

УДК 316.347 : 303.094.4

NATIONS BETWEEN STATES: THE EFFECT OF DUAL NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION ON ALLEGIANCE OF MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS TO THE "HOST" COUNTRY

Natalia Tchistiakova – Student of the Research Master Programme "Migration, Ethnic Relations and Multiculturalism" in Utrecht University

Non-attachment of minority group members to their country of residence is often considered to be one of the main origins of incoherence in culturally heterogeneous societies. The study of disintegrating tendencies in modern European societies raises issues about the role of national identification of ethnic minority group members in determining their allegiance to the host country. It also raises issues about the role of relative prototypicality of majority group in determining the allegiance of minority group members to the host country. Using data for individuals sampled within 8 east European countries the analysis shows persistent differences in levels of allegiance to the host country between respondents with different types of national identification. The results of the analysis support theoretical arguments for the positive impact of cross-cutting form of national identification with mother and host nations on the allegiance to the host country under the social circumstances characterized by high perceived relative prototypicality of majority group.

Keywords: Superordinate Category, Entitativity, Dual Identification, Prototypicality.

Неналежність груп меншин до країни свого проживання часто вважається одним з головних джерел роз'єднаності в культурно гетерогенному суспільстві. Вивчення дезинтеграційних тенденцій в сучасному європейському суспільстві підіймає питання про роль національної ідентичності членів групи етнічної меншини у визначенні своєї приналежності до країни проживання. Воно також підіймає питання про роль відносної прототипічності групи більшості у визначенні приналежності членів груп меншин до країни їх проживання. Аналіз даних по вибірках у 8 східноєвропейських країнах показує збереження розбіжностей у рівні лояльності до країни проживання серед респондентів з різними типами національної ідентичності. Результати аналізу підтверджують теоретичні аргументи на користь позитивного впливу наскрізної форми національної ідентифікації з материнської та приймаючої країнами на вірність країні проживання завдяки соціальним умовам, які характеризуються високою стрийнятливостю відносної прототипічності групи більшості.

Ключові слова: категорія вищого рівня, буттєвість, подвійна ідентифікація, прототипічність.

В статье подчеркивается, что непринадлежность групп меньшинств к стране своего проживания часто считается одним из главных истоков разобщенности в культурно гетерогенном обществе. Изучение дезинтеграционных тенденций в современном европейском обществе делает актуальной проблему роли национальной идентификации членов группы этнического меньшинства в определении своей принадлежности к стране проживания и влияния на этот процесс группы большинства. Проведенный автором анализ данных по выборкам в 8 восточноевропейских странах показывает сохраняющиеся различия в уровне лояльности к стране проживания среди респондентов с различными типами национальной идентичности. Результаты анализа подтверждают теоретические аргументы в пользу положительного воздействия сквозной формы национальной идентификации с материнской и принимающей странами на верность стране проживания благодаря социальным условиям, которые характеризуются высокой восприимчивостью относительной прототипичности группы большинства.

Ключевые слова: категория высшего уровня, бытийственность, двойная идентификация, прототипичность.

Current theories of social identity emphasize the important role of identification with higher order category (inclusive for minority and majority groups) in creating intergroup attitudes, social coherence and allegiance of citizens to the country where they constitute ethnic minority¹. Thus the category of "nation" is superordinate in regard to subordinate categories of ethnic groups as, for instance, the category of "university

© Tchistiakova N., 2011

¹ Further in the text we will call such countries "host" countries. Although this name does not fit perfectly into the concept, it fits better than the term "receiving country" borrowed from immigration literature

student" is superordinate in regard to the category of "Somalian student" or "a student of the first year of education". Studying the function of superordinate category Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000 developed what they call "Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM)". The model predicts that identification of members of different sub-groups with a higher order (superordinate) category benefits positive intergroup relations by developing a new ingroup solidarity². Social psychologists Wenzel, Mummendey and Waldzus introduced a concept of "ingroup relative prototypicality" defined as a degree to which the ingroup is perceived to be more (or less) prototypical for a given superordinate group than the outgroup. The authors call their model "Ingroup Projection Model (IPM)" since they consider in-group prototypicality as a projection of in-group characteristics onto the higher order (superordinate) category. For instance, Turkish Muslims may project characteristics of their in-group onto the superordinate category of "Muslims" and claim that only Turkish are "real" Muslims denying let's say Moroccans this status. The authors of Ingroup Projection Model argue that the positive effect of identification with superordinate category on inter-groups attitudes depends on the level of prototypicality. In the societies where the level of prototypicality is high, double identification with ingroup and superordinate group (on the contrary to what CIIM predicts) increases intergroup tensions³. Emanuele Castano contributes to the subject suggesting that although identification with superordinate category might be beneficial for intergroup attitudes it is not always possible. Identification is possible only with "entitative" social categories thought of as the extent to which the group has psychological existence for individuals.⁴ In the corresponding chapters we discuss in more detail what prototypicality and entitativity mean and how they might affect minority group allegiance to the host country.

We assume that current theories of social identity focus on the consequences of identification with superordinate category. We expect that understanding of the factors that stimulate this identification could give a key to the resolution of important theoretical as well as socio-political problems of culturally heterogeneous societies.

A deficit of national identities theories is the absence of a coherent theory predicting civic identification in culturally heterogeneous societies on the basis of factors reflecting the individual perceptions of the collective circumstances, which enhance "entitativity" of the nation level superordinate category and in this way, *promote the allegiance* of ethnic minority group members to the host country. In our research we are going to develop and test a comprehensive model for predicting allegiance (degree of loyalty) of ethnic minority group members to the host country. The allegiance to the host country is conceptualized as (a level of) identification of "residual groups" of large ethnic community ("mother nation"), living on the territory of a state ("host nation") where the majority of citizens belong to another ethnic community, with a superordinate category of the "host nation".

Theoretical Perspectives

PERCEIVED SOCIAL SECURITY AS A "TERRESTRIAL" FUNCTION OF ENTITATIVITY.

Social psychologist Donald Campbell (1958) was the first who used the term "entitativity" to refer to the extent to which group is perceived as having real existence. Building on Gestalt psychology principles, he speculated that what turns a mere aggregate of individuals into a social group is the perceived entitativity of the ensemble.

Emanuele Castano developed further the concept of entitativity, thought of as the extent to which the group has psychological existence for individuals, Castano (2003). He suggested that cultural homogeneity is not necessary to establish a sense of belonging to a political community. What mediates the impact of cultural homogeneity on the sense of common identity is the extent to which the community acquires a psychological existence. For identification to occur, the new political community needs to establish itself as a possible self-representation at the collective level for its citizens.

Since identification is possible only with the entitative social category, minority group members will identify themselves with the higher order (superordinate) category only in case they perceive this superordinate category as entitative for them. For that superordinate (or inclusive) category must have an important function, which Castano calls the "terrestrial function of entitativity" (Castano 2003). The terrestrial function of entitativity refers to the fact that entitative groups are perceived as having a capacity for action, as possessing intentionality, and as *providing security* to their members (Castano 2003). Such a function can be carried out only by a social entity, in which individuals are *civically involved*, which is supposed to be a prerogative of the host nation.

We can assume that the level of allegiance of minority group members to the host nation depends on the degree to which superordinate category of this nation implements the terrestrial function of entitativity perceived

² Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

³ Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2007). Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The ingroup projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 331-372.

⁴ Castano, Emanuele . 2003. "On the Advantages of Reifying the Ingroup." In *The Psychology of Group Perception: Perceived Variability, Entitativity, and Essentialism*, ed. V.Y. Yzerbyt, C.M. Judd, and O. Corneille. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

by minority group. This theoretical assumption leads us to the introduction of the perceived security as one of the important factors of allegiance to the host country. The perceived security factor is represented in the model by two variables – "trust in institutions of host country" and "trust in people of host country". *We hypothesize (H1) that increase in both forms of trust (indicating the increased entitativity of superordinate category) positively associates with allegiance to the host country.*

PROTOTYPICALITY

Theory suggests that implementation of terrestrial function of entitativity by the superordinate category of the host nation might depend on the *ingroup relative prototypicality* or the degree to which the ingroup is perceived to be more (or less) prototypical for a given superordinate group than the outgroup. We already gave an example of prototypicality of Turkish Muslims, let's take another one. If we consider the category of "science" as a superordinate category which includes such sub-categories as "social science" and "natural science", we can describe the popular mood of many natural scientists (regarding natural science as the only "real" science and social science as a "less" science or even not a science at all) as an ingroup relative prototypicality. In other words prototypicality denotes projection of characteristics of ingroup onto the inclusive category. Following the same logic we can assume that the monocultural traditions of European nation states and difference in group size might associate with a high ingroup relative prototypicality of ethnic majority group regarding their members as the only "real" representatives of the nation. Wenzel, Mummendey & Waldzus (2007) argue that prototypicality of majority group for superordinate group level leads to the *legitimization of higher status* of majority group. Legitimization of status disparity leads to exclusion of ethnic groups, considered to be not prototypical, from public sphere of civil society. Habermas (1994) claims that marginalization from public life suppresses social and political integration and leads to perceived *social insecurity* of minority group members. "A legal order is legitimate when it safeguards the autonomy of all citizens to an equal degree. The citizens are autonomous only if the addressees of the law can also see themselves as its authors"⁵ Habermas argues that integration into multicultural society inevitably takes two-level form - integration into cultural subgroup (sub-political level) and superordinate group (political level). "Citizens who are politically integrated in this way (*two-level integration, N.T.*) share the rationally based conviction that unrestrained freedom of communication in the political public sphere, a democratic process for settling conflicts, and the constitutional channeling of political power together provide a basis for checking illegitimate power and ensuring that administrative power is used in the equal interest of all"⁶ In other words legitimization of status disparity between majority and minority groups leads to "illegitimization" of legal order and consequently *social insecurity* of minority group members. The superordinate group that does not provide the social security for its members cannot be considered as entitative and identification with superordinate group in such a case is unlikely to occur.

The Habermasian idea of two-level integration in multicultural society resonates with our concept of dual national identification when he wrote: "The ethical integration of groups and subcultures with their own collective identities must be uncoupled from the abstract political integration that includes all citizens equally... It is crucial to maintain the distinction between the two levels of integration. If they are collapsed into one another (*e.g. in case of high relative prototypicality of majority group, N.T.*), the majority culture will usurp state prerogatives at the expense of the equal rights of other cultural forms of life and violate their claim to mutual recognition".⁷

Thus, in so far as prototypicality of majority group and legitimization of status disparity create a burden for integration of minority group members into the host society, they also turn minority group members away from identification with the superordinate category of the host society. *This theoretical argument leads to the hypothesis (H2) suggesting that majority group relative prototypicality has negative effect on allegiance of minority group members to the host country.*

FORMS OF IDENTIFICATION

The nation generating function of superordinate category, uniting multiple cultural groups into one nation clearly formulated by Parekh (2000) who wrote that: "A multicultural society cannot be stable and last long without developing a common sense of belonging among its citizens. The sense of belonging cannot be ethnic or based on shared cultural, ethnic and other characteristics, for a multicultural society is too diverse for that, but political in nature and based on a shared commitment to the political community. Its members do not directly belong to each other as in an ethnic group, but through their mediating membership of a shared community, and they are committed to each other because they are all in their own different ways committed to the community and bound by the ties of common interest and affection"⁸. Thus, identification with (superordinate category of) the host nation doesn't

⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State* in *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*, edited by Amy Gutmann (Princeton University Press, 1994) p 123

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 135

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 134 -135

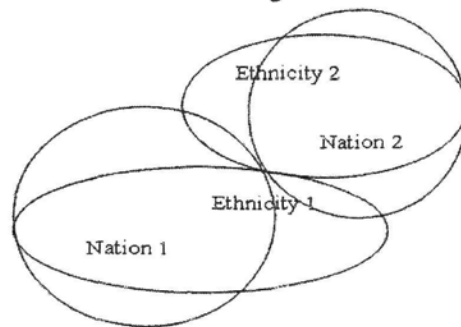
⁸ Bhakhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) p.341

necessarily mean assimilation into the majority culture or *dis*-identification with the "mother" nation. Instead the particular circumstances of cross-border existing nations make it very likely that their residual groups abroad develop *cross-cutting dual group* identification (Figure 1a). The location of the residual groups abroad close to the borders of mother nation facilitates the contacts and enhances the perceived inclusion into a larger cultural community of co-ethnics. On the other hand citizenship of the host country and dependence on the political processes of the host nation requires participation into public life of the host nation. In the research made by Wenzel *et al* it appears that a dual identity (identification with ethnic ingroup and superordinate group in this case) tends to show *positive* effects consistent with the CIIM, whenever the presumed *superordinate identity is not fully inclusive of the two subgroups*, but rather more like an alternative, cross-cutting categorization. An identity as a member of a particular high school, for instance, is not truly inclusive of one's ethnic ingroup and outgroups because these extend beyond the high school (see Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994). In this situation, the common identity could not be a reference background to which all ingroup and outgroup members refer. It is irrelevant and unrelated to the two subgroups and merely provides an alternative identity locally shared in the given context (see also Hall & Crisp, 2005). In contrast, in studies supporting the ingroup projection model, and in empirical tests of the CIIM that yielded theory-inconsistent, *negative* effects of dual identity (e.g., a bank merger study by Bachman, 1993), the superordinate category was *truly inclusive and the subgroups were completely nested* within it (Figure 1b). Here, the superordinate category is more likely to be a relevant comparison background for the two groups, which each of the two groups might want to capture for their own interest. This might indicate that cross-cutting identification creates more favorable social background for integration into the host society for ethnic minority group members.

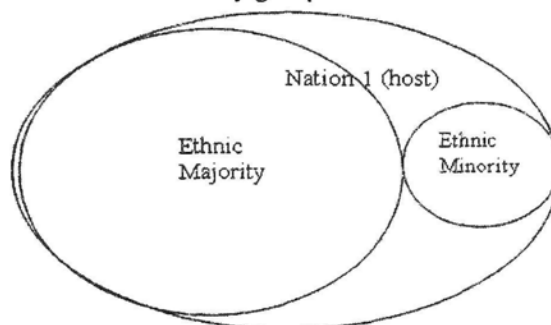
Figure 1 depicts nested and cross-cutting forms of dual identification with ethnic group and superordinate group. The theoretical perspective predicts that the differences in allegiance to the host country stem largely from the difference in these two forms of national identification. The cross-cutting dual national identification is a combination of ethnic-national identification with the large ethnic community of the "mother nation" and civic-national identification with multiethnic community of the "host nation". The nested form is the identification with the ethnic minority group existing within multiethnic social community of the host nation.

Figure 1. Types of dual group national identification

A. Cross-cutting dual identification with the large ethnic community and the host nation:



B. Dual identification with the minority group nested within the host nation group:



The substantial difference in extent to which minority group members identify with the superordinate category of the host nation (manifested as the level of allegiance to the host country) raises a number of questions.

Do minority group members with different types of national identification differ on the level of allegiance to the host country, where the cross-cutting form of national identification characterized by stronger allegiance to the host country than the nested form of national identification (H4)? Is it indeed an inclusion of the mother nation into the dual national identification that makes individuals with cross-cutting form of identification more loyal to the host country? In that case the increase in closeness to the mother nation should positively affect allegiance to the host country (H5). If identification with the mother nation, eliminating nested form of ethnic-national identification, indeed facilitate integration of minority group members into the host society (as it is hypothesized in our research) then it should positively associate with perceived entitativity of superordinate category of host nation manifested by trust in institutions and trust in people of host country. Thus, we hypothesize (H6) that the adherence to the mother nation positively relates to the trust in institutions of the host country and to the trust in people of the host country.

And finally, from the theory we can expect the association of adherence to the mother nation with allegiance to the host country to be stronger when relative prototypicality of majority group is high. We remember that high prototypicality of majority group might stimulate minority group members to avoid the situation when the common identity is a reference background to which all ingroup and outgroup members refer (which means to avoid the nested form of identification). We suggest that (H3) the association of adherence to the mother nation with allegiance to the host country depends on the level of prototypicality.

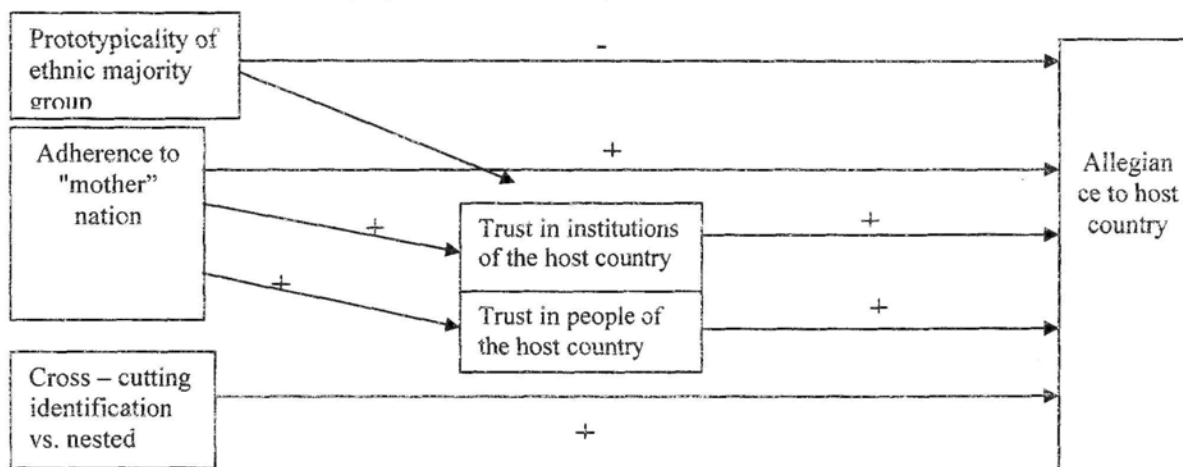
Hypotheses

Summarizing the discussed above we repeat the hypotheses that we are going to test in our analyses.

IMPACT OF ENTITATIVITY OF SUPERORDINATE CATEGORY	(H1) The increase in trust in institutions of the host country and increase in trust in people of the host country (indicating the increased entitativity of superordinate category) lead to increase in allegiance to the host country.
IMPACT OF PROTOTYPICALITY	(H2) The majority group relative prototypicality has a negative effect on the allegiance of minority group members to the host country. (H3) The association of adherence to the mother nation with allegiance to the host country depends on the level of prototypicality. When prototypicality is high the association becomes stronger.
CROSS-CUTTING VERSUS NESTED FORM OF IDENTIFICATION	(H4) Different types of national identification of minority group members associate with different levels of allegiance to the host country, where the cross-cutting form of national identification characterized by stronger allegiance to the host country than the nested form.
IMPACT OF ADHERENCE TO THE MOTHER NATION	(H5) The adherence to the mother nation positively relates to the allegiance to the host country. (H6) The adherence to the mother nation positively relates to the trust in institutions of the host country and to the trust in people of the host country.

Model

The model below designed to measure the difference in allegiance to the host country associated with the different forms of dual national identification and the impact of majority group relative prototypicality and level of trust in social institutions and people of the host country.



DATA

For the study the data is obtained via the ENRI-East international research project dedicated to the studies of socio-ethnic identities in east European countries. The main goal of the ENRI-East project is to develop an in-depth understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and how these are inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent. In the frames of ENRI-East empirical studies a series of comparative sociological surveys, of both quantitative and qualitative character were undertaken. In our research we use the data from the first survey in the series – a cross-country "Values & Identities Survey (ENRI-VIS) approaching 12 ethnic minority groups in 8 countries (6.800 respondents). There were conducted formalized interviews; respondents were selected in the provinces or districts where these ethnic groups have a density of at least 10% (systematic random route sampling). In the four cases of highly dispersed ethnic minorities a snowball sampling method was employed (in at least two provinces per country, using at least three different entry points in each province). The data collected includes ethnic minority groups listed in Table 1.

Table 1.

Ethnic minority groups included into the data

Country	Ethnic group	Group size	% of total population	Sample size	Type of survey
Hungary	<i>Slovaks</i>	18 thousands (mainly in 16 districts)	0.4%	400	Random route survey
Slovakia	<i>Hungarians</i>	214 thousands (mainly in 15 districts)	9.5%	800	Random route survey
Poland	<i>Ukrainians</i>	31 thousand (highly dispersed)	0.1%	400	Snowball survey
	<i>Belarusians</i>	49 thousands (mainly in 2 provinces)	0.1%	400	Random route survey
Belarus	<i>Poles</i>	397 thousands (mainly in 18 districts)	3.9%	800	Random route survey
Ukraine	<i>Hungarians</i>	157 thousands (mainly in 5 districts)	0.3%	400	Random route survey
	<i>Poles</i>	144 thousands (highly dispersed)	0.3%	400	Snowball survey
Latvia	<i>Russians</i>	703 thousands (mainly in 2 districts)	29.6%	800	Random route survey
Lithuania	<i>Poles</i>	235 thousands (mainly in 6 provinces)	6.7%	800	Random route survey
	<i>Russians</i>	220 thousands (mainly in 4 provinces)	6.3%	800	Random route survey
	<i>Belarusians</i>	43 thousands (highly dispersed)	1.2%	400	Snowball survey
Russian Federation Kaliningrad region	<i>Lithuanians</i>	18 thousands (highly dispersed)	1.9%	400	Snowball survey

MEASURES

Dependent variable

"*Allegiance to the Host Country*" was measured on the basis of the question "How close do you feel to [host country]?" Participants were asked to respond by using 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 'very close' (score 1) to 'not close at all' (score 4).

Independent variables

Types of national identification

Type of identification is measured by asking the participants to select the formula that best describes their nationality status from the list of four formulas: 1 – I'm (NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY); 2 – I'm (ETHNIC MINORITY GROUP); 3 – I'm (NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY) with (NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY) descent; 4 – I'm (NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY). In the data type of identification is a nominal variable with four categories. To represent these four categories we create three *dummy variables indicating three types of ethnic identification*: 1 – with nationality of mother country; 2 – cross-cutting identification with mother and host countries; 3 – with host country; those participants who identify with minority group we use as the reference group.

Adherence to the Mother Nation

The variable was measured on the basis of the question "How close do you feel to [MOTHER COUNTRY]?" Participants were asked to respond by using 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 'very close' (score 1) to 'not close at all' (score 4).

Relative Prototypicality of majority group in the Host Country

Prototypicality or projection of characteristic features of ethnic majority group onto superordinate group is a four-category variable based on the question "How important do you think to have [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY] ancestry for being truly [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY]". Again participants were asked to respond by using 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 'very important' (score 1) to 'not important at all'

(score 4). We consider that those respondents who feel nationality of the host country ancestry important for being truly nationality of the host country, associate superordinate category of the host country with the characteristics of the majority group (those who have ancestry of the host country) and thus, project, or perceive the existing projection of characteristics of majority group, on superordinate category of the host country.

Intermediate Variables

Trust in Institutions of the Host Country.

In the theory perceived social security is one of the functions of entitativity of superordinate category (terrestrial function). Since we consider that perceived social security can be measured with the level of trust in social and political institutions of the host country we decided to introduce a variable of "Trust in Institutions of the Host Country" in our model. The variable is an aggregate of "Trust in the parliament of the host country", "Trust in media of the host country", "Trust in the police of the host country" and "Trust in the government of the host country". All quantitative variables are significantly correlated with Cronbach's Alpha .85. Four-category variables based on the question "How much do you trust ... (mentioned above institutions of the host country)?"

Trust in People of the Host Country

"Trust in People of the Host Country" is another variable indicating perceived security of minority group members. Four-category variables based on the question "How much do you trust people of the host country?"

All quantitative variables are recorded and analyzed in a "positive" direction (opposite to 4-point Likert scale).

ANALYSIS

Missing values

After filtering the missing values for national identification variable and the variables where missing values exceeded 5% (the number of respondents shrinks to 5738) all the rest missing values were estimated using multiple imputation of missing values through expectation maximization algorithms (EM algorithms in SPSS).

Results

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

From the frequency table of the variable "Out of the following list, please select the formula that best describes your ethnic status" (Table 2) we see that from 6839 respondents 1107 answered "I'm [NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY]" which comprise 16,2% of respondents; 4292 (62,8%) answered "I'm [ETHNIC MINORITY GROUP]"; 1160 (17%) answered "I'm [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY] with [NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY] descent"; 105 (1.5%) answered I'm [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY]; "Don't know" (62 cases), refusal (102 cases) and system missing (11 cases) constitute 0.9%, 1,5% and 0.2% respectively. All cases with missing values were filtered.

Table 2

Frequency on types of national identification for 8 countries		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	I'm [NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY]	1107	16,2	16,6
	I'm [ETHNIC MINORITY GROUP]	4292	62,8	64,4
	I'm [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY] with [NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY] descent	1160	17,0	17,4
	I'm [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY]	105	1,5	1,6
	Total	6664	97,4	100,0
Missing	DK	62	,9	
	Refusal	102	1,5	
	System	11	,2	
	Total	175	2,6	
Total		6839	100,0	

If we check frequency distribution per country we see that in Ukraine and Belarus 0% of respondents answered I'm [NATIONALITY OF HOST COUNTRY] and in Hungary 0% answered "I'm [NATIONALITY OF MOTHER COUNTRY]". Since we can conduct the analysis only if every country has representatives in every national identification group, we had to take the decision either to exclude two forms of national identification or to exclude three countries from the analysis. We made a compromise. Since the group of participants who identify with the nationality of the host country is very small (1.5 %) and the reliability of conclusions based on the outcomes of the analysis for that group would be low anyway, we decided to exclude this group from the analysis.

Hungary was also excluded since respondents who identify with the nationality of the mother country comprise a fairly representative group (16.2 %) and should not be excluded from the analysis. After these manipulations the sample size shrinks to 5296 cases.

The mean score for the allegiance to the host country is at the positive end of the 4-point scale (M=3.28, SD = 0.74) indicating a rather high allegiance. The adherence to the mother country is somewhat lower but the mean score (M = 2.75, SD = 0.90) is also on the positive end of the scale.

On the 4-point scales, the trust in people of the host country (M = 2.84, SD = 0.71) is much higher than the trust in institutions of the host country (M = 2.02, SD = 0.86). On average, the participants reported "rather" to trust the nationality of the host country people and "rather" not to trust parliament, media, police, government of the host country. For an average respondent it is "rather" important to have the nationality of host country ancestry for being truly the nationality of host country (M = 3.17, SD = 0.92), indicating high level of relative prototypicality of ethnic majority group for the superordinate category of the host nation (Table 3).

Table3.

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
TrustParliament	5296	1,00	4,00	1,9724	,88184
TrustMedia	5296	1,00	4,00	2,3208	,85225
TrustPolice	5296	1,00	4,05	2,3733	,89171
TrustGovernment	5296	1,00	4,00	2,0501	,89284
Allegiance to Host Country	5296	1,00	4,00	3,2772	,74224
Adherence to Mother Nation	5296	1,00	4,00	2,7459	,90063
Prototypicality	5296	1,00	4,00	3,1682	,92465
TrustPeople	5296	1,00	4,00	2,8418	,71480
Valid N (listwise)	5296				

STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELING RESULTS

Conforming to the suggested hypotheses we report the results of four models, estimated with structural equation modeling method (Amos Syntax in the appendix).

The first model (Model Fit1) represents the latent variable of the trust in institutions of the host country (TRINST). This latent variable is measured by four items: "Trust in Parliament", "Trust in Media", "Trust in Police", and "Trust in Government". The favorable goodness-of-fit scores are indicators of a good measurement model.

Model Fit 2 considers measurement invariance of latent variable "TRINST" across seven countries in review. Partial invariance model with equal loadings, free intercepts for "Trust Police" (in Slovakia and Ukraine), "Trust Parliament" (in Belarus, Russia and Lithuania) and "Trust Government" (in Belarus and Russia) and relaxed assumption of equal error terms for items "Trust Parliament" (e1) and "Trust Police" (e3) was accepted as the most restricted one and at the same time with favorable goodness-of-fit scores.

Model Fit 3 in our SEM analysis compares the groups. It is designed to show if there is a substantial difference between the countries in the level of trust of minority group members in institutions of the host countries. Four models are evaluated: (a) unconstrained, (b) restricted to equal means of trust across countries, (c) restricted to equal variance of trust across countries, (d) homogeneity model (both means and variance are the same across countries). The results indicate that the best fitted is unconstrained model although the model with equal variance also has favorable scores on most of tests. The poor fit of the model with restricted means shows the substantial difference in trust to the institutions of the host country across minority groups of seven east European countries in review.

Model Fit 4 compares the path model (corresponding to our conceptual model) across seven countries, while adopting the partially invariant measurement model restricted to equal variance of trust across countries derived from Model Fit3. Goodness-of-fit test scores for Model Fit4 indicate reasonable fit of the final hybrid model.

Although the null hypothesis of perfect model fit in the population is rejected at .01 level, because the probability of the model chi-square (CMIN = 1008,212) is below .01. However this test is conservative and rejects too often. CMIN/df = 3,441 < 4 ; TLI =,927 > 90 ; CFI = ,944 > 90 ; RMSEA = ,021 < ,05 with the 90% confidence interval ,020 - ,023 - all are indicators of a fairly good fit of the model.

Table 4.

Goodness-of-fit indices for the proposed models

Model	Model fit indices						
	χ^2	df	p-value	χ^2 / df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA
Fit 1 Trust in institutions measurement	.002	1	.967	.003	1.001	1.000	.000
Fit 2 measurement invariance (partial)	129,062	30	.000	4,302	.986	.990	.025
Fit 3 compare groups (equal variance)	288,615	36	.000	8,017	.979	.985	.030
Fit 4 compare path model (constrained)	1008,212	293	.000	3,441	.927	.944	.021

The significance of indirect effect of adherence to the mother nation on the allegiance to the host country was estimated with the Bootstrap algorithm that calculated standard errors of indirect effects. For all countries except Slovakia the ratio of estimates and standard errors of indirect effect (.012 / s.e. .003) do not fall into interval [-2; 2] indicating that effect is significant. For Slovakia the ratio is .012 / s.e. .006, which is logical taking into consideration the insignificant association between "Trust in people of the host country" and "Adherence to the mother nation" in Slovakian group.

The detailed per country analysis shows that the suggested conceptual model is equally valid for all seven countries. Although the countries differ on many parameters the character and significance of the association between variables are the same. We have just one unexplained exception viz. insignificant effect of adherence to the mother nation on trust in people of the host country in Slovakian group. "Exceptional" case of the negative effect of prototypicality on the allegiance to the host country in Russian group can be an indicator of an unrevealed consistent pattern (discussed below).

Table 5.

Direct and indirect effects on the allegiance to the host country

	Dependent:					
	Allegiance to the host country		Trust in institutions		Trust in people	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Cross-cutting id vs. nested id	.121***	.024				
Prototypicality	.062***	.010				
	Russia: -.086***	.018				
Adherence to mother nation	.135***	.011	.031**	.010	.051***	.011
					Slovakia:	
					.053 (p = .122)	.034
<i>Mediating variables</i>						
Trust in institutions	.115***	.019				
Trust in people	.159***	.015				
<i>Moderating variable</i>						
Adherence to mother nation	.028**	.011				
* Prototypicality						

Note. N = 5296. Unstandardized effects and standard errors are reported. *** = p < .001; ** = p < .01; * = p < .05

The significant positive association (the same for all countries (.121, s.e. .024)) between the dummy variable representing minority group members with cross-cutting form of identification and the variable measuring the level of allegiance of minority group members to the host country supports our first hypothesis. It suggests that different types of national identification of minority group members associate with different levels of allegiance to the host country, where cross-cutting form of national identification characterizes with stronger allegiance to the host country than nested form of national identification (represented in the model by omitted group of respondents that identify with minority group).

Trust in people of the host country (.159, s.e. .015) and trust in the institutions of the host country (.115, s.e. .019) positively associate with the allegiance to the host country indicating the importance of perceived social security as a predictor of the allegiance to the host country. For all countries in review, positive association between adherence to the mother nation and allegiance to the host country (.135 s.e. .011) supports our second hypothesis.

For six countries (excluding Slovakia) positive impact of adherence to the mother nation on trust in people of the host country (.051; s.e. = .011) and on trust in institutions of the host country (.131 s.e. .010), - indicates that adherence to the mother nation enhance the perception of social security of minority group members in the host country and consequently entitativity of the superordinate category of this country. This in its

turn leads to the increase in allegiance of minority group members to the host country. Thus, for majority of countries, adherence to the mother nation has direct and indirect effect via two variables of trust (associated with perceived security) on the allegiance to the host country. For Slovakian group the effect of trust in people of the host nation is insignificant.

In contrast to our hypothesis, for all countries excluding Russia, analysis shows a positive association of prototypicality of majority group with the allegiance of minority group members to the host country. We give the possible explanation of this controversial outcome in the discussion and conclusion chapter. In case of Russia the results support our hypothesis showing up the significant negative association (-086 ; s.e. =,018).

It is important to emphasize that we interpret the estimates of associations under the mean score of prototypicality. As it was mentioned in descriptive statistics section the mean score of prototypicality (3.19 from 4) indicates high level of relative prototypicality of ethnic majority group across all countries in review. Thus, the conclusions based on the estimates are applicable to the social environment characterized with high relative prototypicality of ethnic majority group for the superordinate category of the host nation. Low prototypicality might significantly change the results. In Russian group for instance, where the level of prototypicality (2,97) is the lowest, the effect of prototypicality on allegiance is negative.

Low prototypicality also changes the character of the association between adherence to the mother nation and allegiance to the host nation. The final model combines adherence to the mother nation and prototypicality into one interactive term. The statistically significant at ,01 level interaction between prototypicality and adherence to the mother nation (,028; s.e. = ,011) indicates that the association depends on the level of relative prototypicality of majority group, supporting our third hypothesis. According to our estimates high relative prototypicality of majority group adds to the magnitude of the positive association between adherence to the mother nation and allegiance to the host country, while low prototypicality change the direction of the association to negative. In other words, if perceived relative prototypicality of majority group is high, being close to the mother nation associates positively with being close to the host country, which might indicate that prototypicality stimulates cross-cutting form of identification with mother and host nation. Based on that result we can assume that cross-cutting form of identification may serve as a tool to counter the difficulties in the process of integration of minority group members into the host society; the difficulties caused by relative prototypicality of majority group. The fact that low prototypicality changes the direction of association between adherence to the mother nation and allegiance to the host country to negative may indicate that in the social environment characterized by low prototypicality of majority group, cross-cutting form of identification is not (or less) needed for integration of minority group members into the host society.

Discussion and Conclusions

Some results of our analysis were in fact unpredicted by the theory, and contain a good potential for its development. Since we assumed that prototypicality creates a burden for successful integration of ethnic minority group members into the host society, we expected significant negative relation between relative prototypicality of majority group and allegiance of minority group members to the host country. Contrary to our expectations, the results on the majority of the countries indicate statistically significant positive association between two variables. Being controlled for all other factors included into the model this association is not explained away and does not change direction.

We suggest the relation between prototypicality and allegiance to the host country has the direction of causality opposite to the one assumed by our conceptual model. Most likely it is the allegiance to the host country, and the intention of ethnic minority group members to integrate into the host society associated with it, that foster the perception of relative prototypicality of majority group for superordinate category. Presumably those members of ethnic minority groups that tend to integrate into the host society experience more pressure to acculturate into the majority culture compared to ones marginalized from mainstream society. In other words, the higher the relative prototypicality of the majority group, the stronger the demands for integrating minority group members to "internalize" the attributes of the majority group.

In general the main hypothesis of our research suggesting that different types of national identification of minority group members associate with different levels of allegiance to the host country, where cross-cutting form of national identification characterized by stronger allegiance to the host country than nested form of national identification, was supported by the results of the analyses. Dual identification with the host and the mother nation shows the persistent and statistically significant higher score on the allegiance to the host country compared to identification with the minority group.

However, the unpredicted result is that the direction (positive or negative) of the association between adherence to the mother country and allegiance to the host country is conditioned by the magnitude of relative prototypicality of the majority group for superordinate category of the host country. We conclude that the particular collective circumstances (when characteristics of the majority group strongly projected onto

superordinate category supposed to be inclusive for all citizens) stimulate cross-cutting dual national identification of the minority group members who intend to integrate into the host society. Cross-cutting form of identification with ethnic community of the mother country and national community of the host country helps to avoid the situation when the superordinate category of the host nation is *truly inclusive and ethnic groups are completely nested* within it. That is to avoid the situation when the common identity could be a reference background to which all ingroup and outgroup members refer. In case of cross-cutting form of identification with mother and host nation the common identity of the member of superordinate group is irrelevant and unrelated to the two subgroups and merely provides an alternative identity locally and equally shared in the given context. This form of identification might facilitate the integration of ethnic minority group members into the host society making acculturation process bilateral.

The analysis of theoretical model suggested in our paper reveals important, sometimes paradoxical relationships between national identification, prototypicality and allegiance to the host country. Moreover, the analysis show that for better understanding of the complexity of these relationships we should take into account the degree of involvement of ethnic minority group members into social and political processes of the host country, indicating the level of integration of minority group into mainstream society or, using the Habermasian terminology, the level of "autonomy" of minority group members as "citizens of the nation" capable to "articulate and justify in public discussion" their needs in "the life contexts that safeguard their identities"⁹. This can shed more light on the formation and transformation of national identity in culturally diverse societies. The conclusion is also a proposition for further development of the subject.

The main finding of the research is the statistically supported notion that in a certain social environment (common to many European countries), characterized by the high relative prototypicality of ethnic majority group for the (superordinate) nation level category, minority group members maintain the adherence to the mother nation and develop cross-cutting dual national identification *in order to be successfully and decently integrated* into the host nation. This largely explains the strange resilience and even resistance of minority group members to the pressure of acculturation policies popular in modern Europe. It also removes blame from the minority group members who maintain the attachment to the mother nation accused to be a source of incoherence in the host society. The analysis shows that they maintain this attachment not at the expense of allegiance to the host society but, on the contrary, as a basis for the success of integration into the host society. This new approach may reverse established notions and possibly give a key to the resolution of stagnating problems of culturally heterogeneous societies. This finding, important from theoretical prospective, could also have a valuable practical impact if taken into account in policy making aimed at the integration of multiple cultural groups, harmonization of inter-group relations and creation of coherent multicultural societies.

REFERENCES: 1. Bachman, 1993 "An Intergroup model of Organizational Mergers." PhD diss, University of Delaware. 2. Brewer, M. B. 2000 "Superordinate Goals versus Superordinate Identity as Bases of Intergroup Cooperation." In *Social Identity Processes*, ed. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown, 117 -32. London: Sage. 3. Brewer, M.B., and R.M. Kramer. 1996. "Seeing Groups as Entities: The Role of Perceiver Motivation." In *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition*, ed. R.M. Sorrentino and E.T. Higgins, vol.3. New York: Guilford. 4. Brubaker, R. 1996. *Nationalism reframed: nationhood and the national question in the New Europe* Cambridge University Press, UK. 5. Campbell, D.T. 1958. "Common Fate, Similarity, and Other Indices of the Status of Aggregates of Persons as Social Entities." *Behavioural Sciences* 3: 14-25. 6. Castano, Emanuele . 2003. "On the Advantages of Reifying the Ingroup." In *The Psychology of Group Perception: Perceived Variability, Entitativity, and Essentialism*, ed. V.Y. Yzerbyt, C.M. Judd, and O. Corneille. Philadelphia: Psychology Press. 7. Castano, Emanuele. 2004 "European Identity: A social-Psychological Perspective." In R. Herrmann, T. Risse, & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU* (pp. 40 – 59). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 8. Castano, E., Yzerbyt, V. Y., Paladino, M. P., & Sacchi, S. 2002. "I belong, therefore, I exist: Ingroup identification, ingroup entitativity, and ingroup bias." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 135-143. 9. Castano, E., Yzerbyt, V. Y., and D. Bourguignon. 2003. "We are One and I Like it: The Impact of Ingroup Entitativity on Ingroup Identification." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 33: 735 – 54. 10. Castano, E., Yzerbyt, V. Y., D. Bourguignon, and E. Seron. 2002. "Who May Enter? The Impact of Ingroup Identification on Ingroup-Outgroup Categorisation." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 38:315-22. 11. Clement, R.W., & Krueger, J. (2002) Social categorization moderates social projection. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 38, 219 -231. 12. Davidio, J.F., Gaertner, S.L., & Validzic, A. 1998. Intergroup bias: Status, differentiation, and a common in-group identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 109-120.

⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State* in *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*, edited by Amy Gutmann (Princeton University Press, 1994) p.116

13. Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994 "The Contact Hypothesis: The Role of a Common Ingroup Identity on Reducing Intergroup Bias" *Small Group Research* 25: 224-49. 14. Gaertner, S.L., Dovidio, J.F., Nier, J.A., Ward, C.M. & Banker, B.S. 1999. Across cultural divides: The value of a superordinate identity. In D.A. Prentice & D.T. Miller (Eds.), *Cultural divides: Understanding and overcoming group conflict* (pp.173-212). New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 15. Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press. 16. Habermas, Jürgen (1962 trans 1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society, Polity, Cambridge*. 17. Hall, N. R., & Crisp, R. J. 2005. Considering multiple criteria for social categorization can reduce intergroup bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1435-1444. 18. Huo, Y.J., Smith, H.J., Tyler, T.R., & Lind, E.A. (1996). Superordinate identification, subgroup identification, and justice concerns: Is separatism the problem, is assimilation the answer? *Psychological Science*, 7, 40 – 45. 19. Krueger, J. (2007) From social projection to social behaviour. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (vol. 18, pp. 1-35) Hove, UK: Psychology Press. 20. Kelman, H.C. 1969. Patterns of personal involvement in the national system: A social-psychological analysis of political legitimacy. In J.N. Rosenau (Ed.), *International politics and foreign policy* (rev. ed.) :276-288. 21. Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2004). National differences and European plurality: Discrimination or tolerance between European countries. In R. Herrmann, T. Risse, & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU* (pp. 59 – 72). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 22. Parekh (2000) *Rethinking multiculturalism Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. 23. Sindic, D., Castano, E., & Reicher, S. D. (2001). Les dynamiques identitaires et le processus d'intégration européenne. *Etudes Internationales*, XXXII, 425-454. 24. Weber, U., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2002). Perceived legitimacy of intergroup status differences: Its prediction by relative ingroup prototypicality. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 449 -470. 25. Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., Waldzus, S. (2007) Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The ingroup projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology* 2007, 18, 331-372. 26. Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., Weber, U., & Waldzus, S. (2003). The ingroup as pars pro toto: Projection from the ingroup onto the inclusive category as a precursor to social discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 461 -473.