants themselves in surveys and interviews.

### 3. Beyond the Nation? Hypotheses on Intra-EU Migrants’ (Extra-)National Identities

When an European citizen tries to re-establish her life in an EU country different from the one she grew up in, she will encounter a number of challenges. Not only will she need to move houses and job and communicate – in most cases – in a language other than her native one, find new friends, orientate herself in an unknown social space (find the supermarket, public transport, the doctor’s surgery, etc), but she will also have to ‘acculturate’ to the new setting. *Psychological acculturation* (Graves 1967) is a process of re-socialisation involving changes in attitudes, values and identification, the acquisition of new social skills and norms, changes in reference- and membership-group affiliations and adjustment or adaptation to a changed environment (Berry et al. 1992, Berry 1997a)<sup>15</sup>.

Ever since the path-breaking works of John Berry (Berry et al. 1986, Berry 1980, Berry 1990, Berry et al. 1992, Berry 1997b), psychological acculturation is understood as a *bi-directional process* where adapting to a new culture

<sup>14</sup> Applied to the issue of intra-EU migration, S.I.T. would thus hold that the receiving society automatically over-exaggerate similarities within their own group and within the groups of the migrants. They would then over-exaggerate the differences between the two and evaluate the ‘out-group’ of EU-migrants more negatively, in order to boost the self-confidence of the in-group members.

<sup>15</sup> In the recent literature on acculturation and adaptation, a distinction has also been drawn between two types of adaptive outcomes, *psychological* and *socio-cultural* (Ward and Kennedy 1993). The first type refers to a set of internal psychological outcomes, including good mental health, psychological well-being, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context; the second type refers to a set of external psychological outcomes that link individuals to their new context and means the acquisition of the appropriate social skills and behaviours needed to successfully carry out day-to-day activities.

simultaneously involves renegotiating one's relationship with and identity vis-à-vis the native culture<sup>16</sup>. According to Berry, acculturation can range from integration (having strong ties to both the home and the host society) to marginalisation (being connected to neither), or take an asymmetrical form (feeling more connected to the home (separation) or host (assimilation) groups). For our research purposes, the *Bi-Directional Model* (BDM) can help us build a *typology of intra-EU migrants in terms of their acculturation to the host society and in terms of the links they kept with their home society*.

However, in order to understand whether or not European citizens will, by the virtue of their migration experience, 'go beyond' the identities offered by either the native or the receiving society and develop an additional<sup>17</sup>, overarching feeling of belonging ('European'), a *Tri-Directional Model* (TDM) of acculturation is needed. Such a model is presently being developed by several scholars (Peng 2003; LaFromboise et al. 1993; Coleman 1995), in particular to understand the *ethnogenesis* of new cultural identities such as 'Chicanos' or 'Asian Americans'. In the model, a third dimension representing *interculturalisation* – the potential for developing a tertiary multi-cultural identity on the basis of 'a positive relationship with both cultures without having to choose between them' (LaFromboise et al. 1993, 131) – is added to Berry's original conceptualization.

While the Tri-Directional Model of acculturation has been successfully applied to individuals who are bicultural *by birth* (Asian Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans)<sup>18</sup> and to the ethnogenesis of various *subcultures in the US*, it has not yet been used to understand 'acquired biculturalism' (*by socialisation*) and the emergence of a *European* identity. In the case of bicultural US citizens, 'interculturalisation allows for and may involve a trend towards *assimilation*, which explains why the emerging multi-cultural identities are usually closer to the host culture than the home cultures' (Peng 2003).

In contrast, with the EU-migrants in our sample, the *home identity is likely to prevail* as migration took place only fairly recently (not earlier than 1992 in our survey design) rather than in past generations, and as the social desirability of assimilation is lower for *internal migration* in the EU than for *immigration* into the US (while in both cases diversity is fostered at least at the level of official discourse, there is probably more stigma attached to being Mexican or Korean in the US than to being Greek or Finnish elsewhere in the EU). Another specificity of intra-EU migrants is that some of

<sup>16</sup> Previously, *uni-directional models of acculturation* (Gordon 1964, Redfield et al. 1936) prevailed, understanding acculturation as a moving away from one's native culture in order to psychologically and socially incorporate the culture of the receiving society. From this point of view, one might study, for example, how a Greek student adapts to the French university system, learns its codes of conduct and becomes part of it.

<sup>17</sup> Since the early 1990s, the idea that a European identity would substitute national identities was disconfirmed using Eurobarometer data (Duchesne and Frogner 1995; Marks 1999) and abandoned in favour of 'onion models' of layered multiple identity.

<sup>18</sup> According to LaFromboise et al. (1993), bicultural individuals can adapt their behaviour to a given social or cultural context without having to commit to a specific cultural identity. The ability to adjust across contexts and situations may include using different languages, as well as different problem-solving, coping, interpersonal, communication, and motivational styles of interaction. In this way, the bicultural individual may choose to confer equal status on both cultures or not to think in terms of cultural and linguistic status at all.

them might have already lived in other European Union countries and have therefore developed ‘tricultural’, ‘quatricultural’ or ‘multicultural’ European identities.

In order to account for the pertinence of interculturalisation and the Tri-Directional Model of acculturation in the case of intra-EU migrants, we propose to test the following hypotheses:

### **Hypothesis 1:**

The development of a European identity is associated with bi- or multiculturalism.

1.1. Intra-EU migrants will dispose of a strong sense of ‘Europeanness’ if they feel about equally comfortable in both the home and the host culture.

1.2. Intra-EU migrants will dispose of a particularly strong sense of ‘Europeanness’ if they have already lived in three or more member states for a significant period of time (e.g. 1 year or longer).

*If interculturalisation (the development of an overarching European Identity based on feelings of belonging to both the home and the host culture) is associated with bi- or multiculturalism, which kinds of individuals can be expected to have become ‘bicultural’ by the mere virtue of moving from one European country to another?*

According to Peng, interculturalisation is ‘not a simple function of host orientation, but an emergent property of intercultural contact and involvement’ (personal communication). Intercultural contact and involvement with the host society are provided for in many ways in the everyday lives of intra-EU migrants: At the workplace, in the neighbourhood, in schools, churches and markets, etc. However, whether or not contact between members of the majority and the minority population will lead to the mutual reduction of prejudice and out-group discrimination (which according to Social Identity Theory are universal cognitive phenomena) has been highly contested in the literature. The debate around desegregation in the 1960s and 1970s in the US is a particularly salient example for this.

Several conditions for ‘successful’ kinds of contact have been enumerated<sup>19</sup>, starting with Allport's Contact Hypothesis (Allport 1954). In Allport's original formulation, intergroup conflict can be avoided *if contact is non-hierarchical, if there are common goals, if there is co-operation and if there is support by authorities*. This conception has been implemented in numerous contexts, such as industrial plants, the army, residential areas and even in schools, but results have not been completely satisfactory. The contact technique applied in segregated schools in the US in the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, neither favoured nor increased interpersonal relations between children of different races (Orfield and Eaton 1996).

Due to these shortcomings, additional factors such as the need for a *favourable atmosphere* (intimate rather than casual) and for *friendship potential* (Pettigrew 1958), the *existence of a superordinate goal* (Sherif et al.'s famous ‘Robber's Cave Study’ of 1954 [1988]; cf. also Brown and Wade 1987), *similarity regarding the norms and attitudes* held among members of the exogroup and the endogroup (Cook 1962),

<sup>19</sup> Under these circumstances, the majority group will decategorise the outgroup (see people as individuals, not members of the outgroup) followed by salient categorization (generalize in-group characteristics to the outgroup) and recategorization (development of a new ingroup) need to be achieved (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman and Rust 1993).

the necessity to *maintain intergroup contact over a long period* (Yarrow, Campbell and Yarrow 1973) and of *independent rather than interdependent judgements* (Mummendey and Shreiber 1983) have been added to the requirements for successful contact<sup>20</sup>.

We can therefore hypothesise that the degree to which intra-EU migrants become part of the ingroup of the host society (and adopt their ingroup identity) will depend on the following factors:

### **Hypothesis 2:**

The development of bicultural identities (identification not only with the home but also with the host society) is conditional on 'successful' types of contact.

#### **Non-hierarchical contact**

2.1. We expect migrants with a higher socio-economic status to show higher levels of identification with the new ingroup.

#### **Common/subordinate goals and co-operation**

2.2. Those living in a mixed marriage/partnership and those active in a business or non-profit association with members of the majority population can be expected to show higher levels of identification with the new ingroup.

#### **Support by authorities**

2.3. We can expect this to be given in the case of intra-EU migrants (see § 1), save exceptional cases.

#### **Friendship potential**

2.4. Those interacting with members of the host society not only in a professional but also in a private setting (neighbourhood, associations, hobbies) have better chances to become part of the ingroup in the host society.

#### **Similar norms and attitudes**

2.5. Although it is hard to define the 'norms and values' prevalent in an entire country (just think of all the sub-clusters and conflicts found in each of them), existing international surveys can give an indication of macro-cultural similarities between countries (e.g., see Inglehart 1997). For instance, we can expect a migrant coming from a homogeneously catholic country, say Spain, to find it easier to settle in Italy than in Sweden.

<sup>20</sup> Research on most of these conditions has since been replicated with mixed results. Studies that disconfirm the above hypotheses include the following: Superordinate categorisation can be refused (Sanchez-Mazas et al. 1994), simple categorisations prevail when imposed multiple layers of belonging are less salient (Deschamps 1977).



## Enduring intergroup contacts

2.6. Those migrants who have lived in another European country for a longer period of time can be expected to show higher levels of identification with the receiving society.

## 4. Conclusion

Whether or not intra-EU migration brings about a growing sense of Europeanness remains a theoretically and empirically contested question. While on the basis of EU policy papers ‘there is some evidence to suggest that the Union is creating a kind of consensus based on inclusion through work, in particular labour mobility’ (Delanty 1998, 4.12), large-scale surveys and ethnographies have thus far yielded inconclusive results. The proportion of EU non-national residents in EU members states does not affect the national level of attachment to Europe (as argued in § 1). However, some field studies focusing on sub-populations of intra-EU migrants have found high levels of Europeanisation among these (especially among Erasmus students: Ruiz-Gelices, King, and Favell 2003). Only by triangulating ‘qualitative’ information with survey data from a representative sample of internal movers can we shed light upon this still obscure picture.

The choice of our target population, internal movers in the European Union, dictates a concern with at least three layers of identification: the home society, the host society and Europe. Rather than understanding Europeanness as an extension of national identities (Marcussen et alii 1999), we hypothesise that Europeanness is a function of bi- or multiculturalism. If ‘identity’ refers to the social and dynamic, both categorical and relational, qualities of our auto-defined Self concept, and if this Self concept is to a large degree influenced by the hetero-identifications imposed upon us by significant others (e.g. members of the receiving society), only largely bicultural EU citizens can stay clear of intra-EU intergroup conflict. Where conflict between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is absent because these categories are absent, the bicultural or multicultural citizens can develop a new overarching ingroup identification. Thus, a Europeanisation of the Self concept can only be achieved if the internal migrants feel equally comfortable in both their home and host cultures.

In testing this hypothesis and the various sub-hypotheses defined in the latter part of this paper, the PIONEUR project hopes to answer not only a distinct research question but also contribute to a number of long-standing theoretical debates in the social sciences.

Firstly, our hypotheses imply that migratory *practices* will bring about European *values* on the basis of acculturation and contact occurring in the everyday life of another European country. An act (migration, contact) becomes meaningful only in combination with a structure (the lifeworld in the host country and acculturation into it). In this way, we seek to conceptualise identity formation bridging the notorious structure–agency gap (cf. Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1994).

Secondly, European integration is a process of collective identity formation with an apparent antecedent – nation building. However, it does depart significantly from

the traditional nation–building model of the XIX and XX centuries. Among other things (cf. Smith 1991), this is because the role of internal migration in this process is reverted. Whereas the mobility of labour was the ultimate *end* of nation–building efforts of European states (as forcefully argued by Gellner 1983), currently the mobility of EU citizens is rather conceived and promoted as a *means* to achieving Europeanisation. Whatever the normative judgment on it, the traditional nation–building model was highly effective. Can this fundamental cause–effect reversal be equally effective in deepening EU integration?

Finally, many scholars have noted, both on theoretical and empirical grounds, that Europeanness emerges as an additional layer in the territorial (local, regional, national, supranational...) identifications of citizens (e.g., Marks 1999; Calhoun 2001). We may ask if such a layered identity is to be found among intra–EU migrants most evidently, anticipating future developments at a mass level. If this is the case, we may also expect to face a new politico–identitarian cleavage based on multicultural practices and experiences for ‘movers’ vis–à–vis the monocultural frameworks prevailing among ‘stayers’. Individuals’ different relations with space would represent an increasingly important criterion of social stratification (Bauman 1998). In a sense, this outcome is likely to reproduce the ‘local–cosmopolitan’ divide – a dichotomy of reference group orientations dear to classic sociologists and unjustly forgotten (Merton 1957, 368 ff.; Gouldner 1957 and 1958). Concepts proposed fifty years ago to identify different types of community elite members and organizational actors may turn out to serve on a much wider scale to approximate the rising divergences of interests, lifestyles and orientations among Europeanized and non–Europeanized EU citizens *within* European societies in the XXI century.

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