Refugee Crisis in the Light of Identity

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The aim of this study was to explore the inherent interrelations between representation and identity processes concerning the 2015 migration crisis in Hungary, focusing on the emergence of polemic representations of refugees, the interrelations of these representations with different contents of group identity, and their manifestations in intergroup relations and possible collective actions. The exploratory study involved 126 participants, who completed an online questionnaire including items addressing the contents of refugee representations (feelings, beliefs, historical parallelisms) and of the identity (feelings, political orientations, religious views). The results revealed co-occurrences between identification and representation patterns related to intergroup relations: those who experienced significantly more negative feelings towards being Hungarian and demonstrated more empathy towards refugees were more likely to have a left-wing political orientation. However, right-wing participants experienced significantly more positive feelings towards the Hungarian ingroup such as pride, respect, freedom, engagement, and they drew parallels between the current refugee situation and the historical Turkish invasion of, and Gypsy migration in Hungary. They had negative feelings towards refugees such as fear and anger, which were associated with defensive attitudes endorsing social exclusion, deportation, and separation. These results suggest that polemic refugee representations have emerged in the Hungarian society, which are related to relevant identity contents. Since intergroup relations are defined by these representations, interventions aimed at improving intergroup relations should deal with both identity and representational processes simultaneously.

Keywords: Identity; Social Representation; Migration; Refugee; Social Identity

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Between July and September 2014, a total of *8,711* asylum seekers arrived in Hungary as reported by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. Between October and November 2014, the number dramatically rose to *28,631*, and between July and September 2015, it further continued to rise to a staggering *109,175*. Only *35* of these asylum seekers were granted refugee status, *73* received temporary protected status, and **one** was issued a residence permit. Most of these individuals were arriving from the Middle East, Africa, and the Balkans to escape either an armed conflict or political or religious persecution, and/or extremely difficult living conditions. Altogether, 146,517 people entered the country, but only 109 of them stayed in Hungary temporarily.

In 2015, the Hungarian government launched an overwhelming, stigmatizing, and sensationalizing billboard campaign. Although the messages were displayed in Hungarian, they were addressed to refugees (e.g., *If you come to Hungary, you must respect Hungarian laws; If you come to Hungary, you must respect our culture; If you come to Hungary, you cannot take jobs from Hungarians).* These messages seemed to target or address "lifestyle migrants", that is, people who wanted to settle in European countries to benefit from the local welfare system.

This billboard campaign elicited diverse opinions and heated debates developing on both national and international platforms. Many organizations and private individuals were outraged by the messages, arguing that they fostered xenophobic sentiments contributing to a hostile agenda. Activists began defacing these numerous billboards scattered around the country, feeling enraged at how the government was representing migrants and arguing that the government was not justified in their communications. The Hungarian Two-Tailed Dog party[1] initiated a fundraising for a retaliatory campaign of billboards criticizing the government's offensive against asylum seekers with messages such as "*The hate campaign loves you"* and "*If you come to Hungary, bring a sane prime minister with you"*.

In addition to the billboard campaign, the government began constructing a "fence," a four-meter high, 175-kilometer-long barrier designed to halt migrants from entering the country. It was first built along the Hungarian-Serbian and Hungarian-Croatian border and later

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[1] The Hungarian Two-tailed Dog Party (Hungarian: Magyar Kétfarkú Kutya Párt; MKKP) is a joke political party in Hungary. It was founded in Szeged in 2006 and officially registered in 2014. The party's main activity is street art – graffiti, stencils and various posters – satirizing the political elite, and it is also active in community building.

extended to the Hungarian-Romanian border. These developments attracted international attention and shifted the debate to a global level.

While the government consistently pursued an extremely nationalistic anti-refugee rhetoric, diverse views emerged in the public discourse. At a societal level, citizens organized collective action using different methods. Several anti-refugee protests were carried out in support of the government's (anti-)migrant policy; some even called for more severe measures to be taken against migration. Extremist groups organized voluntary border patrols aimed at protecting the country from "illegal invaders". At the same time, unprecedented social collaborations were organized against the government's migrant policies; in only a few weeks, a wide network of volunteers were organized to support refugees detained at the borders and inside the country, providing them with food, shelter, and assistance in leaving Hungary to continue their journey to other European countries.

The above actions and reactions raise the question of why public responses to the same events show such diversity. Approaching these collective actions as ways of relating to, and interacting with the relevant Other (defined by the social representations of this Other), we investigated how polemic Other (Refugee) representations (which also led to polemic intergroup relations among Hungarians) were constructed, how they related to different contents of identity (Hungarian national identity), and how these identifications were linked to representational processes.

THE THEORY OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AS A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING A NEW SOCIETAL PHENOMENON

According to the theory of social representations, knowledge is constructed and functional (László, 1999; Moscovici, 1984). Knowledge construction comprises two generative and complementary sub-processes called *anchoring and objectification.* Anchoring is the process of conceptualizing new phenomena by association with pre-existing representations through the sub-processes of naming and classification (Bigazzi, 2015; Moscovici, 1984;), that is, it provides meaning for a new phenomenon. Objectification produces the figurative aspect of a representation, as a result of which the abstract turns into something concrete, the perceived turns into conceived (Moscovici, 2000). Although the two processes are complementary, the present study aimed to reveal meaning construction processes related to the refugee crisis, to which the process of anchoring is more relevant. Anchoring is a fundamental process of

adaptation to social reality, which is accompanied by emotions. According to the theory of psychosocial anchoring (Doise, 1992), the anchoring process is built on the dynamics between the society and the social-cognitive process, that is, the regulation of the representation is defined by identity dynamics.

Identity and Representation, Self and Other relations

Duveen notes that identity cannot be separated from representational processes (Duveen, 1993) and emphasizes the role of recognition in knowledge construction processes. In line with his view, *"identities can be defined as positions in relation to social representations since people make sense of themselves and their experiences by drawing on and reconstructing social representations"* (Andreouli, 2010, p. 14.). Adopting a similar approach to the relationship between knowledge construction and identity, Howarth (2002) concludes that identification and re-representation are mutual processes embedded in one's social context. Explaining identities and their changing nature is not possible without taking account of the role of representation in identity construction processes (Howarth, 2002, 2002b, 2011). This is in line with the notion that representations fulfil identity functions, since the commonly constructed and shared representations shape group consciousness and provide a sense of belonging for group members (Phoenix et al., 2014). However, the relationship between representational and identity processes is bidirectional, as identity also shapes representational processes, including the representations of others (Howarth, 2002, 2014). That is, the dialogical nature of representational and identity processes defines the contents of both Self- and Other-representations.

The inseparable nature of Self-identification and Other-representation is reflected in the modes of national identification suggested by Roccas, Klar and Liviatan (2006). The authors describe two modes of identification with one's national ingroup including attachment to the ingroup, and ingroup glorification. The difference between the two is that attachment is a strong emotional tie with the ingroup, while glorification is based on social comparison with outgroups, and one's positive identity is based not only on one's commitment to the ingroup but also on the belief that the ingroup has a superior status (Roccas et al., 2006). The dynamics of glorification is relational and defined by a constant need to assert the superordinate status of the ingroup. This mode of identification has important implications. (1) Positive ingroup-representation is a function of a derogatory outgroup-representation, thus the two are

inseparable, in line with the theoretical model of a mutual and dialogical relationship between Self- and Other-representations (Andreouli, 2010; Howarth 2002, 2002b, 2011; Jovchelovitch, 1996; Moscovici, 1976). (2) Since outgroup derogation is a necessary condition for ingroup glorification, this mode of identification inevitably is a perpetual source of intergroup conflict (Dugas et al., 2018; Kende et al., 2019; Leidner & Castano, 2012; Leidner et al., 2010).

The theoretical and empirical literature on the social representations of history reveals that shared representations of historical events create, maintain, and transform identities, their negotiation playing a crucial role in intergroup relations and processes (László, 2005; 2008; Liu & Hilton, 2005). The interpretation of the past defines how we see ourselves today and how we relate to, and interact with others in the present. Since representations of the past convey essential experiences of the Self and the relevant Other, historical events may be used as anchoring points in empirical research to reveal Self- and Other-related meanings and processes (Bar-Tal, 2009; László, 2005; 2008; 2010; Roccas, Liviatan, 2006; Wertcsh, 2008).

Since identity processes are embedded in the social context (Damon, 1983; Duveen,1998; Erikson, 1965; Howard, 2002; Jovchelovitch, 1996; László, 1999, 2005), religion can be considered as part of the social context of worldviews, social norms and experiences shaping and maintaining identity dynamics (King, 2003; Wagner et al., 2012). Therefore, religious group memberships also carry identity contents.

Similarly to religion, politics is also a fundamental constituent of the fabric of the social context. It is not easy to define a political identity; most contemporary approaches see it as constructed, contested, open to change, often ambivalent, and rooted in one's social context (Balázs, 2003; Calhoun, 1997; Mouffe, 1996, 2005). According to Kristensen (2020), it can be defined how citizens see themselves in relation to the field of politics. Although these identifications do not directly correspond to the behavior of the actor, they play a crucial role in political behavior, decisions and conflicts.

The above conceptualization implies that for understanding intergroup conflicts we need to look at the content of the identities which contain both Self and Other related representations and emotions, which are strictly related to both representation and identity processes. National identity, historical events, political orientation, and religious views are all relevant contents of Self- and Other-representations, and thus were explored in the present study.

Emotions and Social Representation

Social representations are complex and holistic structures, interlinking different knowledge forms which include but are not limited to attitudes, judgments, values, and emotions (Höijer, 2010; Moscovici, 1988, 2000). Moscovici (1984) argued for the role of emotions in social representations, conceptualizing the fear hypothesis developed from the "tension hypothesis." The fear hypothesis postulates that experiencing fear (e.g., of the unfamiliar) is essential in representational processes and serves two functions - taming and distancing. These functions are contradictory processes, however, they are connected within the "principles of familiarity" (de-Graft Aikins, 2012), that is, by the purpose of making the unfamiliar familiar, which representation is generally aimed at. Both the fear hypothesis and the principle of familiarity are contested (de-Graft Aikins, 2012). However, empirical evidence suggests that fear is indeed essential in representational processes, although not always playing a decisive role (e.g., taming is not always driven by fear; de-Graft Aikins, 2012; Moscovici, 1961). Furthermore, taming is not so much connected with familiarization, as suggested by the principle of familiarity, as with re-familiarization processes, which do not *add* new contents to the already existing social reality but *re-establish shared meanings, identities, and intergroup relations* (de-Graft Aikins, 2012; Kalampalikis & Haas, 2008). Distancing, the opposite process of taming, can be more closely related to fear, which is manifested in ostracism and othering (de-Graft Aikins, 2012; Jodelet, 1991; Joffe, 1993, 1996; Kalampalikis & Haas, 2008; Morant, 1995; Moscovici, 1984; Rose, 1998). These processes are essentially involved in hostile intergroup relations. While these considerations suggest that no general model could be proposed as to how different emotions are involved in representational processes, it is clear that they do play a significant part. Markova and Wilkie (1978) propose that social representations should be conceptualized as cognitive-emotional processes. Cognition and affect are closely interrelated complementary processes; in other words, we organize knowledge *emotionally* (de-Graft Aikins, 2012; Williams, 2001). There is a broad range of emotions that mediate everyday social life, communication, and relations, such as curiosity, sympathy, hospitality, interest, excitement, and fear (even though its function is overemphasized; de-Graft Aikins, 2012). Although the related literature emphasizes the relationship between social representation and affective states, this is still an underdeveloped aspect. The related empirical studies approach to emotions is as an affective component of social representations (Bansch, 1996; Guimelli & Rimé, 2009) and suggest that affective processes are involved in representational organization. Although social

representations are social constructs, while emotions are individual manifestations, both are connected by sense-making processes and concur in the space connecting individuals with their social environments (Garnier, 2015; Rimé, 2005, 2007).

Affective States and Identity

As Rimé (2007) explains, emotional experiences and their sharing relates to the individual's social and cultural context, which means that emotions fulfil an identity function that enables individuals to express their private as well as public self-image according to their social identities. Rimé (2005) also suggests that emotional events activate a theoretical database shared by both individuals and communities, which suggests that emotions play a crucial role in the process of anchoring by activating the socio-cognitive system.

Emotions, Social Representations and Identity

Based on the above theoretical considerations, we argue that both emotional and representational processes are embedded in identity dynamics, while they also affect identity construction, since they require a continuous re-definition of the Self. As Jovchelovitch notes, "[T]here is no possibility of identity without the work of representation, just as there is no work of representation without an identificatory boundary between the me and the not-me. It is in the overlapping space of the me and the not-me that representations and identities emerge" (Jovchelovith, 1996, p. 5). In line with this approach, we argue that any attempt at understanding intergroup relations requires consideration of the complex and circular processes connecting identities and social representations of others as "not-me". More specifically, explanations of, and predictions on intergroup relations require exploration of the contents of both identities and Other-representations including affective states and cognitive elements, and an analysis of their dialogical relationship.

The actions and reactions in public life concerning the refugee crisis between 2014 and 2015 in Hungary can be interpreted as manifestations of psychological mechanisms integrating identity and Other-representations to deal with the unknown. A mutual relationship between identity and representational processes implies that anchoring a new phenomenon depends not only on the involved communication processes and the ways these processes mediate contents but also on the identity positions of the receivers. As Moscovici (1988) notes, "polemic

representations are representations generated in the course of social conflict, social controversy and society as a whole does not share them. They are determined by the antagonistic relations between its members and intend to be mutually exclusive. These polemical representations must be viewed in the context of an opposition or struggle between groups and are often expressed in terms of a dialogue with an imaginary interlocutor" (Moscovici, 1988, pp. 221-222). This definition suggests that gaining insight into the emergence of polemic representations essentially requires insight into those diverse aspects of identities that define interpretations of reality, intergroup relations, and actions. This means that the same communication processes will influence the representational processes differently by varying identifications (Abrams & Hogg, 2004; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Moscovici, 1961; Smith & Hogg, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The present study focused on the dynamics described above and aimed to reveal the interrelations between identity and representational processes by analyzing their contents in the context of the recent refugee crisis in Hungary. The contents of national identity and refugee representations were analyzed simultaneously, and were linked with diverse representations of intergroup relations. The analysis focused on Other- and Self-related emotions and cognitive contents (related to refugees and the national ingroup, respectively) to reveal and explain the emergence of possible polemic representations of the relevant Other.

METHOD

A pilot study utilizing a bottom-up method was first conducted in an effort to uncover the different relevant Self and Other-relevant contents in the context of the migration crisis. The main study was based on the results of the pilot study and explored the relationships between these contents.

Pilot Study

The aim of the pilot study was solely to collect Self- and Other-related contents relevant to the Hungarian ingroup and refugees as the outgroup, in order to minimize the constraint exerted on the obtained findings by our own presumptions. For this reason, we adopted an exploratory qualitative method. Participants, recruited by convenient sampling, responded to open-ended questions concerning their feelings about being Hungarian (*What kind of feelings do you have*

if you think about being Hungarian?), their *feelings and thoughts about people moving from the Middle East toward Europe[2]* their beliefs about the reasons for, and consequences of, these people staying near the borders, and their suggestions on possible solutions of this situation. Finally, the participants were asked to name Hungarian historical events similar to the current situation. Data were collected online by convenience sampling. A total of 90 participants completed the online questionnaire. Data were analyzed by two independent coders focusing on the contents in the answers mentioned above. Inter-rater agreement was above 80%. Those responses whose assigned codes showed inconsistency across coders were not included in further analysis. Data collection was closed when, after 10 additional participants, no new content was found in their responses by the independent coders. The materials used in the main study were based on the data collected in the pilot study.

Main Study

The questionnaire used in the main study collected Self- and Other-relevant contents in terms of the most frequently thematized emotions, reasons, consequences, solutions, and historical analogies related to the refugee crisis. Besides the participants' feelings about the Hungarian ingroup, their religious views and political orientation were also assessed as Self-related contents. The composition of the materials is presented in Table 1. Finally, the questionnaire included demographic questions (age, gender, and education).

RESULTS
Sample

Data was collected online by convenience sampling. The questionnaire was completed by 126 participants (77.8% female, 22.2% male). The data revealed that 15.9% of the sample were aged under 25 years, 34.1% between 25 and 35 years, 20.6% between 35 and 55 years, and 8.7% above 55 years (M = 36.048, SD =11.794). By level of education, 80.2% of the sample had a university degree, 17.5% completed secondary education with maturity certificate, 0.8% completed secondary vocational education, and 0.8% completed primary education. By

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[2] deliberately avoiding the term migrant, which was adopted by the government for its own agenda, and the term refugee, which was heavily emotionally charged in the ongoing public discourse and thus potentially associated with specific contents.

religion, the sample included Christian (64.3%), atheist (17.5%), non-religious (8.7%), Buddhist (4.0%), Muslim (2.4%), Jewish (1.6%), and agnostic (1.6%) participants. Considering the relatively low proportions of non-Christian participants, each participant was assigned to one of the following three groups by religion: (1) Christian, (2) atheist or non-religious, and (3) other religion (Jewish, Buddhist, or Muslim). Although the sample was not representative in terms of age, education and gender (relatively young, highly educated, and female participants were overrepresented), it did not affect the validity of the findings, since the aim of the research was not to explore the existing refugee representations in Hungary per se but to reveal the relationship between Self-related contents and representations of the Other.

Table 1.

The composition of the questionnaire used in the main study

Self-related contents	- 19 discrete emotions related to Hungarian identity, each rated on a 7point scale (e.g.: proud, sadness, pride, shame, joy) - religious views assessed with a multiple-choice question - political orientation measured with a 7-point bipolar scale with anchors left-wing and right-wing
Other-related contents	- 12 discrete emotions about people moving from the Middle East toward Europe (e.g.: fear, anger, pity, compassion) - 9 historical events rated for similarity to the ongoing events on a 7-point scale (e.g.: Emigration/escape after WW2; Ottoman invasion of Hungary; Settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin) - 12 items addressing possible reasons for the crisis (e.g.: People coming from the Middle East come here because they want better living standers for their families here, in Europe.; People coming from the Middle East are escaping from the war, and want to stay alive.) - 6 items addressing possible consequences of the crisis (e.g.: I believe Hungarians should not accept refugees because it would have negative consequences.; I believe Hungary would benefit from the settlement of 10.000 people coming from the Middle East.)
Intergroup relation-related contents	- 11-item addressing possible solutions, each item rated on a 7-point scale (e.g.: I believe that the problem should be solved in the Middle East, not in Europe. I believe Europe should protect its borders and identity.; I believe that the European countries should find a solution together.)

Emotional Patterns

The data analysis first explored the associations between Self- and Other-related emotions. Possible co-occurrences and emotional patterns were explored with a two-step cluster analysis conducted with each discrete emotion entered as a single variable irrespective of its object (Hungarians vs. refugees). The analysis revealed two clusters, Cluster 1 and 2 respectively

including 48 and 78 participants. Cluster membership was used in the next stage of the statistical analysis as an independent variable. Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to investigate differences in the emotions between the two groups. Based on the significant differences, the distinctive Self-Other relation patterns of each cluster were examined. In other words, we explored which discrete emotions (both Self and Other related) are typical of each cluster (see Table 2 and 3).

Participants in Cluster 1 almost exclusively reported negative emotions and feelings towards the Hungarian ingroup, such as shame, anger, uncertainty, pity, and sadness (Table 2), while their emotions towards refugees suggested empathetic and positive intergroup attitudes, such as regret, compassion (Table 3). In this cluster, anger towards the Hungarian ingroup was considered as a self-critical emotion and as a quality of the intergroup relation as self-criticism also related to the outgroup. Although this identification process indicates a negative meaning of group membership, it also suggests a reflective and critical attitude towards the Self. The Self-related emotions suggested a negative Self-representation, while the Other-related emotions conveyed awareness of, and sympathy for refugees. This obtained emotional pattern was labelled as *National shame – Refugee*.

The participants in Cluster 2 scored high on a distinctive set of glorifying emotions towards the Hungarian ingroup, conveying positive self-representations and deep commitment to, and satisfaction with the ingroup (Table 2). However, the emotions felt towards the outgroup were mixed (Table 3). On one hand, these participants' Other-representations were associated with emotions such as fear and terror, suggesting that they perceived the outgroup as a potential threat to the ingroup. In addition, Other-related anger and antipathy definitely defined a hostile intergroup relation. On the other hand, pity was also a distinctive Other-related emotion, which is in conflict with antipathy and anger, and this internal conflict was also manifested in high levels of ambivalence. This emotional pattern suggests that the representation of refugees revealed in Cluster 2 was in a formative state involving considerable uncertainty. The self-related emotions conveyed strong identification with a positively evaluated ingroup, while the outgroup-related emotions were in line with the dominant representation communicated by the government propaganda, therefore we labeled this emotional pattern as *Hungarian pride – Migrant*.

Table 2.

Self- related emotions

Self-related emotions	Cluster 1 (*n* = 48) National Shame – Refugee		Cluster 2 (*n* = 78) Hungarian Pride – Migrant		*t*	*p*
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Pride	2.208	1.254	**4.667**	1.4019	98.856	.000
Shame	**4.396**	2.1394	2.615	1.20	32.093	.000
Joy	2.604	1.2053	**4.795**	1.1773	98.131	.000
Sadness	**4.458**	2.0102	3.256	1.7165	12.2771	.001
Unity	2.542	1.2876	**4.167**	1.5743	36.203	.000
Gratitude	2.292	1.3362	**4.205**	1.6464	46.1	.000
Pity	**3.250**	2.0053	2.615	1.7745	3.4939	.031
Courage	2.479	1.738	**4.064**	1.4624	30.183	.000
Respect	2.479	1.5435	**4.385**	1.3602	52.577	.000
Freedom	2.688	1.7401	**4.410**	1.5070	34.476	.000
Uncertainty	**4.938**	1.9505	4.1921	1.8730	4.550	.035
Commitment	3354	1.7684	**4.744**	1.3811	24.206	.000
Anger	**3.854**	2.449	2.590	2.556	12.511	.001
More negative feelings	**5.042**	1.8330	2.731	1.6646	52.999	.000
None	**2.854**	1.8100	1.628	1.2599	20.050	.000

The relationships of Self- and Other-related emotions with various identity positions was explored by analyzing the associations of cluster membership with the participants' political orientations and religious views. The former was examined with an independent samples t-test, which revealed a significant difference in political orientation between the two clusters. The emotional pattern labeled as National Shame – Refugee was associated with a moderately left-wing orientation on average, while the pattern labeled as National Pride – Migrant was related to a moderately right-wing orientation (Table 4).

Table 3.

Other-related emotions

Other-related emotions	Cluster 1 (*n* = 48) National Shame - Refugee		Cluster 2 (*n*= 78) Hungarian Pride – Migrant		*t*	*p*
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Regret	**5.813**	1.6066	4.564	1.4104	20.920	.000
Pity	3.292	2.1234	**3.974**	1.5871	4.231	.042
Compassion	**6.208**	1.1662	4.295	1.4515	59.657	.000
Anger towards them	1.292	0.6510	**3.013**	1.5995	50.322	.000
Anger towards us	**4.917**	1.9552	2.321	1.472	71.639	.000
Fear	1.937	1.0191	**4.461**	1.4231	131.523	.000
Antipathy	1.375	0.7330	**3.744**	1.6152	91.416	.000
Ambivalence	2.354	1.2289	**4.859**	1.7708	73.92	.000
Sadness	**5.188**	1.9092	4.308	1.7751	6.890	.000
Disillusionment with Hungarians	**5.228**	1.8708	2.551	1.6408	71.071	.000

Emotional patterns were also associated with religious views. A chi-square test of independence showed that those participants showing the National shame – Refugee emotional pattern were more likely to be non-Christian (either non-religious or following a different religion), while those assigned to the Hungarian pride – Migrant pattern were more likely to be Christian ($\chi 2(2) = 27.199$, p = .000).

Table 4.

Political orientation and emotional patterns

	Cluster 1 (*n* = 48) National Shame - Refugee		Cluster 2 (*n* = 78) Hungarian Pride – Migrant		*t*	*p*
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Political orientation	**3.063**	1.060	**4.769**	1.3477	7.4764	.000

Representations

Anchoring points

The participants' representations of the refugee crisis were examined as part of a representational network, which was explored by analyzing their perceptions of the previously obtained national historical analogies for the current situation. The two clusters were compared by independent samples *t*-tests for the perceived similarity between the refugee crisis and each of the listed historical events (see Table 5). Although the obtained means showed that participants within each cluster perceived the migrations after World War II as the historical event most similar to the ongoing crisis (as compared to their perceptions of other historical events), the cross-cluster comparisons revealed significant differences between the two groups. Those in the *National shame – Refugee* cluster perceived the current situation to be more similar to the emigration/escape after both WW2 and the 1956 Hungarian revolution than those in the *Hungarian pride – Migrant* cluster. By contrast, those in the *Hungarian pride – Migrant* cluster perceived the current situation as more similar to the Ottoman invasion of Hungary in the 16th century, the settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, the settlement of Gypsies in Hungary, and migrations to other European countries (e.g., England and France) than those in the National shame – Refugee cluster. An examination of these differences in terms of the major themes represented by the concerned events suggests that comparatively high similarity was assigned to events thematizing escape and rescue by the National shame – Refugee cluster

Table 5.

Anchoring points and emotional patterns

Historical event	Cluster 1 (*n* = 48) National Shame - Refugee		Cluster 2 (*n* = 78) Hungarian Pride – Migrant		*F*	*p*
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Emigration/escape after the 1956 revolution	**3.875**	1.3934	3.154	1.7364	5.925	.016
Emigration/escape after WW2	**4.396**	1.6598	3.397	1.6929	10.489	.002
Ottoman invasion of Hungary	1.604	1.0687	**2.747**	1.631	18.516	.000

Settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin	1.7921	1.2541	**2.551**	1.6565	7.457	.007
Settlement of Gypsies in Europe	1.833	1.1910	**3.048**	1.4303	13.852	.000
Migrations to other European countries (e.g., England, France)	2.729	1.2332	**3.048**	1.4303	3.934	.000

and to events thematizing foreign occupation of, or mass immigration to Hungary by the Hungarian pride – Migrant cluster. The obtained means indicated the largest cross-cluster difference in the perception of the settlement of Gypsies in Europe (MD = 1.215 on a seven-point scale).

Reasons, Consequences, and Solutions

The representational organization of the crisis-related beliefs obtained in the pilot study was examined by analyzing the participants' perceptions of the possible reasons for, consequences of, and solutions for the crisis.

The possible *reasons* were assessed with 12 items, each rated on a seven-point scale. A Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of these items (using Varimax rotation and the eigenvalue > 1 criterion) revealed two factors (KMO = .824). The first factor (Cronbach's α =.913) included seven items, whose contents reflected the perception that those who entered Hungary during the crisis sought economic benefits at the expense of the Hungarian citizens. The two items that described refugees loaded negatively on this factor. This factor, was labeled as *Invasion.* Participants who gave high ratings to these items tended to report that people migrating from the Middle East had suspicious and hostile intentions, and were merely interested in economic success. The second factor (α = .599) included 3 items that described people migrating from the Middle East neither as a homogeneous group or as having hostile intentions towards the host countries. These items reflected uncertainty about the intentions of the target group. This factor was labeled *Confusion*.

Table 6.

Representational patterns by emotional patterns

	Cluster 1 (*n* = 48) National Shame - Refugee		Cluster 2 (*n* = 78) Hungarian Pride – Migrant		*t*	*p*
Factors	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Invasion	1.65	0.728	**3.36**	1.038	-9.996	.000
Confusion	**5.65**	1.205	5.252	1.199	1.849	.006
Positive consequences	**5.59**	1.113	3.20	1.37	10.162	.000
Defense	2.92	0.92	**4.85**	1.05	-10.512	.000
Responsibility taking	**6.34**	0.883	5.82	0.00	2.938	.040

Participants' perceptions of the possible consequences of the crisis were assessed with 6 items, which were also entered in a PCA with the above specified settings. An unifactorial solution was obtained with all items included, two of which loaded negatively (KMO = .873, α = .904). These two items addressed the admission of people migrating from the Middle East as dangerous, implying negative consequences, while the remaining four items expressed neutrality or positive attitudes towards the possible consequences, that is, higher scores on this scale indicated more positive beliefs about the consequences of the refugee crisis.

Table 7.

Summary of the results

	Cluster 1 (*n* = 48) National Shame – Refugee	Cluster 2 (*n* = 78) Hungarian Pride – Migrant
Self-related emotions	shame, sadness, anger, pity, uncertainty, more negative feelings, none	pride, joy unity, gratitude, courage, respect, freedom, commitment
Identity position	left-wing political orientation, non-Christian religious views	right-wing political orientation, Christian religious views
Other-related emotions	regret, sympathy, anger towards, and disillusionment with ingroup, sadness,	pity, anger towards outgroup, fear, antipathy, ambivalence, terror

Anchoring points	Hungarian people emigrating after war or revolution	invasion of, or migration into EU
Possible reasons	confusion about reasons	hostile intentions and economic self-interest, or confusion
Possible consequences	positive or neutral consequences	negative consequences
Possible solutions	taking responsibility, being constructive, joint efforts at solution	defending outgroup, returning immigrants, closing borders, demanding local solution

Perceptions of the possible solutions for the crisis were assessed with 11 items. A PCA revealed two factors (KMO = .802), with one item loading on both, which was thus not included in either scale. The first factor labeled as Defense (α = .872) comprised 10 items that assigned top priority to defensive measures such as closing the borders, returning the people who had already entered European countries, and abstaining from any further interventions or interference, demanding that the situation be resolved in the Middles East and surrounding countries. The second factor labeled as Responsibility taking (α = .506) included 3 items suggesting that European countries should make joint efforts to resolve the situation, and that politicians should call for more constructive attitudes towards the crisis on the part of European citizens.

The two clusters defined by the distinctive Self- and Other-related emotions were compared for the characteristic representational patterns defined by their mean scores on the above scales of crisis-related beliefs. The cross-cluster differences were analyzed with independent samples t-tests. The results showed significant differences on all scales except Confusion (see Table 6). As the contents of the revealed factors are controversial and conflicted, they correspond to the concept of polemic representations (Moscovici, 1988) meaning that the individuals in the two factors approach and reflect on the refugee crisis in an antagonistic way.

DISCUSSION

Despite the intense and dogmatic communications of the government that interpreted the refugee crisis as an existential threat to the country (Metz, 2017), the findings of the present study suggest that polemic representations associated with the refugee crisis have emerged in

the Hungarian society. This phenomenon can be anchored by identity processes. This conclusion is supported by the data, which revealed two antagonistic emotional patterns associated with mutually exclusive patterns of refugee representation.

The emotional patterns contained antagonistic elements both between and within the clusters. The pattern of Self-related emotions characteristic to the cluster *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* comprised distinctively positive emotions projected onto the ingroup, which corresponds to glorification in terms of national identification. "Glorification focuses on the representation of the group, expressing beliefs regarding superiority and its entitlement to difference" (Roccas & Berlin, 2016, p. 38). The psychological dynamics of glorification is based on social comparison (Festinger, 1954), which serves a sense of distinctiveness and superiority of the ingroup. These dynamics result in increased perceived homogeneity of the ingroup and more closed ingroup boundaries. Furthermore, glorification is an unstable and vulnerable identity construction. The constant need for social comparison leads to constant monitoring of the changing social context and relevant Others in order to constantly verify ingroup superiority (Kende, 2018; Roccas, 2006). Based on its dynamic, glorification runs parallel with threatened identity dynamics (Breakwell, 1986, 2010) and collective victimhood dynamics (Bar-Tal, 2009), which are characterized by perceiving different outgroups as potential threats to its status quo and by defensive attitudes towards threatening outgroups perceived to have hostile intentions towards the ingroup. These characteristics were reflected in the perceptions of people migrating from the Middle East, and especially by the associated fear and terror, reported by the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster. We argue that these perceptions are rooted in the identity described above, and that the participants in this cluster were more influenced by the government propaganda. This is in line with the associations of their emotional patterns with their predominantly right-wing political orientation and Christian religious views. The political right justifies its prejudicial beliefs about migrants and migration with the narrative that the traditional European Christian culture is in need of protection from waves of migration, and Hungary, along with the other Visegrád countries, is the last refuge (Metz, 2017). This narrative focuses on religious differences between Christianity and the Islam, which increases the salience of religious identities and motivates social distancing between religious groups. The perceived historical analogies in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster echoed this narrative. Although the participants in both clusters perceived post-WWII migrations as the event most similar to the current situation, those in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster perceived a closer analogy with events thematizing the threat of a foreign

invasion as compared to those in the *National Shame – Refugee* cluster. These differences in identity dynamics were further corroborated by the patterns of the possible reasons, consequences, and solutions regarding the ongoing events. Those in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster endorsed the view that people migrating from the Middle East, driven by pure economic self-interest, had hostile intentions towards the Hungarian ingroup, and their admission would incur harmful consequences. That is, they were represented as a threat. In response to the perceived threat, these participants preferred defensive measures against migration rather than taking responsibility for, and promoting the welfare of those in need.

By contrast, those in the *National Shame – Refugee* cluster experienced negative emotions such as shame, sadness, anger, pity towards the ingroup, which revealed a reflective and critical position towards the Self, while they displayed more empathetic feelings towards the outgroup. This emotional pattern motivated responsibility taking, even though these feelings might be in conflict with the perceived positive distinctiveness of the Hungarian ingroup. The marked experience of ingroup-critical emotions in one cluster but not in the other may indicate qualitative or quantitative differences in national identification between the two clusters. In the absence of data on the average level of identification in each cluster, it may not be established with certainty that the participants in the *National Shame – Refugee* cluster identified less with the ingroup than other participants. However, the predominance of consistently positive emotions towards the ingroup in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster clearly indicates qualitative differences in national identification between the two clusters, which are also reflected in the patterns of Other-related emotions. The participants in the *National Shame – Refugee* cluster not only reported positive emotions towards the outgroup but also perceived historical events thematizing escape from threat as more similar to the current situation than those in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster. The participants in the former cluster were more likely to have a left-wing orientation and hold non-Christian religious views, which is consistent with the antagonism between their Other-related emotions and those associated with the government propaganda. The polemic nature of the revealed representations of refugees was further underpinned by the observed differences in the perceived reasons, consequences, and solutions for the crisis. Those in the *National Shame – Refugee* cluster were less likely to apply the invasion representation compared to members of the those in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster. The former did not perceive the admission of migrating people as a potential threat. Rather than promoting defensive strategies, they assumed more responsibility in the resolution of the current situation than members of the Hungarian Pride-Migrant cluster.

Interestingly, we did not find significant differences between the two clusters in their experience of confusion regarding the reasons for the migration crisis. This suggests that the revealed representations of refugees, however polemic, equally were in a vulnerable formative state, due to the changing social context and the availability of contradictory information.

In summary the representational patterns distinguished by the terms Migrant and Refugee are considered polemic representations, since they comprise antagonistic contents (Ben-Asher, 2003; Moscovici, 1988;). Those sharing the migrant representation conceived of migrations from the Middle East as an invasion, considered them as a threat, attributed hostile intentions and pure economic self-interest to the migrating people, and had aversive emotions towards them. By contrast, those endorsing the refugee representation perceived migrating people as *suffering* rather than *posing* threat while escaping from war, and thus felt sympathy towards them. The antagonism between these representations is possibly related to qualitative differences in national identification. Glorification, which was found to be the characteristic mode of national identification in the *Hungarian Pride – Migrant* cluster, is based on constant social comparison, and its dynamics inherently involves identity threat. It increases the need for group homogeneity, prevents perspective taking and empathy towards the outgroup, and contributes to hostile intergroup attitudes. These characteristics of glorification suggest that members of this cluster are more responsive to the dominant representation communicated by the government, which is consistent with their identity dynamics. By contrast, the *National Shame – Refugee* cluster was characterized by ingroup-critical emotions, positive attitudes towards the outgroup, and a sense of responsibility for the welfare of refugees. The polemic nature of the representations of refugees revealed in the two clusters is well reflected in the implicit antagonism between the widespread notions of *refugee* and *migrant*.

CONCLUSION

Our aim in this study was not to describe a cause-and-effect relationship but to understand the mutual relationship between identity and representational processes and their relationship with intergroup dynamics. The findings demonstrate that representation and identity are inseparable constructs, and there is no Self without a relevant Other (Andreouli, 2010; Howarth, 2002; Jovchelovitch, 1996; Phoenix et al., 2014). The results show that identification plays a crucial role in representational processes, while representations of the Other are functional in maintaining identities. This conclusion is supported by the polemic representations revealed by

the study, which have emerged in the Hungarian society even though the 2015 migration crisis was the subject of intense government propaganda. These polemic representations were endorsed by specific subgroups with different identity contents. These conclusions beyond confirming the theoretical evidence of the relation between representation and identity generate the conception that intergroup relations are strictly related to representations and identity. To understand and predict possible forms of interaction it is fundamental to look at the Self and Other and at their contents as an undivided system.

The world is witnessing unexpected levels of migration. In 2015, more than one million people immigrated to European countries (UNHCR, 2017). While the Geneva Conventions provide for the right of refugees to protection, it is not uncommon in Western countries that refugees have to face intolerance, distrust, and negative public attitudes (UNHCR, 2017). The hostile attitudes demonstrated by host countries (Esse et. al. 20017) have been related to glorification (Elkins & de Figueriedo, 2003; Esses et al., 2005; Kende et. al., 2018), blind patriotism (Willis-Esqueda et al., 2016), threat perception, and nativist beliefs, i.e. identity related phenomena. While these findings point out that the negative reception of refugees is strictly related to identity processes of the host communities, still, the policy implications suggest strategies like "...improving public attitudes toward refugees and refugee resettlement in host countries; improving the resettlement process; and for supporting the acculturation and integration of refugees in these countries" (Esse et. al. 2017, p. 78). All these strategies are focusing on the refugees, on the transformation of them and their representation, even though the message of the quoted studies - such as our results - suggest that the identities of the host communities are crucial in the formation and transformation of Other-representations and of possible intergroup relations. Without acknowledging and incorporating this essential insight into the policies targeted at the peaceful settlement of refugees, the interventions will fail.

Our results suggest that the responsiveness to, and interpretation of information and the process of representation are rooted in identity, defining potential intergroup relations. This conclusion implicates two important consequences not just in connection with the refugee crises but in relation to any other intergroup conflict. First, we, the host countries and communities, should not be considered as homogeneous masses but as diverse complex systems comprising diverse subgroups with diverse identities and diverse Other-representations. This means that in order to change Other-representations, we should not communicate a uniform message to society as a whole but we should address different groups differently. Second, since representations of the Other is the function of the Self, interventions should not focus merely

on the Other but should work with identity processes as well. Since Other- and Self-representations are closely interrelated, they can only be changed simultaneously. This means that any comprehensive effort at managing conflicts and prejudice should focus as much on the identity of the Self, not only on the representations of the Other, and the importance of identity processes should be given adequate consideration when designing relevant policies and interventions (Bigazzi, Serdült, & Bokrétás, 2019).

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