CONFRONTING HATE AND RESHAPING NARRATIVES ON MIGRATION

OHCHR & Stop Funding Hate meeting

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Where we've been failing is not understanding the middle groups

Most people are neither cosmopolitans with open values, nor nationalists with closed values. But those voices dominate debate.

Typically:

- 25-35% are 'open'

- 15-20% are 'closed'

- 40-55% are in middle groups.

Germany
- Liberal Cosmopolitans 22%
- Economic Pragmatists 20%
- Humanitarian Sceptics 23%
- Moderate Opponents 18%
- Radical Opponents 17%

France
- Multiculturals 30%
- Humanitarians 15%
- Economically Insecure 17%
- Left Behind 21%
- Identitarian Nationalists 17%

Italy
- Italian Cosmopolitans 12%
- Catholic Humanitarians 16%
- Disengaged Moderates 19%
- Left Behind 17%
- Security Concerned 12%
- Cultural Defenders 17%
- Hostile Nationalists 7%

Greece
- Greek Multiculturals 20%
- Moderate Humanitarians 28%
- Instinctive Pragmatists 19%
- Detached Traditionalists 15%
- Alarmed Opponents 3%
- Nationalist Opponents 15%

Netherlands
- Confident Multiculturals 30%
- Engaged but Conflicted 16%
- Disengaged 28%
- Concerned Opponents 24%

United States of America
- Progressive Activists 8%
- Traditional Liberals 11%
- Passive Liberals 15%
- Politically Disengaged 26%
- Moderates 15%
- Traditional Conservatives 19%
- Devoted Conservatives 6%

Reaching middle groups: Example of partnership

- We were contacted by officials in the Catholic Church in France (the French Bishops' Conference, Caritas France, Jesuit Refugee Service, Terre Solidaire (CCFD)

- We agreed a strategic partnership to help them shape a more welcoming narrative on migration and national identity

- We conducted a segmentation study of French Catholics that identified opportunities for narrative change

- We brought stakeholders together for a 2 day workshop

- We co-created a guidebook to train Church leaders and volunteers

- We are partnering on a combined common strategy across the ecosystem of partners

JUIN 2018 **Perceptions et attitudes des catholiques de France vis-à-vis des migrants.**

How we work: Example of partnership

- The BBC's cross-platform multi-program Crossing Divides project was inspired by More in Common's work, according to its founder, Emily Kasriel

- Our research and networks helped inform the programming and public engagement strategy, with a focus on bridge building and finding commonality across the lines of difference

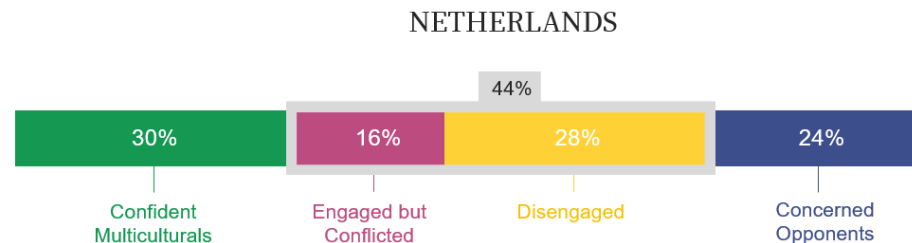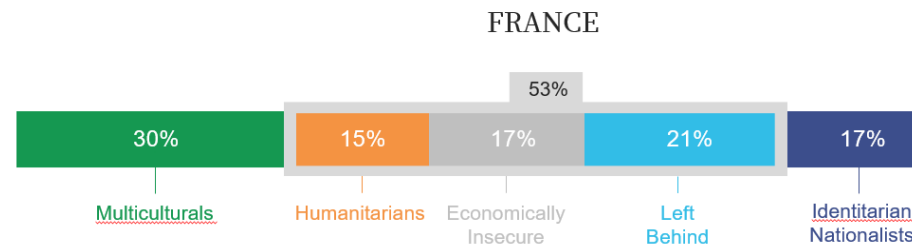# New research insight: What values trigger people into anti-immigrant reactions?
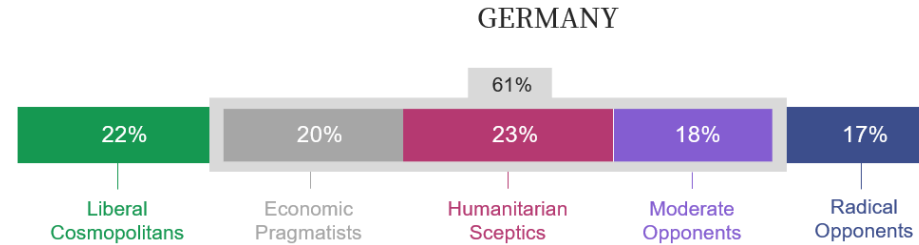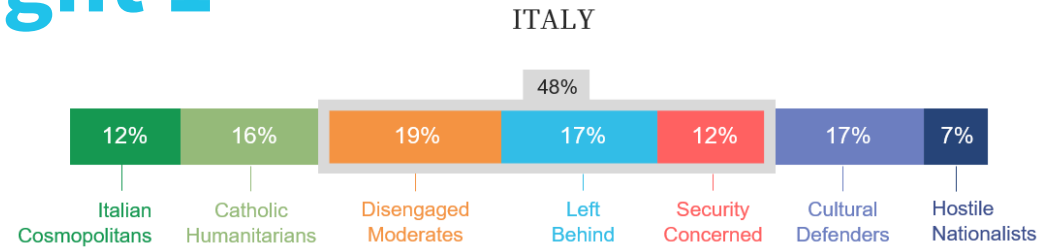
Relevance of Different Variables within an Issue	Biggest Difference	Core Beliefs								Demographics			
		Care	Fairness	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Threat	Causality	Authoritarianism	Men - women	White - black	65+ - under 30	Northeast - South
Immigration overall	Authority	9	13	1	4	3	7	8	5	14	12	11	10
Sanctuary cities: info sharing	Authority	2	9	1	7	6	13	3	8	10	11	14	12
Sanctuary cities: enforcement	Care	1	6	3	5	2	11	4	7	10	13	8	12
Undocumented impact on jobs	Authority	4	13	1	2	6	10	7	5	11	14	9	8
Opposition to building border wall	Authority	10	13	1	3	4	9	2	8	11	5	7	12
Pro-DACA	Authority	2	11	1	4	7	14	6	5	9	12	13	10
Refugee responsibility	Authority	13	12	1	2	3	9	6	5	14	11	7	10
Opposition to 'Muslim Ban'	Authority	6	9	1	3	2	8	4	5	14	10	7	13
Support refugee sponsorship	Authority	11	12	1	6	4	9	7	5	13	14	3	8

- There's a ceiling on the number of people we can reach through framing our campaigns around cosmopolitan values that most do not share (though there is still a place for those campaigns)

- We need to avoid alienating 'middle groups' through framing anti-racist and pro-migrant arguments in ways that alienate persuadable groups

- The most powerful frame is '**a bigger us**' not just siding with the 'them' in the 'us-versus-them' frame eg Picum

- This doesn't mean extinguishing any sense of difference, rather elevating a story of the larger humanity we all share

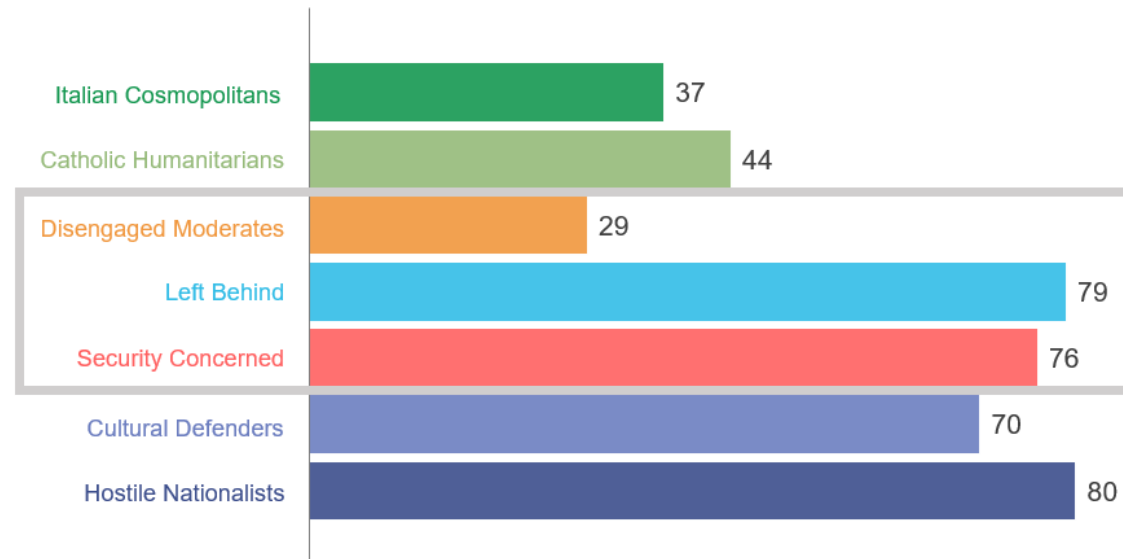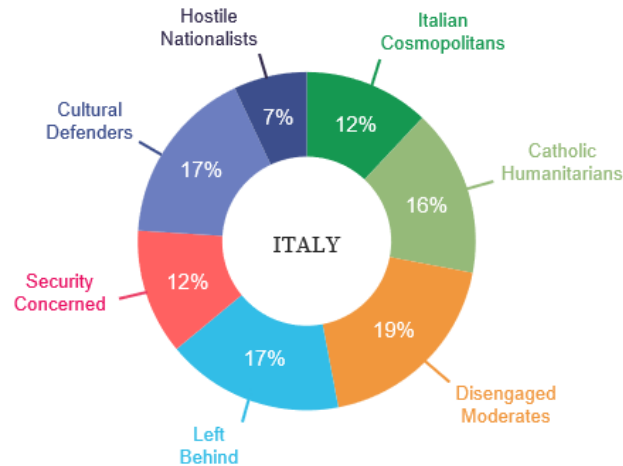# There are typically 2-3 distinct middle groups | Insight 1

- Two or three distinctive middle groups, making up around half the population.

- Different in each country, but hold mixed open and closed society views.

- Tend to be less ideological and less deeply engaged in issues.

- Views are shaped more by emotion rather than reason.

- Some are more concerned about economic issues, others cultural issues, and some disengaged.

ITALY

		48%				
12%	16%	19%	17%	12%	17%	7%
Italian Cosmopolitans	Catholic Humanitarians	Disengaged Moderates	Left Behind	Security Concerned	Cultural Defenders	Hostile Nationalists

GERMANY

	61%			
22%	20%	23%	18%	17%
Liberal Cosmopolitans	Economic Pragmatists	Humanitarian Sceptics	Moderate Opponents	Radical Opponents

FRANCE

	53%			
30%	15%	17%	21%	17%
Multiculturals	Humanitarians	Economically Insecure	Left Behind	Identitarian Nationalists

NETHERLANDS

	44%		
30%	16%	28%	24%
Confident Multiculturals	Engaged but Conflicted	Disengaged	Concerned Opponents

More in Common

# The middle is angry, anxious and anti-status quo | Insight 2

For example, in Italy two of the three middle groups believe strongly that Italy needs a strong leader willing to break the rules

"To fix Italy, we need a strong leader willing to break the rules" (% total agree)

Group	%
Italian Cosmopolitans	37
Catholic Humanitarians	44
Disengaged Moderates	29
Left Behind	79
Security Concerned	76
Cultural Defenders	70
Hostile Nationalists	80

ITALY

- Hostile Nationalists 7%
- Italian Cosmopolitans 12%
- Catholic Humanitarians 16%
- Disengaged Moderates 19%
- Left Behind 17%
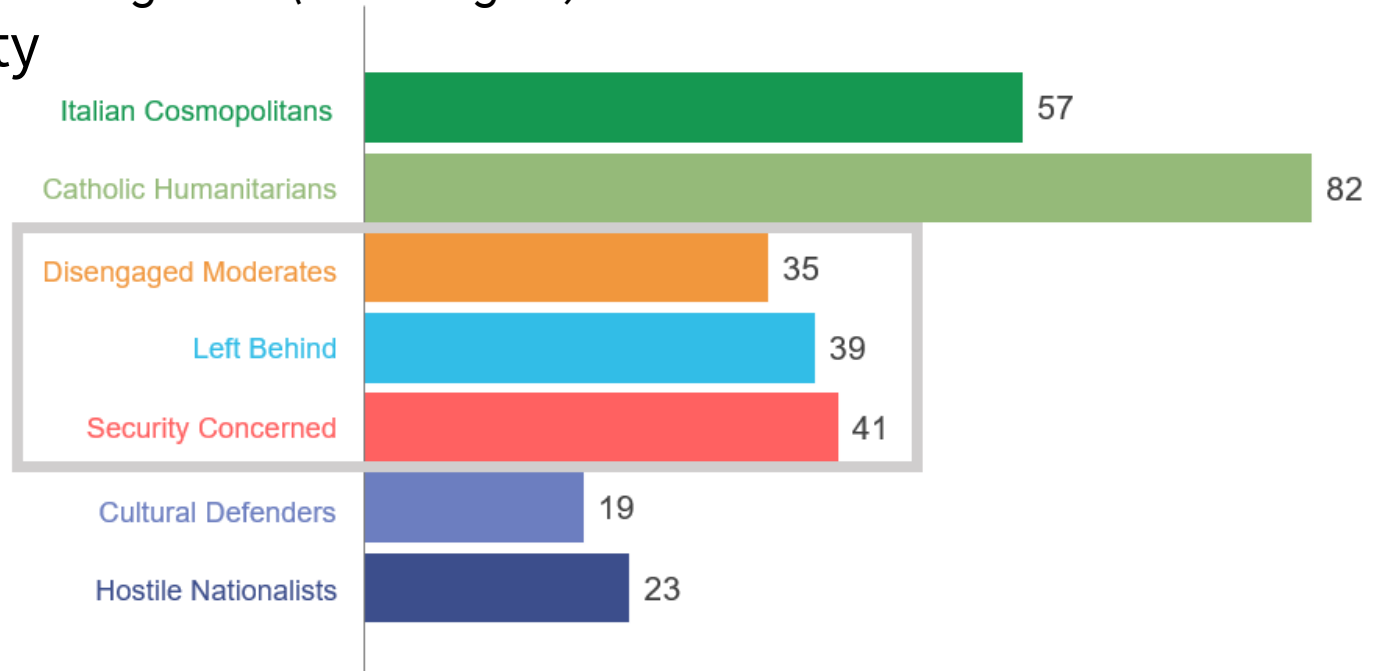- Security Concerned 12%
- Cultural Defenders 17%

Middle groups hold <u>both</u> values of inclusion and us-versus-them fears | Insight 3

- Many in the conflicted middle believe Italy, as a Catholic country, has a duty to help migrants
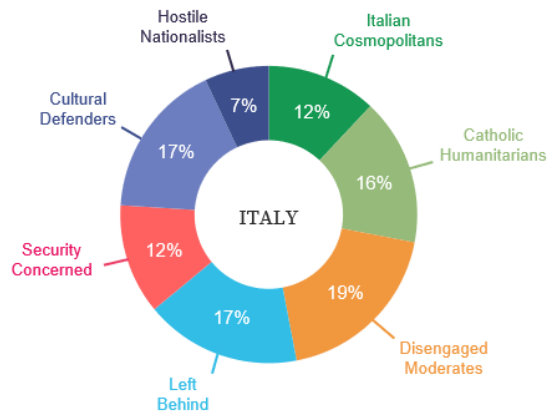
"As a Catholic country, we should help provide for the needs of those entering Europe as migrants" (% total agree)

ITALY (donut chart):
- Hostile Nationalists 7%
- Italian Cosmopolitans 12%
- Catholic Humanitarians 16%
- Disengaged Moderates 19%
- Left Behind 17%
- Security Concerned 12%
- Cultural Defenders 17%

Bar chart (% total agree):
- Italian Cosmopolitans: 57
- Catholic Humanitarians: 82
- Disengaged Moderates: 35
- Left Behind: 39
- Security Concerned: 41
- Cultural Defenders: 19
- Hostile Nationalists: 23

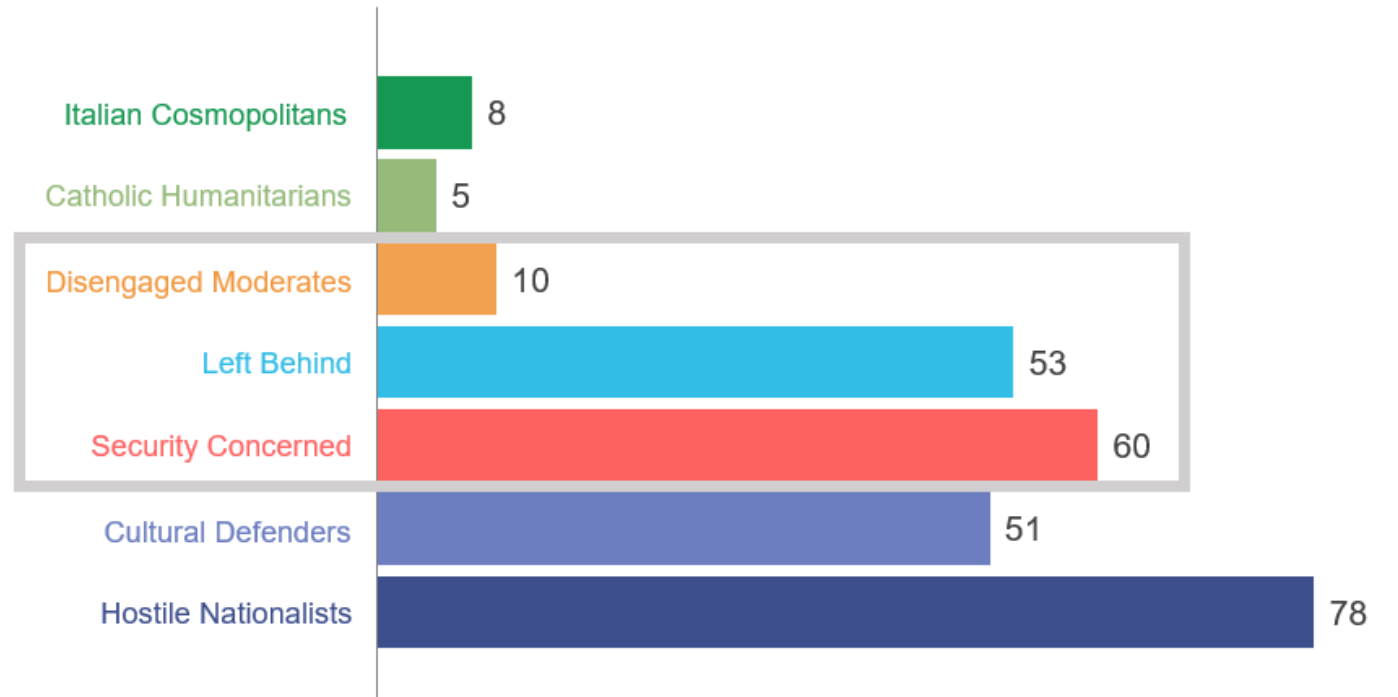*Basis: Sample size - 2,000. Source: Ipsos poll commissioned by More in Common*

Middle groups hold both values of inclusion and us-versus-them fears | Insight 3

Three clusters of opinion take a very strong line against boat arrivals from the Mediterranean (the 'open society de-prioritisers')
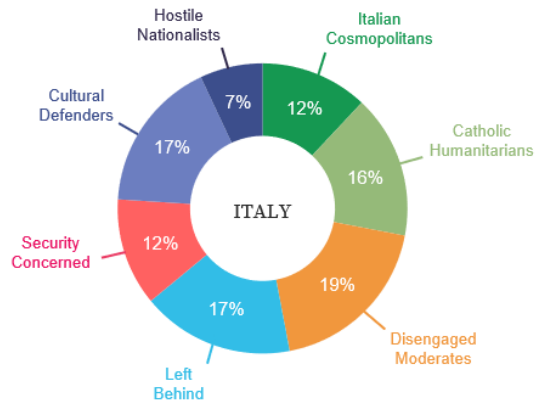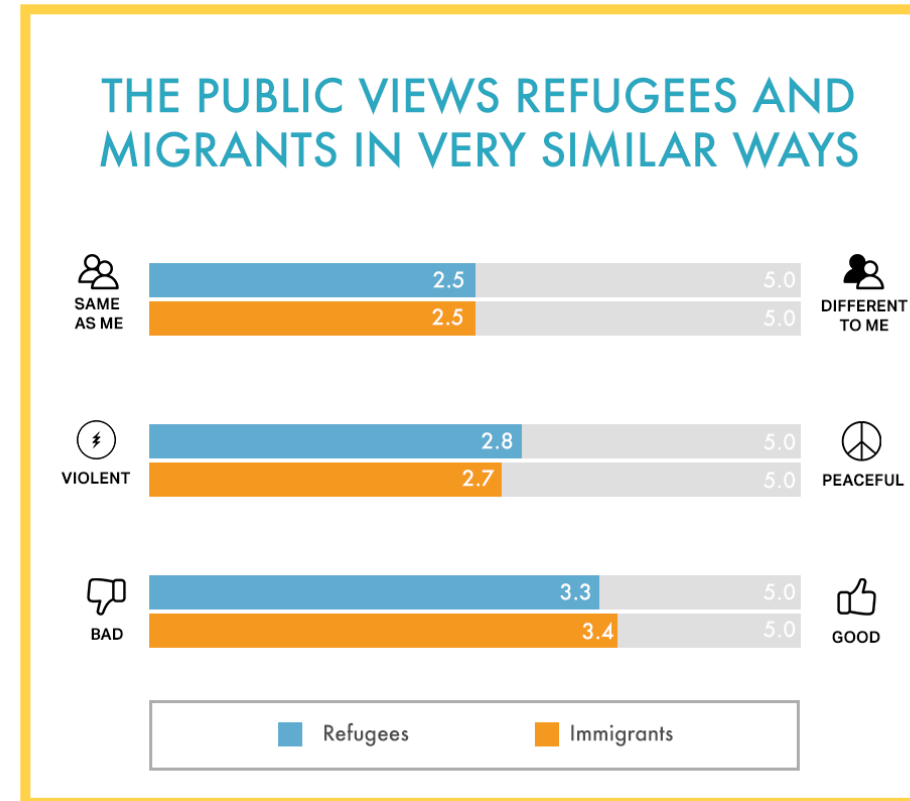
"Italy should start sending the people smugglers' boats back across the Mediterranean, even if it causes the loss of life" (% total agree)

ITALY

Group	Value
Italian Cosmopolitans	8
Catholic Humanitarians	5
Disengaged Moderates	10
Left Behind	53
Security Concerned	60
Cultural Defenders	51
Hostile Nationalists	78

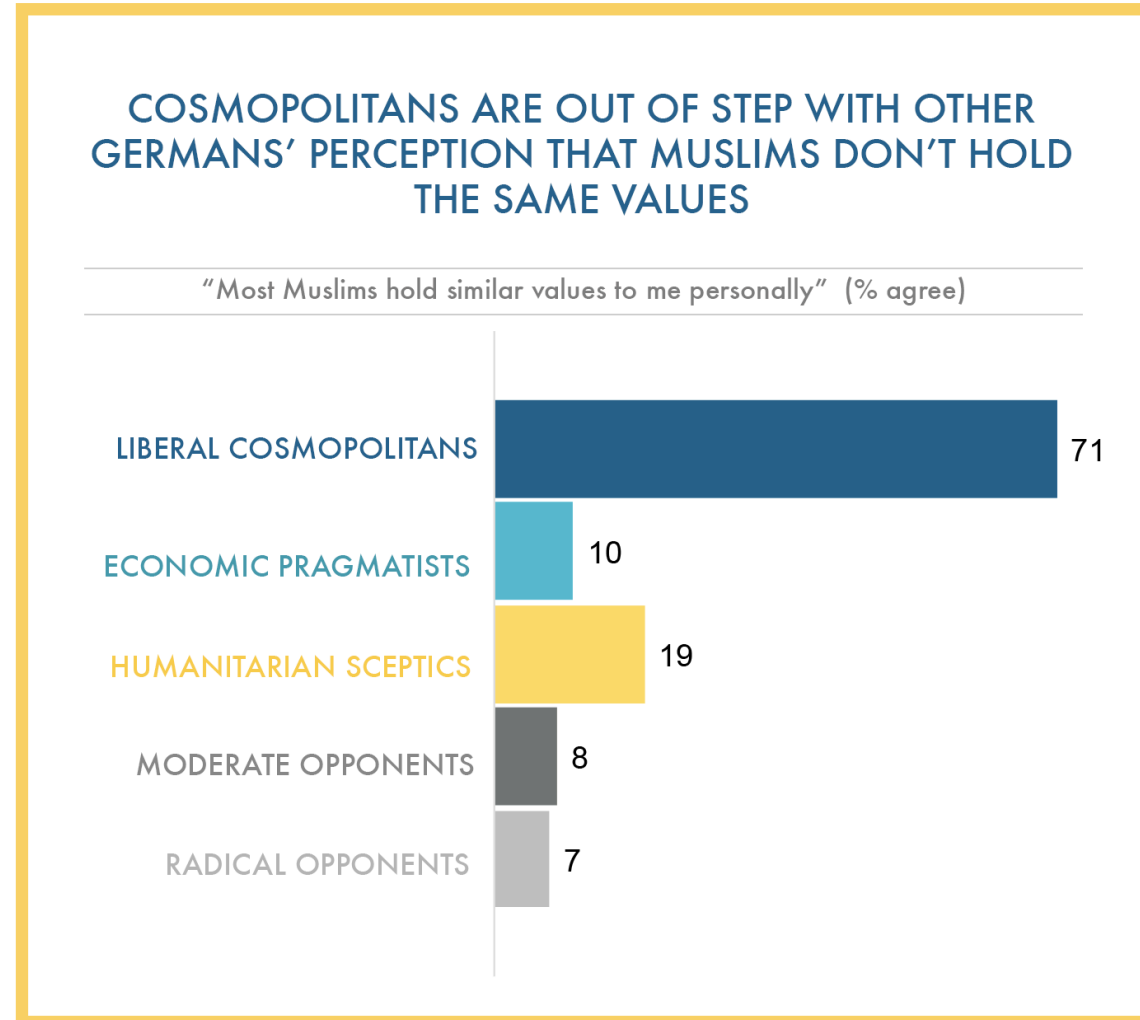*Basis: Sample size - 2,000. Source: Ipsos poll commissioned by More in Common*

Angry middle groups are vulnerable to us versus-them narratives | Insight 4

- Populists are turning anger at the system into anger against minorities, creating a story of a narrower 'us' who have been treated with contempt for too long

- Populist narratives focus on the threat of 'them' against us - whether it's refugees, migrants or other minorities

- Our research confirms that people see the 'other' in similar ways.

THE PUBLIC VIEWS REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN VERY SIMILAR WAYS

SAME AS ME — 2.5 / 5.0 — DIFFERENT TO ME
VIOLENT — 2.8 / 5.0 — PEACEFUL (Refugees), 2.7 / 5.0 (Immigrants)
BAD — 3.3 / 5.0 — GOOD (Refugees), 3.4 / 5.0 (Immigrants)

Refugees / Immigrants

Why 'othering' and polarization create a vicious cycle against migrants |

1. **Tackling opposition to immigrants and refugees requires an understanding that goes beyond a view of supporters and opponents and single-issue analysis:** the hostile rhetoric against immigrants and refugees is part of a wider phenomenon.

2. **In polarized societies, people begin to view issues through the lens of *their* in-group versus *other* out-groups**. Polarizing narratives persuade the public that a minority out-group poses a threat.

3. **Narratives about the threat of out-groups are extraordinarily powerful**. Social psychology research finds that as humans we would rather everyone is worse off (including us) than someone gets ahead of us.